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Geo Palmer Esq M.P.  
~~Author of~~ THE BURMERS  
and Reports  
**(PRINCE) OF OUDE;**

OR,

THE CLAIM OF THE NAWAUB  
**EKBAL-OOD-DOWLAH**  
**BAHADOR**  
TO THE THRONE OF OUDE.

---

By CAPTAIN W. (WHITE)  
LATE OF THE H.E.I.C. SERVICE;

AUTHOR OF THOUGHTS ON INDIA; POLITICAL HISTORY OF THE EXTRAOR-  
DINARY EVENTS WHICH LED TO THE BURMESE WAR; AN APPEAL  
TO THE BRITISH NATION ON THE AFFAIRS OF THE  
EAST; THE EVILS OF QUARANTINE LAWS;  
&c., &c., &c.

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LONDON:

WILLIAM STRANGE, 21, PATERNOSTER ROW.

1838.

C. G. BOOK STALL,  
9, Shama Ch. De St.,  
Calcutta.



PRINTED BY R. MACDONALD,  
30, GREAT SUTTON STREET, CLERKENWELL.

96-22238

*Aranda Jady Mullayis  
Cal. 1949*

## TO THE BRITISH NATION.



FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,

IN cases of great political emergency, or on matters of great national importance, an appeal to the good sense, the honour, the justice and equity of the people of this nation, has proved to be the best, the safest, the surest—indeed, the only palladium. So it will be found in such an atrocious case as that which the following pages unfold. With this conviction, I have thought it to be my duty humbly to dedicate the following pages to you. With a good cause, a just claim, an equitable demand, a strong and everlasting debt of gratitude and obligation due from the British Nation, which neither time nor circumstances can ever even partially obliterate, I leave to your noble and generous hearts—your powerful and determined courage—the vindication of the national honour, and the establishing in his rights the legal descendant of the Nawaub SAADUT ALIE

**KHAN BAHADOR**, in the person of **EKBAL-ODD-DOW-LAH BAHADOR**, his grandson, the lawful **KING OF OUDE**, who has come a stranger amongst you to claim your protection from rapacity and injustice, as well as to seek your support to his just demands.

I have the honour to remain,

**FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN,**

Your's, most respectfully,

**W. WHITE.**

*London, June, 1838.*

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THE

## PRINCE OF OUDE,

EKBAL OOD-DOWLAH BAHADOR.

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THE presence in England of the Prince of Oude, to demand the throne which has been most unjustly and iniquitously withheld from him, is a most "*unto-ward event*" at the present critical time, and will place her Majesty's advisers in any thing but an enviable position. It will impose upon the nation at large the unpleasant and irksome task of vindicating to the world at large, its honour for good faith, gross and flagrant violation of sacred treaties, its tarnished and disgraced character, the wiping from off the page of history the foul blot and the atrocious acts which have lately taken place with regard to the State of Oude; and to prove to the whole world, that the British nation, as a nation, has never concurred in the many complicated and endless acts of villainy which have been practised towards the Native Princes in the East, under the authority or sanction of various Boards of Control.

How is this to be done? Two things are requisite. The one without the other would only be like plastering up a crack in a wall, to conceal the rubbish of which it is

made, and the danger to be apprehended by its falling, as well as to save the rascally contractor from the penalty he had thereby incurred. These two things, then, are, **First, To remove Sir John Hobhouse's new-made King, HUM-TI DUM-TI, from off the wall; for it is only in placards and upon paper that he is king. But he is a king of kings according to Sir John Hobhouse's notions of what sort of a man makes the best king.**

But we have now reached that crisis in oriental legislation and diplomacy, that may well make the nation tremble for the frightful consequences which must ensue, unless we instantly retrace our steps, and, by the spontaneous burst of indignation of the twenty-seven millions of her Majesty's faithful subjects in Great Britain, perform one act of simple justice as a counterpoise for the many thousands of base and perfidious deeds of injustice, extortion, spoliation, robbery, and plunder, which have at different times, and under the sanction of different Boards of Control, taken place; and against which the very Directors of the East India Company have entered the strongest of protests.

It is just five years since one of the most talented and best informed Directors of the East India Company, Mr. H. St. George Tucker, truly remarked, "I already anticipate a struggle for the most cherished possessions of our Indian subjects, for the most valuable property which we have left them, with little expectation that they will long retain it in their power."

These observations are particularly referable to the provinces of Oude, the Prince of which the President of the Board of Control since his arrival, has not only himself dared venture grossly to insult, but compelled the Chairman and Deputy Chairman to do the same thing; and, what is worse, that they should be the first to set the disgraceful and obnoxious example. When his Excellency Prince Ekbal-ood-Dowlah, as a natural consequence, called at the East India House, and sent his card in to the Chair-

man, he, by the instructions of Sir John Hobhouse, positively not only refused to see him, but, by one of the common porters, sent him out word to go to Sir John Hobhouse at the Board of Control. Such was the treatment at the India House to the King—for such he is in every sense of the word, and so he will be; for if not proclaimed by the British, he will be at no very distant day by the Russians, the Emperor of whom has declared that within ten years “*his brave Russians will summon all India to avow their independence.*” When the Prince repaired to the Board of Control, innocently enough, and never suspecting for a moment that he had been sent there also to be insulted, having sent in his card to Sir John Hobhouse, Sir John Hobhouse sent out word that he could not see him,—whatever his business was, he must write.

Now this, it must be admitted, is too bad, thus to treat a Sovereign, whom we have robbed of his throne, and his ancestors of some hundred millions sterling. The Prince, however, polished and high-minded as undoubtedly he is, will not in the least be disturbed by the insolent and disgraceful conduct of the ex-member for Westminster, whom he could conveniently put into his breeches pocket; or if he raised his foot against his seat of honour, and which deserves to be touched, would very unceremoniously send the little gentleman from one side of the Thames to the other.

But so it happened, that he was insulted; and it rests to be seen how the British nation will mark their abhorrence, their contempt, and thorough disgust, for such conduct on the part of the President of the Board of Control. By thus insulting the Prince of Oude, it must be considered that it is not only a most unmerited and atrocious mark of contempt towards himself, but an insult, and a fearful warning, to all other Native Princes in the East; the evil effects of which we shall some day—perhaps before long—feel to our sorrow.

Sir John Hobhouse could not have been ignorant who the Nawaub Ekbal-ood-Dowlah is, and what is the object of his visit to England. The public must now be informed. He comes not only to claim the throne of Oude, but 2,794,338 rupees, being arrears of the interest of trust-funds in the hands of the East India Company, amounting to £25,000 a year, settled upon his father the Nawaub Shums-ood-Dowlah, in the year 1814, by the Nawaub Gazee-ood-Deen Hyder; the principal of which forms part of the far-famed voluntary loan of the first million and a quarter which Lord Hastings extorted from Gazee-ood-deen Hyder, as the price of placing a lunatic, a murderer, a brute, a worse than beast, upon the throne,—the wretch who had killed five or six persons, by cutting their throats, and ripping open their bodies; who used to tear every vestige of his garments from off his body, and in a state of perfect nudity would dash into the street, or, like an ape, ascend the trees in the garden of the palace; and in which state he was seen by Major Baillie, the British Resident, by whose kind offices he was placed upon the throne in the dead of the night, the moment his father had been poisoned by that arch villain Ramzaun Alie Khan, the rascal who, the instant he had accomplished the horrid deed, flew to the British Resident, “*carefully,*” as Lord Hastings says, “*concealing the events from every body else,*” and thus “*enabling Major Baillie to make those timely arrangements which secured the undisturbed succession of Gazee-ood-deen Hyder.*”

It is confidently asserted, that the setting aside of the lawful heir to the throne of Oude, upon the death of the late King, Nusser Od-Deen Hyder, who was also an usurper, an adopted son of Gazee-ood-Deen Hyder, placed upon the throne to the exclusion of the right heir, for certain weighty reasons, and which we shall hereafter explain; and placing upon it Nusser-ood-Dowlah, is an act entirely of Sir John Hobhouse’s own; that he wrote direct

himself to Colonel Low, without the knowledge of the Court of Directors, without the knowledge of Lord Auckland, the Governor-General; and that by these private instructions Colonel Low acted, when the late King died by poison, in blowing the (Prince as he is called) Mirzas Kaiwan Jah off the throne, after he had been for fourteen years recognized by Nusser-ood-Deen Hyder as his son, and also recognized by the British authorities as the presumptive heir, but for the last two years of his life repudiated by the usurper, and avowed to be merely an adopted child. One thing is certain, that the East India Directors disavow all connexion or acquaintance with the transaction; and, as far as can be gleaned from present circumstances and the appearance of things, the whole responsibility lies upon the head of Sir John Hobhouse. It will be in vain that he states, in justification or mitigation, that he acted in concurrence with the opinion and intention of the former President of the Board of Control, to seize upon the dominions of Oude; it will be useless to say, Lord William Bentinck advised the measures he pursued; and equally futile to call to his aid the projects the Marquis Wellesley had in view seven-and-thirty years ago. All, all—nothing of it will avail him one straw.

One as a minister of the crown, Lord Glenelg, may certainly also be seriously implicated, particularly so in his late capacity of President of the Board of Control; but the other two cannot any how be dragged in.

The death of the late usurper of Oude was an event evidently somewhat more than anxiously looked for, and provoked. He was poisoned; in consequence of a deep and villainous intrigue of a vile ex-minister of that usurper, who had been expelled the kingdom by order of Lord Minto, then again by Lord Hastings, as the avowed enemy of the English, but restored to power during Lord William Bentinck's administration, but again expelled for insolence and threatening language to his King, in the name of the

Governor-General, to turn him out of his dominions, and to place the present old man upon the throne. The sending back the presents which Nusser-ood-Deen Hyder, the usurper, sent to their Majesties, was certain to produce the event, in consequence of the contempt and degradation into which he would be sunk. He declared, when he was compelled to sign the order to deliver over the presents to the Directors of the East India Company to be sent back, and against which he prayed, he implored, he entreated upon his knees, he might not be compelled to do, that before a month or two was over he would be assassinated; he was well aware that Huckeem Mehdee, the discarded minister, would effect it. And so he did. Sir John Hobhouse, or rather his advisers, Lord Glenelg and Lord William Bentinck, could not have entertained a doubt but that such would have been the result of the measure they were thus recklessly and wickedly pursuing. Upon this subject we shall speak in its proper place.

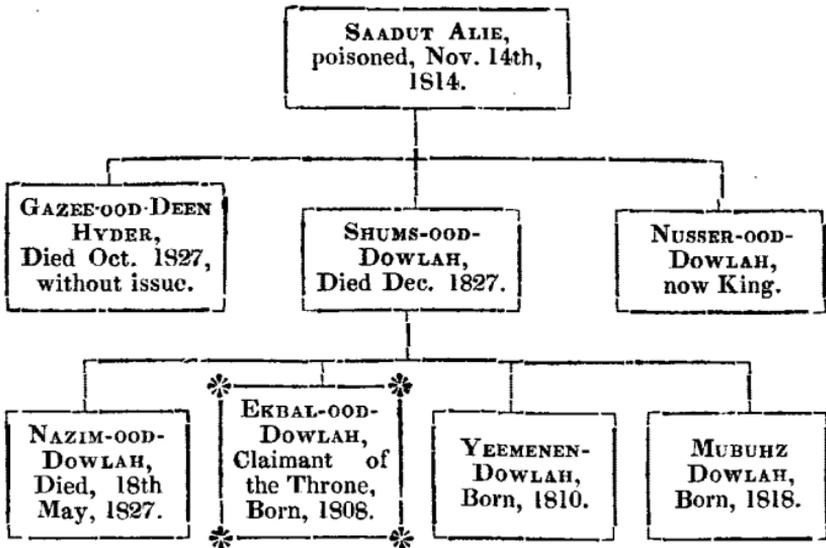
To return to HUM-TI DUM-TI, whom Sir John Hobhouse has stuck upon the throne! It is Sir John Hobhouse himself, *in fact*, that now reigns King of Oude, as some of the good people of Nottingham can vouch for; who, although they make excellent stockings, appear to be very bad judges of good legislating materials. The usurper is the third son of Saadut Alie, and in the ninety-second year of his age; his name is Nusser-ood-Dowlah. When Nusser-ood-Deen Hyder had been poisoned, Mirzas Kaiwan Jah ascended the throne, but he was battered off it by British cannon, the throne plundered of all its gems, and the would-be King, with the Queen Dowager, were marched off to prison. This having been done, HUM-TI DUM-TI was placed on the throne. For the last six years he has been so ill with the dropsy and elephantiasis, that he lies like a log of wood, gasping for breath, like a dying porpoise. The girth of his leg at the ankle is two feet; his arms and legs are in proportion. When he is moved or

rather is rolled about, it requires four men to effect it. He is insensible almost to every thing going on, and he indicates his astonishment and mortification at having honours and annoyances forced upon him, under such circumstances, and at such a period of his life. This he expresses by sonorous growls, resembling distant thunder; and when Colonel Low, who in his name administers all the affairs of the state, according to Sir John Hobhouse's plan of *reform*, goes to see him, his whole frame, the huge mass of living blubber, six feet three inches in length, and eleven feet round the body, is immediately convulsed like an avalanche. No doubt the poor miserable old man, thinking that as his father Saadut Alie was poisoned, and the late Nusserood-Deen, that he too, when convenient, will be made away with, with as little ceremony as is displayed in taking off the head of a chicken to whip it into a curry.

Poisoning is a common practice in India, an every day occurrence, and thought no more of than an old woman taking a pinch of snuff, or a young one gazing at a dandy.

It is most important, to establish the claim of the Prince Ekbal-ood-Dowlah to the throne, the pointing out all these extraordinary facts; and also to show that his father was basely tricked out of his rights. If we can prove that Gazce-ood-deen Hyder was mad, and that he had no issue, we make out the case, that the Nawaub Shums-ood-Dowlah, the second son, was the legal, the right, the lawful and sole heir to the throne in 1814; and, in succession after him, his son and heir, the Prince Ekbal-ood-Dowlah, who is now here to claim from the British nation, in the face of the whole world, the throne of which his father and himself have been so grossly and iniquitously deprived.

Let us look at the line of descent from Saadut Alie.



Fortunately for the cause of truth, and we hope for the ends of justice, Lord Hastings has placed upon record a sufficiency of facts to prove the insanity of Gazee-ood-Deen Hyder, at the time he made him Vizier; and the motives for his having made him Vizier are also evident enough by the plundering that took place immediately after of his treasure.

Saadut Alie had urged the appointment of his second son, Shums-ood-Dowlah, to the throne in the event of his death; and it is more than believed that Lord Hastings had consented to do so; indeed, there can be no doubt; for hence arose the proposition of Saadut Alie to lend the Company a crore of rupees, or £.1,250,000; "and which," his Lordship says, "was perfectly understood by his successor, Gazee-ood-Deen Hyder; so that the latter instantly came forward with a spontaneous offer of a crore of rupees." Every thing which that maniac did was "*spontaneous, voluntary*," according to Lord Hastings's version; but by Major Baillie's, and by recorded evidence, proved to have been extorted from him under threats.

That the man was mad, there was no question; and that he had no issue, is also certain. With a knowledge of this fact, it is asserted, by good authority, that Lord Hastings amused the Nawaub Shums-ood-Dowlah, the father of the Prince Ekbal-ood-Dowlah Bahador, by privately assuring him that he would remove the monster, and place him upon the throne. Instead, however, of doing this, he excited the Nawaub Gazee-ood-Deen Hyder to rebel against his lawful sovereign, the King of Delhi, whose hereditary prime minister he was, and to assume to himself the kingly title. As he had no issue, it was arranged that his adopted child, Nusser-ood-Deen Hyder, the son of one of his concubines by some other man, should succeed him, to the exclusion of the lawful heir.

When Lord Hastings reached Lucknow in 1814, it had been previously arranged that he should have a private audience with the maniac Gazee-ood-Deen Hyder; and from which the British Resident, Major Baillie, "*the ordinary and established channel of communication in all cases whatever,*" should be excluded. Accordingly his Lordship closeted himself with the Vizier, "retaining," as he says, "*his confidential secretaries to witness what passed.*" The maniac presented Lord Hastings some papers, which his Lordship received most cheerfully, thinking, as he had been led to assert, that they contained matter of complaint against Major Baillie, and that the tenor of them was praying for his removal. His Lordship to the Vizier praised Major Baillie up to the skies, as having his entire confidence. The Nawaub looked aghast at the intelligence; as he had been told that his Lordship hated Major Baillie. When it was discovered that the Nawaub had given in a paper of praise of Major Baillie, a paper was written for him, abusing him, praying for his removal, and which the Nawaub the next day sent. He denied all knowledge of the purport of the papers he had given in the second time, when he recalled the first set.

In consequence of which Lord Hastings directed his Secretaries—Mr. Ricketts and Mr. Adam—to hold a conference with the Vizier, to know his real sentiments, and which were the papers he really meant to give in. Those gentlemen, in their Report, state:—" His Excellency went on to say, that his genuine sentiments and wishes were contained in the two first papers delivered by him, and that those presented on the day of the conference did not." In one of these papers the Vizier says—" By your Lordship's kindness Major Baillie loves me from his heart; he visits me almost every day; and, agreeable to rule, I visit him." In another of them he says, " Other circumstances of vexation and dissatisfaction have been occasioned to me by Major Baillie, as well as to my late father, who, it is well known, fell sick from this plague and vexation; and therefore the removal of Major Baillie, and the appointment of another gentleman as Resident, and who may be occupied in manifesting conciliation or respect, is necessary."

In one of the papers he says, " Praise be to God that the Prophet has said, ' I render thanks to the Most High ' that I was born in the age of Noshervaun the Just;'" and he congratulates himself, " If it had not been for the support and assistance of his kind friend and benefactor, it was not possible that the right should have been settled in favour of the rightful person, that is to say, himself." He calls his Lordship a "*just, and cordial, and kind friend*;" and says, that for his " gracious assistance he will ever be bound in gratitude." Having compared his "*dear uncle*" to Noshervaun the Just, and thus expressed his gratitude, he says, " Now that by my *propitious stars* your Lordship has arrived here, my hope is, that you will do for me something new, greater than any thing before, of such a nature that the fame of your Lordship's kindness will be celebrated all over the world." His Lordship accordingly thrust his hand into

the pockets of the maniac and usurper, and stole two millions and a half of money, as the price of setting aside the legal heir, and raising the drunken debauched rascal to the throne.

Upon this subject Major Baillie, the Resident at Lucknow, in a letter to his friend the Hon. N. B. Edmonston, a member of the Supreme Council of Calcutta, dated 19th October, 1814, says—

“ Shall I tell you any thing of my trip to Cawnpore, to meet the Governor-General? I had better not, I believe, for I have nothing very pleasant to communicate.

“ I was desired to propose to the Nawaub that his Excellency should propose to Lord Moira to make a voluntary loan to the Company of a crore of rupees (£1,250,000); his Excellency did so accordingly. To announce a proposal like this, with all my original disinterestedness, was an effort of diplomatic effrontery you must admit; but mark the sequel, and admire. His Excellency has proposed in return, that Lord Moira should propose to his Excellency to put a stop to the system of reform; that is to say, Huckeem Mehdee Alee Khan (the scoundrel who caused Nusser-ood-Deen to be poisoned) has drawn up a long string of extraordinary propositions (the above of course being one of them), which he induced the poor Nawaub to give in, without understanding them himself or informing me of their nature, and afterwards to support it, as I am told, with an offer of the crore of rupees as a gift instead of a loan. In a second conference with the Governor-General, indirectly and irregularly obtained, from which the Resident was excluded, the poor Nawaub forgot the speech that was prepared for him, and made all the parties ashamed of themselves.”

This letter proves two important facts: the first is, that the money was extorted; the second, that the man was mad.

But, as we have seen, the Vizier, not content with denying all knowledge of the contents of one set of the papers

which he presented to Lord Hastings, as containing his requests, and acknowledging the others, when he was dismissing Mr. Adam and Mr. Ricketts, he said to them, " Present my respects to the Governor-General, and deliver that letter to him." In it he says—

" Mr. Clarke and some other persons, for some time past, have been in the habit of saying to me that a paper, containing a statement of the faults of Major Baillie should be prepared and given to your Lordship. I never would consent to this. At length, the day before yesterday, having brought a paper, he (or they), in the way of deceit, stated that the giving of the paper to your Lordship would be the cause of pleasing you, and that your Lordship wished to receive from me a communication by which accusation might attach to Major Baillie. Of necessity I conveyed the said paper to your Lordship with a view to your Lordship's pleasure, but I have in no wise any cause of complaint or dissatisfaction with that gentleman, and he is my friend, and in every respect the well-wisher of the Honourable Company's government, and not a word but matters of friendship has ever passed between us. As Mr. Clarke and the other persons had been contrivers (or authors) of this deceit and insinuation (*lit.* spell or sorcery), I have therefore caused them to be dismissed from my service, because the retaining of such persons in my service is nowise proper."

This garbled extract of the letter is all that it was thought convenient and proper to place upon record. The remainder might have told us a sad tale of rascality; as might the letter of Colonel Baillie, reporting the death of Saadut Alie; of which letter, and its important contents, all that we have given is the short extract:—

" With genuine concern I announce to your Excellency in Council the sudden and unexpected death of his Excellency the Nawaub Vizier, at eleven o'clock, P.M., this instant, the 11th of July."

With the "*Oude Papers*" there is a most singular document placed on record by Lord Hastings. It is an anonymous paper, which was transmitted to him while he was at Futtygurh, in June, 1815, entitled "*Recital of the Sufferings of the Distressed Citizens of Lucknow, for the information of his Excellency the Earl of Moira, Governor-General,*" and which is of the utmost importance at the present moment on many accounts; we shall therefore draw the reader's most particular attention to it. Lord Moira caused a copy of it to be transmitted, in June, 1815, to the Resident at Lucknow, Major Baillie, at the same time observing, "It professes to give an account of the present state of affairs at Lucknow, but which his Lordship is satisfied is *totally unfounded in every point.*" And yet, with this conviction, without the knowledge of Major Baillie, in March, 1816, he placed it on record as a document by which Major Baillie's character and conduct were to be tested. We beg of our readers to bear this in mind; and when they peruse the document, which contains many important facts as well as probably some untruths, let them judge for themselves as to the propriety of Lord Hastings's conduct with regard to the course he pursued relative to it. "*He is a friend,*" says the writer, "*who tells the faults of his friend, and brings them present before him as in a looking-glass.*" His Lordship, no doubt, thought otherwise; and as he could not admit that he had committed any "*faults,*" it followed, as a matter of course, that while Major Baillie was employed in extorting a third million of pounds sterling from the Vizier, he, too, could not have been guilty of any faults, and therefore the "*account was totally unfounded.*" However, notwithstanding, from past events which have occurred, that paper is found to have been a tolerably correct statement of the history of the administration of Oude previous and subsequent to his Lordship's visit to Oude; and such a history it is, as

is quite enough to make one's very hair stand erect. The writer charges his Lordship, that—

“ When he arrived at the City of Lucknow, he found the nobles of the city weeping, and the poor of the city lamenting ; and were the reason of this to be asked, the whole of the inhabitants of the city would answer with one voice in complaints against the Resident, and the regret at want of attention in such a Governor-General. In the judgment of your slave, that the Governor-General has not done justice—that he has not paid sufficient attention to the sufferings of the inhabitants of the city—that he has given power in all affairs to the Resident, and to such a Resident, who, placing his sense of justice and honour upon the shelf, and falling into the lusts of the brittle things of this world, has given himself into the hands of his Moonshee, Ulee Nuckee Khan, a man whose character is about to be set forth at full length. That the Governor-General has done all this is stamping, in the page of history, his own name as the source of all our sufferings. Does he not fear that the reputation of so illustrious a Governor, whose conduct and principles are celebrated and current over the seven climates (whole world), from Wan and Tooran even to Romi (Constantinople) and China, and which is in the habits of intercourse with all the Kings of the earth, more especially in the time of so merciful and just a Governor, will be affected by our complaints. It therefore cannot be any cause but the want of a proper information on the subject, that all this has been suffered to occur ; nor can I understand upon what principle this illustrious gentleman should have sacrificed the cause of justice to their personal regard for the Resident, notwithstanding our loud and incessant cries for retribution.”

In reference to the placing of the maniac upon the throne, Gazee-ood-Deen Hyder, the writer says, “ Let not the crown and throne adorn every one ; there needs but one King, of auspicious fortune, on whom the shadow of the Almighty may have fallen, and whose conversation may not be without wisdom ;” thereby plainly indicating that his Lordship had, knowingly, placed a madman upon

the throne. "Alas! for these times," says the writer; "that such is the way with the Vezarut!—that such is the way with the Governor General!—that such is the abominable character of the Resident for integrity and trustworthiness! But how can Kulpee escape from ruin, when Mullan Muddun (the saint, meaning the Resident) keeps a gin-shop!"

"In the time of Lord Minto, the late Nawaub Saadut Alee Khan was much grieved and distressed at the oppressions committed by the Resident. This is known to every gentleman, and to the world at large; and these vexations were bringing him near his end, when he was sustained for a short time by hearing of the intention of Lord Moira to visit Lucknow in person; but of a sudden, from the changeable resolutions of heaven, the measure of the life of that traveller on the road to eternity became full to the brim with the mortal poison of death, and on the 22d of Rujeeb, 1229 of the Hijjree, notwithstanding that his heart was full of a thousand hopes, his former vexations so bore him down, that he made the clay tenement of his existence a house of mourning (that is, he died). It was an act which calls for justice, that, on the death of so illustrious a Vizier, neither the Resident nor any of the English gentlemen attended the bier of the deceased, or performed the dues of mourning. Beyond this would have been hypocrisy. But the Resident, finding he was nearer his object in consequence, with every appearance of joy and conviviality, in the very place where the coffin of the deceased was lying, ate his breakfast and drank his tea; and in another the Nawaub Ghazee-ood-Deen Hyder Khan, next heir to the deceased, was seated on the musnud of the Vezarut."

What does this mean to convey, if it is not charging the Resident with being accessory to the diabolical deed? If Lord Hastings was truly, as he professed to be, "satisfied that" the accusations were "wholly unfounded in every point," why place upon record such a damnatory document, and that too secretly? What is the meaning of "It

“ was an act which calls for justice, that, on the death of  
 “ so illustrious a Vizier, neither the Resident nor any  
 “ English gentlemen attended the bier of the deceased or  
 “ dues of mourning. Beyond this would have been hy-  
 “ pocrisy;” if it does not convey the imputation of the  
 Resident’s entire knowledge of the transaction? They  
 were statements true or false; and their truth could only  
 be ascertained by public inquiry, which his Lordship de-  
 clined; but which Major Baillie, as a gentleman and  
 officer, a man of honour, nay, even as a human being totally  
 innocent of deserving such vile aspersions, ought to have  
 demanded a public inquiry. The writer very justly says—

“ Although the Governor is no way a sharer in the stain of  
 “ those advantages which the Resident obtains, but on the con-  
 “ trary is more disinterested, magnanimous, and dignified than  
 “ any Governor-General who yet has come to Hindoostan, still  
 “ why does he subject himself to the imputation of palpable  
 “ neglect, and act entirely on the Resident’s representations?  
 “ For God’s sake let him cause them to be investigated and con-  
 “ firmed by some gentleman who has some sense of religion and  
 “ justice.”

Indeed, it is incredible, it is wonderful, he did not do so.  
 And with such a document upon record, unrefuted, or  
 even inquired into the truth or falsehood of the statements  
 it contained, how came Major Baillie to be elected by the  
 proprietors of East India Stock to the honourable and  
 distinguished situation of a seat in the direction of their  
 affairs? Why, once more, and again and again, we must  
 ask, was not Colonel Baillie’s letter, announcing the death  
 of Saadut Alie, put upon record in full, instead of the  
 few lines quoted?

“ At this very time the Resident, by means of Agha Meer,  
 “ now called Moatumud-ood-Dowlah, and through the mediation  
 “ of Ulee Nuckee, his Moonshee, plundered lacs of rupees in  
 “ money and goods, and he also took the opportunity to open a

“ drawer of the table, and got possession of the book which had  
 “ been prepared by the deceased Vizier, containing all the crimes  
 “ of the Resident, in order that they might be laid open to the  
 “ Governor-General on his arrival. The Nawaub Ghazee-ood-  
 “ Deen Hyder Khan having perceived that his father’s affairs  
 “ had been ruined by the hands of the same Resident, was most  
 “ fearful for himself from a continuation of the same injurious  
 “ conduct; he therefore put up with all that was going on from  
 “ helplessness. But as the reported approach of the Governor-  
 “ General gave him strength and confidence, he was induced to  
 “ open his mind to him at Cawnpore and at Lucknow. All his  
 “ accusations, however, came to nothing. At that time, on the  
 “ very night of one of the communications, Moonshee Ulee Nuckee  
 “ sent for Agha Meer, and said to him, ‘ Now is your time, you  
 “ ‘ may now get the Neabut from the favour of the Resident,  
 “ ‘ and you will also place him under infinite obligations; you  
 “ ‘ will not have such another opportunity. You have only to  
 “ ‘ do what the Resident now bids you. Go, then, to the Vizier,  
 “ ‘ and say to him, ‘ You are a fool, and out of your senses.  
 “ ‘ ‘ You have acted very wrong in bringing accusations against  
 “ ‘ ‘ the Resident. Do you not know that it is in the regulations  
 “ ‘ ‘ of the English Government that the Council should remove  
 “ ‘ ‘ any one that accuses the Resident, for it is a breach of the  
 “ ‘ ‘ treaty, insomuch that the Vizier Ulee was put off the musnud  
 “ ‘ ‘ for this very fault, in having brought complaints against  
 “ ‘ ‘ Mr. Resident Lumsden. The Governor-General has now  
 “ ‘ ‘ determined to seat Shums-ood-Dowlah upon the musnud,  
 “ ‘ ‘ and has written to Council on the subject, and the Council  
 “ ‘ ‘ are in the Resident’s interest, of which their support in the  
 “ ‘ ‘ time of the late Vizier is sufficient proof.’” Agha Meer  
 “ and Ulee Nuckee having before been on good terms, and in-  
 “ deed like father and son, Agha Meer was persuaded by the  
 “ Moonshee, and went and told the Vizier just what he had been  
 “ directed. The Vizier was disturbed, and not in his right  
 “ senses, so he believed it all. Agha Meer and Ulee Nuckee  
 “ immediately mounted an elephant together, and went straight  
 “ to Beebeepoor, where the Resident was, and making him  
 “ acquainted with all the circumstances, prepared a draft of a

“ razeenamah, to the tenor of which a deed was to be brought  
 “ in the writing of the Vizier. Agha Meer accordingly returned  
 “ to the Vizier’s presence, and having caused the deed to be  
 “ written in the prescribed form according to the draft, carried  
 “ it to the Resident; and it was by his advice and that of  
 “ Ulee Nuckee that Captain M’Leod and the other English  
 “ gentlemen were caused to be turned out with disgrace and ig-  
 “ nominy, and were called upon to give back even any little  
 “ articles which the late Nawaub had presented them with in  
 “ token of his favour towards them, and that too in a most dis-  
 “ reputable manner, to the scandal and disgust of all, whether  
 “ noble or otherwise. Agha Meer and Ulee Nuckee boasted of  
 “ this aloud in public, saying, ‘ Look, how degraded and debased  
 “ ‘ I have rendered the English, even when the Governor-  
 “ ‘ General is on the spot; and had the Vizier delayed one  
 “ ‘ instant signing the razeenamah, you would have seen him  
 “ ‘ in the state that Vizier Ulee is now. You see that the  
 “ ‘ Governor-General has no help for it but to be guided by  
 “ ‘ the Resident’s judgment.’ On hearing this from Ulee Nuckee,  
 “ every thing appeared to be the reverse of the usual principles  
 “ of English government (and no one believed it at the time);  
 “ until at last, as was promised by the Moonshee, Agha Meer  
 “ was invested with the Neābut, and the Governor-General took  
 “ his departure towards the west.”

This extract proves three very important points:—First,  
 it explains how the far-famed voluntary loan of the first crore  
 of rupees, or million sterling, was obtained by Lord Hast-  
 ings, who says, “ While I was on my passage up the  
 “ Ganges, Saadut Alie unexpectedly died. I found,  
 “ however, that what had been provisionally agitated by  
 “ him, was perfectly understood by his successor, so that  
 “ the latter instantly came forward with a spontaneous  
 “ offer of a crore of rupees, which I declined as a per-  
 “ quisite or tribute on his accession to the Sovereignty of  
 “ Oude, but accepted as a loan to the Company. Eight  
 “ lacs were afterwards added to this sum, in order that the  
 “ interest, at six per cent, of the whole might equal the

“ allowances to different branches of the family, for which  
 “ the British Government had been pledged, and the pay-  
 “ ment of which, without vexatious retardments, was se-  
 “ cured by the appropriation of the interest to the specific  
 “ purpose.”

Now, one of the branches receiving those allowances, for which his Lordship professed to be so anxious to prevent “vexatious retardments” in the payment of, was the Nabob Shums-ood-Dowlah, the father of the Nawaub, Ekbal-ood-Dowlah, to the tune of 200,000 rupees a year, or £25,000. They reduced it, however, before his death, in gross violation of all faith, all honour, in fraudulent breach of trust, to 150,000 a year; and since his death they have never paid one farthing of it to his son and heir; who, when he applied for it, was told to apply to the usurper of his throne for it; who, in answer, told him that he must go to the Company,—they had already had the money, and if they had spent the principal, they must find it, or go and steal the interest elsewhere to pay him.

The second point which the extract proves is, that Gazee-ood-Deen Hyder, whom Lord Hastings placed upon the throne as Vizier, and afterwards made a King of, was positively mad, and a mere tool in the hands of the Resident, guided and directed by that arch scoundrel, Agha Meer. “He puts up with what was going on from  
 “ helplessness.” “By the favour of the Resident he  
 “ might now get,” to amuse him, “the Neabut (big drum,  
 “ beat).” **A FOOL, AND OUT OF HIS SENSES.** And if he had hesitated and “delayed one minute in signing Razee-  
 “ namah (the papers of praise of Major Baillie), he would  
 “ have been in the state that Vizier Ulie now is,”—that is, in prison, on his dethronement by Sir John Shore, after reigning six months.

The third, an important point, is, that it proves that Shums-ood-Dowlah ought to have been placed on the throne; and that his being set aside was a most

rascally transaction, done expressly to perpetrate a series of unparalleled villainies.

The writer proceeds to state—

“ From pure helplessness, being reduced to the situation of one out of his senses, and without a will of his own, the Vizier has taken to eating bong (opium) night and day, thus verifying the moral of this stanza—

“ ‘ Oh, King! from so much wine what fruit can be expected ?

“ ‘ From such infinite drunkenness what fruit can be expected ?

“ ‘ The King is drunk—the world is ruin’d ;

“ ‘ Fools surround him on every side ;

“ ‘ From such confusion what fruit can be expected ?

His Lordship calls all these most awful and serious accusations “ *scurrilous and calumnious* ;” he never looks after the author—makes any inquiry—but rests “ *satisfied* ” that they are “ *totally unfounded in every point of view.* ”

“ The Resident causes the Vizier to understand that if he does the slightest thing contrary to his wishes, he will have Shums-ood-Dowlah raised to the musnud in his room. Then he says to Agha Meer, ‘ Were you not a khidmutgar’ (attendant at meal times, as a footman) ‘ before I raised you to the rank you now hold ? In the event of any opposition I will again reduce you to your original state.’ Then he writes to the Governor-General, that the Vizier is a fool ; and that if affairs go on well, it is only through the management of Agha Meer assisted by Moonshee Ulee Nuckee, both of whom are devoted to the English Government. He also writes, that the Vizier is not displeased at any thing that passes. In short, there has been a wonderful exhibition at juggling and slight-of-hand tricks.”

Was there ever such a document placed upon record as this ? His Lordship is also told, “ that the Vizier dare not open his mouth through fear of Shums-ood-Dowlah’s being placed on the throne ;” and yet he will not inquire into the fact, but places this rascally document, eighteen

months afterwards, as evidence against Major Baillie, to justify his conduct in removing him from the Residency of Lucknow, for writing a somewhat insolent letter, explaining in a faint manner some parts of his Lordship's conduct, such as the lies he had told about the voluntary loan, and the intrigue he was at the bottom of to ruin Major Baillie so soon as he had made all the use of him that suited his purposes.

“ Since the Governor-General has been made acquainted with  
 “ all this chicanery, and still out of regard for the Resident does  
 “ not exercise his own judgment in the discrimination of the true  
 “ from the false, he has on that account incurred the imputation  
 “ of neglect amongst the people of this Government. Your slave,  
 “ who is the sincere well-wisher (of the English Government),  
 “ has forwarded this representation, after verifying every thing  
 “ he has stated by inquiries amongst those who have access to the  
 “ Resident's office, and from the Vizier's private companions :  
 “ and he affirms that the Vizier holds Agha Meer in complete  
 “ detestation as well as the Resident's pride, and that though he  
 “ did express something of the sort to the Governor-General, that  
 “ nevertheless he had no real desire that the English gentlemen  
 “ should be turned out ; but they were so, and he dares not open  
 “ his mouth through fear of Shums-ood-Dowlah's being placed  
 “ on the musnud in his room. He, however, is, night and day,  
 “ sighing and weeping at the ruin that has come upon his family  
 “ and fortunes, and at the tyranny exercised on the people of the  
 “ city by their oppressors. He passes every day in fear and  
 “ trembling for his own honour, much less has he the means of  
 “ affording redress. If you do not give us redress, the day of  
 “ universal retribution will come. The dominions of the Vezārut  
 “ are subject to the control of the Governor-General ; why then has  
 “ he placed in authority those few (pajees) low fellows, and why  
 “ does he suffer the public wealth to be thus wasted ? Let him  
 “ take the country under his own dominion ; the Vizier could not  
 “ say a word in opposition. But if, as is more agreeable to the  
 “ principles of English government and to justice, it be thought  
 “ more proper to observe treaties and keep promises, in such

“ case it cannot be just to suffer the fortunes of the Vezārūt to  
 “ go to ruin in this manner, and that too in the time of so just  
 “ a Government, or that the treasure, which has been years in  
 “ accumulating, should thus be wasted. It is, of a truth, all  
 “ your own; but it is far from good policy or wisdom to suffer  
 “ yourself and the other gentlemen of high dignity to fall under  
 “ the reproach of neglect and inattention. The writer of this is  
 “ altogether free from all connection with the affairs of this Go-  
 “ vernment, and has made this representation merely from a dis-  
 “ interested regard, and from a desire to prevent these creatures  
 “ of tyranny from bringing the glory of the English Government  
 “ into disrepute through the whole world.”

Connected with the death of Saadut Alie there is another point of considerable importance, and deserving of serious attention. Lord Hastings, in his dispatch to the Court of Directors, of date 14th of August, 1814, referring to the death of Saadut Alie, says—

“ *He was suddenly taken ill, and expired before medical*  
 “ *assistance could be brought.* On the instant of his being taken  
 “ ill, Ramzaun Alie Khan, his Excellency’s brother-in-law, who  
 “ was the only person in attendance on his person, proceeded im-  
 “ mediately to the Residency, and communicated to Major  
 “ Baillie the dangerous situation in which his Excellency was,  
 “ and thus enabled Major Baillie, who repaired without delay to  
 “ the Palace, to make every necessary precautionary arrangement  
 “ for securing the tranquil succession of the legal heir before the  
 “ event of the Vizier’s demise was publicly known.”

In speaking of the death of the Vizier Saadut Alie, in  
 “ *The Kingdom of Oude, or the Rejected Presents,*” a  
 suppressed work, by Captain White, it is thus noticed :—

“ A disputed succession had been for many years anticipated.  
 “ It was proper enough to be provided against such an event, and  
 “ measures had been adopted accordingly. It was an object of  
 “ the utmost importance to the British government, in the event  
 “ of the death of Saadut Alie, to secure ‘ *the tranquil succession*

“ ‘ of the legal heir to the throne before the death of the Vizier  
 “ ‘ should be publicly known.’ ”

“ The late Vizier is ‘ suddenly taken ill, and expires before  
 “ ‘ medical assistance could be brought.’ Probably even in this  
 “ there is nothing very extraordinary. But there is something  
 “ most suspicious in the conduct of ‘ his Excellency’s brother-in-  
 “ ‘ law,’ Rumzaun Alie Khan, who ‘ was in attendance on his  
 “ ‘ person,’ instead of remaining with him and watching over  
 “ him with the utmost anxiety until medical assistance could be  
 “ brought, galloping off ‘ THE INSTANT HE WAS TAKEN ILL’ to  
 “ the Resident, to enable him to ‘ secure the tranquil succession  
 “ ‘ of the legal heir before the Vizier’s demise was publicly  
 “ ‘ known.’

“ It is evident, that the very ‘ instant of the Vizier being  
 “ ‘ taken ill,’ Rumzaun Khan had reckoned him as to a certainty  
 “ numbered amongst the dead. There can be no other motive  
 “ assigned for his rapid flight to the Residency. It is very clear  
 “ he took no interest in the Vizier’s surviving. Subsequent  
 “ events, however, prove that he obtained substantial objects by  
 “ his death.

“ All that we can trace of this important event is, that the  
 “ Vizier died suddenly, without any medical attendant being  
 “ present ; that no medical report was subsequently made as to  
 “ the proximate or to the immediate causes which led to it ; of  
 “ his relations, friends, and countless number of attendants and  
 “ servants, not one is entrusted with the secret of his sudden  
 “ illness, although hundreds of them were sleeping under the  
 “ same roof. It takes place at a late hour in the night, when, in  
 “ Asia, all persons are safely locked in the arms of Morpheus.  
 “ The ‘ only person in attendance on the Vizier’ was his unna-  
 “ tural scoundrel of a brother-in-law, Rumzaun Alie Khan, who,  
 “ the ‘ instant’ of his ‘ sudden illness,’ scampers off—leaving the  
 “ dying man to himself, without a doctor, without an individual to  
 “ close his eyes, or to afford him the least care, attention, or the  
 “ slightest aid to alleviate his sufferings in the pangs of the last  
 “ awful moment of his life—to the British Resident, as the har-  
 “ binger of an important event about to take place,—an event

“ which had long been looked forward to with much solicitude, if  
 “ not anxious expectation, by the Government.

“ Now, we should like vastly well to be informed, if a King of  
 “ England were to die under such circumstances, and his death  
 “ were to be followed by such a course of events, what would be  
 “ the opinion of the public as to the cause of his death, and the  
 “ motives of the individual who so concealed it?

“ Lord Hastings, in his Political Letter to the Vice-President in  
 “ Council, of the 7th of March, 1815, thus extols the exploits of  
 “ this worse than half-civilized brute, Rumzaun Alie Khan:  
 “ ‘ This person, as is known to your Excellency in Council, held  
 “ ‘ an office which placed him in immediate attendance on the  
 “ ‘ late Vizier, and he was the only person with his Excellency  
 “ ‘ when he was seized with the illness which suddenly terminated  
 “ ‘ his life. The Resident has reported, in his dispatch of the  
 “ ‘ 12th of July, that he received the intelligence of the Vizier’s  
 “ ‘ dangerous situation from Rumzaun Alie Khan, who, with  
 “ ‘ fidelity and good sense, proceeded directly to the Resident,  
 “ ‘ carefully concealing the circumstance from every body else,  
 “ ‘ and thus enabled Major Baillie to take those timely and  
 “ ‘ effectual measures which secured the tranquil accession of the  
 “ ‘ legitimate heir, and frustrated the designs of his enemies.”

There can be no mistake in transactions such as these. The Vizier had wished and nominated his second son, the Nawaub Shums-ood-Dowlah, who was his prime minister and keeper of the keys of his treasury, to succeed to the throne, and for which it appears that a negotiation was going on with Lord Hastings without the knowledge of the Resident. Saadut Alie had consented to lend the East India Company a crore of rupees, or £1,250,000 sterling. While Lord Hastings was on his way to Lucknow, to have it presented to him as a “*voluntary loan*,” the Vizier suddenly dies; in other words, he is poisoned. His Lordship, in a dispatch to the Court of Directors, speaking of the sudden death of Saadut Alie, and that he received the intelligence while on his way to

Lucknow, says, "What had been provisionally agitated  
 " with the Nawaub Vizier Saadut Alie was *perfectly under-*  
 " *stood* by his successor, so that the latter came forward  
 " with the offer of a crore of rupees, which I declined as  
 " a pescush (present) or tribute on his accession to the  
 " sovereignty of Oude, but accepted as a loan to the  
 " Honourable Company."

What should have induced Saadut Alie to offer him the loan of a million sterling? How should his successor, who was not on terms with him, and whom he had sought every means to get rid of, short of having him assassinated, "*perfectly understand*" that he was to "*come forward*" instantly with the loan ?

By the intervention of Lord Hastings, Rumzaun Khan obtained a settlement of about £6000 a year upon the Oude territories, and the principal was demanded from the succeeding Nawaub, as the East India Company guaranteed the payment to him. This was done because his Lordship "thought the case of Rumzaun Alie Khan was one  
 " deserving of the kindness and consideration of the Vizier,  
 " and of the regard of the British government, whose interests  
 " were essentially served by the conduct of that person in  
 " communicating to Colonel Baillie, and *to him alone, the*  
 " *demise* of the Nawaub Saadut Alie, by which he was  
 " enabled to take the precautions necessary for securing the  
 " unopposed accession of the present Vizier."

But we say, that while Lord Hastings took so much interest in the welfare of Rumzaun Alie Khan, whom he wished to thrust into the confidence of the new Vizier, Saadut Alie's two sons repudiated all connection with the miscreant.

His Lordship, in his "*Political Letter*" to the Court of Directors, of date of the 15th August, 1815, says, "In  
 " consequence of my recommendation of Rumzaun Alie  
 " Khan, the Vizier spontaneously proposed that his sti-  
 " pend, amounting to 58,212 rupees per annum, should be

“ included among those to be paid by the Company, and  
 “ added to the loan a further sum of eight lacs and a half,  
 “ to meet this additional arrangement.” That is, he paid  
 to the East India Company the sum of £108,250, the interest  
 of which at six per cent produced that sum.

But this stated “*spontaneous proposal*” of Gazeo-ood-Deen Hyder was a cool and deliberate delusion of Lord Hastings; there was nothing spontaneous or voluntary about it. Gazeo-ood-Deen had no choice, no help, but to reward the murderer of his father.

It appears upon record by the “Bengal Political Consultations, 7th March, 1815,” that—

“ In consequence of the important service rendered to his Ex-  
 “ cellency, and consequently to the British Government, by Rum-  
 “ zaun Alee Khan, I considered him to be entitled to my recom-  
 “ mendation of him to the justice and liberality of the Vizier.  
 “ I felt it incumbent on me to solicit on his behalf, besides his  
 “ Excellency’s general countenance and favour, the continuance  
 “ to him of his present allowance from his Excellency’s Go-  
 “ vernment, and an equivalent for the emoluments of the offices  
 “ which he held at the period of his Excellency’s accession, if at  
 “ any time his Excellency should think fit to supersede him in  
 “ the exercise of the functions of those offices.”

Where is there, in these extracts, any signs of a “*spontaneous offer*,” on the part of Gazeo-ood-deen Hyder, of the eight and a half lacs of rupees? Do they not prove, that although Lord Hastings had thrust it upon the attention of the Vizier, “his Excellency” had neglected to attend to it.

With the Political Consultation Paper quoted is attached a letter addressed by the Chief Secretary of the Government to Major Baillie, dated 12th November, 1814, in which it is stated—

“ You are authorized, in the event of any attempt to deprive  
 “ Rumzaun Alee Khan of the advantages above specified, to in-  
 “ terpose in his behalf, by representation to the Vizier, and by

“ reminding him of the assurance which he gave to the Governor-  
 “ General on the subject.”

Now, what will it be supposed was the answer of Major Baillie? Why, on the 6th of December, he informs his Lordship—

“ With respect to Rumzaun Alee Khan, the Vizier did not  
 “ conceal his disappointment at the extensive purport of the  
 “ terms in which this person has been recommended to his  
 “ favour. To the regular payment of the stipend of Rumzaun  
 “ Alee Khan, at the rate which was formerly fixed for him, his  
 “ Excellency had no hesitation in repeating his cheerful assent;  
 “ and the provision which he had recently made for the payment  
 “ of all the pensions of dependents on the British Government,  
 “ including Rumzaun Alee Khan, was intended by his Excellency,  
 “ he observed, to prevent discussions, in future, regarding claims  
 “ of every description on the part of persons entitled, or who  
 “ might consider themselves as entitled, to the interference of  
 “ our Government in their behalf. But your Lordship’s recom-  
 “ mendation of Rumzaun Alee Khan, in the article under dis-  
 “ cussion, was extended, his Excellency remarked, very far  
 “ beyond the payment of his stipend, and involved the employ-  
 “ ment of that person in offices about his Excellency’s person, or  
 “ in his household, for which he could not but deem Rumzaun  
 “ Alee Khan to be unfit, and in which, as he could never agree  
 “ to employ him, he did not consider him as entitled to their  
 “ emoluments, nor to any compensation for those emoluments,  
 “ which indeed had never been fixed, and it was impossible now  
 “ to ascertain. His Excellency further observed, that he did  
 “ not consider the continuance of Rumzaun Alee Khan in em-  
 “ ployment to form a part of your Lordship’s recommendation  
 “ at the conference of the 10th ultimo; and, under this view of  
 “ the case, he deemed it necessary, and expressed his resolution  
 “ to address your Lordship on the subject, in the expectation,  
 “ from your Lordship’s friendship, that the interference of the  
 “ British Government might be limited to the object of se-  
 “ curing the payment of Rumzaun Alee Khan’s established  
 “ allowances.”

So we have here the true interpretation of the boasted "*spontaneous proposal*" of the payment to the Company of £108,250, to secure to the miscreant Rumzaun Alie Khan a pension of 58,212 rupees per annum, evidently concocted to get possession of the Vizier's treasure.

So much for MULLAN MUDDUN, the saint, who kept the Lucknow gin-shop; so much for the mad Vizier's "*respected uncle*, NOSHERRAUN THE JUST, or FURUCK-ODD-DOWLAH MISMAR-OOO-MOOLK BOOM JUNG, the chief of the English in the East, the puller down of the kingdom, the OWL OF WAR!"

We think we have produced evidence enough to prove, that Saadut Alie was intentionally poisoned; that the Resident and the Governor-General were accused of it, and that the murderer was rewarded; that Gazee-ood-Deen ought never to have been raised to the throne; that it appears pretty clear why he was so; and that the setting aside Shums-ood-Dowlah, the legal heir to the throne, after Saadut Alie died, was solely for the purpose of committing still further acts of injustice, rapacity, and infamy. We think we have also proved, that, on the death of Nusser-ood-Deen Hyder, placing upon the throne the third brother of Gazee-Ood-deen Hyder, to the exclusion of the Nawaub Ekkal-ood-Dowlah, was another act of gross and consummate injustice, and that the object for so doing has solely been for the purpose of universal confiscation and plunder, at no distant day, of the Province of Oude. It rests to be seen how the British nation will act on the occasion; and whether there remains one particle of honour or sense of justice in the minds of the people; and that they will see justice done to the Prince, by causing the Usurper to be removed, as was the case with Vizier Alie, and, as they did with Saadut Alie, his grandfather, place him upon the throne.

With the Oude Papers there is a very important document, entitled "*Translation of a Paper delivered to the*

“ *Governor-General by the Nawaub Shums-ood-Dowlah, second Son of the late Vizier, dated 11th October, 1814,*” which casts a good deal of light upon the villainy of placing the maniac upon the throne. From this paper it would appear, that Saadut Alie must have made known, so far back as 1801, to the Marquis of Wellesley the unfortunate state of mind in which Gazeer-ood-Deen Hyder was, or otherwise it were impossible to believe that his Lordship should have recognized at that period the Nawaub Shums-ood-Dowlah, as the “ *representative*” and successor of Saadut Alie. This, it appears by record, he positively did; the event was publicly solemnized; and he received from the noble Marquis every attention and respect as such, as well as from his brothers and the nobles of the court. He afterwards received the keys of the treasuries and all other places; all the affairs of the empire were conducted by him, and all orders were issued under his seal. In this state matters remained until the evil hour when Lord Hastings put his foot upon the soil of Asia,—a measure strongly opposed by the then British government, but forced upon them by George the Fourth, then Prince Regent. An intrigue—a base, a vile intrigue—was then got up to overthrow the existing order of things, which terminated in the death of one of the best friends the British ever had in the East, or ever will have again, unless they make peace with his grandson, and thus “ *convey peace to the spirit of his departed father,*” and “ *breathe new life into his chilly frame.*” But let us refer to the paper itself.

“ *Translation of a Paper delivered to the Governor-General by the Nawaub Shums-ood-Dowlah, second Son of the late Nawaub Vizier, dated 11th October, 1814.*”

“ The state of the case is this :—My revered parent, the late Nawaub Vizier, first selected me from amongst his other sons, and honoured me with the appointment of ‘ General.’ After-

“ wards, when the Marquis Wellesley came to Lucknow, my late  
 “ father was pleased to nominate me his Naib (or prime minister),  
 “ and appointing me his Kaim Mokām (or representative), placed  
 “ my hand in that of his Lordship’s, who offered me his cordial  
 “ congratulations on the occasion. With his Lordship’s concur-  
 “ rence, all my brothers, the nobles of the court, and commanders  
 “ of the troops, were required to present nuzzurs to me, and a  
 “ salute was fired in honour of the event. During my father’s  
 “ life I also enjoyed various other marks of distinction, such as  
 “ receiving richer and superior khillats, being deputed to repre-  
 “ sent him in the procession on the days of the two eeds (festi-  
 “ vals), when I was attended by all my brothers, and went in the  
 “ same state as if my father himself were present. Shookhas  
 “ (or mandates) were issued throughout all his dominions under  
 “ my seal. The Aumils of government, and others, received  
 “ khillats in my house, and that distinction was conferred on  
 “ several individuals at my recommendation. The keys of the  
 “ treasuries and other places were consigned to my charge, my  
 “ signature was affixed to all papers, and the English gentlemen  
 “ were entertained at breakfast and on other occasions at my  
 “ house. I was left as his representative in the capital when he  
 “ went out on a hunting party, and the Resident or his assistant,  
 “ whichever of them might be at Lucknow, came to breakfast  
 “ with me. I enjoyed various other marks of distinction of a  
 “ similar description, which it is unnecessary to particularize, as  
 “ the British government is fully apprised of all the circumstances,  
 “ and they are as generally known as the sun in his meridian  
 “ splendour. On a recent occasion, when his late Excellency  
 “ saw me depressed in spirits in consequence of the bodily  
 “ ailments under which he was then suffering, he cheered and  
 “ comforted me in the kindest manner, and with that cordial  
 “ affection he always entertained for me, he observed, ‘ By the  
 “ ‘ divine favour I shall soon be restored to health; and, as I am  
 “ ‘ in all respects pleased and satisfied with your filial duty, sub-  
 “ ‘ mission, and becoming conduct, rest assured that my love and  
 “ ‘ kindness towards you will increase every day. Do you con-  
 “ ‘ tinue to walk in the path of obedience, and to employ your  
 “ ‘ precious days in the regulation of the affairs of this govern-

“ ‘ ment, and what will tend to your interest and advantage both  
 “ ‘ now and hereafter will be accomplished by his Lordship’s  
 “ ‘ favour.’ Alas ! a hundred times alas ! that my father should  
 “ have died before your Lordship’s arrival here, leaving me  
 “ wretched to deplore his untimely loss, and carrying with him  
 “ to his grave all his anxious hopes for an interview with your  
 “ Lordship, and all his other wishes, the accomplishment of  
 “ which depended on his meeting with your Excellency. This  
 “ line of some one’s is applicable to his case : ‘ I died in grief,  
 “ ‘ and carried with me this wish to my grave.’ Your Lordship  
 “ will judge with what feelings of regret and disappointment I  
 “ witnessed this dreadful calamity—my sorrow, indeed, did not  
 “ leave me master of myself. Now that the spring of your  
 “ Lordship’s presence has given fresh verdure and beauty to  
 “ these plains, and has breathed new life into my chilly frame, I  
 “ am filled with confident expectation that the field of my hopes  
 “ and the garden of my wishes will become more fertile and  
 “ flourishing than ever, when watered by the generous shower of  
 “ your Lordship’s kindness and favour. Until my father drew  
 “ his latest breath, I enjoyed his good opinion and his approba-  
 “ tion of my duty and submission, and the promotion of the  
 “ pleasure and satisfaction of the Governor-General and the  
 “ Honourable Company entirely absorb my thoughts. I consider  
 “ my welfare and advantage, and the settlement of all my con-  
 “ cerns, to depend on the favour and grace, and the kindness  
 “ and favour of your Excellency. Under these circumstances,  
 “ it is evident that whatever favour and kindness shall be shown  
 “ to me, will convey peace to the spirit of my departed father,  
 “ and will equally redound to your Excellency’s reputation, as it  
 “ will oblige me and command my gratitude.

“ From the time of Shooja-ood-Dowlah till the demise of his  
 “ late Excellency, no infringement of any treaty or engagement  
 “ between our House and the Government of the Honourable Com-  
 “ pany has ever taken place ; and from the time of my father’s  
 “ government and since his death, I have never committed any  
 “ action which could expose me to the displeasure of your Lord-  
 “ ship and the British Government, and be a cause of shame and  
 “ sorrow to myself or give rise to discussion. I beg your Excel-

" lency to be assured, that nothing but obedience to your  
 " Lordship and the British Government will ever be manifested  
 " by me. And now that I have taken shelter under the shade of  
 " your favour and justice, from the scorching rays of the sun of  
 " calamity, I hope to experience whatever is worthy of your  
 " infinite kindness and distinguished favour; for I hold alone by  
 " the strong cord of your gracious consideration and regard.

" A true translation.

(Signed)

" G. SWINTON,

" Persian Secretary to the Governor-General."

Lord Hastings, in a Minute of Council, of date 3d Feb. 1816, thus accounts for his extraordinary "*interference and non-interference*," in the affairs of Oude in 1814:—

" Soon after my arrival in India, and I had occasion to revert  
 " to our position relative to Saadut Alie, I became aware of  
 " impending consequences, which filled me with the utmost  
 " alarm. That Prince was driven to actual desperation. He  
 " had even openly declared it in full durbar (court). The  
 " mischief had proceeded so far, that if we continued to assert  
 " the principle advanced by us, there was no avoiding a de-  
 " cisive struggle. I saw that we were on the brink of being  
 " forced in self-defence to possess ourselves of Saadut Alie's  
 " dominions and riches, to prevent his throwing himself with all  
 " his treasures into the hands of any power that would take the  
 " field against us."

His Lordship is here alluding to the order Lord Minto had issued for a reform in the administration of Oude; and which, Lord Hastings caused it to be privately intimated to Saadut Alie, he need not adopt if he did not think proper. But he did not do this until after he had himself "*driven*" the Prince "*to actual desperation*," and that the forthcoming of the million and a quarter sterling, with the expectation of obtaining more, had appeased his avarice for the moment. Upon the 7th of January, 1814, which was some few months sooner after his Lordship's arrival than the 3d Feb., 1816, his Lordship wrote to the Vizier:—

“ A sense of mutual interest has forced the British Govern-  
 “ ment to press this point strongly. There will not be wanting  
 “ men around you, whose advantages would suffer from such a  
 “ reform. It is natural that they should attempt to disincline  
 “ your Excellency to the measure, and to the British Government  
 “ for urging it. They would have no chance of succeeding, were it  
 “ not that your Excellency’s mind might imagine that the effect of  
 “ a disregard of our counsels would be merely temporary coldness.  
 “ Such a coldness could not exist without soon degenerating, first,  
 “ into jealousies and misconstructions of the most dangerous de-  
 “ scription. The ultimate result would be matter of the deepest  
 “ grief to us; to your Excellency it would be ruin. That a con-  
 “ tingency so dreadful may be precluded, let me entreat your  
 “ Excellency to co-operate with me in manly confidence, to  
 “ maintain the united interest of the two governments firm and  
 “ unshaken.

“ It shall be my study to forbear, as far as my duty will  
 “ permit, any minor interventions which may be unpleasant to  
 “ your Excellency, provided I find, on the other hand, that your  
 “ Excellency enters in earnest on those arrangements, and cor-  
 “ dially maintains that conduct, whence we may have the gra-  
 “ tification to estimate you as an efficient and zealous ally of the  
 “ Honourable Company. The object is so serious, that I assure  
 “ myself your Excellency cannot misinterpret the frankness  
 “ with which I have exposed our relative situations for your  
 “ reflection; on the contrary, the unreserved manner in which I  
 “ speak ought to satisfy you, that no doubtful sentiment remains  
 “ concealed, and your Excellency should thence feel your security  
 “ in a firm reliance on this Government.

“ Major Baillie, who possesses my full confidence, is in-  
 “ structed by me to make this principle the guide of the com-  
 “ munications which he has the honour of holding with your  
 “ Excellency; and I ardently hope that your Excellency will  
 “ prove your correspondence to my dispositions, by the liberal  
 “ and sincere trust which you will repose in that gentleman.”

If such a letter as the foregoing was not enough to drive  
 the Prince to “ *actual desperation*,” it would have been

most wonderful. Here was a positive threat, if the Vizier did not do whatever Major Baillie ordered him to do, that the whole of his dominions should be seized upon. And for what? "To prevent his throwing himself, with all his treasure, into the hands of any power that would take the field against us."

The heart turns sick, the blood boils within the veins, the hand trembles with rage, while it records the atrocious deeds; and the mind feels ashamed to place upon the pages of history, which will descend from generation to generation, acts and deeds so truly disgraceful to the honour of the British nation. But the truth ought to be, must be, and shall be told; although it cannot recall the past, or undo that mischief and injury which in those days took place, yet it may prevent a repetition for the future.

The "*liberal and sincere trust*" the Vizier was recommended by Lord Hastings to place in Major Baillie, and the sort of "*co-operation,*" by which he might "*feel security in a perfect reliance on his Government,*" and by which "*arrangements*" and "*conduct*" his Lordship would "*have the gratification to estimate the Vizier as an efficient and zealous ally of the Honourable Company,*" were all in reference to the money his Lordship wanted, to carry on his war of aggression against Nepaul. The threatening letter publicly sent was to enable Major Baillie to let the Vizier understand how and by what means the wrath of his "*respected uncle, Noshervaun Boom Jung,*" could be appeased. As soon as the Vizier promised him a crore of rupees as a loan, which was instantly done, his Lordship, on the 30th of May, 1814, (that is, some few months before the 3d of February, 1816, when he put upon record that extraordinary Minute of Council, in which he says, "soon after his arrival the Prince was *driven to actual desperation,*" and that he "saw that we were on the brink of being forced, in *self-defence,* to possess ourselves of Saadut Alie's dominions and riches,") in a Minute of Council, says—

“ When it was conclusively believed that his Excellency would not cordially consent to the introduction of the system which he at one time approved—the resolution was taken to desist from trying him, and the Government then rested upon the right of ascertaining the merits of any case of disturbance, for the suppression of which its troops were demanded by the Vizier, and of arbitrating the claims and the conduct of the disputed parties ; and we have now resumed the assertion of that right.”

“ *Auri sacra fames!*” the money was forthcoming. His Lordship, afterwards, on the 15th of August, 1815, in a Political Letter to the Court of Directors, and which it is as well that Sir John Hobhouse had paid a little attention to, before he dared venture to act in the illegal and disgraceful manner in which he has done, as a guide to his conduct. His Lordship for once speaks a truth, in which the bulk of mankind will concur,—indeed all but a few to be found in the purlieus of Downing Street.

“ In construing the terms of the recorded engagements between the Honourable Company and the Nawaub of Oude, it was required, by every principle of justice (!!!), that the most liberal and comprehensive meaning should be given to such articles as were in favour of that party whose weakness presents no security for him but in that good faith on which he has relied. If abstract equity offer this conclusion, I am no less persuaded that sound policy will equally uphold it. It would be much gained, were one to avoid the chance of that extremity which should force you to withdraw the Nawaub’s Government, and establish your own in those territories, because such a necessity, though it might morally exist, could never be made out to the world, and the seizure of the Nawaub’s possessions would be universally stigmatized as a premeditated usurpation, arising from a base cupidity. When an exigency, such as that alluded to, is supposed possible, the circumstances which could create it demand close reflection. One case alone can be imagined capable of driving us to a conduct so repugnant to our wishes ; namely, the discovery that the Nawaub had secretly leagued

“ himself with the enemies of the British Government, and was  
 “ practising with them for our overthrow. This case, however,  
 “ could not occur, but through absolute desperation on the part  
 “ of the Nawaub; and such desperation could only be produced  
 “ by his undergoing a course of indignities, or oppressions which  
 “ he would regard in that light, so as that he should think the  
 “ most unpromising conspiracy preferable to submission under  
 “ insults. Our interests might be very seriously affected by that  
 “ temper in the Nawaub. It is true, he has no troops, but he has  
 “ much mischief in his power. He has vast command of money.  
 “ Supplying, by stealth, funds to those who would, with such a  
 “ source, be able to levy any number of men, he might draw upon  
 “ the Company the expence and danger of a war, leaving it in-  
 “ finitely difficult for us to trace his having furnished those sup-  
 “ plies. The rendering the situation of the Nawaub tranquil  
 “ and satisfactory is, therefore, an object no less incumbent on  
 “ our policy than dictated by our generous feelings. This con-  
 “ sideration, then, ought to be held perpetually in view by the  
 “ Resident, and eminently to guide his procedure.”

It is said that the Devil will quote scripture when it suits  
 his purpose; so we see that Lord Hastings could moralize.  
 As an excuse for his Lordship having sent the thundering  
 letter demanding reform, *i. e.* money, or “ *in self-defence*  
 “ *possess himself of Saadut Alia's dominions and riches;*”  
 and having “ *driven the Vizier to actual desperation,*” with  
 the utmost *sang froid* he says—

“ Of the expediency, or otherwise, of the specific scheme of  
 “ reform in question, I was at the time no competent judge: I  
 “ knew nothing of it, except that it had been apparently an ob-  
 “ ject of earnest solicitude with my predecessor in the supreme  
 “ government to procure its introduction. I thence entered  
 “ warmly into the same feelings; and, in deference to the cor-  
 “ rectness of that judgment, for which I have always enter-  
 “ tained the highest respect, conceived that the measure must be  
 “ one of obvious wisdom, offering a certain promise of the most  
 “ solid benefits to his Excellency's dominions.”

The conduct of Lord Hastings, under the above circumstances, in writing the letter to the Vizier which “*drove him to desperation,*” and heaped upon him that “*course of indignities and oppressions*” which might have made him “*think the most unpromising conspiracy preferable to submission under such insults,*” was most atrocious, and could alone have been penned with the view of extorting the several millions of money he obtained from Saadut Alie, the grandfather of Ekbal-ood-Dowlah.

Lord Hastings has also observed—

“ The reservation by treaty of a right to interfere with advice or remonstrance upon any management of affairs within the Nawaub’s reserved dominions which may injuriously affect the British interests, clearly implies that in all other respects the administration of the Nawaub is to be free. But, indeed, it is evident, from the whole tenor of the treaty, that an uninterrupted exercise of his own authority within the reserved dominions was assured to him in order to qualify the very strong step which took place in appropriating to ourselves (as an exchange for subsidy) so large a portion of his territories.”

It is curious to trace the history of the subsidizing to the “*final arrangement,*” in 1802, to the cession of territory in lieu of it. Our connection with Oude began in 1765 by the treaty of Allahabad, of defensive alliance, whereby “*in case the dominions of his highness Sujah Dowlah should at any time be attacked, the English Company should assist him with such forces as the exigency of his affairs might require,*” and that “*in such case the extraordinary expence of the forces so employed were to be defrayed by him.*” In 1773, in order to prevent disputes concerning the payments to be made by the Nawaub Vizier, for the expence of the Company’s troops which might be called to march to his assistance, the expence of a brigade was computed at two lacs ten thousand sicca rupees a month, or £26,250. In 1775, upon the death of Sujah Dowlah,

it was stipulated with his successor, Asoph-Ul-Dowlah, that if he required at any time the aid of the British troops he should pay for the brigade two lacs and sixty thousand sicca rupees, or £32,500 a month. And in this treaty the English Company engage, that they "will not, in any respect or manner, make request of any thing new!" Warren Hastings, however, soon contrived to hit upon something new; and as all treaties with the native Princes have ever been considered as mere waste paper, because there never was an intention of keeping them when being made; therefore, in 1781, the troops of the Company having been poured into the province of Oude, according to treaty, "*if the Company should think it requisite for their defence,*" under the pretence "of protecting the office, treasury, and person of the Resident at Lucknow," the Vizier was saddled with another regiment, at an expence of £3125 a month. In 1787 the Marquis Cornwallis insisted upon another and a new treaty, whereby the Vizier was obliged to pay to the Company, for the support of troops they should choose to send into Oude, fifty lacs of rupees a-year, or £600,000. This was "*concluded,*" as his Lordship states, "*upon principles of mutual advantage.*" The Court of Directors of those days of course highly "approved of the general arrangement, and of the principles upon which it was framed;" but as for the approval or disapproval of the Vizier, that was a matter of no sort of consequence. The Court of Directors then thought that "the nature of the connection with the Nawaub Vizier was now accurately defined, the defence of Oude being assigned to the British troops under a fixed subsidy, and the internal government of the country remaining with the Nawaub Vizier." In 1797 comes Sir John Shore. He soon discovers that the connection of the Company with Oude is not "*accurately defined;*" and, with the view of doing it, he insists upon it that the Vizier shall "annually defray the actual *bonâ fide* expences of a regiment of European and a regiment of Native

“cavalry,” at an “expence of five lacs and a half of rupees a month,” or £68,750! The latter part of 1797, Asoph-Ul-Dowlah dies without male issue, and his natural son, Vizier Alie, to whom he bequeathed his wealth and kingdom, and whom the British authorities had always looked upon as his rightful successor, ascends the throne. Sir John Shore, seeing that another and a better bargain could be made with the brother of the deceased Nawaub than with his son, repairs to Benares, and proposes to the Nawaub Saadut Alie to dethrone Vizier Alie upon condition that the subsidy is increased from £600,000 a year to £750,000. Saadut Alie cheerfully consents to all this, and the British troops proceed to Lucknow and depose Vizier Alie; who is made a prisoner, and conveyed to Benares. Having got to Lucknow, Sir John Shore strikes a new and more advantageous bargain with Saadut Alie, and, instead of being content with £750,000 a year, he makes Saadut Alie consent to pay £950,000 per annum, “besides,” as the Court of Directors say, “the acquisition of a fortress in the Oude dominions, of the greatest consequence in the scale of general defence.” “A very satisfactory explanation,” as they observe, “of the variations between the terms of the previous engagement executed by Saadut Alie at Benares, and those of the definitive treaty concluded at Lucknow.” But, satisfactory as this engagement was to the Court of Directors, it was not satisfactory to the Marquis of Wellesley. His Lordship recalled Mr. Lumsden, the Resident at the Court of Lucknow, who had assisted in the negotiation of the treaty of 1798, and in his place sent Colonel William Scot. From the hour that that gentleman put his foot into Oude, the situation of the Vizier became miserable in the extreme, and the ruin of the Oude family may be traced. We cannot here enter into the particulars of the outrages which were committed, or the injuries and insults that were heaped upon the Vizier; it is sufficient to say, it terminated in his being obliged to cede to the Company

in perpetuity, territory which at that period yielded to them £1,622,922. 6s. 3d. The manner in which this was extorted may, however, be collected from the fact, that in the paper entitled "Memorandum of the final result of the discussions between his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General and the Nawaub Vizier," the Vizier says, "I have been induced to cede the districts for the charges of the troops, merely to gratify his Lordship, deeming it necessary so to do in consequence of Mr. Wellesley's arrival, resolving to conform to his Lordship's COMMANDS!"

In fact, it is surprising that it ended as it did in 1801; for, according to Lord Wellesley's own letters to Colonel Scot, his Lordship's "object being the acquisition by the Company of the exclusive authority, civil and military, over the dominions of Oude," "no subject should be allowed to impede the grand object,—the sole administration of the civil and military government of all the territories and dependencies of the State of Oude, together with the full and entire right and title to the revenues thereof."

One of the articles of impeachment of the Marquis of Wellesley for high crimes and misdemeanors, was—

"That the means by him, the said Marquis Wellesley, employed for the effecting of his designs of encroachment, extortion, and usurpation aforesaid, were,—First, making and reiterating of unfounded complaints and affected apprehensions with respect to the Nabob Vizier's due payment of the monthly kist (or instalment): secondly, the making of continual applications, together with the persecuting and insulting manner in which they were made, being evidently calculated and intended to disgust the Nabob Vizier with his government, and to induce him to abdicate his throne: third, the immediate interfering in the internal government of the Nabob Vizier, the encouraging of his subjects to resist his authority, and even the fomenting amongst them a spirit of hostility to the person, as well as to the government of their sovereign: and fourthly, the pouring into the country of the Nabob Vizier troops in such numbers,

“ and of expence so enormous, and the adding thereunto the  
 “ amount of new and unfounded claims, together with charges  
 “ for troops, which troops had no existence in fact; thus heap-  
 “ ing demand upon demand, until the resources of the Nabob  
 “ Vizier became inadequate to the payment; and, having at last  
 “ compelled him to make an avowal of such inadequacy, seizing  
 “ upon that avowal as the ground for demanding from him a  
 “ cession, in perpetuity, of one-half of his territory, as a compen-  
 “ sation for the sums so unjustly, and in such direct violation of  
 “ treaty, of good faith, of honour, and of honesty, demanded.”

Let us turn to the pages of history, and see what the Court of Directors themselves said to Lord Wellesley, upon the conclusion of the treaty of 1801. In a dispatch of the Court of Directors, which the Board of Control prohibited them from transmitting, they, to their honour, said—

“ It does not appear that the Vizier was ever charged with any  
 “ breach of the treaty of 1798; when we consider, therefore,  
 “ that, under the 17th article, he was to possess full authority  
 “ over his household, officers, hereditary dominions, his troops,  
 “ and his subjects, we cannot avoid expressing our extreme sur-  
 “ prise that the Resident at his Highness’s court should have  
 “ been instructed to offer to his adoption the following propo-  
 “ sitions: —

“ 1st. The complete transfer of the whole of his authority,  
 “ civil and military, to the Company; or 2dly, territorial cession,  
 “ equal to the subsidy and the charges of the augmented force.

“ We observe, that at one time the Vizier seemed inclined to  
 “ cede territorial revenue to the amount of 120 lacs of rupees, on  
 “ an abatement being made on account of arrears, and to be  
 “ freed from any further demands; but these terms were rejected,  
 “ and a demand made of territory equal at least to 130 lacs,  
 “ without any abatement of arrears, unless the first proposition  
 “ should be agreed to; but he was not to be guaranteed from  
 “ further demands.

“ It is painful to peruse the correspondence on the negotiation,  
 “ —if a *positive* demand, *accompanied with threats of a most*

*alarming nature, can be so denominated.* The Vizier, we observe, repeatedly and positively rejected the first proposition; and it was not till a declaration was made to him in the most explicit terms, that, in case of his refusal, it was the resolution of the British Government to assume the entire civil and military government of the province of Oude, that his assent was obtained. Under such a menace he appears to have had no alternative but to affix his signature to the treaty which had been proposed, in which not the smallest modification in substance was to be admitted, thereby assigning over to the Company, in perpetual sovereignty, a territorial revenue of 1,35,00,000 rupees; and, though his Highness appears to have contended for the sole management and controul of the reserved territories, yet the remaining territories are guaranteed to the Vizier and HIS HEIRS, under such a system of administration as may be recommended by the Company's officers. We are not surprised that during the progress of this negotiation the Nabob, as stated in the records, should have sometimes seemed to be in a state of intoxication, at others dejected and in tears, declaring that, after the execution of the treaty, he should be ashamed to show his face to his people.

We observe, that on the Vizier intimating a design, previously to the introduction of the before-mentioned propositions, to abdicate the government, and to appoint his son as his successor, the Governor-General deemed the proposition of importance, as leading to the grand object of acquiring for the Company the exclusive authority, civil and military, over the dominions of Oude; but the Vizier was not to be allowed to appoint a successor.

Upon the whole, the late arrangements with the Nabob of Oude, under the specious form of a treaty, can be considered in no other light than as a direct infraction of the treaty of 1798, and as wresting from him, against his will, a portion of his territorial dominions, to the amount of Rs. 1,35,00,000, not as the consequence of any breach of engagement on his part, but in pursuance of views formed by the Governor-General of procuring for the Company the dominion of the whole province of Oude, or, failing in that, such a portion of territory as

“ would be fully equal to the former subsidy of 76 lacs, and for  
 “ the payment of the additional troops to be stationed in those  
 “ dominions, contrary to the established policy, prohibiting the  
 “ acquirement of any additional territory, and in direct violation  
 “ of the treaty with the Nabob Vizier of the 21st February,  
 “ 1798.”

This, it must be admitted, is a commentary upon the administration of the Marquis of Wellesley with regard to the affairs of Oude, which must strike with wonder the mind of every person as to the resolutions, and the grounds of them, for voting the Noble Marquis the £20,000 out of the territorial revenue of India, in addition to his pension of £5000 a year. But so it is, and it is with pain we allude to it.

Part of the atrocious bargain which has been struck with the unfortunate old sinner has been the releasing of the East India Company from all the obligations of the treaty of 1801, and allowing them not only quietly to pocket the revenues of the ceded districts, amounting, in 1801, to £1,622,922. 6s. 3d. sterling, but positively to compel him to raise troops for the protection of his territories, officered by British officers.

By the treaty of 1801, it appears that—

“ By the treaty now subsisting between his Excellency the Vi-  
 “ zier and the Honourable the East India Company, the Company  
 “ have engaged to defend his Excellency’s dominions against all  
 “ enemies; and, to enable them to fulfil that engagement, his  
 “ Excellency is bound by the aforesaid treaty to pay to the Com-  
 “ pany, in perpetuity, the annual subsidy of seventy-six lacs of  
 “ Lucknow sicca rupees, and is further bound by the said treaty  
 “ to defray the expense of any augmentation of force which, in  
 “ addition to the number of troops stipulated in the treaty, shall  
 “ be judged necessary to enable the Company to fulfil their  
 “ engagement of defending his Excellency’s dominions against all  
 “ enemies; and whereas it is advisable that the funds for de-  
 “ fraying those charges be established on a footing which shall

“ admit of no fluctuation of either increase or decrease, and shall  
 “ afford satisfaction and security to the Company in regard to  
 “ the regular payment, the following treaty, consisting of ten  
 “ articles, is concluded, on the one part by the Honourable Henry  
 “ Wellesley and Lieutenant-Colonel William Scott, on behalf  
 “ and in the name of his Excellency the Most Noble the Marquis  
 “ Wellesley, K. B., Governor-General for all affairs, civil and  
 “ military, of the British nation in India, by virtue of full powers  
 “ vested in them for this purpose by the said Governor-General;  
 “ and on the other part by his Excellency the Nawaub Vizier-  
 “ ool-Mumaulick Zemeen-ood-Dowlah Nazim-ool-Moolk Saadut  
 “ Aleé Khan Behauder Mobaurez Jung, in behalf of himself, his  
 “ heirs and successors, for ceding to the Honourable East India  
 “ Company in perpetual sovereignty certain portions of his Ex-  
 “ cellency’s territorial possessions, in commutation of the former  
 “ and augmented subsidy, and all other sums of money now  
 “ chargeable to his Excellency on account of the Company’s de-  
 “ fensive engagements.”

Then follow the particulars of the districts so ceded, and then yielding rupees “1,35,23,474. 8. 3.,” or about £1,622,922. 6s. 3d. And in the 2nd article it is stipulated—

“ Now that territory is assigned in lieu thereof, and of the ex-  
 “ penses of the additional troops, the subsidy is to cease for ever,  
 “ and his Excellency is released from all obligation of defraying  
 “ the expenses of any additional troops which at any time may  
 “ be required for the protection of Oude and its dependencies,  
 “ whether of the countries ceded to the Company, or the terri-  
 “ tories which shall remain in the possession of his Excellency  
 “ the Vizier.”

This is a solemn compact, and to which the British nation’s honour was most solemnly pledged. Why then has it been so remorselessly and shamefully violated, by imposing new and more disastrous terms upon the ill-fated Princes of Oude—whether in the person of the rightful sovereign, or in the puppet that her Majesty’s

Ministers have caused to be set up in his place? A treaty is a treaty, it is a solemn compact between nation and nation, and which neither the one nor the other have a right to violate in any particular; still less the stronger party, by means of coercion upon the weaker.

The treaty engaged “to defend the territories which will remain to his Excellency the Vizier, against all foreign and domestic enemies;” and again, thereby it was declared, “that, the territorial cession being in lieu of the subsidy and  
“all expences on account of the Company’s defensive engage-  
“ments with his Excellency, no demand whatever shall be  
“made upon the treasury of his Excellency on account of  
“expences which the Honourable Company may incur by  
“assembling forces to repel the attack, or menaced attack,  
“of a foreign enemy, on account of the detachment attached  
“to his Excellency’s person, or on account of troops which  
“may occasionally be furnished for the suppression of re-  
“bellions or disorders in his Excellency’s territories.”

Once more we may ask, why has this treaty been so grossly violated, by compelling the usurper of the throne of Oude to raise an “*Oude Brigade*,” consisting of cavalry, regiments of infantry, and artillery, under the command of British officers, and which, it is declared, will enable the government to withdraw all the regular troops from the kingdom of Oude?

By the treaty of 1798, and for which Sir John Shore extorted an augmentation of subsidy of from fifty-five and a half to seventy-six lacs of rupees, £950,000, it is stipulated, “that the said troops should never consist of  
“less than 10,000 men, including Europeans and Natives  
“—cavalry, infantry, and artillery; and that if, at any  
“time it should be necessary to augment the troops of the  
“Company in Oude beyond the number of 13,000 men, in-  
“cluding Europeans and Natives—cavalry, infantry, and  
“artillery—the Nawaub Saadut Alie Khan should pay the

“ actual difference occasioned by the excess above that “ number.”

Why, then, once more we must ask, in the face of such a treaty as this,—in the very teeth of the reasons assigned by the treaty of 1801,—why was the Sovereign of Oude called upon to assign over those territories which yield to us now about two millions and a half sterling? Why has the present usurper been called upon, or even allowed, to exhaust the remaining resources of the kingdom in a manner so outrageously at variance with every principle of honour, honesty, and justice?

The treaty of 1798 even goes farther than this. It is stipulated in the treaty, that “ if the troops of the Company in “ Oude, from any necessity, should be less than 8000 men, “ including infantry, cavalry, and artillery—Natives and “ Europeans—a deduction should be made from the men “ below the specific number.”

How has this treaty been kept? or, in other words, how grossly has it not been violated time after time? To carry on the Nepal war Lord Hastings extorted two millions and a half from Gazeo-ood-Deen Hyder, because his Highness's territories were in danger of being attacked, if the British troops were beaten by them some hundred miles off. During the Burmese war three millions more were extorted, under pretence of loans, not a shilling of which, or the interest, appears ever to have been paid. But all these incumbrances, these debts and obligations due to the state of Oude, have been got rid of by placing the present usurper on the throne.

By a letter from Lucknow, dated 20th of January, we find that the British Resident is the sole controlling and moving power now in Oude, and that the total dismemberment of that kingdom, according to Sir John Hobhouse's plan, is in rapid progress. “ The King,” as he is called, “ is so ill that he cannot see any one;” and the Resident

is “ discharging the servants of the state right and left,” producing, no doubt, a repetition of the same rascally tricks which took place during Colonel Baillie’s time ; he gives the use of the palaces to whom he pleases, as also the loan of elephants as well as servants. A low-bred fellow, something of the same stamp as Agha Meer and Ulee Nuckee, the Moonshee of Major Baillie, has been made prime minister ; and things are going on just in the same way as in the days of Major Baillie. The letter states—

“ We are credibly informed, that the late Kukeem Mehdee  
 “ has been succeeded in his office of minister of Oude by Mowlavee  
 “ Gholam Gahya, formerly a moonshee on a salary of 25 rupees.  
 “ Abmud Ally Khan, nephew of the late Hukeem, still holds  
 “ the appointment of a General in the Oude service , but, being  
 “ rather on bad terms with the present minister, intends shortly  
 “ to leave Lucknow for Futtoghur ; but here he is reckoning  
 “ ‘ without his host,’ for it is questionable whether the King will  
 “ permit him to do so. The King is carrying on his economical  
 “ measures to a high pitch, discharging the servants of the state  
 “ right and left, and ‘ cutting and clipping’ the salaries of those  
 “ who are retained out of mere necessity of course. Nawab  
 “ Rowshunoodowlah, the ex-minister, and his ‘ boy’ Sobhan Ally  
 “ Khan, are still confined to their houses, but still confident of  
 “ being reinstated. The former, we hear, made an offer to his  
 “ Majesty of 25 lacs of rupees for a re-appointment to the pre-  
 “ miership ; but Lucknow, the King thinks, has had too much  
 “ of his ministerial specimen already. Nawab Tuhower Jung  
 “ seems to be enjoying himself. The Resident gave him the  
 “ use of one of the King’s palaces to reside in, with elephants,  
 “ chobdars, &c. He has been to all the palaces, gardens, and  
 “ other places of public resort, and seems much to like the city  
 “ and the people of Lucknow. On the 19th instant the Resident  
 “ introduced him in form to the King, who was, on this occasion,  
 “ surrounded by his principal nobility and gentry. The King  
 “ showed him much civility and attention (that is, the Resident  
 “ did) and on his taking leave made him valuable presents. Nawab

“ Tuhower Jung, we hear, intends leaving the city shortly, with intentions of visiting the whole of Upper India. The King is so ill that he does not see any one.”

By way of conceiving what may now be going on at Lucknow, we will once more refer to the anonymous “*calumnious and libellous*” document which Lord Hastings secretly recorded against Major Baillie with the view of ruining him, never dreaming that it would see day-light through the instrumentality of *The British and Indian Observer*, of which we happened to be the proprietor, and exposed many of his ti-tum-ti sort of tricks. In short, the exposures which we made of Major Baillie’s threat, before he left India, of impeaching the Noble Marquis, roused the indignation and revenge of the Noble Marquis’s friends; and they, in the hurry of their mistaken zeal, dragged his Lordship out of the cess-pool of Indian corruption before the public, and in a more filthy state than when we had washed our hands of him.

It has already been stated, that the *anonymous* document was clandestinely placed upon record after his Lordship had, in a letter to Major Baillie, declared, that he was “*satisfied that it was totally unfounded in every point.*” As a matter between Major Baillie as plain Major Baillie, and Lord Moira as plain Lord Moira, this being “*satisfied that it was unfounded in every respect*” would be all very well; but when we come to consider Lord Hastings in his capacity of Governor-General of India, and Major Baillie as the British Resident at the Court of Lucknow, it is quite a different matter, altogether a different thing. The duty of the one was imperative; while the other, as an accused culprit, ought to have demanded his trial. Whether, therefore, the charges contained in the paper placed upon record be true or false, we have nothing to do with. The document is upon record, and that is quite sufficient for our purposes. Any private denial Major Baillie may have made to any part of the allegations goes for nothing;

the truth or falsehood of them could alone have been ascertained by an investigation by a third and independent party. This course, although suggested by the writer, neither party approved of, as in fact they could not; neither the conduct of the one or the other would stand scrutiny. Necessity, urgent and imperative necessity, therefore, compelled his Lordship to be "*satisfied*" that the charges were "*unfounded in every point*. If this was his conviction, why not have probed the matter to the bottom?

The paper states—

“ The source of all our distress can only be traced to the  
 “ coming amongst us of the dregs of Hindoostan, street-wanderers  
 “ and beggars, strangers to the principles of government, and  
 “ to their being brought to the head of affairs.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ The badness of the Resident’s administration, and the want  
 “ of attention on the part of the Governor-General, has been the  
 “ support of all this confusion. Hence have the sufferings of  
 “ the people of God, the mismanagement of the affairs of the  
 “ Vezārut, and the squandering of treasure and property col-  
 “ lected with the labour and care of years, become the talk of  
 “ the intelligent of all countries. Be it known, that Agha Meer  
 “ (now called Moatumud-ood-Dowlah Mookhtaur-ool-Moolk  
 “ Syyud Mohummud Khan Behauder Zeighum Jung), is the son  
 “ of Mohummud Nuckee: the same Mohummud Nuckee who  
 “ was for years a beggar in the streets of Lucknow; and when  
 “ the nobles of the country used to distribute alms, this Mohum-  
 “ mud Nuckee would rush forward importunately before the  
 “ rest of the Fakeers to seize his pittance, and for every pice  
 “ he would be turbulent and noisy, and would be every where  
 “ thumped and kicked: the people of Lucknow have seen this  
 “ with their own eyes. It is not to be supposed that a man in  
 “ such a situation could have the means of marrying; but be a  
 “ man a Fakeer, he is not on that account without the lusts of  
 “ the flesh, so the said Mohummud Nuckee took to himself a  
 “ wretched woman of no character, who lived by begging here  
 “ and there a few fuloos. As it happened, a daughter was born

“ from this said woman to some man with whom she had before  
 “ had connection, such a child as they call in Persian a madur  
 “ huloo; and after some months more another child was born  
 “ of her to Mohummud Nuckee, and that was this Agha Meer.  
 “ The knowing ones differ on this point: some say Mohummud  
 “ is the undisputed father, others again that the real father is  
 “ unknown; but there is no doubt the child was born while the  
 “ mother was in the keeping of Mohummud Nuckee. In short,  
 “ until the auspicious age of Agha Meer reached the period of  
 “ fifteen years, he was a wanderer in the streets, and attached  
 “ himself to the class of labourers employed in building and re-  
 “ pairing houses for men of substance. At the time when the  
 “ Vezārut of Asuf-ood-Dowlah descended to his son Saadut  
 “ Alee Khan, Ghazee-ood-Deen Hyder Khan Behauder came  
 “ with his father from Benares, and took up his residence in  
 “ Muhtab Bagh, in the palace built by Asuf-ood-Dowlah de-  
 “ ceased, enjoying the almonership to the Syyuds in distress, as  
 “ is customary in this Government for the heir apparent. A  
 “ man named Merza Hyder Ulee of Lucknow, taking compas-  
 “ sion on the apparent distress of Mohummud Nuckee, the fa-  
 “ ther of this Agha Meer, assigned for his maintenance a pension  
 “ of five rupees per month out of the fund for distressed Syyuds;  
 “ and since he was himself very old, this Agha Meer, his son,  
 “ used to come to the present Vizier, then heir apparent, to re-  
 “ ceive his father’s pension of five rupees. By degrees he got  
 “ himself enrolled amongst the Khidmutgars; and from this  
 “ may be traced his rise and present elevation. In course of  
 “ time the treasuries which for ages this Government had been  
 “ employed in filling, became entrusted to the Prince Ghazee-  
 “ ood-Deen Hyder. Agha Meer kept the keys of the treasuries  
 “ for his master, and embezzling the treasure secretly, diverted  
 “ the public resources of the State to his own private expenses,  
 “ giving a part to Ulee Nuckee the Moonshee, in the hope of  
 “ winning over the Resident by this means. Now the Nawaub  
 “ Ghazee-ood-Deen Hyder sits on the musnud of the Vezārut,  
 “ and as Agha Meer had before been in league and on the best  
 “ terms with Ulee Nuckee, particularly in the course of the  
 “ embezzlement above-mentioned, they now also are in such

“ way in league together that they preserve the good-will and  
 “ confidence of the Resident, as has indeed before been hinted.  
 “ Besides all this, since the present Vizier was foiled in his  
 “ wishes, Agha Meer having obtained the neābut by the Resi-  
 “ dent’s means for having brought the razee-namah with the  
 “ Vizier’s seal, and having been invested with the khillat of the  
 “ situation, now rules with arbitrary power in the affairs of the  
 “ Vezārut. But those who are about the durbar in the present  
 “ times see enough to convince them that Ulee Nuckee Moon-  
 “ shee is in truth the absolute master of all, and has the power  
 “ of loosing and binding in all affairs, whether general or par-  
 “ ticular. Agha Meer, notwithstanding his ostensible neābut,  
 “ spends every day at the house of the Moonshee, and does no-  
 “ thing without consulting him. In return, the Moonshee goes  
 “ to the house of Agha Meer, and enjoys with him the enter-  
 “ tainment of nautching, &c. Hundreds of acts of oppression,  
 “ however, are daily committed by Agha Meer in the course of  
 “ his transaction of business. A few examples shall be stated.  
 “ First, he has caused to be dug up the houses of hundreds of  
 “ persons, noble and otherwise, that the materials may be em-  
 “ ployed in building a palace for himself. The furniture of  
 “ these houses is left a prey to all the loochas of the city, and  
 “ not a rupee is paid for any thing. The poor, whose houses  
 “ he has destroyed, have been thrown upon the world in their  
 “ wretchedness. Also by means of Roshun Ulee (son of that  
 “ Madur Huloo, daughter of the mother of Agha Meer, who is  
 “ now known as his sister), under pretence of mending and  
 “ making roads, he has knocked down thousands of houses,  
 “ and many of the muhls (wards) of the city of Lucknow have  
 “ been deserted in consequence. Agha Meer himself spends  
 “ his nights and days in drinking and in the company of women  
 “ of the bazar. The administration of affairs exhibits symptoms  
 “ of this. The land revenues of the Vizier’s Government  
 “ amount to one crore and forty lacs of rupees; but though the  
 “ year is approaching its end, one-fourth of this amount has not  
 “ been collected, neither is there any one who looks to the set-  
 “ tlement of the country, or to the accounts of the revenue.  
 “ But what excites yet greater wonder and scandal is, that in

“ the house of Agha Meer, which is contiguous to that of the  
 “ Resident, you hear nothing all day but the sound of the drum,  
 “ and the voices of singers from the bazar, with the rioting of  
 “ the loochas of the city, the friends and companions of Agha  
 “ Meer; and the Resident, notwithstanding that he has delicate  
 “ nerves, as indeed is usual with the English, encourages this  
 “ riot. Indeed Ulee Nuckee, though seventy years of age, is a  
 “ party in the debauches. The disrepute and scandal attending  
 “ such transactions are not unknown to men of understanding.  
 “ Ten thousand rupees a month is the private salary of Agha  
 “ Meer; what further he requires he takes from the public  
 “ treasury of the government without restraint, and applies to  
 “ his own purposes. In these days some lacs of rupees and  
 “ many strings of pearls, besides other jewels and wearing ap-  
 “ parel, have been embezzled from the public treasuries of the  
 “ Vezārut; and one day, when he was called to account for this  
 “ by the Vizier, he said it was necessary, for the proper manage-  
 “ ment of affairs, that he should keep these things by him; and  
 “ although the Vizier is aware that Agha Meer divides the whole  
 “ with Ulee Nuckee, still he is obliged to remain silent and  
 “ wink at it, through fear of the Resident, and from want of  
 “ attention in the Governor-General, as before experienced.  
 “ From pure helplessness, being reduced to the situation of one  
 “ out of his senses, and without a will of his own, the Vizier has  
 “ taken to eating bong night and day, thus verifying the moral  
 “ of this stanza :

“ ‘ Oh King! from so much wine, what fruit can be expected?

“ ‘ From such infinite drunkenness what fruit can be expected?

“ ‘ The king is drunk; the world is ruined;

“ ‘ Fools surround him on every side :

“ ‘ From such confusion what fruit can be expected?’

“ The whole territories of the Vezārut have been divided into  
 “ six Zillahs. The first, that of Lucknow, the jumma of which  
 “ has been fixed at thirty lacs of rupees, and Agha Alee, son of  
 “ Agha Meer, has been selected to make the collections of it,  
 “ the age of the said collector being at the present moment two  
 “ years. He is the son of a prostitute by profession; and it is  
 “ by no means certain that Agha Meer is his real father, as she

“ is a woman of the bazaar, and has never been married to him.  
 “ Agha Alee, the said collector, is still at the breast, and cannot  
 “ distinguish between his mother’s milk and the salary of 2000  
 “ rupees assigned for his maintenance. Weigh this in your  
 “ mind, ye of acute perception. The second Zillah is Sandee  
 “ and the district of Shah Rah &c., with the jumma or assess-  
 “ ment of thirty-five lacs of rupees. This the Resident has as-  
 “ signed to his own Moonshee, for his personal benefit. The  
 “ nominal collector of it, Kootub-ood-Deen, the Moonshee’s  
 “ nephew, never in the course of his life had more than thirty  
 “ rupees per month allowed him by Ulee Nuckee ; but now that  
 “ every thing belonging to the Vezārut is exposed to every sort  
 “ of plunder, the nephew nominally is allowed a salary of 2000  
 “ rupees, besides 10 per cent on the collections of the Zillah ; he  
 “ gets for his personal salary and emoluments 100 rupees a  
 “ month, and no more : the rest is all enjoyed by Moonshee  
 “ Ulee Nuckee, under the countenance and support of the Resi-  
 “ dent himself. The oppressions also which the Moonshee has  
 “ committed on the Chowdries of Sandee, and the circumstances  
 “ of his knocking down all their houses, are well known to the  
 “ officers of the Governor-General. The object of my repre-  
 “ sentation is this :—that, alas ! the Vezārut, with all its splen-  
 “ dour, high reputation, and with such stores of treasure, should  
 “ come to ruin in the time of so noble a Governor-General ; that  
 “ the sufferers of the city should experience misery and oppres-  
 “ sion, and no one listen to their cries.

“ ‘ How can you hear the cries of supplicants for redress :  
 “ ‘ you have dropt towards the universe the bed-curtains of  
 “ ‘ sleep. Sleep so that the cry of distress may reach your  
 “ ‘ ears, whenever it may be raised by a supplicant for justice.’

“ The circumstances under which Dhoomee Beg, the Cutwal,  
 “ poisoned himself through dread of Agha Meer, the confiscation  
 “ of his house and property without any legal right, to the ruin of  
 “ all his heirs and relicts, who have indeed been since imprison-  
 “ ed, all which has been done by Agha Meer, without any inter-  
 “ ference of the Resident to procure justice : God knows upon  
 “ whose neck will be the weight of these crimes.

“ This humble supplicant has a question to put to the Resi-

“ dent, to which I call upon him, in the name of God and the  
 “ Prophet Jesus, to give a just and true answer: whether the  
 “ appointment of Agha Meer to the neābut, and the fixing of  
 “ his salary at 10,000 rupees a month, besides what he em-  
 “ bezzles from the public treasuries and the bribes he extorts  
 “ from the people of the city by threats of knocking down their  
 “ houses; whether the appointment of his son and infant to the  
 “ collectorship, with a salary of 2000 rupees; whether the  
 “ placing so low a character over the heads of all the nobles of  
 “ the city, and giving him authority over them, is not bringing  
 “ ruin upon the country and confusion into all the affairs of the  
 “ Vezārut? What other consequences can result from it, but  
 “ that the house of the late Vizier will be plundered, and the  
 “ people of Hindoostan subjected to degradation and ignominy,  
 “ while your family and fortunes and those of the Moonshee are  
 “ enriched from the spoils? This I ask of the Resident and  
 “ of the Governor-General, whose glory and splendour are so  
 “ transcendent. I ask him how he can rest contented when his  
 “ reputation is taxed with all this? Although the Governor-  
 “ General is no way a sharer in the stain of those advantages  
 “ which the Resident obtains, but on the contrary is more dis-  
 “ interested, magnanimous, and dignified than any Governor-  
 “ General who yet has come to Hindoostan, still why does he  
 “ subject himself to the imputation of palpable neglect, and act  
 “ entirely on the Resident’s representations? For God’s sake  
 “ let him cause them to be investigated and confirmed by some  
 “ gentleman who has some sense of religion and justice; and  
 “ since Scetul Pershaud, the Ukhbar Navees, has the orders of  
 “ the Resident not to report things as they actually are, should  
 “ any credit attach to the representations of the writer of this,  
 “ let a man be sent privately, and one entitled to confidence, to  
 “ report the affairs of the city as they are, so that its state of ruin  
 “ and devastation may be made known, as well as all the un-  
 “ worthy acts of Agha Meer the Naib: such as his keeping  
 “ company with all the loochas of the bazaar; his going about  
 “ the streets on foot and giving gross abuse to all the chiefs and  
 “ most respectable men of the city, complaint of which being  
 “ made to the Resident, he forbad its being noticed in the Ukh-

“ bars, lest it should reach the ears of the Governor-General.  
 “ For all this every one knows how much the Resident is abused  
 “ and complained against. How excellent is that saying:—  
 “ ‘ Let not the crown and throne adorn every one. There needs  
 “ ‘ but one king of auspicious fortune, on whom the shadow of  
 “ ‘ the Almighty may have fallen, and whose conversation may  
 “ ‘ be without wisdom.’

“ Now, however, it has been given out that this Naib, with  
 “ all this weight of infamy, of dishonour, and of oppression  
 “ upon him, is about to go to the presence of the Governor-  
 “ General, through the management of the Resident, and he is  
 “ accordingly making further embezzlements from the public  
 “ treasury, on the plea of its being necessary to prepare for his  
 “ appearance in due splendour; and in this, also, is he assisted  
 “ and countenanced by the Resident, who wishes him to make  
 “ an appearance equal to that of Hyder Beg Khan, when he  
 “ went to meet the Governor-General Marquess Cornwallis, and  
 “ he himself expects to obtain equal honour, and to have his  
 “ jagier confirmed in the same manner. He has several objects  
 “ in this mission. First, to get the neābut in perpetuity and  
 “ complete independence; second, the assignment of jagiers;  
 “ third, to secure the continuance of Ulee Nuckee’s concern in  
 “ the government, let who will be appointed Resident; fourth,  
 “ that he may at least secure his continuance until the Resident  
 “ may resign his situation. These are the Naib’s objects in  
 “ going to Futtygurh. But it is requested of the Governor-  
 “ General, in the name of God, that he will not suffer the affairs  
 “ of the hills to occupy his attention so much as to keep all  
 “ other affairs from his mind. But it is in justice necessary  
 “ that he should not act implicitly on the representations of the  
 “ Resident, to the sacrifice of his own innate judgment. Let  
 “ him observe how base is the Naib of the Vezārut, and from  
 “ what parents he is descended; that he was brought up in  
 “ beggary, and though now raised to the high dignity of the  
 “ neābut, his innate baseness shows itself in all his actions. To  
 “ raise to an equality with the nobles of Hindoostan, and to  
 “ place in authority over them a low fellow who used to feel  
 “ constantly the smart of the blows and slippers of the Vizier,

“ (insomuch that this was the usual treatment he met with), is  
 “ to give offence and disgust to all the really noble, and to  
 “ subject all that immense wealth, which is the property of the  
 “ community, to the profligate waste of so low a fellow, without  
 “ any pretensions from former services, or present qualifications.  
 “ On what principle can this be justified? Lastly, this Naib  
 “ and Moonshee Ulee Nuckee, who has become, as it were, a  
 “ tender father to the Naib, said in public durbar, that the Go-  
 “ vernor-General had need of much money on account of the  
 “ hill war at present waging. ‘ Whatever he may need I will  
 “ ‘ furnish him from the Vezārut treasury; and though the for-  
 “ ‘ tunes of the Vezārut should be ruined, I will nevertheless  
 “ ‘ have what I want, so that I may secure the Resident in my  
 “ ‘ favour; and as he is so, the Governor-General must neces-  
 “ ‘ sarily come into my views; nor could there be for me a more  
 “ ‘ propitious moment than the present.’ Alas! that so low a  
 “ fellow should sit with such a Governor-General on a footing  
 “ of equality; that he should talk so sillily, and other Sahebs  
 “ of high spirit should bear it, and prevent true reports of all  
 “ from reaching the Governor-General’s ears.

“ This is a sketch of the present state of the neābut. Listen  
 “ a little to an account of the Naib’s connexions, for on no side  
 “ are agents of oppression wanting. The chief of them is  
 “ Roshun or Buwahr Ulee, son of that Madur Huloo, daughter  
 “ of the mother of Agha Meer, born in the house of Mohum-  
 “ mud Nuckee. This Roshun Ulee availing himself of the  
 “ power and influence of his pretended uncle, commits all kinds  
 “ of oppressions in the city, and destroys houses that have  
 “ stood for hundreds of years, the property of nobles and others  
 “ of the city. This man goes among the people by the title of  
 “ Furuk-ood-Dowlah Mismar-ool-Moolk Boom Jung (*viz.* the  
 “ Suruk of the State, the puller down of the kingdom, the owl  
 “ of war). At last, however, the operations of this man were  
 “ stopped by an order from the Vizier after an *ishtahar-namah*  
 “ (placard) had been stuck up, by which means they at last  
 “ reached his ears. Not however till he had taken thousands  
 “ of rupees in bribes, and he then took credit to himself for  
 “ having procured the suspension of his doings. ‘ This man has

“ dealings night and day with the women of the bazar, and even  
 “ goes to their houses. Another of the Naib’s people is one  
 “ Usud Ulee, whose father used to keep a perfumer’s shop at  
 “ Jounpore ; he is of the Kimdhu tribe, and left Jounpore about  
 “ twenty years ago to become a street wanderer at Lucknow.  
 “ For some time, indeed, he practised his villainies in the adawlut  
 “ of Lucknow as Vakeel, but was turned out by the late Vizier,  
 “ who was satisfied of his unfitness and misconduct. Now,  
 “ under the support of Moatumud-ood-Dowlah, whose power is  
 “ absolute in the courts, he has got himself called judge, and  
 “ avails himself of the situation to plunder the city. He abuses  
 “ grossly, even to their faces, Moolvee Juhoor Ollah, Moolvee  
 “ Wullee, and the other members of the court, who are of re-  
 “ spectable families ; nor does any one dare to open his mouth  
 “ (in their favour) through fear of the Resident Behauder.  
 “ There is also one Ruhmut Ulee, formerly a Mohurrer of the  
 “ dewannee court of Lucknow, but turned out for misconduct  
 “ by the late Nawaub Vizier, who has been appointed Mooffie  
 “ in these times by the said Usud Ulee, though neither a man  
 “ of learning nor descended of men of learning. Alas ! for  
 “ these times, that such is the state of the Vezārut ! that such  
 “ is the way with the Governor-General’s glory ! that such  
 “ is the admirable character of the Resident for integrity and  
 “ trustworthiness ! But how can Kulpee escape from ruin,  
 “ when Mullan Muddun (the saint) keeps a gin-shop (applied  
 “ apparently to the Resident).

“ The whole of the umlah are of the same description as  
 “ above, that is, all those who have obtained their situations  
 “ through the Naib and Moonshee Ulee Nuckee. Since they  
 “ have come into power in the affairs of the Vezārut, only  
 “ loochas and street-wanderers have been promoted. Let the  
 “ Governor-General send for them and judge of them by trial  
 “ in his own presence, when the sincerity of this communication  
 “ will be appreciated. The head and leader of all this con-  
 “ fusion, the chief of this band of ragamuffins, is that Ulee  
 “ Nuckee, who, by the countenance and support of the Resi-  
 “ dent, has set all this in motion. The title with which he has  
 “ been honoured is Mussulleh-ood-Dowlah. The translator of

“ which has only to insert a few nooktas (points) when the real  
 “ import of his name will be discovered.

“ This humble suppliant has represented these things at so  
 “ much length, in order that the gentlemen of just principles  
 “ may gather from the whole some slight idea of what is  
 “ passing. The said Moonshee was for a long time in a state  
 “ of distress, but by playing the game of cunning and deceit, in  
 “ which he is of a truth most expert, he has been brought by  
 “ the revolutions of fortune to a pitch whence every thing is at  
 “ his beck. The Resident has confided every thing to him, in-  
 “ somuch that those people of respectability and high family,  
 “ who were before acquainted with the Resident and enjoyed  
 “ his friendship and counsel, have lately been kept away by the  
 “ unworthy conduct of the Moonshees, into whose hands the  
 “ whole authority of the Vezārut has descended. His obtaining  
 “ the whole Zillah of Sandee, with its settlement of thirty-five  
 “ lacs of rupees, has before been mentioned. Of this he has  
 “ taken off four hundred villages, and got himself an istemrarie  
 “ tenure, at a jumma much below the rate of former years,  
 “ causing himself to be acknowledged Zemindar of this tract,  
 “ and he has turned out those he found in possession, and pulled  
 “ down their houses. This man has reached the venerable age  
 “ of seventy years, notwithstanding which he has lately seized  
 “ and enjoyed by force a young girl of the labouring class,  
 “ daughter of a Bildar, who had come to Lucknow for employ-  
 “ ment. The father and mother of the girl went to the Resident  
 “ to complain, but the Resident said nothing to the Moonshee,  
 “ but ordered the complainants to be turned out. What power  
 “ would the Nawub Vizier have to grant redress? He dare  
 “ not breathe through fear of the Resident. The Moonshee  
 “ has also knocked down hundreds of houses contiguous to his  
 “ own, in order to make use of the materials in enlarging it ;  
 “ and notwithstanding that all these houses are close to the  
 “ Residency, (nothing is said to him). In short, it only remains  
 “ for the Governor General to exercise his sound judgment and  
 “ high authority, to ascertain the fitness of the Naib, and to  
 “ redress the wrongs he has committed ; and since the Gover-  
 “ nor-General has given over to such people unbridled authority,

“ and with his eyes open taken upon himself all the ill repute  
 “ which attaches to such conduct, the inhabitants of the city of  
 “ Lucknow have been able to account for it in no way but by  
 “ attributing it all to the wiles of the Resident. First, the Re-  
 “ sident causes the Vizier to understand, that if he does the  
 “ slightest thing contrary to his wishes he will have Shums-  
 “ ood-Dowlah raised to the musnud in his room. Then he says  
 “ to Agha Meer, ‘ Were you not a Khidmutgar before I raised  
 “ ‘ you to the rank you now hold? In the event of any oppo-  
 “ ‘ sition I will again reduce you to your original state.’ Then  
 “ he writes to the Governor-General that the Vizier is a fool,  
 “ and if affairs go on well it is only through the management of  
 “ Agha Meer, assisted by Moonshee Ulee Nuckce, both of  
 “ whom are devoted to the English Government. He writes  
 “ also, that the Vizier is not displeased at any thing that passes.  
 “ In short, there has been a wonderful exhibition of juggling  
 “ and slight-of-hand-tricks.”

With the foregoing monstrous document in his hand, the Marquis of Hastings, without the slightest inquiry as to the possible truths or falsehoods which the paper might contain, although he considered it “ *scurrilous and calumnious,*” was “ *satisfied*” that it was “ *totally unfounded in every point.*” But this extraordinary conviction of the Marquis of Hastings upon the astounding document, forms a very strange contrast with his Oration to the Students at the College of Fort-William, on the 16th of July, 1821. Upon that occasion he observed—

“ To you, young men, whom I have the honour of addressing,  
 “ they will afford a useful hint, how much the comforts of your  
 “ fellow-creatures depend on the vigilant superintendence ex-  
 “ ercised by the individuals placed in official situations among  
 “ them. You cannot, I am confident, be sensible of the flat-  
 “ tering reliance which your native fellow-subjects thus place in  
 “ British functionaries, and not feel revolted at the thought of  
 “ disappointing their expectations. About to be launched into  
 “ the public service, set out with ascertaining, to your minds,  
 “ the tenor of conduct demanded from you. Were you only to

“ recollect your being participators in that splendid reputation  
 “ which I have stated as possessed by our country, you would  
 “ feel it unworthy to enjoy your share in sloth, much more to do  
 “ ought that might taint in yourselves so fair a fame. But you  
 “ are to act under a stricter bond than that of attention to your  
 “ own credit :—you will have reposed in you the sacred trust of  
 “ maintaining pure the unrivalled renown of your native land.  
 “ It is not by correctness in your own transactions alone that  
 “ this duty is to be fulfilled ; each of you, recognizing this su-  
 “ perior to every other tie, must sternly and steadily expose  
 “ any laxity which he shall perceive respecting it in others. A  
 “ specific pledge of honour must be understood as reciprocally  
 “ existing among all the servants of the Honourable Company,  
 “ for the humane, the upright, the energetic discharge of their  
 “ several functions ; so that he who may be found failing, should  
 “ be deemed to have broken his word to his comrade, and to  
 “ have forfeited every attention to forbearance. A want of  
 “ definition as to what is incumbent on you, would be no excuse  
 “ for neglect. The obligations, indeed, are multifarious. The  
 “ possible calls on your justice, your sagacity, your firmness,  
 “ your exertion, your patience, and your kindness, might be im-  
 “ practicable to enumerate : but every man ought to have a  
 “ short summary of what becomes of him. When APPEALS for  
 “ your intervention occur, it will be sufficient, if each of you  
 “ say to himself—‘ *The indigent requires a sustaining hand,*  
 “ ‘ *the distressed requires soothing, the perplexed requires*  
 “ ‘ *counsel, the oppressed requires countenance, the injured*  
 “ ‘ *requires redress ;—they who present themselves to me in*  
 “ ‘ *these predicaments, are my fellow-men ; and I am a*  
 “ ‘ *Briton !* ’ ”

*A Briton indeed! What sort of one?*

Of his oration the Marquis of Hastings was very proud ;  
 and well he might have been so, if his fine manual of in-  
 structions, containing such a flow of moral, civil, and po-  
 litical eloquence, had not been preceded and followed by so  
 many atrocious acts of injustice and oppression, 'committed  
 by himself, or countenanced by him in others, as contained

in those highly contrasted, contradictory, and confounding documents which we have just seen.

Is it any wonder, then, that the East India Company should have refused to give him the same pension as was given to all former Governor-Generals, even to Warren Hastings and Lord Wellesley, both of whom had been impeached, the latter for his conduct in the administration of Oude. But if it is no wonder that the East India Company refused the Marquis of Hastings his pension, it does seem to be somewhat astounding how the proprietors of East India Stock should have elected Major Baillie as Director of their affairs,—that, too, in consequence of his great military acquirements, as talents of that description were very much wanting! Of military acquirements he had none; and we believe that he never joined his regiment; or if he did, it was but for a few months. He was attached to the Hindoostanee College of Calcutta, as a Professor, until he was sent to Lucknow as Resident. The fact is, he had threatened to impeach the Marquis of Hastings, to expose and blow up the whole of the transactions which had taken place in Oude. To prevent this, the Marquis of Hastings's friends recommended him to set up as an East India Director; and they moved heaven and earth to get him returned. This was accordingly done, and served as a sort of plaster for the broken head the Marquis of Hastings had given him, when he removed him from the Residency of Lucknow—not upon any complaint of the natives, but for an insolent letter he wrote to his lord and master. They both are gone, and have joined their ancestors; we will, therefore, be as merciful as possible to their memories, and not repeat many things which we told of them many years ago, when they were both alive. We will pass over in oblivion much, unless circumstances should provoke us to break the silence we thus voluntarily impose upon ourselves.

But there are one or two parts of the anonymous paper

we shall be expected to make some comments upon. They shall be short.

It is stated, that “after Saadut Alie had made the “clay tenement of his existence a house of mourning,” or was dead, “the Resident, finding he was nearer his “object in consequence, with every appearance of joy and “conviviality, in the very place where the coffin of the “deceased was lying, ate his breakfast and drank his tea, “and in another the Nawaub Gazee-ood-Deen Hyder “Khan, the Usurper, was seated on the musnud (the “throne) of the Vizarut. At this very time the Resident, “by means of Agha Meer (the Prime Minister), now “called Moatumud-ood-Dowlah, and through the medium “of Ulee Nuckee, his moonshee (teacher), plundered lacs “of rupees in money and goods, and he also took the op- “portunity to open a drawer of the table, and got posses- “sion of the book which had been prepared by the de- “ceased Vizier, containing all the crimes of the Resident, “in order that they might be laid open to the Governor- “General when he arrived.”

This, indeed, was a most serious charge—a charge of robbery, of theft, and plunder of no ordinary kind, and committed under no common circumstances, with the view of self-aggrandizement, and the concealment of crimes the Resident is said to have committed. What would be said of any Magistrate receiving an anonymous letter, charging any individual with aiding and abetting in robberies committed by others, and receiving the stolen goods, as well as also of having committed robberies himself, if the Magistrate were to inform the accused, an acquaintance of his own, of the charges made against him, and were to tell him that he “*was satisfied*” that the charges were “*unfounded in every point*,” and therefore he would make no inquiry into the matter? Why, that the Magistrate himself knew something of the robbery, and must have been implicated in it! But suppose that, in the house

where the robbery had been committed, it was told him that the owner of the house, pointed out, had died suddenly in the dead of the night, that is, he had been poisoned by one of his servants, who had kept it secret from the family of the gentleman, while he went for the accused to come and rob the house, and had himself joined in the robbery? Would not the Magistrate have deserved hanging that should have connived at such deeds?

This parallel may not be exactly suited to the case of Major Baillie and Lord Hastings; but there is one thing certain, that the charge of robbery was made against Major Baillie,—it was put upon record by Lord Hastings; there it now stands, and, beside it, a letter from Major Baillie, in which he says—“*The nominal collector of Zillah Lucknow is certainly what the anonymous author states him to be, or nearly so,—he is a boy of three or four years of age.*” But there is no notice whatever taken of the “*plundered lacs of rupees in money and goods,*” or of the charge of his “*taking the opportunity, while he sat with joy and conviviality in the very place where the coffin of the deceased was lying, and ate his breakfast and drank his tea, to open the drawer of the table, and get possession of the book prepared by the deceased Vizier, and containing all the crimes of the Resident, in order that they might be laid open to the Governor-General on his arrival.*” The only questions put by Lord Hastings to Major Baillie were relative to the child appointed collector of the district of Lucknow, and the birth, parentage, and education of Agha Meer;—Major Baillie, therefore, did not think it worth while noticing them.

“The paper,” says Mr. Ricketts, “professes to give an account of the present state of affairs at Lucknow, but which his Lordship is *satisfied is totally unfounded in every point.*” Now when Lord Hastings found that in one “*point*” the statement was true, surely it was a suffi-

cient ground to induce him to believe that some other parts of it might also be true. “*It is impossible,*” says his Lordship, “*to suppose that a child ever could have been nominated to that situation,*” the collectorship of the district of Lucknow. Major Baillie said, Yes, it is possible. “*He is a boy of three or four years of age. • •*” “*It would be strange if, amongst so many falsehoods and fabrications, a few circumstances were not to be found that have some foundation in fact.*”

Major Baillie thought proper to go into a detail of the causes of this boy’s appointment; but he did not say one word about the “*plundered lacs of rupees,*” or why “*he got possession of the book*” containing all the crimes of the Resident. Nor did Lord Hastings think of putting any questions to him about it; but he says—

“*It is to be regretted that you did not report the circumstance of the appointment of the minister’s child to the important office of Zillahdar of the district of Lucknow, as your doing so would have given his Lordship an opportunity, had he judged it proper, of communicating his sentiments on the subject to the Nawaub Vizier. It is true, that non-interference, generally speaking, has been recommended to you in the appointment of his Excellency’s officers; but may not some distinction be made in questions relating to the reform, which was rather an affair of the British Government than of the Nawaub, and on which he looked to receive advice from you, both in respect to the best system to be introduced, and to the best means of carrying it into execution? It is needless to observe, that its success mainly depends on a proper selection of instruments, and that on general principles the same confidence cannot be reposed in a deputy as in a person specifically appointed at the head of an office.*”

The Minister referred to is Agha Meer, the very rascal that is accused of committing the robberies on the night of the death of the Vizier Saadut Alie, and who, notwithstanding that anonymous paper, as he was about to pro-

ceed to see his Lordship at Futtygurh, Mr. Adam assured Colonel Baillie that he would be well received; and for this reason, he had fulfilled that part of the anonymous paper which says—

“ This Naib (minister), and Moonshee Ulee Nuckee, who has become, as it were, a tender father to the Naib, said in public durbar (at a public assembly at court), that the Governor-General had need of much money on account of the hill war (Nepaul) at present waging. ‘ Whatever he may need I will furnish him from the Vezārut treasury; and though the fortunes of the Vezarut should be ruined, I will nevertheless have what I want, so that I may secure the Resident in my favour; and as he is so, the Governor-General must necessarily come into my views; nor could there be for me a more propitious moment than the present.’ Alas! that so low a fellow should sit with such a Governor-General on a footing of equality; that he should talk so sillily, and other Sahebs of high spirit should bear it, and prevent true reports of all from reaching the Governor-General’s ears.”

“ I have little time to write,” says Mr. Adam, to my dear Baillie, “ but I must congratulate you on the success of your efforts to get another crore of rupees from his Excellency. It must have been a most ungracious and difficult task, and the Government should be proportionably obliged to you. Answers will go to-morrow, I hope. Agha Meer will be well received; and we in this house will be most happy to see your brother, and make his stay here as agreeable as we can.”

This letter proves that a third statement in the anonymous paper was true, *viz.*

“ It has been given out, that this Naib (Agha Meer), with all this weight of infamy, of dishonour, and of oppression upon him, is about to go to the presence of the Governor-General, through the management of the Resident, and he is accordingly making further embezzlements from the public treasury, on the plea of its being necessary to prepare for his appearance

“ in due splendour ; and in this, also, he is assisted by the Re-  
 “ sident, who wishes him to make an appearance equal to that  
 “ of Hyder Beg Khan when he went to meet the Governor-  
 “ General Marquis Cornwallis ; and he expects to obtain equal  
 “ honour, and to have his jagier (collectorship of the district of  
 “ Lucknow) confirmed in the same manner.”

Every document upon record goes to prove the intimate connexion that existed between Major Baillie and Agha Meer ; Agha Meer, and the scoundrel Rumzaun Alie Khan, who poisoned Saadut Alie ; between Major Baillie and Lord Hastings. In short, they formed links in a chain that even the Governor-General dared not attempt to meddle with, or act upon the report of that anonymous paper. Major Baillie, speaking of Agha Meer, says—  
 “ I explained to him, without reserve, the high sense  
 “ which I entertained of the service rendered by Rum-  
 “ zaun Alie Khan to our Government as well as the Vizier,  
 “ on the night of the demise of his father, in communi-  
 “ cating it to me, and concealing it from every other person  
 “ till my arrival in the palace. I added my conviction, that  
 “ your Lordship’s recommendation of Rumzaun Alie  
 “ Khan, as conveyed by the terms of the paper under  
 “ your Lordship’s signature and seal, must have proceeded  
 “ on a due consideration of the merits of the person recom-  
 “ mended, and of the just claims which he possessed to  
 “ his Excellency’s favour and kindness.”

Can it any longer be a matter of wonder why Lord Hastings was “ *satisfied* ” that the charges contained in the anonymous paper were “ *wholly unfounded in every point ?* ” Can it be a matter of surprise why Agha Meer was to be “ *well received* ” by his Lordship at Futtyghur ?

What was the cause of all the villainy practised at Lucknow ? The obtaining money to carry on the war against Nepaul. How is this to be proved ? By the conduct of Agha Meer, and by the records of the Government. Saadut Alie, having been “ *driven,* ” as Lord Hastings says, to

“ *actual desperation*” by his Lordship’s letter, had been soothed down by private communications, that the loan of a million and a quarter sterling would make him good friends with his Lordship. His Lordship, no doubt, was well pleased with this, as it avoided his “ *being forced in self-defence to possess himself of Saadut Alie’s dominions and riches.*” The English of which is, that as there was no money in Calcutta, or in any of the local treasuries, he must have it wherever it was to be found, either by stratagem, fraud, or force.

It is rather important here to show how these far-famed “ *voluntary loans*” of Lord Hastings were obtained. We have already seen how the first million and a quarter was obtained; let us take a slight glance at the manner in which the second was procured, as well as how the first was disposed of the moment it was obtained. Upon the latter point his Lordship, being upon remarkable good terms with himself, says—

“ My surprise is not to be expressed when I was shortly after informed, from Calcutta, that it had been deemed expedient to employ fifty-four lacs of the sum obtained by me in discharging an eight-per-cent loan; that the remainder was indispensable for current purposes; and that it was hoped I should be able to procure from the Nawaub Vizier a further aid for the objects of the war. This took place early in autumn (1814), and the operations against Nepal could not commence until the middle of November, on which account the council did not apprehend my being subject to any sudden inconvenience through its disposal of the first sum. Luckily I was upon such *frank* terms with the Nawab Vizier, that I could explain to him freely my circumstances. He agreed to furnish another crore of rupees; so that the Honourable Company was accommodated with two millions and a half sterling upon my simple receipt.”

By this it is clear that the Council of Calcutta, as well as his Lordship, were determined to plunder the Nawaub

of every shilling he had. The maniac, Gazeer-ood-Deen Hyder, had been placed on the musnud, to the exclusion of the legal heir, Shums-ood Dowlah, to place the whole of the resources of the kingdom and the treasures of Saadut Alie at the command of Agha Meer, as the easiest way of helping themselves to just what they pleased. The *frank* terms which his Lordship was upon with the maniac can be better understood than explained; but we will describe a little how and by what means it was “*agreed*” to furnish another crore.

Mr. Rickets, in December, 1814, writes to Major Baillie to inform the Nawaub of “the high gratification which his Lordship would experience, were the Nawaub to prove his anxiety for the British welfare by the tender of another loan to Government,” of a second crore of rupees. Upon the 18th of February he again writes—

“His Lordship is most anxious to hear the result of your negotiation with the Nawaub for further pecuniary aid, as without another crore (£1,250,000) Government may experience the most serious embarrassment.”

Upon the 19th Major Baillie replies—

“I have at length obtained from his Excellency a direct offer of fifty lacs of rupees, in a letter addressed to Lord Moira; and I assure you, with great truth, that this offer has been obtained with a difficulty which induced me more than once to despair of the smallest success to my labours. His Excellency has been led to entertain notions of our Government very opposite to the professions of disinterestedness which I was in the habit of conveying to him about the time of his accession to the musnud. Some miscreants have endeavoured to persuade him, that the object of all our proceedings is to plunder him of his wealth, and, when he has no more money, to take his country; and that his minister is in league with us to this end.”

The offer of fifty lacs was promptly refused by Lord

Hastings. Major Baillie was directed to try again his "admirable skill," to state any thing and every thing he could think of to induce the usurper, as "his tendering further pecuniary assistance to his Lordship at that juncture would be most thankfully received by his Lordship;" and that "the money would be merely wanted to meet the present exigency;" and he was instructed to state, that he knew "his Lordship would only accept it on the condition of its being received as a temporary loan, payable, with interest, by kists (instalments), in two, three, or four years." "The times are, in truth," says Mr. Rickets, "most critical. There is no hope of subscriptions to a six-per-cent loan; and to open a public loan on higher terms would be a most unjust and unwarrantable procedure towards the six-per-cent creditors; and yet, according to a statement just received by his Lordship from Mr. Edmonstone, nearly three crore of rupees, in addition to our surplus revenues, will be required to meet the war extraordinaries up to the 30th of April, 1816. Therefore," says Mr. Rickets, "unless you can enable me to rejoice his Lordship by informing him that you have succeeded in getting another crore of rupees from the Vizier, fifty lacs from the Begum, and fifty lacs from your monied men, we shall be in a very deplorable state."

This, it will be admitted, is a tolerable specimen of the state of the Indian finances during Lord Hastings's administration, as also of the means by which he raised the wind. His Lordship had, heedlessly and recklessly, plunged into the Nepaul war, without considering where the funds were to come from to meet it; and therefore, as the secretary says, they had to "*seek extraordinary resources to meet them.*" The plundering of the usurper of the throne of Oude, or any of the family, and the "*deplorable state*" to which they might in consequence be reduced, was a matter of no moment, provided his Lord-

ship could but obtain the money. Money he wanted; money he would have, either by force or fraud.

Major Baillie, in reply to Mr. Rickett's demand, stated it "to be expedient, if not indispensable, that a letter from Lord Moira to the Vizier, in answer to that which had made the offer of the crore of rupees, should be written to enable him to commence the negotiation for another crore." Major Baillie then suggests a variety of excuses for his Lordship to make; and he says—

"A letter of this kind, I am certain, would have a much greater effect on his Excellency than any representation on my part without such introduction on the subject. It would show his Excellency at once that the obligation which he has the means of conferring is to be conferred upon the Governor-General, and it would frustrate the mischievous designs of his Excellency's enemies and our's, who are strenuously labouring to convince him that it is the minister who, supported by me, is gradually robbing him of his money, with the view of obtaining for himself the approbation and support of Lord Moira, and of exhausting his Excellency's sources of independence and power, which those miscreants represent to him as consisting exclusively of his wealth."

Mr. Ricketts instantly replied, "His Lordship is so sensible of your thorough knowledge of the Nawaub's character, and so confident in your judgment, that he has no hesitation in adopting the opinions which you may form on the mode best calculated to secure the object in view." A letter was accordingly written; but what the contents were we know not, it does not appear upon record. It is sufficient that, in a few days, Major Baillie wrote, "At length, my dear Adam, this most arduous and vexatious negotiation is brought to a happy conclusion; a complete crore of rupees is secured by the letter this instant received." "My dear Baillie," says Adam, "I have little time to write; but I must congratulate you on the success of your efforts to get another crore from his

“ Excellency. It must have been a most ungracious task,  
 “ and the Government should be proportionably obliged  
 “ to you.”

In the “ *Anonymous Paper*,” it will have been observed, that the name of Agha Meer figured much, as prime minister of Lucknow, in the days of Lord Hastings; and that from the dregs of the kennel he had been raised to the highest post; and for what purposes we have also seen. Let us now trace this scoundrel, who was “ *well received* at Futtyghur by Lord Hastings, after the wretch had, “ *if he ruined the Vizirut*,” obtained for his Lordship whatever money he wanted. His Lordship, in 1816, when polishing Major Baillie’s character and conduct to the Court of Directors, speaking of Agha Meer, says—

“ He was nurtured among the dregs of the people. His  
 “ birth, however, would have been of little consequence, had his  
 “ personal qualities recommended him to distinction. Unfortu-  
 “ nately this was not the case: his figure was coarse, his man-  
 “ ners unpolished, and his intellect generally estimated below  
 “ mediocrity. He had not had the opportunities of drawing,  
 “ either from study or from active employment, any tolerable  
 “ degree of the information requisite in his position. Of course  
 “ the appointment occasioned general surprise, and I believe  
 “ was very unfavourably regarded at Lucknow. Major Baillie  
 “ ascribes the elevation of this person to the Nawaub Vizier’s  
 “ sense of the service just rendered to him by Agha Meer, as  
 “ well as his partiality for this servant. The Vizier’s con-  
 “ templation of the service, as well as the strength of his attach-  
 “ ment to Agha Meer, will appear from subsequent events; but  
 “ the service might have its merit elsewhere, and thence have  
 “ received its reward. The efforts Major Baillie has since  
 “ made to maintain Agha Meer in power, in opposition to his  
 “ Excellency’s wishes, are strongly corroborative of this view,  
 “ and show a decided identification of interests between them.  
 “ Still, gratitude for the immediate aid was not, I am disposed  
 “ to conceive, the only reason assignable for this nomination.  
 “ Major Baillie must have known Agha Meer’s incapacity; he

“ knew also the unbounded influence possessed over this man  
 “ by his own moonshee; so that by bringing forward a creature  
 “ of his own, of such character and qualifications, he secured to  
 “ himself an uncontrolled authority in the affairs of Oude. This,  
 “ I have no doubt, was considered as genuine policy with regard  
 “ to public objects by Major Baillie; and the establishing such  
 “ influence would have been expedient, had it not been inevitably  
 “ liable to abuse by the natives connected with the Resident.  
 “ Events fully justify the apprehension of that consequence;  
 “ for there can now be no doubt that as long as Agha Meer  
 “ continued in power, the result was, as Major Baillie must have  
 “ foreseen, expected, and sought, the ministry having been vir-  
 “ tually in the hands of his own Moonshee, Ulee Nuckee.”

Now the principal charge that was made in the “*Anonymous Paper*,” which we have quoted at full length, and which Lord Hastings was satisfied was “*wholly unfounded in every point*,” was, that the Resident had “*given himself into the hands of his Moonshee, Ulee Nuckee Khan*,” and who, in conjunction with Agha Meer, ruled the state; that “the Resident caused the Vizier to understand that if he did the slightest thing contrary to his wishes, he would have Shums-ood-Dowlah raised to the musnud in his room;” that, from pure helplessness, he was reduced to the situation of one *out of his senses*; that he was, night and day, weeping at the ruin of what had come upon his family and fortunes, and at the tyranny exercised on the people of the city by their oppressors; that Agha Meer and Ulee Nuckee Moonshee were, in truth, the absolute masters in all affairs, whether general or particular; that the mother of Agha Meer was “a wretched woman of low character;” and that she had children by so many different men, “that the real father is unknown;” that “in short, until the auspicious age of Agha Meer reached fifteen years, he was a wanderer in the streets, and attached himself to the class of labourers employed in building and repairing houses for men of substance.”

Well may the writer of the anonymous paper have said, "Alas, for these times! that such is the state of the Vizarrut! that such is the way with the Governor-General's glory! that such is the admirable character of the Resident for integrity and trustworthiness!" But how can Kulpee escape from ruin, when Mullan Muddun (the saint, meaning the Resident) keeps a gin-shop!

Is it any wonder, then, after seeing this state of affairs at the palace of Lucknow, that the whole of the kingdom of Oude should be in confusion, and in such a state as to threaten the most serious of consequences. The fact is, let who will have been Resident, it has been by the scandalous interference in the internal affairs of Oude, contrary to treaty, that the country has been brought to ruin; that the Prince was driven to actual desperation; and the mischief had proceeded so far in Lord Hastings's time, that "to continue to assert the principle advanced by us, there was no avoiding a decisive struggle; he was on the brink of being forced, in self-defence, to possess himself of the dominions and riches of the Vizier." But, "whatever might have been the exigency that impelled the procedure, it would have *entailed a stain on the British name*; for the case was in no manner capable of explanation, sufficient to do away with the presumption of our *having forced a quarrel on the defenceless for the sake of atrocious plunder.*"

Is the British nation so insensible to every point of honour, and so regardless of their reputation in the estimation of the rest of the world, as to allow the recent proceedings of the Board of Control to pass over without stamping them with the indignation they so justly merit, and bringing the authors of them to condign punishment? Is the whole of Europe, as well as Asia, to consider us as nothing more nor less than an atrocious band of robbers, preaching up morality and religion at home, and practising all sorts of villainy abroad?

Lord Hastings was remarkable for his consistency; he could turn and twist like an eel, and generally, by the slime which stuck to his skin, get through the hands of the fisherman. He, however, met with his match in Colonel Baillie, when he countenanced the rascally intrigue at Lucknow to ruin him, and of which he over and over again appealed to his God and the Council of Calcutta that he knew nothing about it—that neither he or “Lady Loudon” had ever had any conversation with any person about Major Baillie, directly or indirectly. The records incontrovertibly prove that his Lordship had; and with Major Baillie I agree, “that this *diabolical intrigue* must have had, from the very beginning, the countenance and encouragement of Lord Moira.”

The affair of Agha Meer is a most important one. The rascal, that Lord Hastings gave such a character to in 1816, Lord Hastings himself afterwards introduced to the Vizier a second time as Prime Minister. Colonel Baillie, in a letter to the Court of Directors, dated 6th July, 1825, says—

“The present Prime Minister of Oude is the reviled Agha Meer of Lord Hastings, whom I am alleged in this Minute (before quoted) to have forced on his sovereign’s choice; who was, nevertheless, degraded, and became a prisoner of state during the last year of my ministry at Lucknow, and who, strange to tell, has been restored to the plenitude of power since my arrival in this country, during the vigour too of Lord Hastings’s government, and, as I presume, in opposition to his judgment; for, with the sentiments expressed in this Minute, his Lordship could never have advised the re-appointment of such a person as Agha Meer, by our ally the sovereign of Oude, to the highest office in the kingdom.”

This, it will be admitted, is another tolerable sample of his Lordship’s administration of the affairs of the East, and by what means he, as a BRITON, “maintained pure *the unrivalled renown of his native land* ;” that it was

“ not by correctness in their own transactions alone,” the students of the College of Fort William were told, “ that this duty is to be fulfilled ;” but “ each of them, recognising this engagement superior to every other tie, must sternly and steadily oppose any laxity which he may perceive respecting it in another !”

We must now speak a little of this Agha Meer, but not so fully as we could wish, for want of time and want of space. This rascal, it appears, made himself particularly useful, first to Lord Hastings, and then next to Lord Amherst, his successor. Lord Hastings, it appears, by the means of that desperate wretch, obtained a third million from Gazeerood-Deen Hyder. The Resident at the court of Lucknow at that period, I believe, was Mr. Ricketts ; who probably may, and will, if affairs take their right course, be called upon at the bar of the House of Lords to answer a few questions regarding some very important events which took place at Lucknow during the time he was Resident. It has been asserted, and we believe it to be a matter of fact beyond all doubt, that during Lord Amherst’s administration two if not three millions of pounds sterling were extorted from the usurper, Gazeerood-Deen Hyder. For brevity sake, as the instant production of this work is important, we will not advert to the difficulty there was in obtaining the first and second millions, but at once grapple with the monster, the third.

It appears that Lord Amherst, requiring more money to support that most iniquitous war—(a legacy left to him by Lord Hastings, and which he had studiously provoked),\* wrote to the Resident, telling him he must obtain another million from the Vizier for him. The Resident wrote back to him that it was impossible—the usurper had it not ; and that he had had so much difficulty in procuring the last,

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\* See Captain White’s “ *Political History of the Events which led to the Burmese War ;*” or “ *Mirzas Kaiwan Jah.*”

that he dare not mention it; indeed, it had only been granted upon the Resident pledging the honour of the Government that no further demand should at any time be made upon him. It appears that, upon the receipt of the Resident's letter, Lord Amherst himself wrote, or caused to be written, to the Resident, telling him in plain terms that he must have the money, and that if he could not obtain it, he would send some one to Lucknow who could. Upon the receipt of this letter Mr. Ricketts was lost in astonishment and dismay. He sent for Agha Meer, to whom he read the letter. Mr. Ricketts said, "What is to be done?" Agha Meer replied, "What can be done? If the Governor-General does not have it, he says he will send some one here that can get it. If you lose your place, it follows that I lose mine. The money must be had. If I get it, what will the Government do for me?—will it provide for me?" Mr. Ricketts, it is stated, then assured the villain that he would. "Then," says Agha Meer, "I will get the money for you, provided the interest of the principal I shall give you is guaranteed to me by the English Company."

Agha Meer, accordingly, in the evening of the same day, goes to the mad Vizier and usurper, makes him thoroughly drunk, gets him to sign a document authorising the delivery to him of one crore of rupees, or £1,250,000 sterling, and another document purporting that he had given Agha Meer a crore of rupees as a present, out of friendship and in consideration of the great services which he had rendered to his Excellency.

Early the following morning Agha Meer got the money transferred to him, and by nine o'clock was with the Resident, who, in the name of the Government, and with their approbation, signed an agreement that the money should be received from Agha Meer as his own, and that, the principal being sunk, he and his heirs for ever should receive the interest of the capital at the rate of six

per cent. The money was, accordingly, instantly paid over to the Company ; and the gentleman who, on the part of the Company, received the money is now in England.

The queen, or favourite concubine of the usurper, was a woman of great intellect and capacity for business, and having warned Gazee-ood-Deen of the conduct and intentions of Agha Meer, Agha Meer, by keeping the madman in a constant state of drunkenness, prevailed upon Gazee-ood-Deen Hyder to believe that it was the intention of this woman to have him poisoned with the view of securing to her son, by another man, the throne. The Queen, as she was called, and Nusser-ood-Deen Hyder, her son, who had been acknowledged as presumptive heir to the throne, were instantly cast into prison, and remained in confinement until the death of Gazee-ood-Deen Hyder, when they were instantly released, and the latter placed upon the throne. The first act of Nusser-ood-Deen was to shower all possible honours upon Agha Meer, and then in open court, before all the nobles and the British Resident, to call him a scoundrel and a robber, and was about to order his head to be taken off, when the Resident interfered, and said that he was under the protection of the British authority. The new-made King, however, made Agha Meer a prisoner for some years within the walls of one of the palaces which he had built with the money he had stolen from the coffers of Gazee-ood-Deen Hyder. In this state he had remained for three years, protected by the British troops with a guard of honour, when at last, by the instructions of the Governor-General, Nusser-ood-Deen Hyder was compelled to allow of his departure for the Company's provinces.

In his retreat Agha Meer was protected by the British authorities in removing his plunder, estimated at one or two millions ; it took several hundred carts to convey it, and two days to transport it across the Jumna river. Two regiments of Sepoys escorted him through the Oude dominions,

and all the troops at the station of Cawnpore were kept under arms, to act in case of necessity or any attempt on the part of Nusser-ood-Deen Hyder's troops to molest the convoy.

After Agha Meer was safely established in the Company's province, Nusser-ood-Deen Hyder commenced criminal proceedings in the supreme court at Calcutta against him for the million sterling, which induced the Company to step forward and acknowledge the crore of rupees, or the million and a quarter sterling, which they had received from him as a loan, as a debt due by the Company, at the same time, by the hands of the Resident, repaying a part of it (*viz.*, thirty-seven lacs of rupees, or £462,500) in Company's paper.

Such are the outlines of the history of the villain Agha Meer, who contrived to plunder his sovereign—if the madman Gazeer-ood-Deen can be so called—of upwards of six millions sterling, the debt due by the Company at the death of Gazeer-ood-Deen.

In all these most atrocious and abominable proceedings, so disgraceful to the character of the British nation, and so injurious to her interests and permanent settlement in the East, the reader will, probably, be able to trace the real cause why Lord Hastings placed the maniac Gazeer-ood-Deen Hyder upon the throne in preference the Nawaub Shums-ood-Dowlah,—why, on the death of Gazeer-ood-Deen Hyder, they recognised his adopted child as heir to the throne,—why they have refused to place on the throne the adopted son of Nusser-ood-Deen Hyder, Mirzas Kaiwan Jah, whom for thirteen years they had acknowledged as heir to the throne,—and, lastly, why, instead of restoring the throne to the legal heir, the right and lawful owner, the Nawaub Ekbal-ood-Dowlah, they have placed on the throne Nusser-ood-Deen, his great-uncle, in the 92d year of his age, the third son of Saadut Alie, instead of the issue of the second son, Shums-ood-Dowlah.

Having now, we think, satisfactorily proved the right and title to the throne of Oude of the Nawaub Ekbal-ood-Dowlah, the infamous manner in which his father was deprived of the succession after the death of Gazee-ood-Deen Hyder, and the variety of extraordinary causes which appear to have been the sole object in depriving the Prince of his rights, we will now proceed to examine the second object which the Prince has in view by coming to England.

The second claim which the Prince of Oude, Ekbal-ood-Dowlah, has upon the East-India Company, is of a very serious character, as most deeply impeaching their honour, their honesty, their integrity, their good faith, their sense of justice, and regard for solemn and sacred compacts. It arises out of the transaction of the first crore of rupees which Lord Hastings obtained from Gazee-ood-Deen Hyder; and will, if not immediately honourably adjusted, be as disgraceful a transaction as ever stained the page of history, and one of the blackest in the escutcheon of the Honourable the East India Company.

It appears that, previous to Lord Hastings's extortion of the "*voluntary loan*" of the first million sterling from the Vizier, the Indian Government had become the guarantee of certain allowances payable from the treasury of his Excellency the Vizier. With the view of obliterating the debt of the one million two hundred and fifty thousand pounds, which the first crore of rupees created, the usurper Gaze-ood-Deen Hyder was urgent to make a proposition that the interest of the loan should be applied to the payment of the pensions which were guaranteed by the Indian Government. His Lordship, in his letter to the Court of Directors of date the 15th of August, 1815, after observing to them, "You will, I assure myself, have sufficient confidence in my sense of what is due to the delicacy and character of your Government, to be satisfied that I

“ have not committed or allowed a trespass on the kindness of the Vizier,” says—

“ It was arranged that the sum in question should be placed on the footing of a subscription to the Six-per-Cent Loan then open ; but his Excellency’s consent was subsequently obtained to an arrangement for the permanent assignment of the interest on this loan to the payment of those pensions from his Excellency’s treasury which were under the guarantee of the British Government. The correspondence with the Resident at Lucknow will apprise your Honourable Court of the nature and details of that arrangement, and precludes the necessity of entering into the question in this place, beyond observing that the thus securing the regular payment of the above allowances was a matter of great convenience to Government. Your Honourable Court will observe, that under this arrangement the whole of the pensions coming within the description above stated are transferred to the Honourable Company ; and I feel a confident persuasion, that it will put an end to a fruitless source of debate and vexatious discussion between the Vizier and the Resident, the evil effects of which have been so frequently lamented, while their occurrence was almost unavoidable.”

The Court of Directors, in reply to the above dispatch, in the Political Letter to the Government of Bengal, thus confirm the transaction :—

“ We approve of the arrangement entered into with his Excellency for the permanent assignment of the interest on the first loan, to which the further sum of eight lacs fifty thousand rupees has been added, in payment of the pensions granted by the Vizier under the guarantee of the British Government, which we observe, by the statement accompanying the letter from the Resident at Lucknow of the 29th November, 1814, amount to six lacs fifty-one thousand rupees per annum. In giving our sanction to this measure, we trust that the hope entertained by the Governor-General, of putting an end to a fruitless source of debate and vexatious discussion between the Vizier and the Resident, will not be disappointed.”

The statement which accompanied the letter is as follows:—

“ *From his Excellency the Vizier.* (Received the 28th  
“ November, 1814).

“ In my letter of the 5th of Zeehijj (19th instant), I trans-  
“ mitted to you a statement of the pensions to be hereafter paid  
“ from your treasury, excluding those of Teyubba Begum and  
“ her relations. On further consideration, it seems proper that,  
“ according to your original suggestions, Teyubba Begum should  
“ be included in the list; and it is further my desire, that the  
“ allowance of Rumzaun Alie Khan should be added, making  
“ in all, as per the sealed statement inclosed, a sum of six lacs  
“ and fifty-one thousand rupees per annum, for which a provi-  
“ sion shall be made. I therefore write to desire that the pur-  
“ port of this letter and statement be submitted by you to my  
“ respected uncle, the Right Honourable the Governor-General,  
“ Lord Moira; and in the case of his Lordship’s approval, that  
“ the monthly stipends of all the persons named in the statement  
“ be issued hereafter from the Honourable Company’s treasury,  
“ beginning with the first of the present month Zeehijj, 1229  
“ Hijjree (14th November, 1814), and that their receipts be  
“ transmitted to me. Let my former sealed statement be re-  
“ turned.”

*An Account of the Pensions payable from the interest of one crore eight lacs and fifty thousand rupees, given as a loan to the Honourable Company’s Government at six per cent per annum, to commence from the 1st of Zeehijj, 1229, corresponding with the 14th of November, 1814.—Interest monthly, Rs. 54,250.—Do. annually, Rs. 6,51,000.*

Pensioners.	Monthly.		Annually.	
	Rupees.	A. P.	Rupees.	A. P.
His Royal Highness Mirza Sooliman Shekoh-	6,000	0 0	72,000	0 0
The Nawaub Shums-ood Dowlah, with family and dependents, viz.	-	- - -		
His former allowance	14,171	14 0		
Increase ditto	2,494	12 6		
	<hr/>		16,666	10 6
			2,00,000	0 0

Afterwards follows the list of the other pensioners, for which the "*permanent transfer*" of the annual interest of the crore of rupees, amounting to 6,51,000 was transferred to the East-India Company.

Lord Hastings, in a letter to the Vice-President in Council, says—

" The completion of the arrangements connected with the retirement to Benares of the Nawaub Shums-ood-Dowlah has afforded me great satisfaction. The discharge of the arrears of the Nawaub's former stipend, in the manner settled with his Excellency at the conference, namely, by the payment being made in the first instance from the Company's treasury, and the amount to be replaced by the Vizier, has also proved satisfactory to me."

His Lordship was always well pleased when he got money; and, as we have before seen, any arrangement Major Baillie thought proper to make, always "*proved satisfactory*" to him, provided that his "*admirable skill*" and "*zealous exertions*" produced the needful, and thus prevented the "*most serious embarrassments*" which would otherwise have followed without it. If his Lordship could not assist Major Baillie in doing it, it was not his fault; or otherwise he would not have said, "Would to God that Almass Alie Khan's treasure had been discovered!" But his Lordship, or his friends, were seldom at a loss when he wanted to raise it. We have seen how he contrived to get hold of £108,000 by way of securing a provision for life to Rumzaun Alie Khan, the scoundrel who poisoned Saadut Alie, and whose pension (which also was subsequently taken from him) is also included in this "*permanent settlement of the interest of the crore of rupees,*" in trust to the East India Company. With the view of getting hold of a few additional lacs of rupees, Lord Hastings urged upon the new-made Vizier, the usurper of the throne of Shums-ood-Dowlah, that he should make an increase of Rupees 2,494. 12. 6. a month in his salary, or 39,928. 9. 10. a year, by which means he secured nearly

forty thousand pounds. At “a conference Mr. Ricketts, Mr. Adam, and Mr. Swinton had with the Vizier, on the 4th of November,” it is stated that—

“ His Excellency fully acquiesced in the propriety of the removal of the Nawaub Shums-ood-Dowlah from the territories of Oude, and assented to his residing in any part of the Company’s dominions which he might prefer, naming of himself Benares or Patna.

“ We then repeated the Governor-General’s opinion with respect to the stipend to be assigned him. The amount appeared to his Excellency to be too great. He repeatedly said, that he had many other brothers, who would also expect large allowances ; and asked whether what Shums-ood Dowlah now received was a trifle, calculating it at nearly a lac and a half of rupees per annum. We observed, that the case of Shums-ood-Dowlah was too different from that of his brothers to admit of its being made a ground of claim on their part for an increase of stipend ; that his allowance was already much larger than those of his brothers ; that in his father’s life-time he had held a situation of high dignity and importance, and that his claims were proportionably great ; that he was now deprived of all his authority and influence, and about to become an exile from his native country ; that all these considerations ought to operate in his favour, as far as related to a liberal provision for him ; that the removal or continued residence in Oude of the other brothers was a matter referring only to his Excellency’s pleasure, but that the removal of Shums-ood-Dowlah was a measure of state, recommended to him by the Governor-General on grounds of public expediency ; and that therefore, in this instance also, no analogy could be found between his situation and that of the younger brothers. We urged the importance to his Excellency’s reputation, that his brother should not be sent away without a sufficient and even a liberal provision ; and we instanced the case of his late father, who at one time received even three lacs of rupees per annum. His Excellency informed us, that he would consider the subject, and give his answer without delay. We informed

“ him, that it was desirable to receive it early, as in cases of  
 “ this nature the adoption of the resolution should be instantly  
 “ followed up by its execution; that, on knowing his Excel-  
 “ lency’s final sentiments, the Governor-General would commu-  
 “ nicate the arrangements to Shums-ood-Dowlah, and carry it  
 “ into immediate effect. His Excellency intimated a wish, that  
 “ the communication should be made by himself to Shums-ood-  
 “ Dowlah; but we recommended that no step should be taken  
 “ until the question respecting the stipend was finally arranged.  
 “ To this his Excellency assented.”

Of course Gazee-ood-Deen Hyder had no help but to consent. Now mark the sequel. The “*stipend*” was to be increased in consequence of his *superior rank*, “*the situation of high dignity and importance*” which he had held during his father’s life-time, and that he was “*about to become an exile from his native country,*” and that as his removal “*was a measure of state and public expediency*, it was of importance to his Excellency’s reputation that his brother should not be sent away without a sufficient and even a liberal provision.” The money obtained, how did the Company act? Why, in a very short time they refused to pay him more than 150,000 rupees a year. This they paid until his death in December, 1827, since which period they have never paid a farthing; and the Nawaub Ekbal-ood-Dowlah, after having in vain made many efforts to obtain it from the Government of India, has now very properly come in person, not only to demand the arrears due to him, amounting to 2,794,338 Rupees, but, before he returns to India under any circumstances, to see that the future payment of the stipend due to him and his heirs is duly provided for. This is no more than his right. It is a just demand, and must be immediately complied with. The pertness or insolence of the Board of Control will not get the better of it; and if the Proprietors of India Stock do not see into it, and order its immediate adjustment, proceedings at law must be adopted, which

they will find very inconvenient as a precedent, to say nothing of the consequences it might in other respects entail. The East India Company are merely trustees to a fund, of which it appears they have most grossly abused the trust in the deed. They stand merely in the light of guardians; and it is a most abominably disgraceful thing, that they should have thus defrauded their charge. Hitherto the Court of Directors, and the Proprietors of Stock, have had nothing to do with the transaction; it rests now to see how they will act,—whether they will repudiate all connexion with the foul offence, or openly avow their admiration of the system, and, with all the weight in their power, support the infamous conduct of the Indian Government. They are very much mistaken if they should happen to think that the Nawaub will sit down quietly under injuries like these, supported with insult and contempt. Let the Board of Control take care what they are about; the treatment which this Prince has received, and has yet to receive, will produce an effect in India far beyond what the shallow mind of Sir John Hobhouse can dream of or comprehend.

It must be borne in mind, that, with the view of obliterating a debt of £1,250,000 of hard money, obtained from the mad usurper as a “subscription to a six-per-cent loan,” a “*permanent assignment of the interest on this loan*” was made, or rather forced upon him, as his Lordship felt a “*confident persuasion, that the transfer to the Honourable Company of the obligation of paying directly from its own treasury those stipends for which it is the guarantee will for ever destroy a fruitful source of debate and vexatious discussion between the Vizier and the Resident, the evil effects of which have been so frequently a matter of regret, while their occurrence was almost unavoidable.*”

It was, no doubt, as my Lord Hastings says, “a matter of great convenience to the Government,” when laying

hold of the second crore of rupees, or £1,250,000, to be able by some manœuvre to obliterate the debt of the first; and therefore the putting “an end to a fruitful source of debate and vexatious discussion between the Vizier and the Resident, the evil effects of which had been so frequently lamented,” formed a very plausible excuse. The Court of Directors appear at the time to have considered it as such, as, “in giving our sanction to this measure,” they said, “we trust that the hope entertained by the Governor-General, of putting an end to a fruitful source of debate and vexatious discussion between the Vizier and the Resident, will not be disappointed.” The “*vexatious discussion*,” the evil effects of which the Government in India “*so frequently lamented*,” has now been transferred from Lucknow to London,—from the Resident and the Vizier to the English nation and the should-be Vizier, or the King of Oude (if so they will persist in calling the hereditary Prime Minister of the Mogul Empire; for in whatever part of Northern Asia the Prince may ever travel, he will there be recognized as such, and in no other light). We, too, trust and hope, that the “*vexatious discussion*” will soon be got rid of, and that “*a permanent settlement*,” *executed before the eyes of the British nation and the whole world*, “*will for ever put an end to a fruitful source of debate.*”

How miserably has my Lord Hastings been mistaken in all his calculations of “*permanent settlement*,” of “*a fruitful source of debate and vexatious discussion for ever destroyed*,” of the “*taking away all possible pretext with which a foreign power might invade Hindoostan!*” Empty-pated, shallow, vain, pompous, conceited man! He wanted money; money he would have, if it was to be had by any means, whether by stratagem, fraud, or force. Three-fourths of Asia have reason to curse his very name; and the time will come when, through his mal-administration, his own country will execrate it. As Governor-

General of India, he was all-mighty, and, with common prudence and foresight, he could have rendered those who were under his rule happy and contented. Unhappily for himself, and to the great mortification of his friends, after all the vain-glory of his reign, and the pompous boasting of his exploits, he terminated his days in humiliation and contemptible insignificance. The proud and haughty, the commanding and domineering, once Governor-General of India, died an exile in Malta, in poverty and distress!

We have now with us the son and heir of the Prince Shums-ood-Dowlah, who "in his father's life-time had held," as Lord Hastings says, "a situation of high dignity and importance; and that his claims were proportionably great; and that as he was then about to be deprived of all his authority and influence, and about to become an exile from his native country, all those considerations ought to operate in his favour." That his being an "*exile*" will do so, there can be no doubt; this circumstance will alone, in Great Britain, operate powerfully in his favour; but when we come to look at the rascally causes which induced Lord Hastings to "exile," and "*deprive him of all authority and influence,*" but one burst of indignation can exist throughout all Europe. The degradation which befel Lord Hastings, after his return to England, appears to have been a visitation of Providence. The East India Company withholding him the pension of former Governors, his poverty was such that he was glad to accept of the paltry situation of Governor of Malta. Providence has protected the "*exiled*" Prince for many years, and has caused the son and heir to be the means, by his presence in England, of unfolding the sad catalogue of crimes which stain that peer's administration in the East.

The Coronation is near at hand, and the newspapers are full of the solemnities to be observed upon the awful occasion of our youthful Queen, surrounded by the Princes

and Princesses of the Royal Blood, and all the nobles of the land, attended by all the high prelates of the church, kneeling at the altar to swear to revere and maintain the Protestant Religion, and support and enforce the laws of this nation as established by Magna Carta, one of which articles is, that the lawful heir shall succeed to his inheritance, and that no man shall in any ways be kept out of or deprived of that to which by law he is entitled. After her Majesty has taken this oath, how will she act? Will the ministers of the crown, as though the Deity were an imaginary being, immediately afterwards insist upon her Majesty coolly and deliberately violating it, by refusing to place the lawful heir upon the throne of Oude, and who is now here, as her Majesty's ministers well know, to demand it. Is the coronation oath a mere matter of form? and is the gaudy pageant a mere exhibition, devoid of respect for religion, and destitute of all those high and important attributes which the mind is led to believe are the primitive causes of it? Surrounded by the representatives of all the Sovereigns of Europe, doing homage to our young, virtuous, and beautiful Queen, the hope, the pride, the joy of the nation, how is it possible that men, not only charged by the page of history, but convicted of having countenanced the foulest offences, of deeds of unparalleled turpitude, can appear in her presence and be participators in the solemn ceremony? While such charges are hanging over their heads, are they fit subjects to be present on the occasion, to be the prominent leaders in it, and afterwards to receive marks of approbation, tokens of favour, and elevation of rank from our Queen? God forbid! But so it appears that it is to be the case. A coronation! A coronation indeed!—with these truths in the hands of the representatives of every Sovereign in Europe,—that the Prince of Oude, the lawful Sovereign of that kingdom, who has been most wickedly and unjustly deprived of his throne, is in London, and that, through dread and fear of the exposure

of past villainies, which is about to take place, the Ministers dare not even recognize him as a Prince, and invite him to the coronation, although this nation has, through his ancestors, obtained, voluntarily, or by force or fraud, upwards of a hundred millions sterling, their first footing in the East, and from whom some of the finest jewels in the crown of England were obtained, and the most costly and valuable things about to be exhibited to them within the walls of the royal palaces! Yes, the hereditary Grand Vizier of the Mogul Empire, after being led into rebellion against his Sovereign, the King of Delhi, and made a King, has been himself robbed, pillaged, and plundered of all his wealth, and his kingdom into the bargain. And by whom? By Great Britain. Why and wherefore? Insatiable rapacity!

The day of retribution, however, is not far off; nearer, probably, than what some persons may imagine. One hundred and twenty millions of people, differing in manners, habits, and religion, who look upon us as intruders, and feel our presence as a nuisance, will not much longer put up with our company. The 120,00,000 of inhabitants owe, as Lord Hastings says, fealty to the Great Mogul, to whom the Nawaub of Oude was, and ever will be, regarded as prime minister. We may for a time—but it is a very short time—feel ourselves independent of the services, the kind and good feelings, which have ever been exercised towards us by the Viziers of Oude; we may set upon the throne another madman, or an illegitimate, who has not even a recognized father, but still, after all, the unhallowed fabric must fall to the ground. We are aliens; and the soil, sooner or later, must return into the hands of the natives.

It is now just 140 years since the English obtained permission from the Emperor Aurungzebe to purchase from the Indian proprietors the villages of Sooha Nutty, Calcutta, and Goundpoore, on which ground the city of Calcutta now stands, and Fort William, so called in compli-

ment to his Majesty King William the Third. It is now 123 years since the first embassy was sent to Delhi, to the Emperor, to gain a greater degree of protection from the Native powers, and which was obtained through the instrumentality of the Vizier,—yes, through the mediation of the Vizier of Oude, the royal firmaun, or grant, was issued by the Emperor, declaring Calcutta an independent presidency, alone accountable to the Court of Directors, and conferring additional privileges on the Company. Ever since which period the successive Viziers of Oude have been our firmest, our best friends—have stood by us in every difficulty and every danger—have conferred thousands and tens of thousands of obligations upon us, while, in return, we have never had it in our power to return one. On the contrary, the present moment is seized by her Majesty's advisers to load with insult and disdain the heir and representative of the Princes to whom we are so much indebted. Shame! shame!! That it was through the kind offices of the Grand Vizier that we obtained our first permanent footing in the East, the following extract from the letter of our ambassadors in 1715 incontestibly proves:—

“ On the 7th (July, 1715), in the morning, we made our entry  
 “ with very good order, there being sent a munsudbar of 2000  
 “ munsud, with about 200 horse and peons to meet us, bringing  
 “ likewise two elephants and flags. About the middle of the  
 “ city we were met by Synd Sallabut Caun Behauder, and were  
 “ by him conducted to the palace, where we waited till about  
 “ twelve o'clock, till the King came out, before which time we  
 “ met with Kaundora Bahauder, who received us very civilly,  
 “ assuring us of his protection and services. We proposed for  
 “ our first present, *viz.*, 100 gold mohurs (£200 sterling), the  
 “ table clock set with precious stones, the unicorn's horn, the  
 “ gold scrutoir brought from Tendy Caun, the large piece of  
 “ ambergris, the affo and chellumche-monilla work, and the map  
 “ of the world ; these, with the Honourable the Governor's letter,

“ were presented, every one holding something in his hand as  
 “ usual. Considering the great pomp and state of the Kings of  
 “ Hindoostan, we were very well received. On our arrival at  
 “ our house, we were entertained by Synd Sallabut Caun, suffi-  
 “ cient both for us and our people ; in the evening he visited us  
 “ again, and stayed about two hours. The great favour Caun-  
 “ dora is in with the King gives us hopes of success in this under-  
 “ taking ; he assures us of his protection, and says the King has  
 “ promised us very great favours. We have received orders,  
 “ first, to visit Caundora as our patron ; after which, we shall  
 “ be ordered to visit the Grand Vizier (the Prime Minister), and  
 “ other Omrahs. We would have avoided this if we could, fearing  
 “ to disoblige the Vizier ; but finding it not feasible, rather than  
 “ disoblige one who has been so serviceable, and by whose  
 “ means we expect to obtain our desires, we comply with it.”

In order to give our readers a slight idea of the “ great  
 “ pomp and state of the Kings of Hindoostan ” previous to  
 our connection with them, we will give a short extract, from  
 the records of Parliament, of a paper entitled “ *Article of*  
 “ *Charge of High Crimes and Misdemeanors committed by*  
 “ *Richard Colley Marquis Wellesley, in his transactions*  
 “ *with respect to the Nabob Vizier of Oude,*” to whom may  
 be traced the ruin and degradation of that illustrious  
 family—for it is said that he has not, up to the last, ceased  
 to advise, although for years he has ceased to have ought  
 to do with India.

“ That Oude is an independent Principality in the peninsula  
 “ of India, adjoining on one side to the British territories, being  
 “ in extent somewhat larger than England and Wales ; having  
 “ many large and populous cities, amongst which is Lucknow,  
 “ the present capital, exceeding in number of inhabitants Lon-  
 “ don and Westminster together, and containing, in the whole  
 “ principality, a population of nearly six millions of souls. That  
 “ the government is monarchical in form, and absolute in the per-  
 “ son of the sovereign, whose title is that of Nabob Vizier ; who  
 “ had under him, previous to the spoliation and extortion of

“ Marquis Wellesley, a high and opulent nobility ; whose court  
 “ exhibited every mark of splendour, and every proof of rever-  
 “ ence and devotion to the Sovereign ; whose jewels alone were  
 “ worth four millions of pounds sterling ; whose retinue was  
 “ so numerous, that he was sometimes attended with five hundred  
 “ elephants, richly caparisoned, the whole number of his  
 “ elephants and stable horses amounting to several thousands ;  
 “ and whose army consisted of more than thirteen thousand  
 “ horse, and thirty thousand foot, exclusive of artillery, and ex-  
 “ clusive also of an armed police. That the principality of  
 “ Oude abounds in fertile lands, and yields (besides those sorts  
 “ of grain which are common to England) cotton, indigo, rice,  
 “ sugar, and many other valuable commodities. That the ma-  
 “ nufactories, previous to the spoliations of Marquis Wellesley,  
 “ were extensive, and the exports thereof great, both in quantity  
 “ of goods and in amount of value ; and that the revenues of the  
 “ country were abundant, and daily increasing. That the mode  
 “ of raising the revenues of Oude has grown out of the nature of  
 “ the government ; according to the laws and usages of which,  
 “ the Sovereign, that is to say, the Nabob Vizier, is the sole and  
 “ exclusive owner of the lands, there being in the country no  
 “ property but that which is derived from the profits of the taxes  
 “ farmed out or let by him, and collected by his authority, and, if  
 “ need be, by the aid of his troops. That the great Renters or  
 “ Farmers-General of the Taxes, are called Aumils, of whom  
 “ there are about twenty in number, and to whom the taxes of  
 “ counties or portions of the country are let ; the two principal  
 “ Aumils being Almas Ali Cawn and Mirza Mehindy, the former  
 “ having the farm of one-third and the latter of one-fourth of  
 “ the revenues of the whole country. That there is another  
 “ class of renters or farmers of the taxes under the Aumils, call-  
 “ ed Zemindars, a superior class of whom are also distinguished  
 “ by the name of Rajahs, who rent of the Aumils the taxes of  
 “ their several townships or villages, each Zemindar being, how-  
 “ ever, in such his minor district, a sort of hereditary feudal  
 “ chieftain, having his family, his clan, and generally a fortress  
 “ to defend himself against the Aumil, in case of a quarrel  
 “ arising from the oppression of the latter, or from any other

“ cause. That from the Ryots, or husbandmen and manufac-  
 “ turers (which character is generally united in the same person),  
 “ the taxes are collected by their respective Zemindars. That  
 “ the rent of the taxes is fixed by agreements annually made,  
 “ first, between the Nabob Vizier and the Aumils, who are be-  
 “ sides great nobles, composing a part of his court, and, except  
 “ in the season of collection, residing in the capital; next, be-  
 “ tween the Aumils and the Zemindars, from whom the former  
 “ obtain as high a rent as they can prevail on the latter to give;  
 “ and, lastly, between the Zemindars and their Ryots, to each of  
 “ whom is left, out of the produce of his labour, the means where-  
 “ with to subsist in a greater or less degree of ease, there being,  
 “ according to the laws and usages of the country, no possibility  
 “ of his acquiring any thing to which the name of property can  
 “ apply. That, from such a state of existence, so degrading in  
 “ the eyes of Britons, it became a British Governor and Com-  
 “ mander (if at all justified in interfering) to endeavour to exalt  
 “ the people of Oude; but that, as it will hereafter appear, the  
 “ aforesaid Marquis Wellesley, after having, under pretences  
 “ the most groundless, encroached upon and extended his sway  
 “ over the principality of Oude, did, upon the people thereof,  
 “ impose burdens greatly surpassing any that had ever been im-  
 “ posed even by the most oppressive of their native Sovereigns,  
 “ their Aumils, or their Zemindars.”

What painful sensations must there not spring up in  
 the bosom of every true-born Briton at the perusal of such  
 a document—by the knowledge of such facts—and by the  
 reflection that the legal heir to the once “ *independent*  
 “ *principality*” of Oude is now in London—in “ *exile,*”  
 as Lord Hastings said of his father when he expelled him  
 from the dominions of his ancestors. He has not even  
 been honoured with a visit from any one of the members  
 of this Government, much less with an invitation to attend  
 at the coronation, while a letter which he wrote upon his  
 arrival to the President of the Board of Control remains to  
 this time unanswered. The absence of the Prince and

heir to the throne of Oude from this great and awful public ceremony—the arrangements of which are, as a necessary consequence, left to the Ministers of the Crown—is a great and national loss, and an event which will be productive of the worst and most fatal consequences to our interests throughout all Asia; it will effectually dissolve the charm which has united the natives of India with us.

Before the renewal of the charter, the Court of Directors entered their most solemn protest against their being reduced from their then “*importance und independence as a part of the machinery employed in the administration of the government of India,*” and being “*reduced to the situation of a Government Board;* for if that was done—“ if their independence should cease, the charm of the system by which the affairs of India have been hitherto administered, would vanish.” This has taken place, notwithstanding the solemn and written assurance of Mr. Charles Grant, that “*it cannot be meant or anticipated.*” “ The President of the Board of Control and the Governor-General,” as Mr. Henry St. George Tucker then observed, “ is the *sole machinery employed in the administration of the government of India;*” “ upon them therefore, while from Benares upwards,” as Mr. Holt Mackenzie says, “ *we govern with the sword,*” “ *must the fate of India,*” as Mr. Tucker very justly observed, “ henceforth depend.”

The Marquis of Wellesley, the original author of all those abominations which for thirty-eight years have afflicted Oude, may recollect, that when he was approaching Lucknow in 1802, to make what was called his “*final arrangement with the Nawaub Saadut Alie,*” the grandfather of the Prince Ekbal-ood-Dowlah, he was met by that Vizier, who, as Major Ousely says, “ was attended “ by about six hundred elephants—one street of elephants for about six miles out of town.” Why has not the Marquis pointed out to her Majesty’s Ministers the necessity,

the imperious necessity—regardless of all consideration for the object of his visit to England—for inviting the Nawaub, as a prince of the blood of Saadut Alie, of Shums-ood-Dowlah, of Asoph-ood-Dowlah, to the coronation? Why has he not introduced the Prince to her Majesty the Queen? Is all Asia to be told the sovereign contempt we hold the natives of that land in? Will the British nation be a party to, or join in concurrence with this act, which is to stamp our character for ever in the eyes of all Europe as well as Asia—as regardless of all sense of decency, or respect for the most solemn obligations? Is it that the native princes of Asia—our own subjugated subjects—are not fit subjects to be present upon such occasions? If it is thought so, let us refer to the character given by Major Ouseley in 1806, before the Committee of the whole House of Commons. When he was required to give his opinion as to the Nawaub's talents, and his qualifications to rule the country, he says—

“ He is a man of very great dignity, a man of very princely  
 “ behaviour and deportment; he is sensible, acute, well read, a  
 “ very excellent scholar, and has gone through a liberal edu-  
 “ cation for a man of that country; and in repartee, and every  
 “ thing that is becoming a gentleman, in witticisms, and every  
 “ thing else, he shines; he is a great ornament of society; he  
 “ has a very general knowledge, not only of literature as culti-  
 “ vated by the natives of the East, but also of literature in  
 “ general; and to mention more trifling accomplishments, he is  
 “ a very good horseman; he has a taste for drawing; he is a  
 “ very good architect; he has a very good taste as to ornaments  
 “ in houses; he builds palaces with very great taste; he is fond  
 “ of the amusements of the field, particularly hunting and shoot-  
 “ ing; he is particularly fond of horses; he has a very fine stud  
 “ to improve the breed of horses about his own country; and as  
 “ a gentleman, meeting him in society, he is as pleasant a com-  
 “ panion as ever I met.”

The same may be said of his grandson, the Prince or Nawaub Ekbal-ood-Dowlah, that he is a man of very great dignity—a man of very princely behaviour and deportment; he is sensible, acute, well-read, and a very excellent scholar, has gone through a very liberal education, and has a very general knowledge of literature as cultivated by the natives; has been travelling over Hindoostan ever since he was twelve years of age, and has written six or seven and twenty volumes, on a variety of subjects.

Has it been forgotten by the Marquis of Wellesley, that when the 8th Dragoons was serving as Infantry volunteers with Lord Lake's army in 1803, the Company being unable to mount them, that Saadut Alie, when he heard of it, instantly mounted them? Let us hear Major Ouseley on the subject.

“ They were marching up on foot. I stated the fact, and mentioned that they were a very spirited corps, who, not having horses, had volunteered serving on foot. He said, it was a pity such brave fellows should be in want of horses, and immediately wrote, or got Colonel Scott to write, to General Lake, to send a person from Cawnpore to Lucknow, to select out of his stud four hundred of the best of his horses (not his own riding-horses of course) to mount those Dragoons. Colonel Vandaleur was quite proud of this, and the opportunity it gave him and his corps to distinguish themselves, which they did afterwards; and he sent him four or five couple of Irish buckhounds, which he knew the Nabob was very fond of, as a present from himself, which I believe was the only remuneration his Highness ever got for it.”

Is it forgotten that in the year 1804, when General Lake was ordered to move with the army from Cawnpore after Holkar, but from a deficiency in the treasury his movements were stopped; as soon as Saadut Alie heard of it, says Major Ousley,

“ We had scarcely done breakfast, when a letter came from  
 “ the Nabob to offer him the money necessary to set General  
 “ Lake afloat, and understanding that eight or ten lacs of rupees  
 “ (£100,000 in English money) would be sufficient, he wrote to  
 “ Colonel Collins, to say the money should be sent whenever he  
 “ pleased; and in the course of that day or the following day,  
 “ he put as many bags of rupees on the elephants, and sent them  
 “ in to Colonel Collins: they were immediately after dispatched  
 “ to General Lake, and the army moved. His Highness’s con-  
 “ duct in this respect was mentioned by Colonel Collins, and  
 “ Lord Wellesley wrote a very handsome and grateful letter to  
 “ the Nabob, stating his own personal gratitude, as well as the  
 “ high mark of good faith he had shewed to the Company; how-  
 “ ever, his letter was couched in such grateful and pleasing terms  
 “ to the Nabob, that it was the means afterwards of inducing  
 “ the Nabob to confer the further favour of advancing five or six  
 “ lacs to the Company; and I have heard from Colonel Collins  
 “ since, that he increased that loan, I believe, to twenty lacs of  
 “ rupees.”

Is it forgotten that when Zemaun Shah was at Lahore  
 in 1799, and threatened the invasion of our Indian posses-  
 sions, the Nawaub Vizier “ showed the greatest zeal and  
 cordiality in the cause,” and “ assisted us with a great  
 deal of cattle and grain?”

Have all these great national services which have been  
 rendered to Great Britain by the hereditary Grand Viziers  
 of the Mogul empire been forgotten; and has the British  
 nation, like Colonel Baillie, with his Moonshee and the  
 prime minister Agha Meer, “ placed their sense of honour  
 and justice upon the shelf, and, having fallen into the lusts  
 of the brittle things of this world, given themselves into  
 the hands of Sir John Hobhouse and Co.—a man whose  
 “ character and conduct in this affair is set out.” “ Do  
 “ they not fear that the reputation of so illustrious a  
 “ nation, whose conduct and principles are celebrated  
 “ and current all over the seven climates (whole world),

“ from Evan and Tooran even to Rami (Constantinople)  
 “ and China, and who are in habits of intercourse with  
 “ all the kings of the earth, will be affected by it?”

How many noblemen are there not, as well as commoners, who are about to participate largely in the ceremonies of the coronation, that owe their present position in society to the grandfather and great-grandfather of the Prince Ekbal-ood-Dowlah, Sujah-Dowlah and Saadut Alie? They went to India almost paupers, but returned, from circumstances and causes, Gentlemen—Esquires! Through the wealth they had obtained they got into society—got knighted—and peerages followed, as a matter of course.

It is well known what the grounds are upon which the President of the Board of Control means to justify his conduct relative to the *private instructions* he gave to Colonel Low how to act in the event of the death of Nusser-ood-Deen Hyder, who had two years before his death repudiated the offspring which for thirteen years he had acknowledged. In the first place, he says, since the “*independence*” of the Court of Directors has been done away with, and the supremacy of the Board of Control established, in important matters, such as settling the point of succession to the different nawaubships, it must depend entirely upon circumstances, matters of fact and expediency, and as necessity may occur, and state policy require, prompt and decisive measures; and although they may not be exactly regulated upon the principles of equity and justice, or indeed according either to the Mahomedan or the English law, it is of no consequence; it matters not that a great evil or injury be inflicted upon individuals, provided the bulky machine of state is kept moving, and reform is carried into effect according to my model. Of these expedients and necessities he alone must be the best judge; and, as the supreme head of the Eastern empire, he considers that it

would be improper, and even dangerous, at all times to communicate his sentiments to any one, even to the Governor-General, much more to "the shop-keepers," as he insolently, in imitation of Lord Glenelg, presumed to designate the Court of Directors, when they resisted his attempts to deprive them of their authority, and when they so nobly hurled back, with scorn, contempt, and defiance, the rascally dispatch he endeavoured, by the force of the law, when all other means failed, to compel them to send out\*, relative to the infamous claim of the Dosses for £13,328,945,058, or thirteen thousand three hundred and twenty-eight millions nine hundred and forty-five thousand and fifty-eight pounds sterling, being about sixteen times the amount of the national debt; and this with "a strong conviction" that it was "a just and valid claim, the settlement of which should no longer be delayed, and which the interests of justice and the wishes of the British Government require that the Indian Government should enforce payment of."

In the second place, Sir John Hobhouse says, when I entered upon the office of President of the Board of Control, I found the universal principle which had guided all my predecessors to have been founded upon self-will, regardless of equity and justice; and that when he cast his eye over the records, he found a hundred cases of rascally conduct towards the Native Princes with regard to the line of succession, which would have rendered it a dangerous precedent to have departed therefrom; and, after alluding to Lord Hastings having put the maniac Gazeerood-Deen Hyder upon the throne of Oude, and after him his adopted son and acknowledged heir, for certain weighty considerations, Nusser-ood-deen Hyder, to the exclusion of Shums-ood Dowlah, it were impossible with any consistency to have acted otherwise than place the

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\* See "*Mirzas Kaiwan Jah*," for the particulars.

old man, the third son of Saadut Alie, upon the throne. He refers to the measure of Lord Wellesley (and he is their polar star, and he "*had an entire conviction of the strength*" of Lord Glenelg's demand upon the Dosses) in 1802, when the young Nawaub of Furruckabad became of age, instead of placing him upon his throne, under the most false pretences he thought "it would be equally unjust and imprudent to commit the independent management of a territory, situated as Furruckabad is with respect to the Company's provinces," to the management of the young Prince; and therefore, on the 7th of June, 1802, he compelled the young Nawaub to sign a treaty ceding to the Company the dominions he inherited from his ancestors, gave the youth a pension amounting to a fifth of the revenue; and made the Deputy, who had governed for the Nawaub during his minority, every thing that he wished to be short of Nawaub. Sir John Hobhouse next refers to the Nawaub of the Carnatic, "*the old and approved ally of the Company.*" The Nawaub Amdul-ul-Omrah, the son and successor of Mahomed Ally, died in 1801. Lord Wellesley went out to India with instructions from the then rascally Board of Control to seize upon the dominions of the Carnatic the first favourable opportunity. Accordingly, on the death of that Prince, his Lordship concluded a treaty with a distant relation of the deceased Nabob, by which his son and rightful heir was set aside; while the favourite usurper was acknowledged as Nabob, and secured in a large pension, for transferring the management and revenue to the Company.

"This case, then," says Sir John Hobhouse, "is precisely in point. The Board of Control, in 1799, gave private instructions to Lord Wellesley to seize upon the Carnatic," (by which a fine job was made in a commission to settle the debts of the late Nawaub); "in 1836, I gave similar instructions to Colonel Low

“ to seize upon Oude. This then,” he says, “ is the  
“ precedent by which I justify my conduct.”

In the third place, he purposes to defend his conduct by a pretended reference to the Mahommedan law, and which has no existence beyond the invention of his own brain, or that of some of his worthy coadjutors. Indeed, so nicely had every thing been concocted in Downing Street between Lord Glenelg and Mr. Babington Macauley, the great oriental “ BLACK ACT ” lawgiver, that when Sir John Hobhouse came into office, he was previously sworn not to meddle or disturb any of the plans so concocted. Mr. Babington Macauley, being the only person in the secret of the part the Resident was to act, being upon the spot, and at the time it was supposed that the event might take place, was ready with his card ; and it accordingly appeared in the following shape in the *Calcutta Courier* of July 15th, 1837.

“ DEATH OF THE KING OF OUDE.—In our town edition of  
“ yesterday, we announced the demise of the King of Oude.  
“ Minute guns were fired this morning from the ramparts of  
“ Fort William to the number of thirty-five, corresponding with  
“ the age of the deceased monarch. We hear that his uncle,  
“ the Nawaub Nusser-ood-Dowlah, has been proclaimed at  
“ Lucknow, with the sanction of the British Resident, which of  
“ course has not been given without instructions, but we never-  
“ theless look for its confirmation here by the usual notice in the  
“ Gazette. The Nawaub who has succeeded to the throne, is a  
“ Prince of good reputation, the second of many brothers, of  
“ whom the eldest, Nawaub Shums-ood-Dowlah, died about nine  
“ years ago in Calcutta, and thereby, according to the Maho-  
“ medan law, which does not recognize the principle of inherit-  
“ ance by *stirpes*, deprived his sons of the presumptive right they  
“ would have had in succession to their father, had he survived  
“ the late King.

“ His deceased Majesty was the son of Gazee-ood-Deen  
“ Hyder, the eldest son of Saadut Jung. During his life-time  
“ he acknowledged two sons ; but the British Government, upon

“ evidence taken, refused to acknowledge them, and the King  
 “ afterwards himself disavowed them, as all our readers must  
 “ recollect who are conversant with the printed papers relative  
 “ to Oude affairs. This line therefore failing, the succession  
 “ went back to the senior surviving uncle. But, in point of  
 “ fact, the Mahomedan law seems to sanction the *detur optimo*  
 “ principle, of which a memorable instance will be recollected  
 “ in the case of Arcot, where the natural heir, having refused to  
 “ accede to the terms proposed to him by the British Govern-  
 “ ment, was passed over in consequence.”—*Calcutta Courier*,  
*July 15th.*

Those who are conversant with the manner in which the editors of papers in the interest of any administration put out what are termed feelers, will at once see through the flimsy veil. Lord Auckland was horror-struck, and so taken by surprise, that he could not believe that he was in his senses, when he was thus unceremoniously and publicly told that “ *the Nawaub Nusser-ood-Dowlah had been pro-*  
 “ *claimed at Lucknow, with the sanction of the British*  
 “ *Resident;*” that it could not, *of course*, have been done  
 “ *without instructions,*” and with the broad intimation to him “ *for its confirmation in the Gazette.*” The stuff and rigmarole about the Nawaub succeeding to the throne according to the Mahomedan law, had all been ready concocted in London; and as his Lordship, as a matter of course, would be perfectly ignorant of it, it was presumed that he would take it all for gospel, and act accordingly;—which, of course, he did. The case of the Nawaub of Arcot referred to is the same as we have before alluded to,—the Nawaub of the Carnatic, of which Arcot was the capital, as Lucknow is of Oude. With regard, however, to the Mahomedan law authorizing or sanctioning such a line of succession, it is utterly false and void of all foundation—and he who asserts to the contrary let him quote the law, chapter and verse. The law of succession is the same,—the son taking after the father; in default of issue, the elder brother and his issue.

But admitting, for argument sake, that that was the Mahomedan law, of what avail could it be to Sir John Hobhouse? The British Government in every case has enforced the laws of primogeniture.

The indignation of the people of Calcutta, on the receipt of this intelligence, knew no bounds. Other newspapers spoke of it in undisguised terms of bitter reproach, and declared that the right to the throne of Oude of the Prince Ekbal-ood-Dowlah Bahador was as clear as that of the Princess Victoria; that the cases were in point; and that they might just as well, in the event of the demise of the crown of England, venture to place the Duke of Cumberland upon the throne of this kingdom, as Nusser-ood-Dowlah, the great uncle of Ekbal-ood-Dowlah upon the throne of Oude.

Let Sir John Hobhouse turn and twist whichever way he will, he is in a dilemma, between two horns; let him perch himself upon whichever he pleases. He is, we are told, outrageous with the Court of Directors of the East India Company, who, with the exception of one or two individuals in his confidence, he says, are about to desert him. When a private friend of Sir John's, the other day, told him, that Mr. Henry St. George Tucker, Mr. Jenkins, Colonel Lushington, and some others of the East India Directors, had been to call upon the Prince Ekbal-ood-Dowlah, and that the Prince had remarked, that the visits of such gentlemen, who had seen so much of India, and were so conversant in Indian affairs, afforded him the highest gratification, he is said to have replied, "D—n the fellow, and the Directors too! What business had Auckland to allow him to come? Was there not a provision in the Black Act which prohibited Natives leaving India without the permission of the Government?"—"There certainly is," replied Sir John Hobhouse's friend; "but Lord Auckland in this instance, though it was expressly framed to prevent the departure of the Prince,

“ yet his case had excited so much public attention, and  
 “ the ‘ *Black Act* ’ was held in such universal abhorrence  
 “ by the Natives as well as Europeans, was fearful of the  
 “ consequences of it; it might have led to the most serious  
 “ consequences in Calcutta, and a revolt throughout the  
 “ Prince’s dominions, where he is most sincerely and affec-  
 “ tionately beloved, and the names of his father, grand-  
 “ father, and great grandfather are venerated. They are  
 “ looked upon as having fallen martyrs to British ambition,  
 “ and that in their struggle to maintain some power and  
 “ influence, to guard the interests of their subjects, they  
 “ became the victims to its fury.”—“ Very well,” says  
 Hobhouse, “ we will soon see and put all these things to  
 “ rights. Auckland shall be removed; he is not fit for the  
 “ post. Glenelg, as soon as the coronation is over, shall  
 “ go out. The fellow can make no way now the session is  
 “ so far advanced; and by the time the Parliament meets  
 “ again, the affair will be so stale that it will be buried in  
 “ oblivion. I shall be in the House of Lords, and take the  
 “ Colonies with’ me. Babington Macauley will be a  
 “ Baronet, and President of the Board of Control; and  
 “ if the East India Directors don’t take care of themselves,  
 “ there shall be no more baronetcies distributed amongst  
 “ them.”

“ Have you,” said Sir John Hobhouse’s friend, “ got  
 “ the ‘ *Black Act* ’ by you.”—“ Oh, yes,” says Hobhouse,  
 with a pallid countenance, while he stretched out his arm  
 across the table, and grasped a book bound in black,  
 with the edges of the leaves of the colour of blood,  
 having upon one cover a black and white negro chained  
 and handcuffed together, with other emblems of slavery,  
 and on the other, in letters of blood colour, the words  
 “ NUSSER-OOD-DEEN HYDER DIED BY POISON  
 “ JULY 15TH, 1838; and ONE THOUSAND persons were  
 “ murdered by the British troops on the same day, to  
 “ place upon the throne NUSSER-OOD-DOWLAH, to the ex-

“ *clusion of the lawful heir, the Prince EKBAL-ODD-DOW-*  
 “ *LAH.*” Then opening the book, “ *dedicated by permis-*  
 “ *sion*” to himself,—“ the laws compiled by Babington Ma-  
 “ cauley, Esquire, Member of the Supreme Council of  
 “ Calcutta, and Chief *Law Commissioner,*” he read as  
 “ follows— :

“ *ENACTED, That from the 15th day of November, 1837,*  
 “ *no native of India, Lascars (that is, mariners) excepted,*  
 “ *shall quit the territories under British rule, without an*  
 “ *order from the Government ! ! !*”

“ This, then,” said Sir John Hobhouse in a rage, “ is  
 “ the law of the land, and henceforth it shall be enforced ;  
 “ and those who dare venture to attempt to violate it,  
 “ shall be served as Vizier Alie was.”

“ But,” says the friend of Sir John, “ do you not think  
 “ you will be deserted by your own friends, as well as be  
 “ opposed by the opposition, if ever the merits of these  
 “ extraordinary events come to be publicly discussed ?”—  
 “ No,” replies Sir John, “ they dare not desert me ;—I  
 “ have now prepared three large quarto volumes, entitled  
 “ ‘ *BROKEN TREATIES,*’ containing upwards of three hun-  
 “ dred cases all equally, some more atrocious than the  
 “ Oude case ; and I will tell some anecdotes of some folks,  
 “ if they do not stick to me like bricks and mortar, as  
 “ will make them stare again ; particularly of Colonel  
 “ Scott, Lord Wellesley’s friend, who kicked an Amba-  
 “ sador out of his Court that was sent by the Rohillas to  
 “ obtain peace, and which led to the unfortunate issue of  
 “ the battle of B——. I have also some anecdotes of  
 “ some of the Directors, they will not be altogether  
 “ pleased to hear of.”

“ Is it not,” inquired Hobhouse’s friend of him, “ rather  
 “ an awkward occurrence, that just upon the eve of the  
 “ coronation these things should come before the public.”  
 —“ Not at all,” replies Hobhouse ; “ I would not have

“ cared a straw about it, if it were not that the very diamonds which Nusser-ood-Deen sent as a present to Queen Dowager Adelaide, and which I prevented her accepting, are now to be presented to Queen Victoria in a beautiful bouquet: the centre one has the profile perfect of Nusser-ood-Deen, is rather of a blood colour, and known from any other diamond in the world.”

Thus ended the dialogue between Sir John Hobhouse and his friend.

The futile grounds of the pretended Mahomedan law, which bars the right of the son of Shums-ood-Dowlah, because he died before he had ascended the throne, is all stuff, and exposes more than ever the abomination of the whole of the transaction of placing the old man, the younger brother of Shums-ood-Dowlah upon the throne, instead of the legal, the lawful heir entitled to it. Sir John Hobhouse is quite mistaken if he thinks he will get out of this act of villainy so easily as he imagines.

Asoph-ul-Dowlah died in 1797, and was succeeded by his reputed son, Vizier Alie. Lord Teignmouth, after having considered the circumstances of the succession, “ after the most thorough examination, was satisfied that Saadut Alie was the *lawful successor* of the late Vizier.” By the Company having recognized Vizier Alie, he considered “ *that the reputation of the Company had suffered very much.*” His Lordship therefore, having resolved upon deposing Vizier Alie, while he went to Benares, entered into a treaty with him to do so, provided he would increase the subsidy paid by the Vizier to the Company, from fifty-five lacs to the enormous sum of seventy lacs a year, each lac being twelve thousand five hundred pounds sterling. “ This,” his Lordship says, “ he did, without considering, whether under any circumstances, he could pay more or less.”

In this case we have a remarkable instance of the importance that the “ *lawful successor*” should be upon the

throne, or otherwise that the "*reputation of the Company would suffer by it.*" In recent cases, such as that of Gazee-ood-Deen Hyder and Nusser-ood-Dowlah, the "*reputation of the Company*" has never for a moment been thought of. Probably Sir John Hobhouse, now he conducts affairs, thinks they can have none to lose, for that the little they have left of it it is as well that it should at once go. Lord Teignmouth says, that "the elevation of Saadut Alie was founded on the justice of his claim;" that "justice and right, as well as the opinion of the people of Oude," demanded it; that "the reputation of the Company required it;" and that he had convinced himself that he was the "*legal heir to the throne*" before he deposed Vizier Alie, whom the Government had previously recognized as Vizier.\* We have already seen the vast importance that Lord Hastings attached to the "*tranquil succession of the legal heir to the throne,*" by the praise and rewards he bestowed upon the villain, Rumzaun Alie Khan, who, having poisoned Saadut Alie, "*with praiseworthy fidelity*" "*carefully concealed his death from everybody else but the Resident.*" "He was suddenly taken ill, and expired before medical assistance could be brought," says Lord Hastings in his dispatch to the Court of Directors of date the 14th of August, 1814. "On the instant of his being taken ill, Rumzaun Alie Khan, who was the *only person in attendance on his person,* proceeded immediately to the Residency and communicated to Major Baillie the dangerous situation in which his Excellency was, and thus enabled Major Baillie, who repaired to the palace without delay, to make every necessary precautionary arrangement for securing the *tranquil succession of the legal heir to the throne* before the Vizier's demise was publicly known."

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\* For the particulars of this event and the murder of Mr. Cherry by Vizier Alie, see "*Mirzas Kaiwan Jah.*"

This legal heir was Gazee-ood-Deen Hyder, the eldest son of Saadut Alie, the madman whom we have before spoken of.

But, after all, let us go to the treaty of 1801, which secures the succession, in spite of Sir John Hobhouse's schemes, to Shums-ood-Dowlah, or to Ekbal-ood-Dowlah. Let us see the contract formed between Lord Wellesley and the Vizier Saadut Alie. One of the terms, and "*from which the Governor-General will never depart,*" was, that "the Honourable East India Company guarantee to his Excellency the Vizier, and to his heirs and successors, the possession of the territories which will remain to his Excellency after the territorial cession, together with the exercise of his and their authority within the said dominions."

Now, what is meant by "*heirs and successors?*" How could Nusser-ood-Deen Hyder, an adopted son of Gazee-ood-Deen Hyder, who had no issue, be the heir and successor of Saadut Alie, while the second son, Shums-ood-Dowlah, was alive, and had male issue? But admitting, for argument sake, that Nusser-ood-Deen Hyder was a son of Gazee-ood-Deen Hyder, the Company declare that he has died without issue. Who, then, is the legal, the lawful heir of Saadut Alie? Can Nusser-ood-Dowlah, the third son, be the lawful heir and successor, while the issue male of Shums-ood-Dowlah, the second son, is living? Who, then, is the legal "HEIR AND SUCCESSOR" of Saadut Alie, to whom Lord Wellesley, when he so iniquitously deprived the Vizier of one half of his dominions, in the name of THE BRITISH NATION IN INDIA, "*guaranteed the possession of the territories which will remain to his Excellency after the territorial cession, together with the exercise of his and their authority within the said dominions?*"  
**The Prince EKBAL-OOD-DOWLAH BAHADOR!!!**

Lord Hastings, in some respects, is an excellent authority to quote. In his address to the Students at Fort-

William, which we have before partially quoted, after entering into a lengthened detail on the formation of our Eastern empire, on our having been urged by a succession of events independent of our control to push our occupation to an embarrassing extent, and on the impossibility of our again contracting it, he says—

“ We had plighted protection to the inhabitants of the districts  
 “ in question, as the price of their acquiescence in our rule. Their  
 “ submission had been honest, confiding, and cheerful; they  
 “ had fulfilled their part of the contract; and it would be base  
 “ to leave them to new masters, who would, by vindictive severity  
 “ of oppression, grievously punish those helpless victims for  
 “ their temporary acknowledgment of our sway. Of course the  
 “ individuals in whom the management of the Company’s affairs  
 “ was then vested, were constrained to maintain their footing;  
 “ nay, not only to maintain it, but often to assume still forwarder  
 “ positions, when, after repelling wanton attacks, they strove to  
 “ guard against the reiteration of the violence. The latter pro-  
 “ cedure subjected us to increased causes and facilities of aggres-  
 “ sion, while it parried one particular hazard. My more imme-  
 “ diate predecessors saw the peculiarity of the public circum-  
 “ stances. They comprehended the perplexities to be the  
 “ unavoidable result of efforts depending on the instigation of  
 “ chance, consequently seldom guided by reference to any system.  
 “ Therefore they judiciously endeavoured to connect, and to  
 “ mould into shape, those materials of empire which had chiefly  
 “ been heaped together from accident, without unity of design.

“ I have indulged myself in this detail to show how incorrect  
 “ all the notions so generally entertained of our country’s having  
 “ achieved dominion in India through projects of conquest. No,  
 “ we are not conquerors; we are something far prouder.  
 “ Those dignified personages, to whom I last reverted, never  
 “ prosecuted a measure, or harboured a wish, to the subjugation  
 “ of India. They studied to give a form and fashion to the  
 “ structure of our power; such as, by discouraging assault, and  
 “ not by imposing an odious thralldom, might produce a quiet as  
 “ distinctly beneficial for the Native States, as it was serviceable

“ for the advantage of our own concerns. I repeat, that the  
 “ pre-eminent authority which we now enjoy is not the fruit of  
 “ ambition. Force could never have effected the establishment  
 “ of a paramountship, though it was necessarily the subsidiary  
 “ means through which the Native States, who wished to admit  
 “ our influence, were enabled to surmount the obstacles that  
 “ checked their inclination. On what foundation, then, does  
 “ our supremacy rest? On that opinion of the British cha-  
 “ racter which induced the several States, now leagued under us,  
 “ to place implicit reliance on our good faith, our justice, and  
 “ our honourable purpose of fostering their interests. I have  
 “ stated it on former occasions ; but I repeat it now with aug-  
 “ mented proof and triumph. Never before was there so glo-  
 “ rious a testimony borne to the principles of a people. What  
 “ does history record, that would be an equally pure subject of  
 “ national pride? British sway, in India, is upheld by the  
 “ cordial concurrence and active ministry of the Indian popu-  
 “ lation. Contrast this with what you know to have been the  
 “ tone of Roman relations towards subdued and intimidated com-  
 “ munities. You will remember a description given in a single  
 “ phrase by a Roman author, which is the amplest exposition  
 “ of his country’s conduct in that respect; for though he puts  
 “ the charge into the mouth of an enemy, it could not have been  
 “ so advanced but for an incontestible verisimilitude : ‘ Ubi soli-  
 “ tudinem faciunt pacem appellant.’ Where have we reared  
 “ the olive branch, that multitudes have not flocked, and re-  
 “ newed their suspended industry, with all the glow of conscious  
 “ security? Man does not flee from our rule ; he seeks it, at  
 “ the expence of breaking through all the habits and prepossessions  
 “ which attach him to his native spot.”

Could the world have believed it possible, if it were not  
 indelibly placed upon record, that the man who uttered  
 these sentiments had been, and was at the time, himself  
 committing, and encouraging in others, all sorts of abomi-  
 nations; nay, more, that he stuck at nothing ever so bad,  
 ever so abominable?—a pretty catalogue of which is to be  
 found in the pages of “ Mirzas Kaiwan Jah.”

But let us keep to the all-important question of the throne of Oude, the ruin that has been brought upon that kingdom, and the frightful consequences that must ensue, unless we instantly retrace our steps.

It will be remembered, that before the arrival of the Marquis of Hastings in England, after his adventures in India, his friends thought it advisable to publish a pamphlet, entitled "*Summary of the Administration of the Marquis of Hastings.*"

In that Summary—(a summary indeed, in which, although he professed it to be written "with the view to the information of the Proprietors of India Stock," it was in vain that we looked for an atom of information: in it, it is true, he appeared in all the glowing colours of a philanthropist, a warrior, a statesman, and a saint; he brought forward that which suited his own one-sided view of a question, but he studiously avoided touching upon all "points" of his administration where difference of opinion prevailed)—in that Summary he stated his reasons why, in the name of the British Government, he encouraged the Vizier of the Mogul Empire to rebel against his master, and to assume the title of a Sovereign, which my Lord Hastings soon recognized. The paragraph which explains an act, fit only to be perpetrated by Louis XI. of France, is, of course, the most skilfully written. But skill can never cover infamy—skill can never authorize rebellion—skill can never justify treachery. But let us hear the Noble Marquis himself. After showing the impossibility of having our possessions in the East attacked either by foreign or Indian potentates, his Lordship says—

"There is, however, in India, a principle capable of superseding the most thorough conviction of interest, or even the strongest personal wishes. Certain acknowledged public obligations are held by the Native Princes so binding on what they call their Hormut, or plighted honour to society, that no consideration can induce them to palter with the constructive pledge. Among

“ these were the professed, though antiquated, dependencies on  
 “ the house of Timour: the Sovereign of Oude was the nominal  
 “ Vizier of the Mogul Empire. Perhaps the only pretence which  
 “ any forecasting enemy can have imagined likely to awaken  
 “ sensation, would be the restoration of efficient rule to the house  
 “ of Timour. While such a war-cry would have been a call on  
 “ the fealty of the Sovereign of Oude as professedly Vizier of the  
 “ Empire, the claim upon him would have had the additional  
 “ force of an ostensible Mahomedan cause. To break ties which  
 “ might eventually be so injurious to us, appeared to me to be of  
 “ the highest importance. \* \* \* \* I had often ruminated on  
 “ that chance. I thence eagerly availed myself of a mortifica-  
 “ tion, which I could perceive the Nawaub Vizier felt acutely  
 “ from its having occurred within my sight. Two brothers of  
 “ the King of Delhi, resided at Lucknow, supported by allow-  
 “ ances granted partly by the Honourable Company, partly by  
 “ the Nawaub Vizier; notwithstanding their partial dependence  
 “ on the latter for subsistence, etiquette assigned to them in the  
 “ street, it was incumbent that the elephant on which he was  
 “ riding should be made to kneel, in token of homage. It was to  
 “ an occasion of this sort that I have just alluded; I caught the  
 “ opportunity of saying to the Nawaub Vizier, that to continue  
 “ such demonstration of inferiority must rest with himself alone,  
 “ for the British Government did not require the manifestation  
 “ of such submission to the Delhi family, and *had itself dropped*  
 “ *those servile forms*, with which it had heretofore *unbecomingly*  
 “ complied. Having reason to think that this *instigation*  
 “ would work upon the Nawaub Vizier’s reflection, I directed  
 “ the resident (Colonel Baillie) to watch and encourage any ap-  
 “ parent disposition in that Prince to emancipate himself. The  
 “ mode which would naturally suggest itself to the Nawaub Vizier,  
 “ as being the only one sufficient to account satisfactorily to India at  
 “ large for his rejection of future protestation to the house of  
 “ Timour, was his assumption of the Kingly title. It was likely  
 “ that he would distantly sound the Resident on the subject. I  
 “ therefore instructed the latter, that were any supposition of the  
 “ sort hypothetically thrown out, he should seize it, and bring it  
 “ immediately to a distinct understanding; intimating his persua-

“ sion that the British Government would readily recognize such  
 “ a title, if assumed by the Sovereign of Oude, provided it made  
 “ no change in the relations and formularies between the two  
 “ states, or altered the manner in which British subjects, per-  
 “ mitted by our Government to visit Lucknow, had hitherto been  
 “ received. The expected procedure took place. The Sovereign  
 “ of Oude’s assumption to the title of King, was treated by the  
 “ Court of Delhi with undisguised indignation. The offensive  
 “ animadversions were keenly resented by the Court of Luck-  
 “ now, and an irreparable breach between those two Mahomedan  
 “ States is avowed.”

Upon this most shameful transaction, this unmerited, un-  
 called for, and unprovoked insult and degradation offered  
 to the venerable King, Shaw Allum, we will repeat the ob-  
 servations we made upon the transaction in the year 1824,  
 in a newspaper entitled *The British and Indian Observer*,  
 a journal which had been started to supply a vacuum in  
 the periodical press, by attending more closely to the affairs  
 in India; and which journal, after contending nine months  
 against the whole strength of the parties in England who  
 had an interest in concealing abuses, but more particularly  
 Lord Hastings’s private friends, was crushed.

In the 20th number, April 25th, 1824, the following  
 were our observations:—

“ So far for Lord Hastings. Now we will venture to say, that  
 “ amongst all the black deeds that have disgraced the annals of  
 “ any country, this is the blackest. We put a case:—

“ Suppose the government of Hanover should be placed in the  
 “ hands of one of our Ministers, and that his Royal Highness  
 “ the Duke of Cambridge were only a resident there, receiving  
 “ his income through the hands of the Governor, partly from  
 “ England and partly from Hanover. Suppose again, that the  
 “ Emperor of Austria, or Prince Metternich in his name, to dis-  
 “ possess England of that province, should, during the friendship  
 “ existing between the two countries, take advantage of the  
 “ marks of public respect which a Minister of the Crown must

“ at all times pay the royal family, and induce the Governor to  
 “ proclaim himself independent of the Crown of England, pro-  
 “ mising all the support of the Austrian Government. Suppose  
 “ that in consequence of this seduction the Governor should  
 “ revolt, declare himself King of Hanover, and be immediately ac-  
 “ knowledged as such by Austria ; will any man have sufficient im-  
 “ pudence to assert, that the Queen of England would not resent  
 “ the affront, and that the English nation would not cry shame  
 “ on the Emperor, and deafen heaven and earth with their cries  
 “ of vengeance ?

“ This is precisely what Lord Hastings has done. He says  
 “ he has so acted, to take away the possibility of success from any  
 “ power who should wish to meddle with us in the East. But  
 “ we hope that this barbarous policy, fit only to be pursued by  
 “ the tyrants of the dark ages, will find no defender in England,  
 “ during the nineteenth century. Besides, there is every reason  
 “ to suppose that *this very step*, which by my Lord Hastings  
 “ is considered as the acmé of political talent, *will prove our*  
 “ *ruin!* It will *show* to the Eastern Princes *what dependence*  
 “ they can have on the professions of our Indian Government.  
 “ It will *point out to foreign potentates*, who should ever wish  
 “ to interfere with our Eastern possessions, the *means by which*  
 “ *they may sow discontent* or mistrust against the East India  
 “ Company. It will expose the depth of ambition, which animates  
 “ the councils of that Government. It will serve as a *warning to*  
 “ *other Princes of what they themselves have to expect*, some day  
 “ or another. It will exhibit a lesson of duplicity which remains  
 “ unparalleled even in the annals of India. It will revive the  
 “ memory of the doleful fate of the Nawaub Asoph-ul-Dowlah,  
 “ from whom they wrested his country, under the plea of a treaty.  
 “ It will bring forward the recollection of Vizier Alli ; how they  
 “ raised the Nawaub Saadut Alie to the throne, gave him pos-  
 “ session of the country, and immediately afterwards deprived  
 “ him of the greater part of it ; and how they held the former  
 “ Vizier in a manner in chains, so that he dared not write a letter  
 “ to any person without their permission.”

As we then predicted, the day has now arrived when  
 the Nawaub, the Grand Vizier of the Mogul Empire, in

grateful remembrance for the “*irreparable breach* effected between him and the Emperor, for the professed purpose of depriving any “*forecasting enemy*” of the *only pretence* “*likely to create sensation,*” has now in his turn been plundered, and kicked out of his dominions. Unless the British nation interpose to check the lawless and rapacious determination of the Board of Control, let us consider what follows. The very thing which Lord Hastings, with his short-sighted policy, intended to prevent. By thus disgracing and degrading in the eyes of all Hindoostan the King of Oude, the paramountship of British power over the Mogul empire will be abolished. The King and his descendants to the hundredth generation, as well as all the population of his dominions, will execrate the very name of Great Britain. A general combination may take place founded on mutual interests. An “*irreparable*” and implacable disunion once subsisted between Holkar and Scindia; they, however, mutually buried their animosity to make common cause against the British. The Nawaub Vizier and the Emperor have been the victims to a base conspiracy, got up to ruin each other. There is nothing to prevent those “*ties, which might eventually be so injurious,*” re-uniting. Although the King of Delhi may be a prisoner within the walls of the fort of Delhi, and the King of Lucknow the same in Calcutta, the “*war-cry*” of any “*forecasting enemy*” of an ostensible “*Mohamedan cause,*” would prove “*injurious*” in the extreme.

The Mussulmen have a religious hatred and abhorrence of the English. The Northern States are most bigoted Mahomedans; and it is from the north our power will be assailed.

We continued our remarks on the subject in the same paper, the 25th of April :—

“ Indeed, the more we think of the conduct of Lord Hastings, the more reasons we find to mark it with reprobation. But we have some reason to believe, that those which he assigned have

“ not been the only causes which made him act as he did. There  
 “ are others of a more peculiar nature.

“ While I was on my passage up the Ganges, Saadut Alie un-  
 “ expectedly died. I found, however, that what had been provi-  
 “ sionally agitated by him, was perfectly understood by his suc-  
 “ cessor; so that the latter came forward with a spontaneous  
 “ offer of a crore of rupees, which I declined as a peshush or  
 “ tribute on his accession to the sovereignty of Oude, but ac-  
 “ cepted as a loan for the Honourable Company. Eight lacs  
 “ were afterwards added to this sum, in order that the interest,  
 “ at six per cent, of the whole, might equal the allowance to  
 “ different branches of the Nawaub Vizier’s family, for which  
 “ the guarantees of the British Government had been pledged,  
 “ and the payment of which, without vexatious retardments, was  
 “ secured by the appropriation of the interest to the specific pur-  
 “ pose. The sum thus obtained was thrown into the general  
 “ treasury, whence I looked to draw such portions of it as the  
 “ demands for the approaching military service might require.  
 “ My surprise is not to be expressed, when I was shortly after  
 “ informed, from Calcutta, that it had been deemed expedient to  
 “ employ fifty-four lacs of the sum obtained by me, in discharg-  
 “ ing an eight-per-cent loan; that the remainder was indispen-  
 “ sable for current purposes; and that it was hoped I should be  
 “ able to procure, from the Nawaub Vizier, a further aid for the  
 “ objects of the war. This took place early in autumn, and the  
 “ operations against Nepal could not commence until the middle  
 “ of November, on which account the Council did not apprehend  
 “ my being subjected to any sudden inconvenience through its  
 “ disposal of the first sum. Luckily I was upon *such frank*  
 “ *terms* with the Nawaub Vizier, that I could explain to him  
 “ fairly my circumstances. He agreed to furnish another crore;  
 “ so that the Honourable Company was accommodated with  
 “ above two millions and a half on my simple receipt. Particular  
 “ details of the war in Nepal would be superfluous; the terms  
 “ on which it closed will suffice. That State, instead of flanking,  
 “ as it had done for nearly 600 miles, our open frontier or that  
 “ of the Nawaub Vizier, which we were bound to defend, while  
 “ itself could only be attacked in front, was reduced to about

“ half of its original extent, remaining with both its flanks ex-  
 “ posed to us, through the connexion which we formed with the  
 “ Rajah to the East, and our possessions in Kemaoun to the  
 “ West. The richest portion of the territory conquered by us  
 “ bordered on the dominions of the Nawaub Vizier. I arranged  
 “ the transfer of that tract to him, in extinction of the second  
 “ crore of rupees !

“ So here lies the truth of the matter. The East India Com-  
 “ pany wanted money. Lord Hastings gets it from the Nawaub  
 “ Vizier ; and, to repay the loan, he wrests, by force of arms, a  
 “ province from Nepaul ; gives it to the Vizier ; makes him an  
 “ independent sovereign ; betrays one of the most faithful allies  
 “ of the British Government ; and keeps the money. Is there  
 “ any hope that the papers alluded to above will be produced ?  
 “ None, unless Parliament and the nation take the business in  
 “ hand.”

The foregoing article provoked much discussion at a Court of Proprietors of East India Stock ; and, after great resistance by the friends of the Marquis of Hastings, the “ *Oude Papers*,” and the “ *Hydrabad Papers*,” were produced ; but others of an equally if not more serious and important character, as regarded the administration of justice, were withheld.

We rejoice now, with all our heart, that we were the humble instruments in provoking the documents on the affairs of Oude, from which we have now been enabled to cast so much light upon this most diabolical of proceedings, and which otherwise would have been for ever consigned to oblivion.

Let us now refer to the pages of history to see how far this King of Delhi, the House of Timour, the Great Mogul, had heretofore been respected by the British Government, to whom the Vizier of Oude was the prime minister. We must skip over a detail of the causes which led to the Emperor falling into the hands of the Mahrattas, and content ourselves with observing, that the Mahrattas were so

jealous of the King's attachment to the English, that they threatened to set up his son, the Shaysadee, as Emperor. The Emperor had in vain sought the protection and support of the English, and failing it, he threw himself into the hands of the Mahrattas.

Upon the 8th of August, 1803, Lord Lake, then in the field against the Mahrattas, addressed "HIS MAJESTY THE KING, SHAW ALLUM," a letter in the following terms :—

" I am cordially disposed to render your Majesty every demonstration of my loyalty and attachment, and I consider it to be a distinguished honour, as it is a peculiar happiness, to execute your Majesty's commands.

" I now do myself the honour to forward to your Majesty a letter which I have received from his Excellency the most Noble the Governor-General the Marquis Wellesley, whose sincere respect and attachment to your royal person will be sufficiently apparent from the contents of that letter.

" I hope that your Majesty will be always graciously pleased to regard your faithful adherent with favour."

Letter of Lord Wellesley to "His Majesty the King, Shaw Allum," July 27th, 1803:—

" Your Majesty is fully apprised of the sentiments of respect and attachment which the British Government has invariably entertained towards your royal person and family.

" The injuries and indignities to which your Majesty and your illustrious family have been exposed, since the time when your Majesty unhappily transferred the protection of your person to the power of the Mahratta States, have been a subject of unceasing concern to the Honourable Company, and to the British administration in India ; and I have deeply regretted that the circumstances of the times have hitherto precluded the interposition of the British power, for the purpose of affording to your Majesty effectual relief from the oppressive control of injustice, rapacity, and inhumanity.

" In the present crisis of affairs, it is probable that your Ma-

“ jesty may have the opportunity of again placing yourself under  
 “ the protection of the British Government, and I shall avail  
 “ myself with cordial satisfaction of any event which may enable  
 “ me to obey the dictates of my sincere respect and attachment  
 “ to your royal house.

“ If your Majesty should be disposed to accept the asylum  
 “ which, in the contemplation of such an event, I have directed  
 “ his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief of the British forces  
 “ in Oude to offer to your Majesty in the name of the British  
 “ Government, your Majesty may be assured, that every demon-  
 “ stration of respect, and every degree of attention which can  
 “ contribute to the ease and comfort of your Majesty and the  
 “ royal family, will be manifested on the part of the British  
 “ Government, and that adequate provision will be made for the  
 “ support of your Majesty, and of your family and household.”

Lord Lake, in a letter to the Marquis Wellesley, dated the 29th of August, 1803, states, that Seized Reiza Khan had addressed him a letter by command of the Emperor, in which the following was communicated:—

“ Write to General Lake for me. I have remarked the obe-  
 “ dience and attachment of the English, who, in the beginning,  
 “ adhered to their engagements until I went to Allahabad; and  
 “ Lord Clive and the Gentlemen of the Council in every affair  
 “ studied to give satisfaction to my mind, and I now confide and  
 “ repose reliance in you; but the English have for some years  
 “ past been unmindful of me, inasmuch as the 100 rupees per day,  
 “ which was sent by the Nawaub Vizier for the expenses of my  
 “ table, has been stopped for these three or four years past, and  
 “ the English take no means to remedy this. Conceiving, there-  
 “ fore, that when the English gain possession of the country they  
 “ may *prove forgetful* of me, it becomes necessary for the  
 “ General to settle this point with the Governor-General, that  
 “ hereafter there be no want of obedience, or cause of dissatis-  
 “ faction to me.”

Lord Lake, in his reply to this communication of the King, “ assures his Majesty that it is not possible any

“ neglect should ever be manifested on the part of the  
 “ British Government !”

On the 10th of September Lord Lake wrote to the Marquis Wellesley—

“ His Majesty, Shaw Allum, has avowed, it would appear by  
 “ our intelligence, his decided intention of receiving the pro-  
 “ tection of the British Government ; and, from the information  
 “ I received from Sejzed Reiza Khan of the King’s sentiments, I  
 “ have no doubt of the correctness of that information.”

On the 11th of September, 1803, the battle of Delhi was fought.

On the 14th of September, Lord Lake again writes to the Marquis Wellesley :—

“ I have the honour to inform your Lordship, that I intend  
 “ paying my first visit to his Majesty to-morrow.”

On the 17th of September, Lord Lake again writes to the Marquis Wellesley :—

“ In consequence of the hour fixed upon by his Majesty, I yes-  
 “ terday, attended by the chief officers of the army, waited on  
 “ his Majesty at his palace in the Fort.

“ Akber Shaw, his Majesty’s eldest son, came to my camp to  
 “ conduct me.

“ His Majesty received me seated on his throne, when the  
 “ presents were delivered, and the forms usual on those occa-  
 “ sions were observed.

“ His Majesty and the whole court were unanimous in testifying  
 “ their joy in the change that has taken place in their fortunes.”

His Majesty, Shaw Allum, on the 5th of October, addressed Lord Wellesley :—

“ We some time since received your letter (recapitulating that  
 “ of the 27th of July). After the receipt of that letter, the  
 “ troubles and severities we experienced from the troops of the  
 “ people of the south (Mahrattas) are too manifest to require  
 “ description. Praise to God, that by the aid and the grace of  
 “ an-all-bountiful Providence, and through the able and zealous

“ exertions of the Commander-in-Chief, agreeable to our heart's  
 “ desire, a most signal victory has been achieved by the con-  
 “ quering troops.

“ This great and distinguished success has afforded us the  
 “ utmost degree of joy and satisfaction. In return for these  
 “ exemplary services, we have granted a donation to the vic-  
 “ torious troops of the sum of 538,000 rupees (£67,250).

“ By this great victory and splendid success, happy and pros-  
 “ perous to us, and to all the other servants of our illustrious  
 “ court, especially to your Lordship.

“ As the designs of our faithful servants have so happily suc-  
 “ ceeded, the time is now arrived for your Lordship, in con-  
 “ formity to the distinct and obligatory engagement described to  
 “ us by your Lordship in the letter which you lately transmitted,  
 “ to secure to yourself happiness, temporal and eternal, and per-  
 “ manent reputation, by fulfilling that engagement, and to carry  
 “ into effect that which may provide for the interest and welfare  
 “ of the servants of the imperial court, and for the happiness of  
 “ the people of God, through the aid and services of the officers  
 “ of the Company's government. For the rest, consider our  
 “ boundless favour to be extended to your Lordship in a daily  
 “ increasing degree.”

On the 8th of October, 1803, the Marquis Wellesley addressed his Majesty, Shaw Allum:—

“ Among the inestimable benefits resulting from the brilliant  
 “ victories obtained by the British troops over the armies of  
 “ Dowlut Rao Scindah and of Monsier Peron, I have derived the  
 “ most cordial satisfaction in accomplishing the deliverance of  
 “ your Majesty and the royal family from the indignities to which  
 “ your Majesty and your household have so long been subjected  
 “ by the violence, injustice, and rapacity of those who have for-  
 “ gotten the reverence due to your royal person and illustrious  
 “ house.

“ The success of our arms has acquired augmented lustre,  
 “ since it has proved the happy instrument of your Majesty's  
 “ restoration to a state of dignity and tranquillity under the pro-  
 “ tection of the British power.

“ I request your Majesty to accept the expression of my most cordial congratulations on this auspicious occasion.

“ My attention is now directed, with great solicitude, to the formation of a permanent arrangement, calculated to provide durable security for the happiness, dignity, and tranquillity of your Majesty and the royal family, conformably to the intimation contained in my former address to your Majesty.”

How all those professions of “ *respect and attention,*” of “ *loyalty and attachment,*” “ *which the British Government had ever maintained,* and the “ *solicitude for the formation of a permanent arrangement, calculated to provide durable security for the happiness, dignity, and tranquillity of*” HIS MAJESTY SHAW ALLUM, were supported, we shall shortly see. The sympathy expressed towards his Majesty for “ *the injuries and indignities to which his Majesty and his illustrious family had been exposed, since the time when his Majesty unhappily transferred the protection of his person to the power of the Mahratta state,*” might possibly have been sincerely meant by the Noble Marquis Wellesley; but, in the end, all those professions turned out to be a mere mockery, and are recorded upon the page of history as if to show the turpitude of mankind with regard to the most solemn and binding obligations.

But let us see what a “ *happy instrument*” the success of his Majesty’s arms has proved to have been in “ *restoring to a state of dignity and tranquillity, under the protection of the British power,*” the unfortunate monarch, Shaw Allum.

Lieutenant Burnes, in his Travels in Bokhara, speaking of Delhi, at page 181, vol. i., says—

“ I paid my obeisance to the great Mogul this morning, in company with the resident, Mr. Martin. I made my ko-tou (bow) to the fifteenth in descent from Timour: I was clothed in a dress of honour, and had the other insignia given by Oriental Princes, tied on my head by his Majesty. He is a decrepid, toothless old man, with a venerable expression of

“ countenance. The *mummery* of the ceremony was absurd, and  
 “ I could not suppress a smile, as the officers *mouthed*, in loud  
 “ and sonorous solemnity, the titles of ‘ the King of the World,  
 “ the Ruler of the Earth’—*a Monarch now realmless, a Prince*  
 “ *without even the shadow of power.*”

Lieutenant Burnes’s work is one of great merit and utility; and by his travels and researches he has rendered to his country a very important service, for which he cannot be sufficiently complimented or too highly rewarded. It is a pity that he should have disgraced his book with such observations upon a fallen monarch, whose great misfortune, if not the crime of himself and ancestors, was the placing implicit faith upon the honour and integrity of British rulers in the East. It is bad taste, and will by no means enhance Lieutenant Burnes in public estimation when it is compared with the expressions of respect and attachment of such distinguished characters as the Marquis Wellesley and Lord Lake. Moreover, it is calculated to do much harm. What will the “youths of Delhi” think of it, and what effects may it not produce on their minds?

At page 138, Lieutenant Burnes says—

“ I went to the Hindoo College, and was surprised to find  
 “ Indian children versed in the geography and political state of  
 “ Europe. I heard of the dismemberment of Poland from the  
 “ native youths of Delhi: the march of intellect appeared to  
 “ advantage in this capital.”

Does Lieutenant Burnes for a moment suppose that the youths of Delhi take no interest in the dismemberment of the Mogul Empire, of which it was the capital? While they are instructing themselves on the affairs of Europe, and the “*dismemberment of Poland*,” is it likely that they are totally regardless of the abject and deplorable condition to which their sovereign is reduced,—become a state prisoner in his own capital—“*realmless*,” and “*without a shadow of power?*” What will be the feelings of those

youths of Delhi when they read from Lieutenant Burnes, that—

“ The Emperors must have been men of high minds, and more  
 “ enlightened than some are disposed to admit. At all events,  
 “ in a comparison of those useful and splendid public works  
 “ with the buildings of the British, the advantage lies with the  
 “ Asiatic. \* \* \* A noble canal runs between Kurnaul and the  
 “ Jumna, the work of a Mahommedan grandee of former times.  
 “ Those people must have been perfectly acquainted with the  
 “ levels of the country to execute so great an undertaking: the  
 “ canal is about one hundred miles long, and fertilizes all the  
 “ country between Sirhind and Delhi.”

While the youths of Delhi are contemplating the dismemberment of Poland, will they forget Lieutenant Burnes's description of the “ Dewan i Khass,” or hall of audience, in which the Mogul Emperors held their courts in days of splendour:—

“ It is a beautiful hall, but of contracted size; much of the Mo-  
 “ saic work also had been destroyed. When perfect, and contain-  
 “ ing the famous peacock throne under a roof of silver, surely  
 “ might it be described as a paradise. The well-known inscription,  
 “ which has been immortalized by Moore, still remains on the  
 “ walls, emblazoned in letters of gold. The correct translation  
 “ of it runs thus:—‘ If there be an Elysium on earth, it is this—  
 “ ‘ *this is it.*’ The Elysium has, indeed vanished: the peacock  
 “ throne, as well as the precious roof, have disappeared; and the  
 “ current rupees of this city, for aught I know, may be formed  
 “ of the metal.”

The Marquis of Hastings, in his Summary, considered it expedient to enter into explanation in regard to his conduct with other Native princes besides the King of Delhi and the Nawaub of Oude. We felt it to be our duty, while noticing his justification of his conduct towards the King of Delhi, also to comment upon the statements which he made of the line of policy he had observed to other

sovereigns or Native chiefs. In the *British and Indian Observer* of the 18th of May, 1824; we remarked—

“ In our former Number we stated the infamous plan which  
 “ had been pursued by the Marquis of Hastings in wresting from  
 “ one of our best allies, the House of Timour, one of his pro-  
 “ vinces, the territory of Oude, to give it to the nominal Vizier,  
 “ who governed it for the Mogul empire, to obtain from him two  
 “ millions and a half sterling.

“ The war with Scindiah, though not quite of such abominable  
 “ character, is still *à la Bonaparte*. The Marquis of Hastings,  
 “ of course, gives in his *Summary* a great deal of dazzling  
 “ reasoning why it should have been undertaken. But, in the  
 “ whole of this reasoning, the *jus gentium* is very little attended  
 “ to, and the *meum* and *tuum* completely disregarded. *Utile* and  
 “ conquest alone seemed to have animated his Lordship in every  
 “ thing he did; and ambition seemed to have engrossed the whole  
 “ of his thoughts.

“ The following extract from the ‘*Summary*’ will put our as-  
 “ sertion beyond the power of dispute:—

“ ‘ A number of insulated patches in Malwa, forming a very  
 “ ‘ considerable aggregate, had belonged to the Peishwa, and  
 “ ‘ by right of conquest devolved to us. Few of these small pos-  
 “ ‘ sessions could be annexed to territories which we meant to  
 “ ‘ retain. Such of these as were contiguous to States, where it  
 “ ‘ was our interest to give additional strength, were gratui-  
 “ ‘ tously transferred to those governments. Where any of these  
 “ ‘ lay between the body of Scindiah’s dominions and some de-  
 “ ‘ tached district of his, so that by the cession we could connect  
 “ ‘ those territories, we made over our right to the Maharajah  
 “ ‘ by exchanges, which were always very profitable to him. It  
 “ ‘ was highly gratifying to me, that in this mode I was  
 “ ‘ enabled to bestow on the Nawaub of Bhopaul a splendid  
 “ ‘ reward for the liberality with which he had sold all his jewels  
 “ ‘ to maintain troops in aid of our exertions. \* \* \* \*  
 “ ‘ This possession, widely separated from the territories of  
 “ ‘ Gwalior, we acquired from Scindiah, by giving him in ex-  
 “ ‘ change districts greatly superior in value, as well as adjoin-  
 “ ‘ ing his own dominions; and then we conferred it on the

“ ‘ Nawaub of Bhopaul, as a free gift, to recompense his gallant  
 “ ‘ manifestation of gratitude for the protection his country had  
 “ ‘ received in the crisis of the Nepal war.’

“ But this is not all. In page 28 we find another most curious way of reasoning *à la Tamerlane*. His Lordship begins by asserting—

“ ‘ We had experienced in the conduct of Toolsyc Bhye (the  
 “ ‘ Regent of Holkar’s state), and in that of Appah Saheb, Rajah  
 “ ‘ of Nagpore, that no acts of personal kindness, no obligations  
 “ ‘ of plighted faith, no conviction of almost inevitable ruin,  
 “ ‘ could weigh with Mahratta chiefs against the professed bond  
 “ ‘ of obedience to the head of their tribe. It was evident that  
 “ ‘ were such an ostensible superiority to be revived, any com-  
 “ ‘ pact with Mahratta princes must be nugatory towards the  
 “ ‘ future tranquillity of India.’

“ After this assertion, for which we have the Marquis of Hastings’s dictum, his Lordship proceeds—

“ ‘ It was indispensable to divorce those sovereigns from ac-  
 “ ‘ knowledged community of interest. To have put the Sattara  
 “ ‘ family in possession of the Poonah dominions, would have  
 “ ‘ been to create a new leader of the Mahratta confederacy, in  
 “ ‘ whom would have rested all that influence which we had  
 “ ‘ found capable of being so dangerously exerted against us. It  
 “ ‘ was matter of the clearest self-defence, not to resuscitate such  
 “ ‘ a power; Bajee Rao’s dominions were therefore declared  
 “ ‘ forfeited.’

“ Another instance of the same sort we have in the person of Appah Saheb, the Rajah of Nagpore. For reasons equally as cogent as those assigned for the sovereign of Oude, and for the monarch of Scindiah, this unfortunate prince, this Rajah of Nagpore was turned out of his dominions, pursued like a wild beast, and reduced to live like a beggar in the dominions of another.

“ ‘ Appah Saheb, forced from his strong holds, fled to Asseer Ghur, where he was secretly received by Jeswunt Rao Law, the governor, who had long instigated his opposition to us. Not caring to abide the fate of the fortress, when our troops advanced to besiege it, he quitted it in disguise, and made his

“ way to Runjeet Sing, in Lahore. The latter could not, according to the Indian habits, refuse him a shelter; but well understood that the granting this refuge to the Ex-Rajah could not be offensive to us, and would not need explanation, if he (Runjeet Sing) prevented the Ex-Rajah from collecting a body of armed adherents. Appah Saheb has therefore remained in the territory of Runjeet Sing, subsisting on a slender allowance granted to him by that chief, and strictly watched, though not declared a prisoner.’

“ All this may be called very good policy by the Marquis of Hastings and the East India Directors; but the Indians, from whom so much treasure and so great a portion of country have been taken, may view the spoliation in a manner very different from his Lordship. Indeed the English Government and the English Nation, if they will but take the matter into consideration, we are certain, must agree with the Indians.

“ It is sufficient to read the different Acts of Parliament, and the Resolutions of the House of Commons, to be convinced that both the Marquis of Hastings and the Court of Directors have acted contrary to the law which was given them.

“ It is impossible to read the recital introduced in the act of 1784, and repeated in the act of 1793—that is, in section 34 of 24 Geo. III. c. 25, and section 42 of 33 Geo. III. c. 52, forasmuch as to pursue schemes of *conquest* and *extension of dominion* in India are measures repugnant to the *wish*, the *honour*, and *policy* of this nation,’ without being convinced that it was the primary object of Parliament to enforce prohibition of all schemes of *conquest* and enlargement of dominion, as well as those injunctions in favour of *moderation* of conduct towards the *Native Princes*.

“ The following Resolutions of the House of Commons, 9th April, 1782, deserve attention:—

“ 1. That the orders of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, which have conveyed to their servants abroad a prohibitory condemnation of all schemes of conquest and enlargement of dominion, by prescribing certain rules and boundaries for the operation of their military force, and enjoining a strict adherence to a system of defence, upon the

“ ‘ principle of the treaty of Allahabad, were founded no less in  
 “ ‘ wisdom and policy, than in justice and moderation.

“ ‘ 2. That every transgression of those orders, without evi-  
 “ ‘ dent necessity, by any of the several British governments in  
 “ ‘ India, has been highly reprehensible, and has tended in a chief  
 “ ‘ degree to weaken the force and influence, and to diminish  
 “ ‘ the resources of the Company in those parts.

“ ‘ 3. That every interference as a party in the domestic or  
 “ ‘ national quarrels of the country powers, and all new engage-  
 “ ‘ ments with them in offensive alliance, have been wisely and  
 “ ‘ providently forbidden by the Company, in their commands to  
 “ ‘ their administrators in India.

“ ‘ 4. That every unnecessary or avoidable deviation from  
 “ ‘ those well-advised rules should be followed with very severe  
 “ ‘ reprehension and punishment for it, as an instance of wilful  
 “ ‘ disobedience of orders, and as tending to disturb and destroy  
 “ ‘ that state of tranquillity and peace with all their neighbours,  
 “ ‘ the preservation of which has been recommended as the first  
 “ ‘ principle of policy to the British governments in India.

“ ‘ 5. That the maintenance of an inviolable character for  
 “ ‘ moderation, good faith, and scrupulous regard to treaty, ought  
 “ ‘ to have been the simple grounds on which the British govern-  
 “ ‘ ments should have endeavoured to establish an influence  
 “ ‘ superior to that of other Europeans, over the minds of the  
 “ ‘ Native Powers in India; and that the danger and discredit  
 “ ‘ arising from the forfeiture of this pre-eminence could not be  
 “ ‘ compensated by the temporary success of any plan of violence  
 “ ‘ or injustice.’—*Resolutions of the House of Commons, April*  
 “ ‘ 9, 1782.

“ ‘ Unfortunately, however, neither the dictates of reason nor  
 “ ‘ the authority of the Legislature have been capable of checking  
 “ ‘ the desire of conquest and extension of dominion so repeatedly  
 “ ‘ and so justly reprobated. It is this ambition of the Com-  
 “ ‘ pany which gave birth to the institution of the Board of  
 “ ‘ Control. How far this Board has been able to check the  
 “ ‘ ambition of the Company, the *Summary* published by the  
 “ ‘ Marquis of Hastings sufficiently shows, as the immense  
 “ ‘ abuses still existing in the administration of Indian affairs,

“ both at home and abroad, are proofs equally strong of the  
 “ impartiality pursued by that government towards those who  
 “ are under their subjection.

“ This impartiality we were in hopes the public would have had  
 “ it in their power at this time to estimate, by the publication  
 “ of the papers connected with his Lordship’s administration.  
 “ But we are informed that only a garbled account is to be pub-  
 “ lished, and that the delay in publishing it arises from the  
 “ different opinions which are held by the Scrutators of the  
 “ several papers.”

The facts here set forth must occasion feelings of deep regret on the part of the British nation, that while this shameful course of proceedings has for ages been going on, unnoticed by the public, and stifled in parliament, no steps were ever taken to put an end to this lawless and ruffian-like course until the eleventh hour has come, when “ *the forecasting enemy*” of Lord Hastings “ may awaken ‘ sensation ’ by the “ *war cry*” of “ *restoration of efficient rule to the house of Timour,*” or some other potentate shall summon India to assert her independence; to shake off the galling yoke, and drive their guilty oppressors out of the land.

In 1819 the Russian Government sent an expedition to explore the route to India, to see if it were practicable for an army, conducted upon the principles of modern warfare, to cross the great northern range of mountains, the Indian Caucasus. The report was favourable. By the Indian newspapers we find, that “ a new expedition has been “ ordered by the Russian Government to proceed to Khiva “ and Bokhara, with the object of surveying the territories “ comprised between the Oxus and the Caspian Sea.” *The Europe* explains why and wherefore it has been sent. “ The Emperor Nicholas,” says that journal, “ on “ hearing of the revolt of the Canadians, observed— “ “ The English revolutionists attempted to introduce “ ‘ disorder amongst the Canadians. The break-up com-

“ ‘ mences in their own colonies, and they will have revolu-  
 “ ‘ tion everywhere. The United States will have Canada,  
 “ ‘ just as my brave Russians, in ten years time, will  
 “ ‘ ‘ ‘ summon the population of Hindostan to their independ-  
 “ ‘ ‘ ‘ ence.’—The same journal adds, “ It is certain that  
 “ Nicholas was present in person at his own great fair of  
 “ Nignei Novogorod, and that he summoned many of the  
 “ chiefs from the eastern countries: those from Cabool,  
 “ Candahar, &c. were treated with great honour, while  
 “ those from Khiva met with some insult, or at least ex-  
 “ ‘ perience some detention.”

This is precisely what we anticipated in the year 1824, and in “ *The British and Indian Observer* ” of the 4th of January, 1824, we remarked—

“ It is possible, though we do not believe it, that the present  
 “ Emperor may be a moral, humane, and judicious person; it is  
 “ possible, we may have mistaken his character; and if he be  
 “ sincere in his professions of wishing to preserve the peace of  
 “ the world, and in his expressions of tenderness for his subjects,  
 “ his reign would be a blessed one, and produce all sorts of good  
 “ works. But, after him, some one must come inheriting some  
 “ portion of the desire for glory by which the Russian rulers  
 “ have been at all times distinguished, and then these very good  
 “ works produced now by Alexander will empower his successor  
 “ to lead his powerful and numerous nation to foreign conquest.  
 “ If the passage of the Rhine and of the Alps be stopped by  
 “ heaps of dead Frenchmen, Germans, or Englishmen, who may  
 “ advance to oppose the invader, the Russian conqueror may  
 “ descend from Mount Caucasus upon the plains and deserts of  
 “ the old world; and there, where the caravans of Solomon and  
 “ the Queen of the South travelled, change and reverse the order  
 “ of victory and dominion. For we are never to forget, that  
 “ this circumstance is the more likely to happen, as Russia is  
 “ the country whence issued the several hordes of barbarians  
 “ who over-ran the Roman empire.

“ In the nineteenth century this will be little more than turn-  
 “ ing the armies of Tamerlane and Bajazet, to carry conquest

“ from their quarters in the West to their old haunts in the  
 “ East; though, perhaps, there may be some who may see in  
 “ these conquests a *restoration of those countries to their an-*  
 “ *cient* wealth and civilization. The power of England is not  
 “ popular either in Europe or in the East. The jealousy of  
 “ Russia has more than once betrayed the hostile sentiments  
 “ of their rulers towards our commerce; and the machines set  
 “ to work to prepossess even France against this country for  
 “ having acknowledged the independence of the American colo-  
 “ nies, notwithstanding the great advantage which the French  
 “ may share with us in the immense trade which will be opened  
 “ to the European nations, evidently proves the secret agency of  
 “ a powerful rival, that will lose no occasion that may occur to  
 “ injure our commerce, and lower our power. And if the Turks  
 “ have a prophecy that their country will be finally subdued by  
 “ a yellow-haired nation, which comes near enough to suit the  
 “ Russians, the poets of the East have not been less inspired in  
 “ proclaiming, that *the tyranny of the English invaders* in  
 “ the East will be put down by some chiefs of their own at no  
 “ distant period.

“ *Origin of the several Barbarians who invaded Europe at*  
 “ *the fall of the Roman Empire.*—

“ The Huns, from the North of China, or Russian Tartary.

“ The Franks, from the banks of the Rhine and Wezer.

“ The Anglo-Saxons, from the borders of the Elbe.

“ The Saracens, from Arabia.

“ The Allemanni, from the borders of the Leck and of the Rhine.

“ The Goths, the Visigoths, the Astrogoths, came from the  
 “ South of Sweden, or the West of Russia.

“ The Lombards, the Burgundians, the Vandals, the Suevi,  
 “ came from the borders of the Baltic.

“ The Alans, from the Caspian Sea.

“ From this table it is evident, that, out of thirteen hordes of  
 “ barbarians who invaded Europe, nine came from the several  
 “ districts which are at this moment under the control, and form  
 “ a constituent part of the empire of his Imperial Majesty the  
 “ Czar of all the Russias.”

Since the dismemberment of the kingdom of Cabool, it has been divided into four parts. They are governed by members of the same family, but who are embued with feelings of implacable hatred towards each other. Herat, in the western portion of the Afghanstan, is ruled by Kanram, brother of Dost Mahommed Khan, Chief of Cabool. For a considerable time Herat was tributary to Persia, but at length kicked over the traces. The Schah of Persia, at the instigation of Russia, thinks proper to punish Herat for this. The Schah orders a march of troops to be made against Herat, and heads it in person. The British Envoy directs "all the British officers to abandon his service, the Prince of Herat being the ally of Great Britain." What follows? The Schah proceeds, and the Persian army has been well supplied with Russian officers to replace the British! What is this, if it is not directly playing the game into the hands of Russia?

By accounts we have just received from India it appears that at Cabool a very serious affair has taken place between the Russian ambassador there and Lieutenant Burnes, which may be productive of the most disastrous consequences. It appears that Lieutenant Burnes—who, from the style he has adopted in his work in speaking of the King of Delhi, has a remarkable degree of self-consequence, which unfortunately leads him into errors that not only injure his reputation as an author and deprive him of a large portion of the merit and praise which is so justly due to his labours, but is likely to be productive of mischief—was seated with Dost Mahommed Khan at Cabool; the Russian ambassador entered the apartment, in the palace, and, pointing to Lieutenant Burnes, said, "Turn that man out of the room and house. Believe not a word he says, for the English are full of lies and deceit; they make strong professions of friendship to gain confidence, and having obtained this, they rob and plunder their pretended friends. It is thus they have served all the Native

“princes in Hindoostan, until they have deprived every one of their independence and throne.” How Lieutenant Burnes retorted, we are not aware of. All that we can learn is, that he endeavoured to make terms of friendship with the Russian ambassador, and next day sent him some presents, which were refused and indignantly returned to him.

This is a very serious occurrence indeed; for Dost Mahommed, Khan of Cabool, has an implacable hatred for Runjet Sing, the chief of the Seiks, who had conquered many of his provinces; he also threatens the invasion of Moulton and the Punjaib with a considerable army; “10,000 horse, 4000 to 5000 infantry (riflemen), and 40 pieces of cannon, with 10,000 militia.” This again puts the Company on the alert on the other side; and as the Punjaib is only separated from their north-west frontier by the river Jumna, they very naturally become much alarmed for the consequences.

These, indeed, are affairs of great moment. It looks like a combination of events that have been well matured and planned by a superior power, under whose influence the Schah and Ameer are acting. That power is Russia, who has long cherished the hope of subjugating Persia, as well as that of instigating the Native powers of the North of India to an invasion of Central Asia.

Russia, in directing the attention of Persia to foreign wars, and encouraging her in the attack upon Herat, has been playing off her usual crafty and well-laid scheme for obtaining her object of extension of dominion. Nothing could be easier than to induce the Schah to enter into such an enterprise, by holding forth to him the riches and wealth that would flow into Persia by regaining her long-lost possessions in India, and by a close alliance with Russia. Through Persia, formerly, all the commerce of Asia was carried on with Europe; this could never happen again, but a very lucrative and extensive trade, however, might

be established. The instigating Persia to the movement she is now making, is the sure way to sever the connexion with England, and thus leave Persia hereafter completely at the mercy of Russia; some extensive provinces of which empire she has already, during the war, annexed to her already overgrown empire.

The presence of the Persian troops in Khorasan is a most important movement, and one that can be looked upon in no other light than as the Persian army leading the way for Russian conquest in India. In short, it is the vanguard of the Russian army advancing upon our north-west frontier,—Herat lying in the direct high road. *The Asiatic Journal*, for September last, has an admirable article on "*The Invasion of India and Defence of the North-west Frontier*," in which the following important observations are made:—

“ Persia next demands consideration, not more from the great importance of the situation she occupies, than from the very high opinions which, there is every reason to fear, had been formed of the great advantages to be derived from an alliance with that country, in case of any hostile views in India by an European power being meditated. The fallacy of such hopes must have now become evident to all who indulged in them, and have been followed by the certain knowledge, that Persia, from her situation with regard to Russia, and inability (which experience has demonstrated) to resist that power, may henceforth be looked upon as her natural ally.

“ Even were the British Government inclined, with all the disadvantages of vast additional expenditure and extreme risk, to choose this country, so far distant from its own provinces, as the seat of hostilities with the Russians, it is well known to those who, by residence in Persia and local knowledge, are most capable of judging, that we could not prevent that country from being over-run.

“ From the very commanding situation which Persia occupies, the Russian army, in its advance, would not only be secured from an attack in that quarter, but in all probability 50,000

“ Persian troops (chiefly cavalry) would be placed at the disposal of the Russian commander-in-chief; and this force could be employed to threaten our western frontier through Herat, Candahar, and the country to the westward of the Indus.

“ The incorrectness of the title of ‘ Sandy Desert,’ as applied to that large, and until lately unknown, tract of country to the eastward of the Indus, has been clearly proved; and the passage of every description of troops is known to be a matter of the most perfect facility. And we are pretty well assured, that the routes which are traversed annually by numerous horse-dealers, with many thousand cattle, between Bukhar and Shikarpoor on the Indus, and Herat, Candahar, &c. would offer no difficulties to the advance of an army.

“ With respect to our army in India, it consists of about 200,000 regular troops, the 30,000 King’s and Company’s European troops included. This is, certainly, an enormous force, and in point of numbers must appear fully equal to any exigency. With regard, however, to the Native troops, giving them full credit for their courage, fidelity, and good feelings, which I believe are *above all praise*, I am at the same time inclined to doubt that they will, until after a series of trials, be found at all equal to cope with the more energetic and hardy natives of northern countries.

“ In Nepaul, in Arabia, and more recently in Burmah, the *decided checks* the Sipahce regiments experienced, when opposed to a more vigorous race of people, cannot be forgotten; and should, therefore, suggest the propriety of not exposing the Native troops, without having greatly the superiority in numbers, or an equivalent in the advantage of position, at once in actions of a general nature with the well-organized and steady Muscovites.”

Enormous sums of British money have been squandered in Persia, with a view to maintaining her in a position to resist the progress of Russia, if the latter should ever seek to advance upon the northern confines of India. Passing events indicate that Russia will advance, and that the project will not be a total failure. The retirement of the

British officers from the service of the Schah of Persia is actually an abandonment of the plan, leaving Persia to herself. Our resources have, therefore, been squandered in affording extensive succour, where it will be turned to our disadvantage; while we have neglected cultivating friendship and giving strength in quarters of Northern India, where it might have been infinitely more beneficially employed.

What was the object of the Emperor visiting the provinces bordering upon Persia, at the juncture when the Schah was marching at the head of his army to "advance on Herat?" "*The Prince of Herat being the ally of Great Britain.*" The object is easily explained;—to be on the spot to watch the success of the campaign which he has instigated, and to avail himself of circumstances as they may occur at the moment. Persia, like Turkey, will be succoured by Russia as long as it suits her views, and then be swallowed up!

*Le Commerce*, of October, 1837, had two articles on the ambitious views of Russia. The one referring to the proposition made by the Emperor Alexander to Napoleon, to secure to France, not merely the Rhenish boundary, Belgium, Holland, and the Hanseatic towns, but Spain, Portugal, and Italy, on the condition that Russia took possession of Constantinople and the Dardanelles. The proposition was rejected by Napoleon, "founded not in love for England," but "in the conviction that, with Constantinople for its capital, Russian power would become intolerable."

*Le Commerce* might have gone a little farther on this head; it might have informed us, that during the reign of Peter the First, that legislator of Russia travelled in search of the means to lower the power of Great Britain, which at that time the Russian government considered as a rival. It is an historical fact, that, during the visit which Peter paid to the Court of France, he proposed to the Duke of Orleans, then Regent, a treaty of alliance, which could not

have failed to produce immense advantages to Russia and France, at the expence of this country. One of the leading articles of this abominable treaty was, that they should expose England to the horrors of a civil war, by alternately supporting each of the contending parties, and thus, by preventing the English government paying attention to foreign affairs, draw the whole commerce of the world into the hands of the Russians and the French. Fortunately the Duke of Orleans, or rather the Abbé Dubois, his minister, refused to accede to the articles of this most extraordinary treaty.

The second article in *Le Commerce* contends that the British interests are strongly menaced in the east by Russia. "The ambition of the true Russian tends towards Persia and India. It behoves Great Britain, therefore," says *Le Commerce*, "to be on her guard against a power which is only truly formidable on the side of Asia, because there she can enter on a conflict, supported by all the strength of popular prejudices and sentiments."

But, unhappily, it is not alone upon the north-west frontier that "*external commotion*" reigns. At the very hour that the Governor-General was taking his departure for the upper provinces, the south-east frontier was threatened with war. The Burmese have kicked the treaties we had made with them into the *Irrawaddy* river. "The new King of Burmah," it appears, "has openly expressed his determination not to abide by the treaties entered into with the late Government. He has refused to confer but with crowned heads, and waits only until he has collected a sufficient force against the English."

Besides this, we must remark that, the Chief of a village in our territories had been murdered, and the officer who had been sent into the Burmese territories to seek after the murderer, has returned, being refused all assistance to find him out, and insulted into the bargain. The *Bombay Courier*, of the 27th of February, says—

“ Letters have been received in Madras, from Moulmein, of the 28th ultimo. The insulting conduct of the Burmese on the frontiers strengthens the probability of a speedy open rupture. A short time past some men came down to the village of Darrah, situated within our limits, and murdered the head man. The intelligence now received states, that Dr Richardson was sent to Beling, a large fortified town about forty miles from Moulmein, by the Commissioner, to demand the surrender of the people who had committed the murder. The head man of Beling received Dr. Richardson in an insolent manner, telling him he knew nothing about it; that he (Dr. Richardson) might point out the man; he refused to allow him to go into the country; and finally Dr. R. was forced to return without getting the least satisfaction, or being assisted in the slightest degree to discover the assassins.”

Now this, then, is just what we richly deserve. We allowed for a series of years thousands of murders to be annually committed by our subjects upon the Burmese, while quietly dwelling in their own domains; and we did more,—we afforded a banditti, as numerous almost and as depraved as the Pindarees, an asylum and protection, and refused to give them up.\*

The killing by the Burmese of one of the rascally Mug boatmen of Teck Nauf, in 1824, immediately produced the Burmese war; the killing of this chief of one of our villages will, of course, produce the same event. It appears that ships of war have been sent to Rangoon, and a *large reinforcement of troops to Moulmein and Sylet to guard the frontiers.*

By the Indian papers which have just been received we are sorry to find, that the question of recognizing the existing treaties remains unsettled:—

“ Colonel Burney’s letter to the Burmese Court was dispatched from Rangoon by an express-boat on the 6th of July. An answer to it might have been sent down here in twenty or

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\* For particulars, see “*Captain W. White’s Political History of the Extraordinary Events which led to the Burmese War* ;” or see “*Mirzas Kaiwan Jah*,” for copious extracts.

“ twenty-five days, but no notice of it has as yet arrived, and  
 “ whilst we were all expecting some clue by which to form an  
 “ opinion, whether the present King would tolerate the treaties  
 “ made with us by his predecessors, or continue to evade the  
 “ question, intelligence arrived from the capital, that our Go-  
 “ vernor here is to be superseded by one of the present King’s  
 “ confidential followers, a Woonack, Mounq Dozet Gyee, who,  
 “ however, has been raised to the highest dignity, that of a  
 “ Woongee.

“ A friend of the present Monarch observes, ‘ that treaty or  
 “ no treaty is still the question.’ The very circumstance that  
 “ this question is still in abeyance, after Colonel Burney’s ex-  
 “ ertions have procured an increase of warlike demonstrations  
 “ on our frontiers, is the greatest compliment that can be paid  
 “ to his foresight, since it may reasonably be inferred, that  
 “ without these demonstrations on our part, the King’s pugna-  
 “ cious disposition would have long since ripened into active  
 “ offensive measures, to our loss and disgrace. I have little  
 “ doubt but the answer to Colonel Burney’s letter will be  
 “ evasive.”

“ Another correspondent states:—We have been anxiously  
 “ waiting to obtain some clue as to what the answer of the Court  
 “ of Ava may be to Colonel Burney’s letter; but, instead of  
 “ hearing any thing about it, we learn that the Government  
 “ officer of Rangoon is to be changed, which looks ‘ hostile.’  
 “ Yesterday I was told by a Burmese of very great influence in  
 “ the country, that the Court of Ava *was not afraid* of the  
 “ English, a feeling strongly indicative of a disposition to reject  
 “ our Resident. It has also been intimated to us that the King  
 “ was only ‘ Regent;’ from which we infer that all is not  
 “ quite right above, and that the Shans perhaps are making  
 “ a firm stand. The King don’t like our government either,  
 “ which says that not one iota of the treaty shall be infringed.  
 “ The altered tone of Colonel Burney’s enemies is a strong ar-  
 “ gument that they begin to shake in their opinion regarding the  
 “ line of policy which they have advised the Chamber of Com-  
 “ merce to recommend to Government; for if the King *now* re-  
 “ mains obstinate with warlike demonstrations on his frontier,

“ he would, without these demonstrations, have probably been  
 “ now an active enemy. To Colonel Burney we are, at all  
 “ events, indebted for the respite; for he strongly urged pre-  
 “ cautionary measures. It was recently predicted here that  
 “ Rangoon was to have been burnt to the ground. Mr. Blundell  
 “ has been much annoyed with robbers from Morlaban. He  
 “ sent a complaint here; but our Mywoon at first declined  
 “ sending it up to the Capital. After a week had elapsed, a  
 “ dak boat was at last dispatched.

“ We have been informed by a person from Rangoon, that the  
 “ present Governor, named Moug Shee Ming, is a very intel-  
 “ ligent, well-behaved man, who, however, was a servant of the  
 “ late King’s, and never in the present King’s confidence. The  
 “ individual who is to supersede him is also very intelligent, but  
 “ he is unfortunately of a very violent temper. He has been seen  
 “ to seize a Secretary at the Council Chamber at Ava by the hair  
 “ of his head, pummel him with his elbows, and then kick him  
 “ out! During the late revolution, he was one of the boldest and  
 “ bravest of the present King’s followers, and did him good  
 “ service. He is not only violent, but of a decided character;  
 “ and his manners are so coarse and harsh, that he was styled  
 “ in Ava the coarse or savage Woondack.”

These facts and events are calculated to have such a serious and important bearing upon the prospect of our future stability in India, and as to what the consequences may be if at such a period a commotion should take place in the province of Oude, that we have felt it proper to introduce them as deeply connected with the question of the settlement of the throne of Oude; for it is a fact, a notorious fact, and admitted by Lord Hastings, by every man that ever was in India, that we can alone retain the country through the Natives; and that, although we may for a time separate them from their hereditary rulers, at last they will have them back again.

The manner in which the usurper was dethroned is a subject for very serious consideration, if not calling for signal punishment. We can discover no grounds to war-

rant, still less to justify, the atrocious proceedings. Vizieer Alie, after being six months upon the throne, was deposed by Sir John Shore, without artillery, and without the shedding of innocent human blood; so might Mirzas Kaiwan Jah. It is thus described in a letter from Lucknow, dated the 9th of July, 1837, which appeared in the *Asiatic Journal* for December last:—

“ This morning a tragic scene occurred here, on account of the death of the King, in consequence of his son forcibly taking possession of the sovereignty of the kingdom, in opposition to the sanction of the British Government, who selected an uncle of the late King instead of his son. The British troops were ordered down from cantonments to the palace, and the Resident allowed the Queen Dowager and the young Prince five minutes to leave the throne, where they were seated, and in the event of not complying, threatened to raze the palace to the ground. They did not pay any respect to this instruction, upon which Colonel Low gave orders for the artillery to open a destructive fire on the palace and people. The loss of life on the occasion was lamentable, that is, on the part of the young Prince and the Queen Dowager; that on the Company trifling —two Sepoys killed and eight wounded. The struggle ended in confining the Prince and the Queen, and seating upon the throne the King’s uncle, a person wholly unfit for the office, being in his 70th year. I was present all the time, and the plunder made by the Company’s Sepoys was immense; the throne was entirely stripped of its valuable gems.”

Such then are the abominable outlines of this most atrocious affair. Such proceedings took place in a city surrounded by British troops, whose presence alone would have awed them into submission. FIVE MINUTES was certainly a long time to afford consideration; that, too, when the late usurper’s limbs were not stiff.

The manner in which the throne became vacant is an object not to be lost sight of. It is thus recorded in *Parbury’s Oriental Herald* for March:—

“ Native letters from Lucknow now mention, that the result of investigations concluded by the Resident and Huckeem Mehdee (the Prime Minister to the new King, also since dead) into the circumstances of the late King’s death, is, that it was occasioned by poison ; a female, who administered the draught, having confessed the deed. It is added, that Tooban Alie-Khan, the Peschar of the former Minister, is now in prison on suspicion.”

This then is the second Sovereign of Oude who, within the last twenty-four years, has died by poison. It has since transpired that this very Prime Minister, Huckeem Mehdee, caused Nusser-ood-Deen to be poisoned ; and for which he was subsequently poisoned himself. His son, who succeeded him in the situation of Prime Minister, has also been poisoned, together with the Queen and a Great Rajah on the same day. These events are of so truly horrible a nature, that one positively shudders at the very recital of them.

But who was this Huckeem Mehdee? Why, another scoundrel such as Rumzaun Alie-Khan, who poisoned Saadut Alie. A particular friend of Lord William Bentinck! Colonel Baillie, the Resident at Lucknow in 1813, says, that that year he was publicly flogged and turned out of the city of Lucknow. He, however, when Lord Minto left India, returned ; but Lord Hastings, in 1814, insisted upon his being again expelled from Lucknow, he being “ *the avowed enemy of the English.*” “ The Governor-General,” writes Mr. Adam the Chief Secretary to the government to Colonel Baillie, “ would not have proposed the measure, except under a firm conviction that the continued residence of the Huckeem at Lucknow was irreconcilable with the real interests of the state of Oude and of the British government.” During Lord William Bentinck’s administration he was recalled to Oude, and made prime minister. His misconduct and insolence to his sovereign knew no bounds ; for he even

went so far as to snap his fingers in his sovereign's face, and tell him that he dared not dismiss him; for if he did, the Governor-General would turn him out of his dominions.

By the final arrangement between the Nawaub Vizier Saadut Alie and the East India Company, in 1802, it was declared, that "the British Resident at Lucknow is the constituted local representative of the British government, and the ordinary and established channel of communication in all cases whatever."

How did Lord William Bentinck observe this part of the treaty? Why, it is said that he entered into a private correspondence with Huckeem Mehdee without the knowledge of the Resident or the usurper of Oude? Hence arose the insolence and future profligacy of that minister, and which led to his dismissal, with the declaration of the usurper, that he would lose his head before he would be dictated to by a servant. "They may take my territories," said he, "but I cannot believe that they would be so unjust; they may take my life and all I possess, but they cannot make me endure such conduct, such insolence from my subjects."

Huckeem Mehdee was in exile when the late King died; but, immediately upon his death, was recalled to Lucknow, and, with the concurrence of the British authorities, made prime minister!

His dismissal was not called for until Lord Hastings's near approach to Lucknow; but, having then completed all his dirty work, according to the heart's desire of the English conspirators, his presence then at Lucknow would have been *rather inconvenient*. The Governor General, therefore, on "*solid grounds of justice and expediency*," "*considered, under actual circumstances*," "*the early removal of Huckeem Mehdee Alie Khan to be of urgent importance*," and Colonel Baillie was directed to move his Excellency the Nawaub Vizier "*to carry it into execution without delay, and not to admit of any excuse or pretence to evade the order*;" but that he should, at once,

as Colonel Baillie observed, "*like Satan, be hurled into hell.*"

To that wretch and Agha Meer may be traced all the disorders existing, and all the evils which have for these five-and-twenty years visited Oude. He was the rascal that got up the conspiracy to ruin the British resident Colonel Baillie, and the cause of his dismissal from Lucknow.

But we have yet to consider the most serious part of the affair, *viz.* the immediate cause of the late usurper's death, and the remote causes which may have led to it. For all of which the Board of Control have much to answer; and I have no hesitation in stating, that the blood of Nusser-ood-deen Hyder lies upon their shoulders. It matters not by what means we put a man to death, whether by ourselves, or whether we provoke others by our acts to do it; it is sufficient that the man dies in consequence.

When the Board of Control had failed in their attempts by means of the claims of the Dosses, to have an excuse to take possession of Oude, the sending back of the presents, which had been sent by Nusser-ood-Deen to the King and Queen, presented a new opening to the Board of Control, and a much quieter, equally effective, and less suspicious way of accomplishing the ruin of the usurper of Oude, and the destruction of a sincere and faithful friend and ally. It was therefore resolved, that the King and Queen of England should, in return for the "*presents so kindly meant,*" offer the most outrageous insult that could possibly be made to the usurper of Oude. They accordingly refused to accept of the presents, which had been forwarded with the approbation of Lord William Bentinck, selected at Lucknow by the British Resident, and escorted to Calcutta by a detachment of the Queen of England's troops. To render the insult and degradation quite complete, to hold the usurper up to the whole of Asia in the light of the most contemptible and degraded of human beings, the Governor-

General (Lord Auckland), by the desire of the Board of Control, commanded the Resident (Colonel Low) to compel the usurper to sign an order to his agent (Mr. Friell), directing him to deliver over the bill of lading of the presents to the East India Company, to be sent back to him. This the unhappy man, over and over again, begged, prayed, and entreated, he might be spared the degradation of doing, at the same time declaring, that if he did, it would reduce him into such contempt with his own subjects, that, before long, some scoundrel would be found who would assassinate or poison him, thinking they were serving the East India Company, and then go to them to be rewarded, as the murderer of Saadut Alie did. All this he stated, he urged, he entreated, as why he should not be compelled to sign the order. But it was of no avail. In defiance of treaty—of every thing that was humane, honourable, or just—he was compelled to sign it. If he had refused, the refusal was to be the signal for seizing upon his throne, and expelling him from the dominions of Oude. He signed the order,—but with a protest. The order was sent to England, but the protest was withheld in India.

Now we appeal to the whole world, whether or not the compelling the unfortunate man to sign that order was not positively conspiring at his death? How dared Sir John Hobhouse, Lord Glenelg, or any body else to urge upon his late Majesty to return insult and injury for kindness and respect—and pregnant with the evil consequences they could not but be well aware of? Lord William Bentinck, Lord Any-body, or Mr. Any-one, who had ever been in India, would be perfectly aware of what would follow.

In order that we may have some slight knowledge of the misery and wretchedness in which the wretched man lived after he had signed the order so extorted from him, let us look at a letter from the *Calcutta Daily News* :—

“ A gentleman who left Lucknow about a month before the  
 “ King’s death, and who lived in his family, told me, he had not  
 “ the smallest doubt his Majesty would die by poison soon after  
 “ he left him, and he expected to hear of his death every day.  
 “ All the King’s food he himself (the gentleman in question) pur-  
 “ chased by his Majesty’s order, in the Bazaar, — saw every  
 “ article dressed, and carried to table before him. He often went  
 “ with the King in disguise at night, to draw water from the  
 “ public wells for his Majesty’s use. Several attempts had been  
 “ made to poison the King, all of which his Majesty attributed  
 “ to the late Vizier, who was afraid his Majesty would, some time  
 “ or other, make him disgorge his ill-gotten wealth. The King  
 “ was an innocent, amiable man, and all the disorders of the  
 “ country were owing to the Vizier, whom his Majesty was unable  
 “ to control, as he was supported by the Resident.”

Now what can be thought of this pretty picture—not  
 only of an Indian throne, but also of the dreadful state of  
 depravity to which human nature must have been excited,  
 by evil example, and by the base conduct of our represen-  
 tatives, in the minds of the subjects of that ill-fated and most  
 wretched Sovereign, who has fallen a victim to the fury of  
 the vilest passions which can infest the human mind? Na-  
 ture, indeed, shudders at the recital of this blackest of black  
 deeds. The exact part the Board of Control had taken  
 to promote this horrible state of affairs, it is impossible  
 to say; but this we do know—that they should boldly  
 come forward and explain every particle of their conduct  
 for the last five years with regard to the State of Oude.  
 Until this has been done, there ought to be, there shall not  
 be, any rest for them, if our humble labours will pro-  
 mote it.

The Resident is distinctly charged with being, if not the  
 author, the promoter of all the disorders of the country of  
 Oude. Of the truth of this there can be no doubt. By  
 the treaty of 1801, “ the Resident must advise with perfect  
 “ cordiality, and must employ every endeavour to coincide

“ with his Excellency in an uniform course of measures,  
 “ and to unite sincerely with his Excellency in carrying  
 “ into effect, *exclusively under his Excellency’s authority,*  
 “ and through his Excellency’s officers, those measures  
 “ which shall be determined upon in conformity to the  
 “ councils of the British government.”

What have the Government in India been about, or the Board of Control, to hear of, and see, treaties that engage these things so shamefully and disgracefully violated? We shall, by and by, hear of this Colonel Low, who has been thus grossly tarnishing the national honour under instructions from Cannon Street, returning to England with a fortune of two or three hundred thousand pounds—or he will be less lucky than his predecessors.

These extraordinary and atrocious events will now account for Lord Glenelg, when the Court of Directors proposed that they should have “ *the opportunity of giving publicity to their views in important cases of difference from the Board,*” declaring, that “ *no appeal to any third party on the merits can be allowed.*”

The wisdom of Lord Clive could discover that the “ *extirpation of Shujah Dowlah from his dominions*” “ would have broken down the strongest barriers against the Mahrattas and the Northern powers.” Sir John Hobhouse will tell us, that the Mahratta confederacy has been broken up, and as for the Northern powers, he never heard of them. He forgets Mr. Canning’s observation upon the Mahratta campaign. That statesman, whose penetration enabled him to cast a prophetic glance at future events, in the House of Commons observed—

“ It was true that those predatory hordes, the terror of the land,  
 “ who lived by robbery and murder, laying waste the countries  
 “ which they pillaged and plundered, were dispersed; but as  
 “ when the pressure of the finger disperses a globule of quick-  
 “ silver, the moment that pressure is removed it speedily congre-  
 “ gates and reunites—so will it be with the Mahrattas.”

It must also be borne in mind that Oude is principally a Mahomedan state, and it is worthy of a place here an extract of a Minute of Council of Lord Clives. In it he says—

“ Every day’s experience teaches us, that Mussulmen will remain no longer true to their engagements than until a successful opportunity may offer to the contrary.”

When Warren Hastings in 1784 visited Lucknow, and he detailed to the Court of Directors the measures which had occupied his attention, he was particularly anxious—

“ To put a final close to the disreputable and ruinous system of interference, whether avowed or secret, in the affairs of the Nawaub, and the withdrawal for ever of the influence by which it was maintained.” “ If,” said he, “ a profitable system of connexion with Oude was to be maintained, the claims of the British Government should be confined to the line marked out; if it were transgressed, the distribution of patronage might be extended, and the fortunes of individuals increased, as well as the nominal riches of Great Britain;” but, as Mr. Hastings observed, “ your own interests will suffer by it, and the ruin of a once great and flourishing country will be recorded. Justice and good faith cut off every pretext for your exercising any power or authority in the country whilst the Sovereign in it fulfils the engagements which he has contracted with the Company.”

Sir John Malcolm has recorded his apprehensions as to the durability of the British tenure in India, unless secured by the strictest good faith towards the Natives. When examined before the Select Committee of the House of Commons, on the 5th March, 1823, he was asked—

“ QUESTION.—Do you think there are any motives by which the Mahometans could excite in the Hindoos a disposition to unite with them in putting down the influence of the British power?”

“ ANSWER.—I conceive there are no motives but such as  
 “ should communicate to both a common sentiment of alarm or  
 “ indignation at the conduct of the British Government, or at  
 “ *that of any of its delegated authorities.*

“ QUESTION.—Do you think if any ground was furnished, to  
 “ enable the Mahomedans to induce the Hindoos to make com-  
 “ mon cause with them, that the British power must not be  
 “ speedily upset ?

“ ANSWER.—I can have no doubt, that if a cause should  
 “ operate as it is described by that question, our authority  
 “ could not last a day.”

Again, upon the 7th of April, Sir John Malcolm was asked—

“ QUESTION.—State your opinion, by what means an attach-  
 “ ment to the British Government in India might be promoted  
 “ in the minds of the natives of India.

“ ANSWER.—By continuing to govern them with mildness,  
 “ moderation, and justice.”

How does Sir John Hobhouse govern them? By injustice, violence, and oppression!!!

From Oude at least two-thirds of the Company's best troops are procured, and thousands of retired officers and men are living dispersed all over the kingdom, the population of which is six millions, and, as Lord William Bentinck says, “ *every male adult of whom is provided with arms, and habituated to use them.*”

Now, supposing that the East India Company, that is, Sir John Cam Hobhouse—for it is a notorious fact, that the East India Directors are to a man opposed to it—were to take possession of Oude, does he think he could retain it for six months? What says Lord William Bentinck in his Minute dated 30th July, 1831, in advertence to the military force of Oude :—

“ From this force we have nothing at present to fear; but  
 “ should circumstances, either of internal or external commotion,

“ occupy our troops elsewhere, it is quite evident that very serious  
 “ inconvenience, and even danger, might be apprehended from  
 “ this large armed multitude, consisting of the finest men in India,  
 “ and little controllable by their own government, if the check of  
 “ our power be removed. It must not be forgotten, that the war-  
 “ like Rohillahs, ever ready to join any standard of revolt, are  
 “ immediately contiguous to the Oude frontier.”

We had got thus far when we received the Calcutta newspapers for March, and are astounded with the intelligence they convey. “ *The ruin of that once great and flourishing country,*” Oude, is now complete; every principle of “ *justice and good faith*” has been most recklessly and villainously set at defiance. The “ *disreputable and ruinous system of interference*” has been carried to the utmost extent; the treaties existing between the British and the Viziers of Oude have been set aside as waste paper; and we have now completed the most systematic and atrocious scheme of extortion, robbery, and plunder that the history of the world can produce—unparalleled for perfidy, baseness, and gold-blooded villainy. Let the British nation hear this from the lips of one of their own countrymen, who happens by experience to know a little of the affairs of the East—let the whole of the civilized world hear it with astonishment—and let the scoundrels who are the authors of it tremble in their shoes for the consequences which will follow—if not to themselves, to the innocent individuals who may become the victims to the enraged and vindictive fury, at no distant period, of the Indians.

Unhappily we have lived to see our predictions fully borne out; and, to the everlasting shame and disgrace of this nation, may it be said, that during the working of these schemes of villainy she has quiescently looked on, regardless of all remonstrance, all warning. Let the axe fall upon the neck of those who have produced this state of things. Instead of “ *governing with mildness, moderation, and*

“ *justice*” as Sir John Malcolm recommended, the miscreants who have for some years been administering the affairs of India have been guilty of nothing but atrocious injustice and oppression. We are now provoked beyond forbearance; we care not whom we may offend. The documents we have received are threefold. The first bears us out in all which we have stated relative to Lord Hastings putting a madman upon the throne of Oude, to the exclusion of those who were better entitled to it, and qualified to fulfil the duties of the high and sacred trust. It also confirms the statements we have made of the character of the villain Agha Meer, and shows the more than disgraceful conduct of the Indian government at the time. In the *Englishman* of the 2d of March, we find a letter headed LUCKNOW, in which the writer says—

“ I do not pretend to understand the merits or demerits of  
 “ our present feigned non-interference in the internal management  
 “ of the Oude government, yet I cannot help expressing my as-  
 “ tonishment at the weather-cock conduct of our Government  
 “ in the affairs of that State. If memory does not deceive me,  
 “ I think I have heard it asserted, that the treaty with the late  
 “ Nawaub Vizier Saadut Alie Khan binds us both to advise  
 “ and to help the Court of Lucknow in all diplomatic matters;  
 “ and, as far as it may be practicable, to be instrumental in ren-  
 “ dering the management of that kingdom a model after our own.  
 “ Our present disposition towards that unfortunate realm brings  
 “ to my recollection the fable of the monkey, who shared the  
 “ disputed bit of cheese between the two cats; for it is too  
 “ palpable a fact to cavil at, that we have ever interfered for  
 “ evil, and always to benefit by it! Is it not a truth, that on  
 “ the death of that illustrious potentate Saadut Alie Khan,  
 “ we placed a drunken idiot, Gazee-ood-Deen Hyder, on the  
 “ musnud, to the exclusion of others more able to govern? Did  
 “ we not connive at that imbecile Prince’s stupidity in installing  
 “ an ignorant khidmutgar (footman) in the important post of  
 “ prime minister? Is there any parallel to the atrocities, re-

“ peated murders, committed by that remorseless wretch, Agha  
 “ Meer, under the very nose of one of the late representatives  
 “ of the Company’s government? and did not the British gua-  
 “ rantee protection to that odious man, while he was plundering  
 “ the riches hoarded up by the prudent management of his  
 “ master’s predecessors?

“ These are stubborn facts, and will never cease to fill the  
 “ honest breast with disgust and horror. There is something  
 “ so shocking in the idea, that a Government that sets itself  
 “ up as a paragon of justice and wisdom should, after entering  
 “ into a solemn pledge with Saadut Alie to assist and advise in  
 “ the administration of justice, be so egregiously wanting in  
 “ *honour* to adhere to its former professions, after the death of  
 “ that truly discreet person.

“ Let any man read the letter which that talented officer, the  
 “ late Mr. Allen M’Kenzie, of the civil service, addressed to  
 “ Lord Amherst and Council, on the mischief of tolerating that  
 “ nefarious person Agha Meer in so responsible a post; let any  
 “ person peruse the remonstrance of Mr. M’Kenzie, and then  
 “ declare whether he did not justly decry the reckless policy of  
 “ keeping a low designing man in a place of such paramount  
 “ importance. If I mistake not, Mr. M’Kenzie once declined  
 “ the appointment of Resident at the Nawab’s court; and, if I  
 “ am not misinformed, his prominent reason for refusing the  
 “ offer was, that his praiseworthy recommendation of Huckeem  
 “ Mehdee was not listened to by our Government. Whatever  
 “ pretext we may artfully make in justification of keeping Agha  
 “ Meer in power, whatever atonement we may offer on the  
 “ ground of our inability to break our sacred policy (?) of  
 “ non-interference, I much fear that in our whole conduct to-  
 “ wards the unfortunate kingdom of Oude we can scarcely  
 “ escape the stigma of having always given a helping hand in  
 “ ruining that state. From the time of Mr. Hastings to this  
 “ period, this state and the people have alternately been the  
 “ victims of our duplicity. Well may the subjects of Oude  
 “ apply their trite and pithy proverb to the English, ‘ *Chorka*  
 “ ‘ *sathee ghut Kuttur.*’

“ The principal feature in our policy seems to be, “ that

“ ‘ as in proportion we have helped ministers to rob the king,  
 “ ‘ we are to see the monarch cheat his subjects and others out  
 “ ‘ of their just and equitable claims.’

“ In the time of Mr. Mordant Ricketts, the claim of any  
 “ British subject was taken under the cognizance of the Resi-  
 “ dent’s court. Whether Mr. R. was vested with that authority  
 “ by our government, or whether he assumed it, I care not ; but  
 “ it is a notorious fact, that he did *see his friends and favourites*  
 “ paid. Let us now question, that if we did not then scruple to  
 “ allow the representative of our Government to exercise that  
 “ power, why, in the name of conscience, do we now interfere  
 • “ in diplomatic matters, and not in the liquidation of the king’s  
 “ debts; a procedure which, without doubt, would be of infinite  
 “ advantage to the prosperity of the State.”

The King of Oude in debt !!! Good heavens! has he then been robbed and plundered of six or seven millions sterling by the Company, and plunged thereby into such circumstances as that he cannot pay his debts; or otherwise he will not, unless the British Resident, in violation of treaty, compels it. But, *bah!* when you talk of treaties; they are nothing but deceitful and treacherous lies, placed upon paper, to deceive the weak and unsuspecting, to give an imposing form to a document to which the farce of the nation’s honour is pledged for the due fulfilment of that which it professes to set forth, but which it is never intended by the coercing party to pay the slightest regard to. The facts we are now unfolding are, without exception, the most villainous that can be produced in the records of the whole world. Let those who have produced them, and brought this nation into the everlasting disgrace and shame they have done, if they are alive, be forthwith punished as thieves and highwaymen; and those who are dead, let their memories be branded with everlasting infamy.

This is not the time for mincing matters, therefore we speak out. We do not wish to see or hear of the throats

of thirty thousand innocent Englishmen being cut upon the burning sands of Asia, nor are we anxious to see the brightest jewel in the crown of England, her Asiatic possessions, severed from us. It is, therefore, why we say, let those who have produced this state of things be punished. Let the nation redeem her honour before it is too late. The means are within her grasp. Let us no longer be deceived by the vaunting of any man who professes to be well acquainted with India, her wants, the interests of the mother country, and her duty to her colonies; most of those who have hitherto spoken, have too often spoken to betray. Let us look to facts, the present state of things, and how grossly we have been deceived and betrayed by those in whom we have already placed too much confidence, and from these premises draw our conclusion for the future.

The second document to which we refer is an article in the *Delhi Gazette*, of date the 21st of February, 1838, by which it appears that the Company are now in absolute possession, and, by their Resident, avowedly the sovereigns of Oude. That journal states:—

“ In another page we have inserted the order issued by the  
 “ Resident at Lucknow, regarding the organization of the  
 “ ‘ *Oude Auxiliary Forces.*’

“ Our ‘ *Joe Hume*’ will perceive that due regard has been  
 “ paid to economy, even in the minutest details.

“ We do not exactly understand how ‘ *the subjects of his*  
 “ ‘ *Majesty the King of Oude*’ can be made amenable to the  
 “ Honourable Company’s military law and regulations, by an  
 “ order of the British Resident at his Court; and should ima-  
 “ gine that, before any legal proceedings can be held, it will be  
 “ necessary for his Majesty to issue a proclamation, or rather  
 “ ‘ an order,’ giving authority for the trial of his subjects by a  
 “ foreign law, without which every judicial proceeding will  
 “ undoubtedly be illegal.

“ In the General Order by his Excellency the Commander-

" in-Chief, dated 6th January, 1837, it is stated—' It is to be  
 " ' *distinctly* explained to the men who may volunteer, that  
 " ' they are to consider themselves, from the date of their being  
 " ' struck off the strength of their present regiments, as *servants*  
 " ' of the King of Oude, and that all matters referring to  
 " ' their village disputes, &c. must be adjusted by the Native  
 " ' Government, as in the cases of other Oude subjects in his  
 " ' Majesty's service.' With this General Order before us, we  
 " cannot doubt for a moment, that the Government intend to  
 " keep a strict military control over the auxiliary force, and  
 " at the same time to avoid, as much as possible, making the  
 " Resident a ' go-between ' in the disputes between his Ma-  
 " jesty's subjects and the local authorities.

" The first part of the Resident's order states, ' It having been  
 " ' decided upon by the Government of India, in concert with his  
 " ' Majesty the King of Oude, that a force shall be levied within  
 " ' the dominions of the latter, to be denominated *The Oude*  
 " ' *Auxiliary Force*, the following orders and instructions,  
 " ' which are founded upon resolutions *already passed* in the  
 " ' political and military department by the Right Honourable  
 " ' the Governor-General of India, are issued by the *Resident*  
 " ' at Lucknow, to give immediate effect to the measure.'

" The only fact we can gather from this is, that his Majesty  
 " has consented to the *levy* of the Auxiliary Force. It may be  
 " reasonable to infer that he has also agreed to the details,  
 " but there is nothing in the order to prove that such is the  
 " case; hence the necessity of a distinct order from his Ma-  
 " jesty, to be read and explained to every recruit, stating that  
 " *he* had sanctioned the application of British law and regu-  
 " lations to those of his subjects who may happen to serve in  
 " the Oude Auxiliary Force.

" The question referred to by us is one of the greatest im-  
 " portance, and much in connexion may hereafter arise, unless  
 " it is now decided. We are well aware that much more might  
 " be written upon the subject than we at present feel disposed  
 " to write, as we are confident that the necessary measures will  
 " be adopted to *legalize the particular* application of our mi-  
 " litary law to the new levies in Oude, as soon as the omission  
 " is made known.

“ We will only notice one more point. Should any of the  
 “ volunteers or recruits be subjects of the Honourable Company,  
 “ and have village disputes, how are *their* complaints to be for-  
 “ warded?—through their officers to the local authorities di-  
 “ rect? or must the petitions be first sent to their Sovereign the  
 “ King of Oude, with a request that he will forward them by  
 “ the prescribed channels to their destination?

“ We leave *this question to be answered* by those who are  
 “ interested in the subject, or willing to afford us the required  
 “ information.”

It is thus, then, that the treaty of the Marquis of Wellesley, from which “ *the Governor-General would never depart* ” has been fulfilled.

The third document is the most important we have ever seen, and one that cannot fail to produce feelings of disgust and detestation at such audacious and barefaced violation of honour and good faith. The Company have now taken entire possession of Oude;—“ *the complete transfer of the whole authority, civil and military,*” according to the plan of the Marquis of Wellesley in 1801, has taken place;—the Resident at the court of Oude has assumed all the functions of Sovereign. It is as follows:—

“ GENERAL ORDERS BY THE RESIDENT AT LUCKNOW.

“ Lucknow Residency, 27th January, 1838.

“ No. 1.—It having been decided upon by the Government  
 “ of India, in concert with his Majesty the King of Oude, that  
 “ a force shall be levied within the dominions of the latter, to  
 “ be denominated ‘The Oude Auxiliary Force,’ the following  
 “ orders and instructions, which are founded on resolutions al-  
 “ ready passed in the political and military departments by the  
 “ Right Honourable the Governor-General, are issued by the  
 “ Resident at Lucknow, to give immediate effect to the  
 “ measure.

“ No. 2.—The following officers have been appointed to serve  
 “ with that portion of the Oude Auxiliary Force, which is at  
 “ present to be organized.

“ [*Here follow the names of the officers, which have appeared in G. O.*]

“ No. 3.—The following abstracts exhibit in detail the numerical strength of each corps of cavalry and infantry, and of the company of artillery, with the scale of monthly allowances to be drawn by the several grades respectively.

“ [*The abstracts will be published on Monday.*]

“ No. 4.—The Native commissioned and non-commissioned officers of the force will, in the first instance, be supplied by drafts from the Bengal army: vacancies which may hereafter occur in those ranks will be filled up agreeable to such orders as may be issued on the subject by the Brigadier commanding, in communication with the Resident at Lucknow.

“ No. 5.—The troops composing the Oude Auxiliary Force will be regularly mustered on the first day of every month; and their pay and allowances will be payable by abstract on the Cawnpore Pay-Office, from which office drafts will be granted for the amount on the Lucknow Treasury.

“ [*Then follow ten articles relative to the formation of the force, and a variety of details connected with it, of no public interest, and therefore omitted.*]

“ No. 16.—General orders for the guidance of the ‘Oude Auxiliary Force’ will, from time to time, as occasion may demand, be issued by the Resident at Lucknow, through the officiating Military Secretary, Lieutenant Shakespear; and all public correspondence, returns, incidents, &c. intended for submission to the Resident, must be transmitted through the same channel.

“ No. 17.—Brigadier Anquetil will be pleased to issue such subsidiary orders as may be necessary to carry these resolutions into effect.

“ By order of the Resident at Lucknow,

(Signed)

“ J. D. SHAKESPEAR,

“ *Officiating Military Secretary.*”

This, then, is the consummation of Lord Glenelg's wishes, and the object he had in view when he compelled his late Majesty to reject the presents “*so kindly meant,*”

—the object for which the unfortunate Nusser-ood-Deen Hyder was poisoned by the rascal Huckeem Mehdee, who was instantly made Prime Minister.

The fact of the East India Company having taken possession of Oude, and thus *in toto* set aside the treaty of 1801 and the final arrangement of 1802, has rendered it imperative that those treaties should be seen at full length; we have therefore given them in an Appendix (A and B), with a view of giving the public also an opportunity of judging of the merits of the conduct of the Board of Control with regard to the intended infamous dispatch relative to the claim of the Dosses—to make a demand upon the usurper of the throne for a sum of money sixteen times the amount of the National Debt, which it was impossible to pay a fraction of, with a view of “*driving him to desperation*,” as Lord Hastings did Saadut Alie, when he wanted to extort two or three millions sterling from him. The death of Saadut Alie by poison, in 1814, enabled Lord Hastings to carry all his wishes into effect, by placing a madman upon the throne (Gazee-ood-Deen Hyder) to the exclusion of the legal heir; the death of his adopted son and successor, by the same means, enables Sir John Hobhouse to carry into full effect his plans of assuming the “*entire civil and military authority*” in Oude, by placing an old man, ninety-two years of age, upon the throne, who has not opened his lips for years but to grunt like an over-fed and bloated hog.

“It would be much gained,” says Lord Hastings in his letter to the Court of Directors of the 15th of August, 1815, “were you only to avoid the chance of that extremity which should force you to withdraw the Nawaub’s government and establish your own in these territories, because such a necessity, though it might morally exist, could never be made out to the world, and *the seizure of the Nawaub’s possessions would be universally stigmatized as a premeditated usurpation, arising from a base cupidity.*”

The plea upon which the Marquis of Wellesley wrested from the Vizier Saadut Alie one half of his dominions, yielding £1,622,922. 3s. sterling a year, was in lieu of subsidy. That subsidy was but “seventy-six lacs of rupees,” about half the amount; and for which the Company were bound, by the treaty of 1798, “to defend his Excellency’s dominions against all enemies.” “Now that territory,” says the treaty of 1801, “from which *the Governor-General will never depart*,”—“is assigned in lieu thereof and of the expences of the additional troops, the subsidy is to cease for ever, and his Excellency is relieved from all obligation of defraying the expences of any additional troops which may at any time be required for the preservation of Oude and its dependencies, whether of the countries ceded to the Company, or the territories which shall remain in the possession of his Excellency the Vizier.”

This is a solemn compact, and to which the British nation’s honour was most solemnly pledged. Why, then, has it been so remorselessly and shamefully violated, by imposing new and more disastrous terms upon the ill-fated Princes of Oude—whether in the person of the rightful sovereign, or in the puppet that her Majesty’s Ministers have caused to be set up in his place? A treaty is a treaty—a solemn compact between nation and nation—and which neither the one nor the other have a right to violate in any particular; still less the stronger party by means of coercion upon the weaker.

We happen at this moment to have put our hands upon *The Standard* newspaper of the 21st March, 1838, in which we discover, that on the 20th a General Court of Proprietors had been held, when it was proposed by Sir C. Forbes, and agreed upon *nem. con.*, that the following proceedings “*should be printed for the use of the Proprietors.*” We reprint them for the information and edification of the public at large.

“ EAST INDIA HOUSE.—A Quarterly General Court of Proprietors of East India Stock was held yesterday (March 21st).

“ In the absence of the Chairman (Sir J. R. Carnac), the Deputy Chairman (Sir J. L. Lushington) presided.

“ The Chairman stated that a letter had been written by the Chairman and Deputy Chairman to the Marquis Wellesley, apprising him that the Court of Directors and Proprietors had agreed to a grant of £20,000 for his Lordship’s benefit, which had finally received the approbation of the Board of Control. The letter and his Lordship’s answer should now be read.

“ The Clerk then read as follows :—

“ ‘ East India House, Nov. 15, 1837.

“ ‘ My Lord,—It is with the highest satisfaction that we undertake the duty of communicating to your Lordship, that the Court of Directors of the East India Company, desirous of further manifesting their deep sense of the inestimable value and importance of the services which your Lordship rendered to the Company during your brilliant career as Governor-General, when arrangements were framed upon which the maintenance and consolidation of the British power in India have since essentially depended, have passed a resolution appropriating to your Lordship’s benefit the sum of £20,000; which resolution was finally approved and confirmed by the General Court of Proprietors on the 8th inst, and subsequently by the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India.

“ ‘ We trust that your Lordship will be pleased to accept our hearty congratulations on this deliberate expression of the feelings of the Company, and to allow us to hope that you may derive as much pleasure from this proof of the admiration with which your services in India are regarded as we receive from being the organs of conveying it.

“ ‘ We have the honour to be, my Lord,

“ ‘ Your Lordship’s most obedient humble servants,

“ ‘ JAMES RIVETT CARNAC, Chairman.

“ ‘ J LAW LUSHINGTON, Deputy Chairman.

“ ‘ To the Most Noble the Marquis Wellesley.’

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“ ‘ Harlingham, Fulham, Nov. 18, 1837.

“ ‘ Gentlemen,—The respectable authorities over which you so worthily preside could not have conveyed to me the communication of their deliberate sentiments in a more kind and acceptable manner, nor by

“ persons more justly entitled to my high consideration and sincere  
 “ esteem.

“ On you I rely to render justice to the heartfelt emotions of respectful  
 “ attachment with which I received this most gratifying communication.

“ It is a considerable additional satisfaction, that this signal act of  
 “ liberality and justice on the part of the Court of Directors, and of the  
 “ General Court of Proprietors, should have been so immediately con-  
 “ firmed by her Majesty’s Commissioners for the Affairs of India.

“ The final resolution of the General Court of Proprietors is dated on  
 “ the 8th of November, 1837; that day I must now deem the most aus-  
 “ picious of my long public life.

“ On the 8th of November, 1797, I embarked from England to assume  
 “ the arduous trust of Governor-General.

“ During the course of my administration (which terminated in the  
 “ month of July, 1805) I had the happiness and honour of being distin-  
 “ guished by repeated proofs of the favour and generosity of the Com-  
 “ pany. But, ultimately, judgment was reserved on the general prin-  
 “ ciples and results of that system of policy which I had pursued during  
 “ the whole course of my government.

“ This reservation (however honest, wise, just, or necessary) was to  
 “ me the cause of long, deep, and severe sorrow and pain.

“ Not the confidence and favour of three successive Sovereigns—not  
 “ the dignity and power of various high official stations—not the govern-  
 “ ment of my native country (Ireland) twice intrusted to my hands,  
 “ could compensate in my mind the disfavour of that respectable autho-  
 “ rity under which my earliest and best services had been rendered to the  
 “ empire.

“ With equal wisdom, justice, and liberality, without any solicitation  
 “ on my part, without any interference of influence of any description,  
 “ casting away all passion, prejudice, and error, the Company has re-  
 “ lieved me from this heavy burden of grief; and the delay, which had  
 “ occasioned so much affliction, now greatly enhances the value of the  
 “ ultimate decision.

“ To such an extent have my days been prolonged, that I have seen  
 “ my Indian administration tried by the unerring test of time, and sub-  
 “ jected to the ordeal of a new age and a new generation.

“ After the lapse of thirty years—after all my principles, motives, and  
 “ views have been fully disclosed, and all their results and consequences  
 “ fully ascertained and proved, the Company has awarded to me a meed  
 “ of fame which gives to living honour all the weight and authority of a  
 “ judgment of posterity.

“ Grateful for this unprecedented distinction, I prize it still more  
 “ highly, as it affords a sure pledge that the great empire added to the  
 “ British dominions under my administration, will be governed in the  
 “ same spirit by which it was acquired; and that the same energies by  
 “ which our territories have been secured against the assaults of our

“ ‘ enemies in war, will now be directed to cultivate the blessings of  
 “ ‘ peace, and to establish our power on the solid foundation of the happi-  
 “ ‘ ness and affection of a contented and flourishing people.

“ ‘ I have the honour to be, Gentlemen,

“ ‘ With great respect, your faithful servant,

“ ‘ WELLESLEY.

“ To the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the Hon. East  
 India Company, &c.’

“ The noble Marquis’s eloquent and feeling answer was re-  
 “ ceived with general manifestation of applause.

“ Sir C. Forbes said, he was sure that they had all heard the  
 “ answer of the noble Marquis, who had been so great a bene-  
 “ factor to India, with pleasure and satisfaction (hear, hear)  
 “ and he should move that it be printed for the use of the Pro-  
 “ prietors.

“ The Chairman did not suppose that there could be any op-  
 “ position to the proposition of the Honourable Baronet.

“ The motion was agreed to without observation.”

We must confess that we are sadly at a loss to compre-  
 hend how the Court of Directors in 1837 should have so  
 highly complimented the noble Marquis of Wellesley for  
 acts which the Court of Directors, at the period they took  
 place, seem to have viewed in a very different light, and  
 which circumstance, according to the noble Marquis’s own  
 showing, notwithstanding “ all the confidence and favour  
 “ of three successive sovereigns,” nothing “ could com-  
 “ pensate in his mind the disfavour of that respectable  
 “ authority under which his earliest and best services had  
 “ been rendered to the empire.”

We have already quoted the letter of the Court of  
 Directors to Bengal in 1804, which the Board of Control  
 suppressed and would not allow to be sent out. We refer  
 to it once more, for another paragraph relative to the  
 noble Marquis’s administration :—

“ The territories which we have lately acquired, by treaty and  
 “ by conquest, are of so vast and extensive a nature, and the  
 “ engagements lately entered into with several Chiefs and Rajahs

“ so complicated, that we cannot take a view of our situation  
 “ and of the political relations in which we now stand towards  
 “ the various Indian powers without being seriously impressed  
 “ with the wisdom and necessity of that solemn declaration of  
 “ the legislature, *that to pursue schemes of conquest and exten-*  
 “ *sion of dominion in India are measures repugnant to the wish,*  
 “ *the honour, and the policy of the nation.*”

It is, then, as we have seen, that the solemn treaty of 1801, which deprived Saadut Alie of one half of his dominions, and “ *guaranteed to him, his heirs and successors, the possession of what would remain to his Excellency after the territorial cession, together with the exercise of his and their authority within the said dominions,*” has terminated to the everlasting shame and disgrace of the British nation in all parts of the world.

Now we ask the Marquis of Wellesley, whether he approves of this most atrocious proceeding on the part of the Board of Control; and we put it to him, that if he does not, that he will, in his place in the House of Lords, vindicate himself from all suspicion of having countenanced, if not encouraged, the violation of his own solemn treaty.

His Lordship in his answers to the propositions of the Vizier, as recorded in what was then termed the “ final arrangement” of 1802, says, “ By the terms of the treaty concluded between the British Government and his Excellency the Vizier on the 10th of November, 1801, his Excellency the Nawaub’s *authority* is to be completely established within his reserved dominions, and to be exercised through his Excellency’s own officers and servants, the British Government having engaged to *guarantee* the establishment and exercise of his Excellency’s *authority* within his reserved dominions; and the Governor-General will *never depart from this engagement!*”

What will his Lordship say to the “ *General Orders by the Resident at Lucknow,*” issued under the authority of Lord Auckland? Here is now in London the grandson

of Saadut Alie, the son of Shums-ood-Dowlah, whom, it is asserted upon good authority, he took by the hand, after the signing of the “*final arrangement*,” and placing it in that of Saadut Alie, pledged his honour that he would see Shums-ood-Dowlah seated upon the throne whenever Saadut Alie might die. This assurance, it is asserted, arose from the fact of his Lordship being satisfied that Gazee-ood-Deen was a maniac !

We are sorry, very sorry—nay more, we are grieved—to press thus hard upon the Marquis of Wellesley, because we fully appreciate his brilliant talents, and are not insensible of the difficulties with which his administration was surrounded, although we differ *in toto* on the policy of his measures, which went to annihilate every independent prince in Asia. We have been compelled to make more free with his administration than we could have wished ; and for this very reason—that the Ministers of the Crown have, most disgracefully, we think, referred to his Lordship as an authority to sanction their intended proceedings with regard to the claims of the Dosses.

The conduct of Lord Hastings was most disgraceful in placing upon record a private letter of the Marquis of Wellesley, expressing his opinion upon a very important point of Indian administration, twelve years after he had ceased to have any thing to do with the Government of the country. A memorial is submitted, in the year 1814, to his Lordship’s consideration, upon the claims of the Dosses, which, although urged upon his attention in 1801, from “ the very peculiar state of affairs during his government,” and “ their consequences so entirely occupying his attention “ as to leave him little time for the prosecution of claims “ of a private nature,” had been neglected. However, in 1814, “ *after full consideration of the whole matter*,” as stated in “ the memorial and other documents,” his “ *decided opinion was, that all the memorialists were entitled in justice and equity to the full amount of their*

“ claims, and that it was the duty of the *Supreme Govern-*  
 “ *ment to urge the demand on the Nawaub of Oude, with*  
 “ *all the force which the delicacy of such a question might*  
 “ *admit.*” His Lordship, therefore, transmitted the Me-  
 morial to the Governor-General of India, with a letter  
 expressive of that opinion, lest *inferences might be drawn*  
*adverse to the claims of the Memorialists, or injurious to*  
*his sense of justice.*”

The principal demanded was £115,870—money stated  
 to have been borrowed for the East-India Company in  
 1796, by Asoph-Ul-Dowlah, or for “beasts” (bullocks)  
 supplied them, and for which, if we are not very much  
 mistaken, Joseph Hume, Esq. M.P. was the contractor—  
 with compound interest, at 36 per cent, for 38 years; and  
 which his Lordship said, “*I trust*” that the Nawaub Vi-  
 zier “*will be induced to discharge so clear a debt of*  
 “ *honour.*”

“ The receipt of Lord Wellesley’s letter induced Lord  
 “ Hastings to investigate the claim of the Dosses;” and  
 the result of that investigation was, that out came the fact,  
 that the “ Government confessedly forbore in 1801 to urge  
 “ the repayment, lest it might embarrass the liquidation  
 “ of the demand it was then pressing on its own account  
 “ upon Saadut Alie,” *viz.* the cession of territory yielding  
 them £1,622,922 6s. 3d. The just creditors, then, of  
 Saadut Alie were thus defrauded, that the Company might  
 receive that which was not their due!! Lord Hastings  
 having discovered the debt to be a just one, directed the  
 Resident to endeavour to effect an “*equitable adjustment*  
 “ *of the claim*” by the Nawaub. “ The answer returned,”  
 says Lord Glenelg, “ to that application, was such as to  
 “ deter Lord Hastings renewing it without our (the Board  
 “ of Control’s) sanction.”

In 1832, “*under a strong conviction that this was a valid*  
 “ *claim against the King of Oude,*” the Board of Control  
 were “*of opinion that the settlement of it should no longer*

“ *be delayed,*” and the Court of Directors were told to  
 “ lose no time in communicating to the King their senti-  
 “ ments on the subject, and strongly urging on him the  
 “ importance of an immediate and effectual adjustment, as  
 “ *due to his own honour, no less than to the interests of*  
 “ *justice, and to the wishes of the British Government!!*”

“ A strong conviction that this is a valid claim,” say the  
 Court of Directors in reply, “ *a valid claim to thirty-six,*  
 “ *or say twenty-four, per cent per annum, compound*  
 “ *interest, which the ‘ utmost efforts’ of the British Go-*  
 “ *vernment ought to be employed to enforce. As to this*  
 “ strong conviction of the validity of the claim, the Court  
 “ cannot forbear asking upon what does it rest? *Of the*  
 “ *origin of the debt, the Board can know no more than the*  
 “ *Court, which is nothing.* The mere existence of the  
 “ bonds, unexamined and unauthenticated as they are, is  
 “ *no ground for a strong conviction, nor any conviction at*  
 “ *all, upon the subject!!*”

“ Yes,” said the Board of Control, “ we are *convinced*  
 “ *of the validity of the claim;*” and “ in regard to the  
 “ basis on which the claim should be adjusted, we are of  
 “ opinion that the present claimants are entitled to the  
 “ same terms as those which were accorded by Asoph-  
 “ Ul-Dowlah to the European creditors in 1796 (36 per  
 “ cent), and for which Munseram, their agent, at the time  
 “ contended, *together with such additional compensation*  
 “ in consideration of the lapse of time which has since in-  
 “ tervened, and for which they certainly are responsible.”

How much did this valid claim come to; to say nothing  
 of the *additional compensation*, in consideration of lapse  
 of time—

Principal, £115,870, with 36 per cent. per an-  
 num, compound interest, from 1796 to 1834,  
 (38 years)

£13,328,945,058

being about sixteen times the amount of the National Debt  
 of the United Kingdom! But let us now turn to the more  
 modest demand of 30 per cent.

Principal, £115,870, with 30 per cent. per annum, compound interest, for 38 years      £2,476,401,853

being above three times the amount of the National Debt! Finally, we turn to the lowest interest, and which is treated on behalf of the claimants as a most moderate demand:—

Principal, £115,870, with 24 per cent. per annum, compound interest, for 38 years      £388,679,089

or about half the amount of the National Debt.

So much for our English “NOSHERVAUN,” the just prophet! for MULLAN MUDDUN, the saint, who formerly kept the Cannon-Street gin-shop.

With regard to the Dosses being entitled to the same rate of interest as the European creditors received in 1796, it will readily be confessed that it was a most rascally transaction, the Government of India binding themselves to enforce it from Asoph-Ul-Dowlah. It proves, that in all our transactions with that State, we have been lost to all sense of honour, honesty, and justice; that we have not only been guilty of the grossest rapacity, but have countenanced others in extortion and plunder.

The ignominious dispatch of the Board of Control, which the Court of Directors, to their everlasting honour be it said, refused, in spite of all the threats and bullying of Lord Glenelg, to send out, could only have been for the express purpose of driving Nusser-ood-Deen Hyder to “*desperation*.” It is confidently asserted that Lord Wellesley took an active part in the advising of the transaction and also in advising the measures which have recently been adopted in Oude. We hope not, however, and that it will appear that he has taken no part of late, although he wrote that officious and unwarrantable private letter to Lord Hastings in 1814, which now appears upon record so much to his Lordship’s disadvantage, and apparently advising interference in the affairs of Oude in a manner totally at variance with the terms and tenor of the sacred treaty he signed on the part of the British nation in 1801

with the Nawaub Vizier of Oude—a treaty distinct from all other Indian treaties—a treaty which had been the subject of parliamentary debate and legislative approval, acknowledged on the part of the British nation, and subsequently more fully confirmed by the recognized independence of the Vizier as Sovereign of Oude by the King of England.

By the sixth article of the treaty of 1801, “ the Honourable East India Company guarantee to his Excellency the Vizier, and to his heirs and successors, the possession of the territories which will remain to his Excellency after the territorial cession, together with the exercise of his and their full right and authority within the said dominions.”

Why has this treaty, then, been so remorselessly broken? “ What does history record, that can be an equally pure subject of national pride,” as that of having first made the Nawaub Vizier rebel against his lawful Sovereign, to “ reject all future protestation to the House of Timour,”—“ *to break ties which eventually might be injurious,*”—to cut off “ the fealty of the Sovereign of Oude as professedly Vizier of the Empire”—to stop the “ war cry,” “ *the only pretence which any forecasting enemy can imagine likely to awaken sensation—the restoration of efficient rule to the House of Timour;*” and then next having set aside the heir and successor of Saadut Alie, and having seized upon the territories which remained to him after the abominable treaty of 1801, which robbed him of one-half of his dominions, as the means of “ *guaranteeing*” them to him. “ *The base cupidity*” must be “ *universally stigmatized as a premeditated usurpation,*” the “ *necessity*” of which “ *can never be made out to the world.*”

Lieutenant Burns tells us, that in the Dewan i Khass, or Hall of Audience, of the Palace of the Great Mogul at Delhi, of the venerable SHAW ALLUM—the “ *sincere and respected friend*” of the Marquis of Wellesley—“ *the de-*

“ *crepid and toothless old man* ”—the “ *Monarch now realmless* ”—the “ *Prince without even the shadow of power,*” and whom the Noble Marquis was the “ happy instrument of restoring to a state of dignity and tranquillity under the protection of the British power,” and “ accomplishing his deliverance from the violence, injustice, and rapacity of the Mahrattas,” who had “ *forgotten the reverence due to his royal person and illustrious house,*” and for whom there was to be made “ a permanent arrangement, calculated to provide durable security for his happiness, dignity, and tranquillity,” “ there still remains on the walls, emblazoned in gold,” the well-known inscription which has been immortalized by Moore, the correct translation of which is, “ If there be an Elysium on earth, it is this—*this is it.*” At Lucknow there sits Nusser-ood-Dowlah, the usurper of the throne of Ekbal-ood-Dowlah, aged 92, toothless, insensible, and helpless, upon the throne “ *stripped of all its valuable gems;*” and there is written upon the walls in *letters of blood*, “ If there is a Hell on earth, it is this—*this is it !*”

For the present we must close our labours, not that we have exhausted our stock in trade—our materials, because it happens to be quite the reverse, for we have as yet scarcely opened our lips. We reserve our fire, our heavy artillery, for the brunt of the contest, if it shall be provoked. But let us hope better things. Let us suppose that the exposure which has already taken place will have the desired effect, of making those who have been guilty of crimes ashamed of themselves, and anxious to retrace their steps. Let justice be done to the Nawaub Ekbal-ood-Dowlah, and all the evils which have arisen in India may eventually be turned to advantage. Our system of administration in India is notoriously bad, corrupt, and defective; and, bad as it was, it has become outrageously so under the management of Lord Glenelg and Sir John Hobhouse, both of whom to the Indians, as well as their own countrymen,

have been a curse. Sir John knows nothing of India, or the principles of legislation. Every thing with him is *hoc nock*, as the Natives say, *chance any-how*. His will and pleasure, right or wrong, just or unjust, for good or evil, regardless of all the rest of the world, is his way of doing business. This was particularly exemplified when the little gentleman walked into the warm bath in Cannon Street, which Lord Glenelg vacated in consequence of finding it so hot he could not continue in it. His first act was to supersede Lord Heytesbury as Governor-General, because he must have some one in whom he could have confidence. That confidence was accordingly placed in Lord Auckland, and who has accordingly been countenancing, if not himself ordaining, all sorts of rascally transactions, for which they ought both to be impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors.

We know that we shall, by our frank and explicit exposition, give umbrage, if not offence, to many persons, and whom, in a private capacity, we should be extremely sorry to offend in thought, word, or deed. But we have imposed upon ourselves the task of historians, and, as such, we never could reconcile it to our notion of duty to give a one-sided view—to condemn one act of injustice, and approve of another—to expose the faults of one man, and conceal those in another—to brush up half the picture, and leave the other obscured—to pronounce a censure on one evil, and withhold it from another. Public acts, and public men, are the property of the state; and if there is injustice or wrong, every subject in the kingdom has a right to comment upon it, and expose it in any legal way; if in those exposures the public character of a man, or set of men, suffer, they have only themselves to blame for it. They should at the time have considered the possible ultimate consequences.

In casting our eye over the newspapers we have just received from India, we find that where Lord Hastings had “*reared the olive branch*,” and “*man did not flee from*” our rule, but sought it at the expence of breaking through

“ all the habits and prepossessions which attached him to his native spot,” and “ *multitudes* flocked,” under his Lordship’s administration, “ to renew their suspended industry,” that “ the heaven above is as brass, and the earth beneath as iron,” and that “ the staff of life, by the mysterious dispensation of Providence, has been for some time taken away.” At Agra “ the people die like very dogs,” “ from two to three hundred daily,” and “ their carcasses are as little noticed as those of the canine species,” while “ mothers watch an opportunity at night to throw their children alive into the Jumna,” and “ the dogs and jackals” are seen “ actually devouring bodies in which life is not extinct.” “ At Cawnpore the cantonments are in many places like a charnel-house, and the river is become disgusting from the flocks of vultures tearing the starved carcasses to pieces;” and that “ the Ganges is almost unapproachable from the stench of dead bodies.”

While such is the internal state of our possessions, we find that “ the primary object of his Majesty of Burmah is to make the expulsion of our Resident from court permanent.”

The *Delhi Gazette*, again, informs us, that Doost Mahomed, the Chief of Cabool, sent “ a Shooka to the Nazims of Peshawar, demanding of them two Mahomedan Hunkaras to be sent to Cabool, to examine into and give notice of the preparations made by the ruler of that place for the purpose of carrying on a war,” and that Doost Mahomed Khan took the Koran in his right hand, and a sword in his left, and went into the Choke Bazaar of Cabut, where all the principal inhabitants crowded round him; to whom he, with tears in his eyes, said, that “ formerly he fought with Runjet Sing for the sake of his country, but now he will fight for religion: therefore, if he fails in the war, their religion will be polluted by Kaffirs (Englishmen). They said in reply, that if he would now take the field against Runjet Sing, they were all ready to follow him.”

We conclude with the following extracts from a letter of the Court of Directors of the Honourable East India Company to the Government of Bengal in the year 1769, which forms an admirable lesson that deserves to be well read and attentively considered at the present moment:—

“ You will observe, by the whole tenor of these dispatches, that our views are not to enter into offensive wars, or to make further acquisitions beyond our present possessions. We do not wish to enter into any engagements which may be productive of enormous expenses, and which are seldom calculated to promote the Company’s essential interests. On the contrary, we wish to see the present *Indian powers remain as a check one upon another*, without our interfering. Therefore we recommend to you, as soon as possible, to bring about a peace, upon terms of the most perfect moderation; and, when made, to *adhere to it* upon all future occasions, except when the Company’s possessions are attacked, and *not to provoke*, by fresh disturbances of the country, powers to enter into new wars. \* \* \* \* \*

“ The Dewanny of Bengal, Bahar, and Orissa, with the possessions we hold in those provinces are the utmost limits of our views on that side of India. On the coast, the protection of the Carnatic, and the possession of the Circars, preserving only influence enough over any country power who may hold them, to keep the French from settling in them; and on the Bombay side, the dependencies thereon, the possession of Salsette, Bascin, and the rural Castle. The protection of these is easily within the reach of your power, and may mutually support each other, without any country alliance whatever. IF WE PASS THOSE BOUNDS, WE SHALL BE LED ON FROM ONE ACQUISITION TO ANOTHER, TILL WE SHALL FIND NO SECURITY, BUT IN THE SUBJECTION OF THE WHOLE; WHICH, BY DIVIDING YOUR FORCE, WOULD LOSE US THE WHOLE, AND END IN OUR EXTIRPATION FROM HINDOOSTAN!!!”

FINIS.

## APPENDIX, A.

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### *TREATY WITH THE NAWAUB VIZIER SAADUT ALEE. 10th November, 1801.*

Treaty between the Honourable the East India Company and His Excellency the Nawaub Vizier-ool-Mumaulick Yemeen-ood-Dowlah Nazim-ool-Moolk Saadut Alee Khan Behauder Mobaurez Jung, for ceding to the Company, in perpetual Sovereignty, certain Portions of His Excellency's Territorial Possessions, in Commutation of the Subsidy now payable to the Company by the Vizier.

Whereas, by the treaty now subsisting between his Excellency the Vizier and the Honourable the East India Company, the Company have engaged to defend his Excellency's dominions against all enemies; and to enable them to fulfil that engagement, his Excellency is bound by the aforesaid treaty to pay to the Company, in perpetuity, the annual subsidy of seventy-six lacs of Lucknow sicca rupees, and is further bound, by the said treaty, to defray the expense of any augmentation of force which, in addition to the number of troops stipulated in the treaty, shall be judged necessary to enable the Company to fulfil their engagement of defending his Excellency's dominions against all enemies; and whereas it is advisable that the funds for defraying these charges be established on a footing which shall admit of no fluctuation of either increase or decrease, and shall afford satisfaction and security to the Company in regard to the regular payment in perpetuity of all such charges, the following treaty, consisting of ten articles, is concluded, on the one part, by the Honourable Henry Wellesley and Lieutenant-Colonel William Scott, on behalf and in the name of his Excellency the Most Noble the Marquis Wellesley, K.P., Governor-General for all affairs Civil and Military of the British nation in India, by virtue of full powers vested in them for this purpose by the said Governor-General; and on the other part, by his Excellency the Nawaub Vizier-ool-Mumaulick Yemeen-ood-Dowlah Nazim-ool-Moolk Saadut Alee Khan Behauder Mobaurez Jung, in behalf of himself, his heirs, and successors, for ceding to the Honourable the English East India Company, in perpetual sovereignty, certain portions of his Excellency's territorial possessions, in commutation of the former and augmented subsidy, and of all other sums of money now chargeable to his Excellency on account of the Company's defensive engagements with his Excellency.

Article I.—His Excellency the Nawaub Vizier hereby cedes to the East India Company, in perpetual sovereignty, the undermentioned portions of his territorial possessions, amounting in the gross revenue to one crore and thirty five lacs of rupees, including expenses of collections, in commutation of the subsidy, of the expenses attendant on the additional troops, and of the Benares and Furruckabad pensions.

*Statement of Jumma.*

	Rupees.	A.	P.
Chuckla Corah Kunah and Chuckla Etawah . . . . .	55,48,577	11	9
Rehr and others . . . . .	5,33,374	0	6
Furruckabad and others . . . . .	4,50,001	0	0
Khairaghur and others . . . . .	2,10,001	0	0
Azinghur and others : Azinghur Mownan Bunjun	6,95,624	7	6
Goruckpore & others, { Goruckpore 5,09,853 8 0 and Butwul . . . { Butwul . . . 40,001 0 0 }	5,49,854	8	0
Soobah of Elahabad and others . . . . .	9,34,963	1	3
Chucklah Barellie Asophabad and Kelpory . . . . .	43,13,457	11	3
Nawaub Gunge Rehly and others . . . . .	1,19,242	12	0
Mohoul and others, with the exception of the Talook of Arwul . . . . .	1,68,378	4	0
<b>Total Jumma . . . Lucknow sicca Rupees</b>	<b>1,35,23,474</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>3</b>

The above-mentioned muhals being ceded to the Company as held by the Aumils in the year 1208 Fusly, no claims are to be hereafter made on account of villages or lands which in former years may have been added to, or separated from, the said muhals.

Article II.—The subsidy which, by the Second Article of the treaty of 1798, his Excellency engaged to pay to the Company (now that territory is assigned in lieu thereof, and of the expenses of the additional troops) is to cease for ever, and his Excellency is released from the obligation of defraying the expenses of any additional troops which at any time may be required for the protection of Oude and its dependencies, whether of the countries ceded to the Company, or the territories which shall remain in the possession of his Excellency the Vizier.

Article III.—The Honourable the East India Company hereby engage to defend the territories which will remain to his Excellency the Vizier against all foreign and domestic enemies: provided always, that it be in the power of the Company's Government to station the British troops in such parts of his Excellency's dominions as shall appear to the said Government most expedient; and provided further, that his Excellency, retaining in his pay four battalions of infantry, one battalion of Nujeebs and Muwatees, two thousand horsemen, and to the number of three hundred Golandauze, shall dismiss the remainder of his troops, excepting such numbers of armed Peons as shall be deemed necessary for the purposes of the collections, and a few horsemen and Nujeebs to attend the person of the Aumils.

Article IV.—A detachment of the British troops, with a proportion of artillery, shall at all times be attached to his Excellency's person.

Article V.—That the true intent and meaning of the first, second, third, and fourth articles of this treaty may be clearly understood, it is hereby declared, that the territorial cession being in lieu of the

subsidy and of all expenses on account of the Company's defensive engagements with his Excellency, no demand whatever shall be made upon the treasury of his Excellency, on account of expenses which the Honourable Company may incur, by assembling forces to repel the attack, or menaced attack, of a foreign enemy, on account of the detachment attached to his Excellency's person, on account of troops which may occasionally be furnished for suppressing rebellions or disorders in his Excellency's territories, on account of any future change of military stations, or on account of failure in the resources of the ceded districts, arising from unfavourable seasons, the calamities of war, or from any other causes whatsoever.

Article VI.—The territories ceded to the Honourable Company by the first article of this treaty shall be subject to the exclusive management and control of the said Company and their officers; and the Honourable East India Company hereby guarantee to his Excellency the Vizier, and to his heirs and successors, the possession of the territories which will remain to his Excellency after the territorial cession, together with the exercise of his and their authority within the said dominions. His Excellency engages that he will establish in his reserved dominions such a system of administration (to be carried into effect by his own officers) as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants; and his Excellency will always advise with, and act in conformity to, the counsel of the officers of the said Honourable Company.

Article VII.—The districts ceded by the first article of this treaty shall be delivered over to the Company's officers from the commencement of the Fusly year 1209, corresponding with 22d September, Anno Domini 1801; and his Excellency will continue to pay the subsidy and expense of the additional troops from his treasury, in the same manner as hitherto observed, until the Company's officers shall have obtained complete possession from his Excellency's officers of the countries so ceded. The Company will not claim any payments of subsidy from his Excellency's treasury, after their officers shall have obtained possession of the said districts from the officers of his Excellency.

Article VIII.—The contracting parties, with a view of establishing such a commercial intercourse between their respective dominions as shall be mutually beneficial to the subjects of both states, hereby agree to frame a separate commercial treaty. In the meantime it is agreed that the navigation of the Ganges, and of all other rivers where they may form the mutual boundary of the two states, shall be free and uninterrupted, that is to say, that no boats passing up and down the Ganges or other rivers, where they form the mutual boundaries of both states, shall be stopped or molested for duties; nor shall any duties be exacted from boats which put to in the possessions of either of the contracting parties, without intention of landing their goods. It shall, however, be in the power of both Governments to levy such duties as they may think proper on goods imported into, or exported from, their respective dominions, not exceeding the present usage. It is further stipulated, that no exemption from duties on articles purchased in his Excellency's reserved dominions, for the consumption of the troops stationed within the ceded territories, shall be claimed after they shall have been delivered over to the Company's officers.

Article IX.—All the articles of former treaties for establishing and cementing the union and friendship subsisting between the two states are to continue in full force, and all the articles of the treaty concluded by the late Governor-General Sir John Shore, on the part of the Honourable the East India Company, and His Excellency the Vizier in the year 1798, not annulled by this Treaty, are to remain in force, and continue binding upon both contracting parties.

Article X.—This Treaty, consisting of ten articles, having been settled and concluded in the city of Lucknow, on the 10th day of November, in the year of our Lord 1801, corresponding with the second of the month of Rujeeb, of the year 1216 Hijjree, the Honourable Henry Wellesley and Lieutenant-Colonel William Scott have delivered to the said Vizier one copy of the same in English and Persian, sealed and signed by them; and his Excellency the Vizier has delivered to the Honourable Henry Wellesley and Lieutenant-Colonel William Scott another copy also in Persian and English, bearing his seal and signature; and the Honourable Henry Wellesley and Lieutenant-Colonel William Scott engage to procure and deliver to his Excellency the Vizier, within the space of thirty days, a copy of the same under the seal and signature of his Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General, when the copy under their seals and signatures shall be returned.

(A true copy.)

(Signed)

N. B. EDMONSTONE,  
*Secretary to Government.*

(Signed)

C. R. CROMMERLIN,  
*Acting Chief Secretary to Government.*

## APPENDIX, B.

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### *FINAL ARRANGEMENT WITH THE NAWAUB VIZIER SAADUT ALEE. 1802.*

Memorandum of the final result of the discussions between His Excellency the Most Noble the Governor-General and the Nawaub Vizier.

On the 15th of February, 1802, his Excellency the Nawaub Vizier transmitted to the Governor-General a paper of propositions, to which his Excellency required the Governor-General's assent; and the Governor-General, after full deliberation on the contents of the said paper, returned a distinct answer to each of the articles therein detailed. His Excellency the Vizier, in a paper delivered on the 22d of the same month, proposed certain modifications of the Governor-General's answers and the original propositions, together with the Governor-General's answers and the Vizier's proposed modifications thereof, were fully discussed at a conference holden between the Governor-General and his Excellency the Vizier, on the 24th of the same month. In consequence of this conference, it was mutually agreed, that certain of the articles of the original paper of propositions should be altogether omitted, and that the Governor-General's reply to the third article should be modified in conformity to the suggestion of his Excellency the Vizier. At the same conference, his Excellency the Vizier, adverting to the Governor-General's suggestion, in his reply to the second article that the Vizier should appoint some person to conduct, in the quality of minister, the ordinary details of public affairs, proposed to constitute and appoint his second son, Mirza Ahmed Alee Khan, to act in that capacity. The Governor-General, at the same conference, deemed it to be expedient to declare to his Excellency the Vizier the general principles which, in his Lordship's judgment, should regulate the connexion and intercourse between the two states, as resulting from the treaty concluded between the Honourable Company and his Excellency the Vizier, on the 10th November, 1801. With a view to obviate all future doubts on the subject and result of these communications and conferences, the Governor-General now commits to writing the final determination of the several points discussed between his Lordship and the Vizier, and affixes his seal and signature to this paper, and directs the Secretary in the political department, who was present at every conference; and who interpreted between the Governor-General and the Vizier, to countersign this paper.

*Propositions.*

Let no one, as has hitherto been the practice, afford countenance and support to any person to impede the recovery of just balances from Aumils and others, but, on the contrary, let him (meaning the Resident) afford assistance to the Sircar in the recovery of those balances. If the Resident is desirous of withholding me from the prosecution of any particular measure, let him state his sentiments to me in private, in which case (as I am far from being disposed to act unjustly) either I will prove to the Resident the equity of the proceeding, or the Resident will set me right, and in the latter event I will, in conformity to his desire, abandon such proposed measure, and no one will be apprised of any disagreement subsisting between us.

Regular tribunals, in which I do not desire to possess any exclusive interest, shall be established for the sole purpose of giving effect to the Mohummudan law of fulfilling just claims, and of securing the lives and properties of the people. It is necessary that all persons should subject themselves to the jurisdiction of those tribunals; and if any person should refuse to acknowledge the jurisdiction, or oppose the authority of those tribunals, let the Company's officers assist in enforcing obedience to them.

I consider her Highness the Begum as my superior, and I am extremely desirous of supporting her dignity, and of promoting her ease. I have no concern with the produce and revenues of her jagier nor of any of the jagierdars; but the authority of the courts of justice, the adjustment of disputes, the redress of grievances, the observance of the civil and criminal punishments, and all other points connected with the administration of justice, must be conducted under my orders in

*Answers.*

Unobjectionable, and this proposal shall be observed. The Resident shall be furnished by his Excellency the Nawaub Vizier with all the information necessary to establish the justice of the proceeding by vouchers and proofs.

This is perfectly wise and proper.

The administration of justice in the Begum's jagier must be under the Nawaub's authority, and the Begum's servants must be subject to it. The authority of the Nawaub's courts will be enforced by the British power.

*Propositions.**Answers.*

the cities of Lucknow and Fyzabad, and in all the jagiers, in the same manner as in the rest of my dominions; for these things appertain to the sovereign, whose duty it is to prevent every species of oppression. Her Highness's servants must not in any manner interfere in them; for a partnership in government is inadmissible. It is for her Highness's own credit that she should state to me whatever may be her desire in points of the nature above described, in order that what she desires may be accomplished through the medium of the officers of my government. The state of affairs hitherto prevailing has been this: that frequent tumults and bloodshed have occurred in Fyzabad and in her Highness's jagier, and not the slightest attention has been paid by her Highness to any thing that I have said or written. In the time of my late brother, the settlement of disputes in the jagiers was left to the Sircar. These points will give efficacy to my government.

I request that his Lordship will have the goodness to send for Daraub Alee Khan, and desire that, exclusively of the jagier, such property, lands, bazaars, gardens, &c., to a considerable extent, belonging to the Sircar, as the officers of her Highness have unjustly, and without the requisite vouchers (sunnuds), appropriated since four years (a fact which Mr. Lumsden, Mulvee Golaum Kauder Khan, his Moon-shee, and other creditable persons, such as Almass Alee Khan, Daraub Alee Khan, and their respective Vakeels, can substantiate, and are fully acquainted with, which her Highness herself formerly acknowledged, which all the most creditable officers of the Sircar, such as Jye Sookh Roy, &c. know, and a statement of

The Governor-General proposes to take all the matters depending between the Nawaub and Begum into full consideration, and to effect a settlement between the Begum and the Nawaub, on just, equitable, and permanent principles.

*Propositions.*

which property is to be found upon their records, and the appropriation of which property occasions considerable loss to me at a time when I am not in a condition to sustain any loss) may be restored to me, and the profits which may have been collected from such property made over to me, so that my losses therein may be compensated. This will be in conformity to her Highness's engagements. Let his Lordship have the goodness to transmit orders to the Honourable Henry Wellesley upon the following points.

Not to afford protection to fugitives from my country, but to surrender such when demanded by me, or else to expel them from it.

In the event of any of the dependents of my Sircar applying for farms within the ceded districts, to require such persons to execute a writing binding himself to take such farm only on condition that he is not in balance to the Sircar.

There are several of my Aumils retaining lands in the ceded districts who are in balance to the Sircar. To give me credit in his accounts for the sums due by such Aumils, or else to deliver up those Aumils to me, that I may recover from them what is justly due, and then let them go. When they have settled their accounts with the Sircar, Mr. Wellesley will of course enter into such engagements with them as he may think proper.

There are many gardens and other property belonging to the Sircar in the country ceded for the charges of the troops, which are quite distinct from the revenue of the country, in the same manner, for instance, as at this

*Answers.*

All criminals will be reciprocally surrendered; but the subjects of both states who shall not be accused of capital crimes should be at liberty to pass freely from one country to the other, and to be established reciprocally in either.

All balances now or hereafter due to the Sircar to be adjusted within a reasonable time, and engagements to be taken to this effect from all persons in balance.

None of the Nawaub's Aumils are now employed in the ceded provinces.

Any property of this description which the Nawaub shall satisfy the Lieutenant-Governor to belong to his Excellency, will of course be delivered over to his servants.

*Propositions.**Answers.*

moment at Benares there is property belonging to me, and still in my occupation. Let his Lordship have the goodness to direct, that any property of that description in the ceded districts may be given into the possession of my people. A statement of the particulars of such property, gardens, &c., within the ceded districts shall be given in.

I have been induced to cede the districts for the charges of the British troops merely to gratify his Lordship, deeming it necessary so to do, in consequence of Mr. Wellesley's arrival, resolving to conform to his Lordship's wishes, and to obey his Lordship's commands. Let strict orders be issued that no one may be permitted to injure or destroy any mosques, tombs, or Imaumbaurahs which now exist within those districts.

An engagement was contracted for paying to the Sircar the monies collected at the Ghauts of Elahabad. Four years have now elapsed since that time; and though I have repeatedly made application to the Resident upon this subject, nothing has hitherto been paid on that account, which occasions a considerable loss to me. Let orders be issued for the payment of those monies agreeably to engagement.

Mr. Wellesley promised to send the treaty; it has not yet, however, been received. Let his Lordship or Mr. Wellesley be reminded to send it.

The Nawaub Vizier proposes that his son Mirza Ahmed Alee Khan be appointed to the situation of Minister for the affairs of Government.

I hope, from his Lordship's kindness, that his Lordship will, in my presence, explain all the foregoing points to the Resident, and direct him to act in con-

Orders shall be issued accordingly.

Orders will be issued for the settlement of this account.

The treaty has been sent.

The Governor-General concurs in this proposition, and considers Mirza Ahmed Alee Khan to have been appointed accordingly.

In conformity to his Excellency's desire, the proposed explanation and injunctions were stated to the Resident by the Governor-General, in his Excel-

*Propositions.*

formity to them; and that his Lordship will also enjoin the Resident, after his Lordship's departure, to occasion no delay or impediment in my departure, whenever I may choose to set out, and assist me in the preparations for my journey.

*Answers.*

lency's presence, on the 24th of February.

The Governor-General now proceeds to state the general principles by which the connexion and intercourse between the two states are to be regulated henceforth.

By the terms of the treaty concluded between the British Government and his Excellency the Vizier, on the 10th November, 1801, his Excellency the Nawaub's authority is to be completely established within his reserved dominions, and to be exercised through his Excellency's own officers and servants; the British Government having engaged to guarantee the establishment and exercise of his Excellency's authority within his reserved dominions, and the Governor-General will never depart from this engagement. His Excellency has engaged to establish within his reserved dominions such a system of administration as shall be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and be calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants. This system of administration is to be carried into effect by his Excellency's own officers and servants, and by his own authority.

His Excellency has also engaged always to advise with, and to act in conformity to, the counsel of the officers of the Honourable Company.

In the establishment, therefore, of an improved system of administration within the reserved dominions, and also in all affairs connected with the ordinary government of those dominions, and with the usual exercise of his Excellency's established authority, the Vizier has engaged to advise with the British Government, and to conform to its counsels.

*Propositions.**Answers.*

Those counsels will always be offered to his Excellency in the form of friendly advice, and in the spirit of reciprocal confidence and mutual regard and respect.

The Governor-General, when the importance of the subject shall require, and the nature of the occasion shall admit his immediate intercourse with the Vizier, will offer the advice of the British Government to his Excellency, by a direct communication either in person or by letter.

The British Resident at Lucknow, however, is the constituted local representative of the British Government, and the ordinary and established channel of communication in all cases whatever.

The Resident will, therefore, in the common course of business, offer to the Vizier the advice of the British Government, in the name of the Governor-General; and in every case which may require the Resident to state such advice, it is to be received as proceeding immediately from the Governor-General.

Such advice will be offered by the Resident in all practicable cases, under the general or specific orders of the Governor-General.

The Resident must advise the Nawaub with perfect cordiality, and must employ every endeavour to coincide with his Excellency in an uniform course of measures, and to unite sincerely with his Excellency in carrying into effect, exclusively under his Excellency's authority, and through his Excellency's officers, those measures which shall be determined upon in conformity to the counsels of the British Government. In cases requiring the aid of the British Government, the assistance of the British troops shall be employed, according to the exigency of the occasion.

The Resident must conduct

*Propositions.**Answers.*

himself towards the Nawaub Vizier on all occasions with the utmost degree of respect, conciliation, and attention, and must maintain cordial union and harmony in all transactions, and must endeavour to impart strength and stability to his Excellency's authority.

The Resident must never proceed to act in the affairs of the reserved dominions, without previous consultation with his Excellency, or with his Ministers; and the Resident must, in the first instance, observe strict secrecy with regard to the subject of such consultations, until the measures to be adopted shall be finally determined.

Under these regulations the Governor-General expects that the Nawaub Vizier will act in conformity to the advice and representations of the Resident; and as no question of difficulty remains between the British Government and his Excellency, the Governor-General entertains a confident hope that no future vexation can occur in the transaction of affairs.

{ Seal of the  
Governor-General. }

(Signed) WELLESLEY.

(Signed) N. B. EDMONSTONE,

*Secretary to Government in the Secret  
and Political Department.*

## APPENDIX, C.

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### No. I.

*Letter from the Acting Assistant Secretary of the India Board to the Secretary of the East India Company.*

India Board, 15th December, 1832.

SIR,--The Court of Directors having omitted to frame and transmit to the Commissioners for the Affairs of India a draft of a despatch to the Governor-General in Council, relative to the claims of the Calcutta Bankers on the Government of Oude, conformably to the requisition contained in the late Mr. Villiers' letter to you, dated the 14th May last, I have the honour to enclose copy of orders and instructions which the Board have themselves prepared on the subject of those claims; and I am also to request that, in laying them before the Court, you will communicate the desire of the Board that a despatch, according to the tenor of these orders and instructions, be transmitted to India, agreeably to the provision contained in the 15th section of the Act of 33d George III., cap. 52.

I am, Sir,  
Your most obedient humble servant,  
(Signed) H. S. ALVES,  
Act. Assistant Sec.

Peter Auber, Esq.  
&c. &c. &c.

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### No. II.

*Draft of a Despatch to be forwarded by the Court of Directors to the Governor-General in Council at Fort William in Bengal.*

The Commissioners for the affairs of India have communicated to us a letter which has been addressed to them by Michael George Prendergast, Esq., the agent of Baboo Ram Doss and Baboo Ram Chown Loll, heirs and accredited representatives of the late Monhur Doss and Setul Bahoo, relative to the claims of those persons for money advanced on loan to the late Nawaub Vizier Asoph-ul-Dowlah.

2. During the course of the last twenty years this claim has, on several occasions, and in various shapes, been brought to the notice of

your Government, and of both branches of the Indian Administration in England. It has also been agitated in the House of Commons, and was referred to a Committee of that House. The Committee were, however, prevented by the termination of the session from prosecuting the inquiry, and did not offer any opinion as to the merits of the case.

3. The last-mentioned proceeding took place three years after the transmission to India of the orders contained in our political despatch of the 12th of February, 1819.

4. As a general principle we have no hesitation in expressing it as our decided opinion, that the British Government is not bound to interfere, and ought to be extremely cautious of interfering in the recovery of loans from Native States, unless such loans were contracted with its previous knowledge and concurrence, and unless the guarantee of the British Resident was given in writing upon the face of the bond, or signified by the Resident in a despatch written at the time to his own Government, and approved as well by that Government as by the Native Sovereign contracting the loan.

5. We state the principle thus broadly and decidedly, to the end that the orders we are about to transmit to you on the subject of the present claim may not be liable to misinterpretation in the important particular, that where money has been advanced to a Native State without a sanction of the nature above described, we will in no case, except under peculiar circumstances, interfere in view to its recovery.

6. The peculiarities which induce us to come forward on the present occasion will appear from a brief summary of many of the transactions connected with the claim.

7. Both Lord Cornwallis and his successor, the present Lord Teignmouth, had repeatedly urged the late Vizier, Asoph-ul-Dowlah, to put in a train of liquidation the large debt which he had contracted, and, at his Excellency's particular desire, the Governor-General in Council authorised Mr. Cherry, then the resident at Lucknow, "to assist him in ascertaining his true and just debts, with a view to their being put into a train of payment; and it was stated to Mr. Cherry, that the Governor-General had also assented to give his sentiments on the adjustment of them, if necessary, taking precautions at the same time to prevent any implication of the Company's responsibility in consequence of such interference." Mr. Cherry accordingly entered into a laborious investigation of the debts of that prince; and in a letter dated the 14th April, 1796, transmitted to the Governor-General, Sir John Shore (the present Lord Teignmouth), a list of such of them as he considered to be just. In that list are to be found the names of the Calcutta Bankers. Owing, probably, to the removal of Mr. Cherry from Lucknow to Benares, no arrangement was made for paying off those debts; but it appears from a despatch dated the 28th of September, 1796, from Mr. Lumsden, who replaced Mr. Cherry in the office of resident at Lucknow, that Asoph-ul-Dowlah had adopted the resolution of paying from his own treasure the debts due to his European creditors: that this had accordingly been effected in respect to the whole of them, with the exception of Mr. Bruce, who objected to the terms offered by the Vizier; and that in the early stage of the negotiation with the European gentlemen, Mr. Lumsden took a part. In communicating this transaction to his Government, Mr. Lumsden stated, that the Vizier had previously made an arrangement with the Native creditors, of a nature far less

favourable to them than that which had been concluded with the Europeans; but that Munsoram, the agent of the Calcutta Bankers, had rejected the terms thus offered, expressing "his readiness to agree to receive the principal in the same manner as settled with Europeans, but he was refused." This proceeding indicated his sense of the fairness and justice of the claims of his principles.

8. Both Mr. Lumsden and Sir John Shore expressed regret at the inequitable distinction which Asoph-ul-Dowlah had made between his European and Native creditors. Mr. Lumsden's words are these: "I am concerned that it is impossible to persuade the Vizier and his Ministers that his own credit and true policy required him to offer the same terms to his Native creditors which he had granted to the Europeans." Lord Teignmouth thus replies:—"I regret with you the distinction made between the European and Native creditors, so little conformable to justice or policy."

9. By Mr. Lumsden's language it would appear that he had endeavoured to persuade the Nawab Vizier to repair this injustice, but in vain. There is, however, nothing to show that any further attempt was made at this time for that purpose.

10. When, in the beginning of the year 1798, Sir John Shore had determined to place Saadut Ali in the musnud of Oude, as the legitimate successor of Asoph-ul-Dowlah, he concluded with him a preliminary engagement (the treaty of Benares), which contained an article obliging him to liquidate the just debts of his late brother in the course of three years.

11. This article was, however, omitted in the definitive treaty, for which omission the reason assigned is, that "the stipulation would involve us in the necessity of inquiring into the justice of all claims, and constitute the Company, in some measure, a guarantee for procuring the liquidation of them, which would be attended with very serious embarrassment."

12. We cannot admit the validity of this reasoning, which, if valid, ought most assuredly to have deterred the Governor-General from agitating the subject at all. In the particular case so many steps had already been taken, as to make it very questionable whether it was still open to the British Government to recede on the ground of the general objections which Sir John Shore urges.

13. It is not probable that the fact of such an article having been introduced in a preliminary form was unknown to the Native creditors, and the knowledge of it must have tended to raise their hopes. But, and if they were not aware of that fact, it is indisputable that their expectations had been previously excited by the authorised, notorious, and laborious investigation which had been concluded by Mr. Cherry, the British Resident, in pursuance of the order, and under the express supervision of the Governor-General, with a view to the eventual liquidation of the debts of Asoph-ul-Dowlah.

14. Sir John Shore, however, contented himself with saying to Saadut Ali, that although the article of the preliminary treaty of Benares had been withdrawn, "it was still left to his equity to satisfy such claims as he might deem fair and just, and that in this class he would, upon inquiry, probably find the demands of the shroffs upon the late Vizier, and if so, that it would be to his interest not to overlook them."

15. This cautious and gentle recommendation had, in point of fact, little weight. Saadut Ali paid not the least attention to the claims

of the creditors of his deceased brother. Pending the negotiation which terminated in the treaty of November, 1801, the question of the debts was re-agitated. In the month of May of that year, Saadut Ali submitted to Lord Wellesley, through the Resident, Colonel Scott, certain articles to which he requested that his Lordship would affix his seal and signature. The first article was as follows:—

16. “The payment of the debts of my predecessor, Asoph-ul-Dowlah, is not stipulated for in the existing treaty. I am, moreover, unable to liquidate the debts contracted in the late reign; but this is an affair which will be adjusted between the State and the creditors of the late Nawaub, and regarding which the Company are in no shape responsible, the treaty being silent on this subject.”

17. In regard to this proposition, Colonel Scott observes:—“It is embarrassing, inasmuch as it avows in spirit, and almost in words, a determination not to discharge any part of them (his brother's debts), and requires your Lordship's direct confirmation of that resolve. Although the British Government had not yet interfered nor called upon the Vizier to discharge the debts of the State, yet your Lordship's sense of the obligation which his Excellency owes to justice and common honesty, to make some arrangement for the liquidation of those debts, is so strongly manifested by the proposition, under certain conditions (the entire transfer of the Vizier's territories to the British Government), of taking the burthen upon the Company, that his Excellency looks with certainty to the demand being at a future period pressed upon him by the influence and authority of the Company's Government.”

18. It appears by a subsequent letter from Colonel Scott, that when he made the foregoing observation, he was not aware (to use his own words) “that a stand had been made to an article inserted in the draft of the treaty with the Vizier on his accession to the musnud, relating to the payment of the late Nawaub's debts, and that Sir John Shore had satisfied himself with verbally consigning the liquidation of them to the justice of the Vizier.”

19. In his reply to the reference which had thus been made to him, Lord Wellesley declared that he was precluded, by the strongest obligations of public duty, from affixing his seal to the articles, of the first of which it appeared, according to his Lordship, to be the object, “under the shelter of the British name, to cancel all the public debts of the State of Oude.”

20. The Secret Committee of the Court of Directors, in a despatch (since made public), dated 19th November, 1803, in signifying their approval of the treaty of 1801, observed as follows:—“The Company being now bound to the defence and protection of his Highness's dominions against all enemies, foreign and domestic, without further charges to the Vizier, the ample revenue which remains to his Highness, entirely applicable to the expenses of his civil government, will, we trust, place him beyond the reach of pecuniary embarrassment, and enable his Highness to put his just debts in a course of progressive liquidation.”

21. The last words evidently allude to the unliquidated debts due to the Native creditors, because the arrangement of 1796 having been duly reported in your despatches, the authorities by whom that letter was prepared, were aware of the compromise to which the European creditors had agreed.

22. It was apparently the intention of the Secret Committee, that

Saadut Ali should be apprised of the expectation entertained by them in respect to the payment of the debts of his predecessor. Whether or not any communication of that tenor was, in fact, made to him, does not appear from official documents; but from a private letter addressed by Lord Wellesley to Lord Hastings, dated 3d May, 1814, we are led to conclude the contrary. That letter, which was placed by Lord Hastings on your records, and was referred to in your Political despatch, dated 9th November, 1816, is couched in the following words:—"The details of the case are fully stated in the memorial, and in other documents, which will, of course, be submitted to your Excellency's judgment: it will, therefore, be sufficient for me to assure you, that after full consideration of the whole matter my decided opinion was, that all the memorialists were entitled, in justice and equity, to the full amount of their claims, and that it was the duty of the Supreme Government to urge the demand on the Nawaub of Oude with all the force which the delicacy of such a question might admit.

"The principal point which I am anxious to explain is, the cause of my silence on this subject during my administration in India. Inferences might be drawn adverse to the claims of the memorialists, or injurious to my sense of justice, from a circumstance which is, in reality, to be attributed to the very peculiar state of affairs during my government, and to the uninterrupted train of extraordinary events which occurred during that period of time.

"The truth is, that those events and their consequences so entirely occupied my attention, as to leave me little time for the prosecution of claims of a private nature; and particularly with regard to the State of Oude, my discussions with the Nawaub Vizier, on other points of the most arduous nature, precluded the possibility of preferring matters, however weighty in the scale of justice, of inferior consideration in a political and national view.

"But I repeat to your Excellency my entire conviction of the strength of this claim, and the propriety of urging it upon the consideration of the Nawaub Vizier, who, I trust, will be induced to discharge so clear a debt of honour, especially as it stands absolutely distinct from any other demand of any other creditor of the State of Oude."

23. The receipt of Lord Wellesley's letter induced Lord Hastings to investigate the claim of the Calcutta Bankers; and the result of that investigation is stated by his Lordship in a Minute of the 1st January, 1816, of which, although not entered on your Proceedings, a copy has been furnished to us by Mr. Prendergast. From this Minute we learn, that, in his Lordship's view of the case, it stood distinguished from the rest of the claims in the following particulars:—That these Bankers, though not Europeans, were British subjects, and, as such, entitled to the good offices of Government: That the debt which they claimed from Asoph-ul-Dowlah was admitted to be just, both as to the purity of origin and as to amount, by the Nawaub Vizier and by the British Government: That the liquidation of it was thence recommended in the settlement of the Nawaub Vizier's affairs: That the Bankers could not vitiate the quality of their demand by declining to accept a composition, which they suspected to have been brought forward for the purpose of exacting sacrifices from some of the creditors, while others were to receive prompt and full payment: That the Government did not consider them as having for-

feited a claim to its mediation by declining that composition, but, as would appear from the Marquis Wellesley's letter, did subsequently countenance their application: That there was a fair implication of equitable reliance on the good offices of Government, inasmuch as the money borrowed from the Bankers was known to have been taken up for the purpose of discharging the arrears due to the Honourable Company; a circumstance which, though it afforded no legal tie, appealed directly to one's feelings, whether the Bankers must not have been influenced by an ulterior confidence in the protection of Government with regard to a loan whence Government was to draw a material convenience. and which was therefore agreeable to it: That this implication was much strengthened, when we adverted to the extent and notoriety of intercourse between Government and Asoph-ul-Dowlah in pecuniary concerns: That, in fact, there was that sentiment acknowledged by Government relative to this loan; but Government confessedly forbore to urge the repayment, lest it might embarrass the liquidation of the demand which it was then pressing on its own account upon Saadut Alee: That these circumstances took the Bankers' case completely out of the class of those demands, respecting which the Honourable Court had precluded the intervention of Government, this case not being the simple transaction between individual and individual, against which the Court had established the bar, but a claim heretofore recognised as just by Government, and only suffered to sink through the avowed preference which we had given to our own interest: That, by the letter from Mr. Thornton, it was indisputable that the Court had put this construction upon the Bankers' case, and had been withheld from recommending it to the consideration of Government only by the principle, that the judgment to be passed on such questions ought to rest with the local authorities. "On this ground," observed Lord Hastings, "I think the petitioners entitled to all the assistance which we can with propriety afford them; unfortunately that does not go far. We cannot bring forward the claim to the Nawaub Vizier as one which Government formally supports, because we should have difficulty in vindicating our right of application, should he resist it; but I think Mr. Strachey may be instructed to take advantage of some favourable opportunity for stating the demand, as one which it would be creditable to the justice and honour of his Excellency to liquidate."

24. Instructions founded on the view taken of the Bankers' case by Lord Hastings in Council, were accordingly issued to Mr. Strachey, who, in consequence of the instructions, brought the matter before the reigning Sovereign of Oude, the son of the late Saadut Alee. The answer returned by him to that application was such as to deter Lord Hastings from renewing it without our sanction. This having been withheld, no further attempt has been made to obtain an equitable adjustment of the claim.

25. In conformity with the Minute of Lord Hastings before mentioned, his Lordship in Council addressed to us a letter dated the 9th November, 1816, which is recorded, and which, after strongly echoing the language and minutely repeating the arguments of the Minute, concludes as follows:—"Under this positive declaration of the Nawaub Vizier not to entertain the claim, we do not consider ourselves warranted in pressing the claim further on his Excellency's attention, without the express sanction of your Honourable Court, for whose consideration and orders the case is now submitted." This letter was

signed by Lord Hastings, himself, then Lord Moira, and by Messrs. N. B. Edmonstone, Archibald Seton, and G. Dowdeswell, all Members of Council.

26. In our reply (dated 12th February, 1819), to this communication, we reminded you of our decided objection to any interference with the Native Princes in matters of the kind under consideration. We stated that, even without reference to such general objection, we felt ourselves precluded from any authoritative interference with the Vizier of Oude by the existing state of relations between the two Governments; and adverting to the difficulty of divesting a friendly communication to a weaker power of the character of authority, and to the danger of bringing other claims on the Vizier, we directed you to rest content with the attempt which you had already made, and to abstain from similar proceedings in future.

27. It is to be observed, that this letter, though it objected to further interference with the Vizier, does not impugn the justice of the claim, but, on the contrary, admits its validity as against the State of Oude.

28. With regard to the alleged danger of bringing new demands on that State, we have before observed, in substance, that the peculiar nature and circumstances of the present case clearly distinguish it from all others, and preclude the danger of its becoming a precedent.

29. From the foregoing summary of facts, though they are rather sketched than developed, a just opinion may be formed of the present case. It must be remembered, that our interference in the liquidation of the State debts of Oude was, in the first instance, exercised at the formally expressed desire of the Prince by whom those debts had been contracted: that our actual interference on that occasion in favour of the European creditors, made it impossible for us ever to plead the general principle of non-interference, as a bar to the demands of another class of creditors whose claims were authenticated at the same time by the same authority; that, in point of fact, the liquidation of the claims of the Native as well as the European creditors was actually put in train, and was to some extent pursued; and this with such formality and notoriety, as to constitute an implied pledge from the British Government to the Natives, that a settlement would take place: that, whatever right of an equitable kind the public creditors of Asoph-ul-Dawlah had before his death acquired, the assistance of the British Government for the recovery of their debts, such right having become fully vested, remained to them on the accession of Saadut Alee, and could not be affected by any omission on the part of the British Government to press the claim on that Prince:—and, finally, that, for the same reasons, such right remains unimpaired up to the present hour. We may add, that, in supporting the case of the Native creditors, your predecessors appear to have acted in strict conformity with the sentiments of the Home Government, as recorded in the passage extracted from the Secret Letter of November, 1803. It seems indeed probable, that if the influence of your Government had been exerted, so as to have prevailed on the Sovereign of Oude to discharge the debts then outstanding, such a measure would have received the approbation of the Home Government, and it is a source of just regret that this course was not adopted.

30. As the case now stands, although we are sensible of the disadvantages under which we are placed by lapse of time, we nevertheless feel that it is incumbent on us to use our utmost efforts to retrieve the

present claimants from the unfortunate situation in which they are placed.

31. Under a strong conviction that this is a valid claim against the King of Oude, we are of opinion that the settlement of it should no longer be delayed; you will, accordingly, lose no time in communicating to the King our sentiments on this subject, and strongly urging on him the importance of an immediate and effectual adjustment, as due to his own honour, no less than to the interests of justice, and to the wishes of the British Government.

32. The details, as to time and mode of payment, we must leave to your discretion to arrange.

33. In regard to the basis on which the claim should be adjusted, we are of opinion that the present claimants are entitled to the same terms as those which were accorded by Asoph-ul-Dowlah to the European creditors in 1796, and for which Munseram, their agent, at the time contended, together with such additional compensation in consideration of the lapse of time which has since intervened, and for which they certainly are not responsible, as may appear to you fair and equitable.

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### No. III.

India Board, December 15, 1832.

The Commissioners for the Affairs of India direct that a letter be despatched by the Court of Directors in the usual form, according to the tenor of the foregoing Draft.

(Signed) H. S. ALVES,  
Acting Assistant Secretary.

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### No. IV.

*Letter from the Secretary of the East India Company to the Secretary of the India Board.*

East India House, 1st March, 1833.

SIR,—I am commanded by the Court of Directors to state, that they have received with the deepest concern the mandate of the Board of Commissioners contained in your letter dated the 15th of December last, to transmit to India a despatch, according to the tenor of orders and instructions prepared by the Board, relative to pecuniary claims of certain shroffs of Lucknow on the King of Oude.

Upon the receipt of the letter of the late Mr. Villiers, dated the 14th May last, calling upon the Court to prepare such a despatch, a repre-

sentation was drawn up by the Chairman and Deputy Chairman of the reasons which appeared to them to be conclusive against the interference proposed by the Board between the King of Oude and his alleged creditors. This, however, they postponed submitting to the Court, partly from unwillingness to enter upon this case till that of the claims of certain subjects of the British Government against subjects of the Nizami's Government was disposed of, and partly from the expectation they entertained, that an answer would be communicated by the Board to the general remonstrance against this species of interference, which was made by the Court on the 9th of May last.

In the first place, the Court desire me to represent, that the question as to the policy, as well as the right, of the British Government, to exert its authority with the Sovereign of Oude, for satisfaction of the claims referred to, was long ago accurately considered, deliberately decided, and solemnly and finally closed; and that they are filled with apprehension of the consequences of establishing a precedent, by which every decision of the Government, against which individuals may conceive that they are entitled to reclaim, becomes unsettled, and by which the investigation and decision of the same subject may be called for from the same authority again and again, interminably. Even in matters of ordinary litigation it is a maxim, that a decree by the highest tribunal should be final: \* much more, assuredly, is this required, in the great concerns upon which it is the peculiar business of the Government to decide.

The Court most respectfully, but with the utmost earnestness and solicitude, request the attention of the Board to the following facts, to which, as they have been the subject of detailed statement on former occasions, they think it sufficient briefly to advert.

In 1786 it was resolved by the Governor-General in Council, † “that positive instructions should be conveyed to the agent at Lucknow, that he should not in future solicit the Vizier or his Minister for the payment of private debts.” †

The Home Authorities not only approved this resolution, but further said, “We approve of your having declined calling for a list of the private debts of the Nawaub to British subjects, *lest the same might be construed into an implied intention of giving assistance to recover them.*” †

The Governor-General, Lord Cornwallis, deemed the subject of so much importance, that he recorded his sentiments, with the reasons of them at length, in a Minute, in April, 1787; and in the letter which he addressed, with much solemnity, to the Vizier, dated 15th April, 1787, he said, “It is the intention of the Company, and my firm resolution, that no interference shall take place in the details of the affairs of your Excellency's Government;” and afterwards particularly mentioned interference for claims of any description from any British subject, or “person under the authority of this Government.” ‡

It was the opinion of Lord Cornwallis, that between the entire and perfect abstinence from interference with the Vizier, and “the total

\* *Interest Republicæ ut sit finis litium.*

† Lord Cornwallis.

‡ Public Letter to Bengal, 31st July, 1787, par. 174.

§ This letter, with the Vizier's reply, has so much the character of a compact or treaty, that it is inserted under that name, in the collection of Treaties printed by the Company in 1812, page 108.

annihilation of his influence and authority, there was no advisable medium ;”\* and his conduct was in strict conformity with this opinion.

In 1790 an application of Captain Edwards was refused by the Bengal Government, considering that, even for a debt which it believed to be just, “it would be indelicate and unjustifiable to use the least interference.”†

On a similar application from the heirs of Major Darrel, the Bengal Government declared that, as the claim “came under the description of a private debt, it would be no less improper, with regard to the Vizier, than derogatory to the dignity of this Government, to take any concern in soliciting the payment of it :”‡ of which decision the Court and the Board approved.§ And upon a subsequent solicitation to the same effect, they addressed the Bengal Government in the following words:—“The principle of not interfering in the claims of the Nawaub’s private creditors has been already recognised and inculcated by us in our letter to your Government from the Military Department of the 4th August, 1791; and however the expectation of individuals may be disappointed, we cannot see any justifiable reason to depart from the line of policy hitherto adopted.”||

In 1814 the Committee of Correspondence, to whom had been referred by the Court a Memorial from the Lucknow shroffs, and several letters of Mr. Prendergast, requesting that the Bengal Government might be directed to negotiate with the Vizier for the satisfaction of their claims, reported, that “after mature deliberation, they were of opinion that it is not advisable, nor the practice of the Company, to recommend to the Bengal Government an interference with the Viziers of Oude in the manner requested ;”¶ in which opinion the Court concurring, resolved, “That the application of Mr. Mr. G. Prendergast, for the subject of his Memorial on behalf of Mooneer Doss and Seetul Baboo to be referred to the Government of Bengal for the purpose of their negotiating thereon with the Vizier of Oude, be not complied with.”

In 1816 the Bengal Government, upon receiving a Memorial from the parties above-named, praying the Government “to compel immediate payment from the Vizier” of sums which they specified, and upon receipt by the Marquis of Hastings (then Governor-General) of a private letter from Marquis Wellesley, which will be further noticed hereafter, telling the Government that it was its duty “to urge the demand upon the Nawaub of Oude with all the force which the delicacy of such a question might admit,” proceeded “to the extent of authorising the Resident at the Nawaub Vizier’s court to be the channel of stating the claim, and the opinion of the British Government upon it, for the consideration of his Excellency the Vizier.”

The Court deem it expedient to lay before the Board the whole of that part of their letter of 22d February, 1819, which conveyed their sentiments on these proceedings.

“We have perused the Memorial here alluded to, and the documents to which you have referred, relative to your proceedings, in

\* Minute, *ul supra*.

† Military letter from Bengal, 5th November, 1790, par. 9.

‡ Par. 11.

§ Military letter to Bengal, 4th August, 1791, par. 3.

|| Political letter to Bengal, 17th September, 1817, par. 25.

¶ 14th March, 1814.

compliance with the solicitations of the petitioners, to induce the Vizier to pay them a sum of 11,58,700 rupees with interest, being the amount of loans made to the late Nawaub, Asoph-ul-Dowlah.

"This Memorial, we observe, was presented to you by Messrs. Fergusson and Clerk, the agents of Mr. Prendergast, and they allude to a previous application to us by that gentleman, as the agent of the petitioners here: but they have not fully stated the nature of that application, or of our determination upon it, which we will therefore here explain.

"Towards the close of the year 1813, Mr. Prendergast preferred to the Court of Directors his request that they would be pleased to record upon their proceedings a strong opinion in favour of the justice of the claims of the memorialists, and that they would direct the Bengal Government to negotiate with the Vizier for the final discharge of their demands. The Court, however, in the early part of the year 1814, being of opinion that it was not advisable nor agreeable to the practice of the Company to recommend an interference with the Vizier under such circumstances, declined to comply with Mr. Prendergast's application.

"We find that this matter has been brought before you, supported by a recommendation of the Marquis Wellesley, in a letter to the Governor-General, in which he attributes to the variety of his occupations while at the head of the Government, that the business had not then been brought forward. This letter, we think, ought not to have been made matter of record.

"The instructions which you issued to Mr. Strachey to 'take some opportunity for stating the demand, as one which it would be creditable to the justice and honour of his Excellency to liquidate,' appear to have been acted upon by the Resident in a manner directly at variance both with the letter and spirit of your orders. You very properly cautioned him 'against urging the claim as one which the British Government formally supports:' yet, in his second letter to the Vizier, he reminds his Excellency 'that the justness of the claim is entirely admitted by the British Government, who, with its usual solicitude for your Excellency's honour and credit, and the splendour and prosperity of your Government, cannot but grant its support to its own subjects, in directing your Excellency's attention to this call on your justice.' We think this departure from the tenor of his instructions on the part of an officer of your Government ought not to have passed without censure.

"You are aware of our decided opinion upon the subject of interference with the Native Princes in matters of this kind; but, had we no such general opinion, we should feel ourselves precluded from all right of authoritative interference with the Vizier of Oude, by the existing state of relations between the two Governments. We are so much aware of the difficulty of divesting a friendly communication to a weaker power of the character of authority, and are so apprehensive that the consequence of pressing upon the Vizier the consideration of these claims might bring upon him others from various quarters, that we direct you to rest contented with the attempt you have already made, and to abstain from any similar proceedings hereafter, at the instance either of these or any other claimants."

On the attempt, in 1822, to make the Company responsible for the debt alleged to be due by the Vizier, it is not to the present purpose to remark, further than to state, that it furnished occasion to a very

minute and laborious investigation, by the Committee of Correspondence, of the whole circumstances of the case, and that, at the end of a long induction of particular decisions on the applications of Mr. Prendergast and others for interference with the Vizier, they reported as follows :—

“ With reference to all these circumstances, the Committee of Correspondence submit their opinion, that the Court could not have complied with the former petitions of Mr. Prendergast on behalf of his constituents, without departing from those established and sound principles of policy, by which the Company’s Government has been guided in its relations with the Nawaub Vizier, without retracting assurances implicitly relied on by the Prince to whom they were given, without again imposing upon a friend and ally an obligation from which he had been deliberately relieved, and without showing to the parties in question a degree of favour which the Court had refused to other parties possessing similar claims.” And of this Report the Court of Directors unanimously approved.

After such a series of decisions in favour of a particular line of policy, it would require a strong conviction of its unsoundness and tendency to produce evil consequences, to justify the Court, in their own opinion, in consenting to depart from it : but, on the contrary, when they entirely concur in the reasons which induced former Courts, and Boards of Commissioners, to come to the decisions, so deliberately formed, and repeatedly announced, and regard them as establishing, not only on grounds of justice and policy, but also the faith of treaties, the practical conclusions which were founded on them, they consider themselves as under a solemn obligation not to be the willing instruments of subverting a policy which they entirely approve, and in which they deem it of the highest importance that the British Government in India should persevere.

As the anxiety, however, of the Court respecting the decision of the Board on this subject, makes them fearful of omitting any thing which seems to them calculated to aid in removing the impression which they deprecate, and as the draft of the despatch prepared by the Board contains a statement of reasons in justification of the measure which the Board would prescribe, the Court deem it incumbent upon them to make known to the Board the reflections which that statement has suggested. They regret that, in presenting these conclusions, with the fulness which the occasion seems to require, so much is necessary to be written ; but they trust the Board will ascribe this effect to its true and only cause, the importance which they attach to the question.

In the Draft as prepared by the Board it is said, “ As a general principle, we have no hesitation in expressing it as our decided opinion, that the British Government is not bound to interfere, and ought to be extremely cautious of interfering in the recovery of loans from Native States, unless such loans were contracted with its previous knowledge, *and*\* unless the guarantee of the British Resident was given in writing upon the face of the bond, *or*† signified by the Resident in a despatch written at the time to his own Government,

\* *Qy. or?*

† *Qy. and?* otherwise the passage will import that the Resident’s guarantee, if appearing on the face of the bond, should be binding on the Government, whether it had been made acquainted with and sanctioned it, or not.

and approved as well by that Government as by the Native Sovereign contracting the loan."

Though it is the decided opinion of the Court that such guarantees as are above alluded to, of loans to Native Princes or other parties by any lenders whatsoever, should be altogether abstained from by the British Government, and indeed interdicted, they nevertheless have great satisfaction in seeing the principle of non-interference so broadly and guardedly laid down as it is by the Board in the above paragraph. But, in the same high degree in which they estimate the importance of such a rule, must they be solicitous that, along with the promulgation of the rule, a precedent should not immediately be set, by which, if acted upon, the rule would be utterly subverted, and the precedent become the rule in its stead; a rule directly opposite to the former, both in its purport and effects.

The principle, as laid down by the Board, recognises two conditions: 1st, that the British Government should have been a party, consenting at least to the original transaction: 2d, that it should have given its guarantee for the payment: under which conditions alone, any interference should be attempted by the British Government for the enforcement of claims of debt on Native Princes.

Neither of these conditions applies to the case of the Lucknow Bankers. This is not alleged; and it is so clear a point, that the Court do not think it necessary to enforce it by argument.

The subsequent paragraph of the Board's Draft, however, says: "We state the principle thus broadly and decidedly, to the end that the orders we are about to transmit to you on the subject of the present claim may not be liable to misinterpretation in the important particular, that, where money has been advanced to a Native State without a sanction of the nature above described" (original consent or express guarantee), "we will in no case, except under very peculiar circumstances, interfere in view to its recovery."

It is obvious, therefore, that the justification of the interference now proposed is, and indeed must be, placed on the plea of "very peculiar circumstances." With respect to this plea, the Court do not deny that very peculiar circumstances may create a case of exception to the most important rules; but, in proportion to the importance of the rule, it is incumbent on those who would make the exception, rigidly to investigate the circumstances which are said to be peculiar, and not only to prove that they are peculiar, but that the peculiarity constitutes a case of sufficient importance, to demand a departure from an established and important line of action.

With this view, the Court have carefully considered the circumstances which are adduced by the Board as forming a peculiarity of that cogent nature in the present case; and, as they have been conscientiously led to a conclusion directly the reverse of that of the Board, it is their wish, as it is their duty, to point out the grounds of their conviction as fully as the nature of the case appears to require.

In the Board's enumeration of circumstances, the first which appears is this: "that both Lord Cornwallis and his successor, the present Lord Teignmouth, had repeatedly urged the late Vizier, Asoph-ul-Dowlah, to put in a train of liquidation the large debt which he had contracted." The "large debt" here means *all* the debts of the Vizier. This implies, therefore, the reverse of any thing peculiar as to the debt of the present claimants. All the other debts

of the Nawaub were equally included; and what was done, instead of being peculiar to any, was common to them all.

It is next said, "That, at his Excellency's particular desire, the Governor-General in Council authorised Mr. Cherry, then the Resident at Lucknow, to assist him in ascertaining his true and just debts, with a view to their being put into a train of payment. Mr. Cherry accordingly entered into a laborious investigation of the debts of that Prince, and, in a letter dated the 14th April, 1796, transmitted to the Governor-General a list of such of them as he considered to be just. In that list are to be found the names of the Calcutta Bankers." Here, in like manner, there is not only not any thing peculiar, but there is a direct statement to the contrary. This circumstance, therefore, is altogether unavailing to the object of the Board, that of making out a case of peculiarity for the interference of the British Government.

There are, however, in this statement, some things which deserve observation. The Vizier expressed a particular desire that the aid of the British Resident might be lent to him, in order to make a discrimination between claims which might be, and those which could not be true. This was, therefore, no interference with the British Government; it was substantially the act of the Vizier himself.

It is also stated, that Mr. Cherry, after a laborious investigation, presented a list of such debts as he considered to be just. It is necessary here to consider the state of the facts. It could not be, that Mr. Cherry had made an investigation of the particulars of each claim, such as is made in a court of justice, and such as is indispensably necessary to enable a judge to determine with accuracy, not merely that something is due, but how much is due. The time Mr. Cherry employed in the investigation was altogether disproportionate to such a performance. We know well, by the experience of the Carnatic and Tanjore Commissioners in India, how much time is required to go into the detail of such debts, and to ascertain how much ought in justice to be paid, and how much not. All that it was possible for him to do, obviously, was, to separate the class of claims, which appeared to be altogether groundless and fictitious, from those which had more or less in them of what was real. If, upon this ground any such inference is raised, as that all the claims included in Mr. Cherry's list\* ought to be paid in full, we know well, from the experience of the same Commissions, how erroneous such an inference would be, and what injustice would have been imposed on the Vizier, if any coercion had been applied to him on that principle. Of claims of precisely the same description upon the Nawaub of the Carnatic, not more than 9 per cent. has been found justly entitled to payment.

If any stress is laid upon the circumstance, that the claims of the Dosses rest on the evidence of bonds, it is only necessary to remember, in order to show the futility of that circumstance, how many of the claims on the two Carnatic Princes rested on the same foundation, but have not been, on that account, spared either from scrutiny or re-

\* Mr. Cherry, in reality, never made a list. He transmitted to the Governor-General the list given to him by Rajah Tickait Roy, of the debts standing in the Oude Government accounts, and afterwards a list of the debts as claimed by the creditors. The following instance of the difference between the two statements sufficiently shows the necessity of investigation previous to payment:—

<i>Debt of Doorka Doss.</i>	•
According to the accounts of Government. . . . . Rs. 2,28,128	According to his own ac- counts . . . . . Rs. 9,25,956.

trenchment; and whoever is acquainted with the mode in which bonds are habitually manufactured in India, that for a small sum received the needy Prince grants a bond for a large one, and that at the end of every six or twelve, sometimes four, months, the bond is renewed, with the addition of interest at two per cent. or more per month, will not question the propriety of the course which has been prescribed to the Commissioners, or can possibly doubt the necessity there would be of a similar scrutiny of the bonds\* of the Dosses, preliminary to any proceeding on the part of the British Government to enforce the payment of them.

The next circumstance adduced in the Draft of the Board is the arrangement which was made with the two classes of creditors, the European and the Native, immediately after the proceeding of Mr. Cherry. The Draft says, "that owing probably to the removal of Mr. Cherry, no arrangement was made for paying off the debts included in his list." But why should not that arrangement, which was completed in five months after the date of Mr. Cherry's list, be considered the very arrangement to which the proceeding of Mr. Cherry was intended to lead? By that arrangement a composition was accepted, instead of payment in full, by both classes of creditors, with a single exception in each class, the Dosses being the exception in the Native class. The terms of the composition were more favourable to the European than to the Native creditors, and this was the ground of the exception of the Dosses. They were willing to accept a composition, but not a less favourable one than was offered to the European creditors. This practice of compounding with their creditors, common with the Native Princes in India, deserves some reflection. On the supposition that a great part of the claims against them are artificial, and do not represent correctly the value they received, with a reasonable interest, this is only a rude and summary mode, congenial with the mental habits of the people, of sweeping off the undue and extortionate part of the several claims; and the acceptance by so many of the creditors of the composition offered them may be, without any straining, regarded as presumptive evidence that, upon the whole, substantial justice was done to them. Upon the contrary supposition, that all the creditors who accepted the composition were defrauded, every one of those creditors deserved as much the interference of the British Government as the Dosses. If it be said that they received something, the Dosses nothing, it is to be asked, how that affects the principle? Justice or injustice is not measured by the sum. Besides, the act was that of the Dosses themselves, and surely constituted no case of peculiarity requiring the interference of the British Government. There was one part of their demand which the body of creditors did not receive: the Dosses, as to that part, stood in the same predicament. Another part of the body of creditors did receive, —the Dosses not, only because they refused to receive it. Whatever loss they sustained by this refusal is chargeable only on themselves. But men must be left to bear the consequences of their own acts. It would be a monstrous rule, that Government should employ extraordinary and dangerous expedients for repairing those consequences.

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\* That these were renewed-bonds is proved by their dates in 1791, 1795, and 1796; for the debts were incurred before Lord Cornwallis left India. At how much earlier a date, with how many previous renewals, or at what interest, there is nothing to show.

Among the other things which the Court conceive themselves bound to notice in the Draft of the Board is, the statement that, in the early stage of the negotiation with the European creditors for the composition which they accepted, Mr. Lumsden (the Resident) took "a part." The Court are altogether at a loss to understand the object of this statement. It cannot be for establishing (what alone it would be for the purpose of the Board to establish) that the case of the Dosses is a peculiar case; for nothing of what was done by Mr. Lumsden related to it. As little does it prove any thing as to the justice of their claim. If it be intended to suggest the idea, that the British Resident, in this case, had violated the order under which he acted, of non-interference, the Court are happy, on looking into the circumstances, to find, that he was guilty of no such dereliction of his duty. In the very letter of the Resident, quoted for the fact in the Draft of the Board, the words are these:—"His Excellency, in the first instance, sent for General Martin and Mr. Johnstone, two of the principal creditors, who attended his summons; but as they did not come into the terms which were offered them, he afterwards made a proposition in writing, through me, to all the European creditors."\* And this was the whole of "the part" taken by Mr. Lumsden in the negotiation: he was the channel of communication on the part of the Vizier, and, at his desire, of a proposition in writing to the European creditors; an act to which it is surely needless to say, the term interference can by no means be applied. He was once more the channel of communicating, in the same way, a modification of that proposition; and with this his intervention terminated: for the Resident goes on to say, "it happened that all the creditors were at Lucknow, either in person or by their representatives, and after the discussion of the first and second days they negotiated the business directly with the Vizier's servants, without any intervention on my part."†

It is stated in the Board's Draft, and seems to be considered a matter of importance, that "both Mr. Lumsden and Sir John Shore expressed regret at the unequitable distinction which Asoph-ul-Dowlah had made between his European and Native creditors." The value of this expression of regret, as evidence in the case, deserves to be carefully weighed, and should be looked at in its true light.

They could use it only in consequence of their supposing that the European creditors did not receive more than their due, and that the claims of the Native creditors rested on the same grounds with those of the Europeans.

If the European creditors had received more than they ought to have received, there was no room for just regret that the Native creditors received less; there was rather cause for satisfaction, that a second act of extortion on the Vizier had not been perpetrated.

Also, if the claims of the Native creditors rested on a foundation in any respect different from that of the European creditors, there was no room for drawing a parallel between them; and the Native creditors, though they got less than the European, in proportion to their demands, might have got as much, or more, in proportion to their due.

Now, it is a question which not only may fairly be asked, but which it is indispensable to ask, how the Resident and Governor-General

\* 28th September, 1796, 11-213.

† Ibid.

could have knowledge of either of these facts ; either that the Europeans had not received a payment far beyond an equivalent for the loans they had made to the Vizier, or that the demands of the Native creditors did not bear a still more extravagant disproportion to the sums they had advanced ? They had performed no investigation into the claims ; they had not entertained a thought of tracing them to their source, and ascertaining with accuracy the circumstances in which they had originated, though they were not ignorant of the rapid process by which they had been swelled.

It is very clear that, in these circumstances, a casual expression, either of the Resident or Governor-General, indicating an opinion upon a subject with which they were unacquainted, cannot be rested upon as evidence of any value at all.

It is to be observed, and, for the elucidation of this point, is an observation of great importance, that such pecuniary transactions with Native Princes were not then so well understood, nor regarded with the same suspicion and disapprobation, as they are now. Mr. Johnstone, who was one of the Vizier's principal European creditors, and whose debt amounted to upwards of seven lacs of rupees, was First Assistant of the Resident, and still allowed to retain his situation. The scrutiny of the Commissioners into the debts of the Carnatic Princes had not yet let in the light which we have now the benefit of, on the mode in which the debts of the Native Princes originated, and how small the proportion which the sums they actually receive bears to the sums demanded of them. It is not unlikely that the Governor-General and Resident, on this occasion, did really believe that no part of the debts was nominal, that the claims were all honestly made up of the principal actually lent and the stipulated interest, though it is now well known that, without inquiry and proof, such a belief was dangerous and unwarranted.

They were acquainted, however, with the exorbitant rate of interest by which the claims had been swelled, and the reckless manner in which the incumbrances had been incurred. The letter of the Resident to the Governor-General, dated September 1, 1795,\* had stated as follows :—“ The ruinous system of borrowing appears more and more daily to have been the cause of the general decline of this Government. The debt has increased annually, by uniting principal and interest, at thirty-six per cent., into new bonds, to which have been added new loans at twelve months, and some at shorter periods, bills bearing discount tendered in place of ready money for *tuncaks* on the Aumils, who again charge interest on the state for anticipation on their kists, while the actual appropriation of the revenues has been involved in the mysterious intricacies of false intercourse with the Aumil's *tuncaks*, debts, and separate allowances, for purposes as confused as the general system of government has been.”

In taking account of claims originating in such extraordinary circumstances, with a view to their liquidation, how would rational men proceed ? They would take the course which has been prescribed to the Commissioners on the affairs of the Carnatic Princes ; they would subject each claim individually to a rigid scrutiny ; they would ascertain the amount of the principal actually lent ; they would add to that a reasonable interest ; and of so much, and no more, would they award the liquidation.

This scrutiny did not suit the temper nor capacity of the Vizier; he took the easier method of telling his creditors that he would give them so much in satisfaction of their claims, and that with this they ought to be contented.

It is necessary now to see what he did pay, and to go as far as we can in determining how near it approached to a reasonable payment.

The proposition, which was first made to the European creditors, and transmitted through the hands of the Resident, was very nearly the same with that which had been already offered to the Native creditors and accepted. It was, that instead of thirty-six per cent. per annum, compound interest, they should only be paid at half that rate of interest, or eighteen per cent. per annum, compound interest, and that the difference should be struck off the bonds.\*

Nobody will deny that this was still very high interest; and this, it had been settled, should be paid to the Native creditors.

There was another condition, however, which lessened the benefit. The Native creditors were to be paid by instalments in six years, the European in five; and, in the mean time, no interest was to run in favour of either class.

These terms the Native creditors, with the exception of the Dosses, had previously accepted. They were, however, rejected by the European class; and, after negotiation, the Europeans succeeded in obtaining payment in full at the rate of thirty-six per cent. per annum, compound interest, and that immediate, they foregoing only the interest due since the last date of the bonds. And this extortion is what the Governor-General and the Resident express their regret, that the Native creditors also were not enabled to force upon the Vizier.

It thus appears, that the payment which the Native creditors were to receive, and which was rejected by the Dosses, was payment at the rate of eighteen per cent. per annum, compound interest, subject to the condition of receiving this payment by one-sixth every year, without any accruing interest upon the sums deferred. Now, when two things are considered, first, the comparative smallness of the advance, in which it is most probable that each of the demands originated; and, secondly, that engagements with the Native Princes at such rates of interest are never *bona fide*, nor is the exact fulfilment of them, except by accident, contemplated by either party, it cannot be pretended that this rate of payment to the Native creditors was an arrangement to which the name of injustice can, with any semblance of reason, be attached: and the Court have no doubt, if the question were put to the Board, they would immediately answer, that they would think it unjust to interpose the authority of the British Government for extorting from the King of Oude more favourable terms of payment in behalf of any creditors.

Another consideration here occurs, which, in the practical view of the question, is of very great importance. Asoph-ul-Dowlah died within a few months after this agreement with his Native creditors; and there is nothing to show that, in consequence of it, any thing was ever paid to them. At all events, if one of the six instalments was paid, there was nothing more. The short and uncertain possession of power by the spurious Vizier Ali, did not afford him the means; and Saadut Alec refused to be responsible for his predecessor's debt. It

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\* Letter of the Resident to the Governor-General, 28th September, 1796.

thus appears that the Dosses actually are in a condition little worse, if at all, than the rest of the Native creditors, who, if they have received any thing, have received no more than a sixth of their reduced demand; and it follows clearly and indubitably that, if the Dosses have any ground to claim the interference of the British Government, every one of the Native creditors included in that arrangement has equal ground; nor can the British Government, without the most glaring inconsistency and partiality, grant its interference in behalf of one, and refuse it to any other.

The next circumstance which is adduced in the Draft of the Board is, the insertion in the Preliminary Treaty with Saadut Alee of an article relative to the payment of the "just debts of his late brother," and the omission of any such stipulation in the Definitive Treaty.

The debts to which the article in question referred, were, no doubt, the debts of the Native class of creditors with whom the arrangement above described had been entered into by Asoph-ul-Dowlah, but upon which arrangement nothing, or, at any rate, a fraction only of the debt, had been paid.

This circumstance, however, whatever be its import, has no exclusive bearing upon the claim of the Dosses, and does not, in the least degree, aid the Board in making out that case of peculiarity, which, by their own doctrine, it is incumbent upon them to establish, in order to lay a ground for enforcing payment of their claim, after a lapse of more than thirty years, from the King of Oude, by the authoritative interference of the British Government.

Between the conclusion of the Preliminary Treaty, however, and the arrangement of the Definitive Treaty, new considerations had suggested themselves to the British Government; and they saw adequate reasons, as it appeared to them, for withholding any such article. "The stipulation," they say, "would involve us in the necessity of inquiring into the justice of all claims, and constitute the Company, in some measure, a guarantee for procuring the liquidation of them, which would be attended with very serious embarrassment."

The language here employed, as to "the necessity of inquiring into the justice of all claims," is indicative of a juster sense of what is essential to the equitable adjustment of debts; namely, a rigid scrutiny into the circumstances, than the language of the Governor-General and the Resident manifested before, when they appeared to be contented with a very summary cognizance of demands.

It would have been necessary for the British Government, in consequence of such a stipulation, to have constituted itself a tribunal of justice between the Sovereign of Oude and his creditors. It would have been equally necessary for it to take the execution of its judgments into its own hands, otherwise it must have submitted to the degradation of permitting articles, in its own treaty, inserted by its authority, to remain unexecuted.

The Court are of opinion, that these were reasons far more than sufficient to determine the Government to the course which it adopted; and to obtain for its determination the sanction and approbation of its superiors in England, including authorities of all descriptions, from that to the present time.

The Board's Draft, however, would now make the Court say—"We cannot admit the validity of this reasoning, which, if valid, ought, most assuredly, to have deterred the Governor-General from agitating the subject at all. In the particular case so many steps had already been

taken, as to make it very questionable whether it was still open to the British Government to recede, on the ground of the general obligations which Sir John Shore urges."

What "this reasoning" should have deterred the Governor-General from, is sufficiently obvious. It should have deterred him from proposing such an article in the Preliminary Treaty; but it had no tendency to deter him from doing what so many of his predecessors had done (if that also is meant to be included in the phrase "agitating the subject at all"), namely, giving his advice to the Vizier, in strong and urgent terms, upon all the faults of his administration, his mode of contracting debts, and deferring the payment of them, as well as the rest, or from allowing the Resident, at the Vizier's request, to aid him in looking into his incumbrances, and to be the channel, as in the case of Mr. Lumsden, of a communication to one class of his creditors: and still less could there be any reason why, if the Governor-General had taken a wrong step in one stage of an important transaction, he should not retract it in another. The contrary would surely be a most monstrous doctrine.

The latter sentence in the Board's paragraph requires special remark: "In the particular case so many steps had been taken." Particular case, here, must mean the case of all the creditors; for nothing had been done, as to the Dosses, but in common with the rest. The reasoning of the Board, therefore, goes to show, that the British Government is bound to procure payment for every one of the creditors. Are they prepared to act upon that doctrine? If not, they recede from and abandon their own ground.

"So many steps had been taken." These steps, as enumerated by the Board, are, first, the insertion of the article in the Preliminary Treaty; second, the list of debts transmitted by Mr. Cherry; and these two acts are set down by the Board as laying upon the British Government the obligation of seeing that the debts of the Sovereign of Oude should all be justly discharged.

To the Court it does not appear that they constitute any obligation. The article in the Preliminary Treaty was indicative of a desire, on the part of the British Government, that justice should be done to the Oude creditors, and nothing more. But a wish that justice should be done to any man or class of men, gives no right to any one to demand a particular exertion for that effect.

The act of Mr. Cherry was not indicative even of so much. Being performed expressly in compliance with the desire of the Vizier, it was essentially indicative of nothing but a willingness to oblige the Vizier.

It was indeed well known, that the British rulers had tendered their advice, and been urgent in their entreaties, to the Ruler of Oude, to arrange honourably with his creditors. But, in all their expostulations, the ground which they took was that of concern, not for the interest of the creditors, but of the Vizier himself. It was not because it would be good for the creditors to receive their money that they urged payment of them upon the Vizier, but that it was of the highest importance for the Vizier to free himself and his administration from the embarrassment and disorders which his pecuniary difficulties created.

The Draft of the Board endeavours to connect the two facts, the article in the Preliminary Treaty, and the list of Mr. Cherry, with the obligation they would thence lay upon the British Government, by

saying that they must have created expectations in the creditors that the British Government would force the Sovereign of Oude to pay them.

In the first place, the Court not only doubt, but are very much disposed to disbelieve, that any such expectations ever existed. But another thing they are perfectly sure of, that, if they did exist, they were utterly groundless; and, though the Court consider expectations legitimately raised as matters of importance, no man in the world conceives that unreasonable expectations deserve any regard.

The creditors, if they knew what had passed between the British and the Oude Governments on the subject of the debts of the latter, knew two things: first, that the reason of the British Government's concerning itself in the matter was declared to be its desire to improve the administration of Oude, in which the relation of the two States gave the British Government a deep interest; secondly, the constant and strong declaration of the British Government, that it had no right to urge the claims of any creditor upon the Sovereign of Oude, and its firm determination to abstain from doing so.

If, in these circumstances, the creditors, because the British Government had once had a thought, but afterwards abandoned the thought, of getting the Sovereign of Oude to undertake in a treaty to pay the debts of his predecessor (which, however, implies that independently of the treaty the British Government had no right to interfere), and because Mr. Cherry, at the request of the Vizier, aided him in making out a list of the demands upon him, fostered in themselves expectations that the British Government would do what it had no right to do, and what it was contrary to its policy to do, such expectations were only delusions.

In the Board's Draft a passage is inserted from the letter of Colonel Scott, the Resident in 1801 (the letter in which he states the declaration of Saadut Ali, that the adjustment of the debts of the State of Oude was the affair of that State, and ought to be exempt from the intermeddling of the British Government), in the following words:—“Your Lordship's sense of the obligation which his Excellency (the Vizier) owes to justice and common honesty, to make some arrangement for the liquidation of these debts, is so strongly manifested by the proposition, under certain conditions (the entire transfer of the Vizier's territories to the British Government), of taking the burthen upon the Company, that his Excellency looks with certainty to the demand being at a future period pressed upon him by the influence and authority of the British Government.”

This passage is somewhat obscurely worded. The contingency, however, which is referred to, is that surrender, which had been under negotiation, of the entire Sovereignty of Oude to the British Government. Of course, in the event of such a surrender, the British Government would have succeeded to all the legitimate obligations, without exception, of the Oude State, and would have paid such of its debts as came under that description; not, however, without such a scrutiny, and such retrenchments, as have taken place in the case of the debts of the Carnatic and Tanjore States, when it succeeded to all their obligations, in consequence of the surrender of all their territory. But what connexion there is between such a responsibility, in such a case, and any responsibility in another case, which is not only not the same, but in every essential circumstance directly the reverse, the Board have given no explanation to enable the Court

to discern. And equally unable are they to trace even the smallest connexion between the premises and the inference of Colonel Scott, that, because the Governor-General had a sense of the Vizier's being under obligation to justice and honesty, and because there would have been an obligation on the British Government to discharge the debts of the Oude State, if the Government of that State had been transferred to it, therefore the Vizier looked with certainty to his being compelled by the British Government to pay them, though the most explicit declarations had been made and repeated by the British Government, that it never would be the instrument of such an interference.

It is stated in the Draft of the Board, that the Marquis Wellesley refused to affix his seal and signature to certain articles transmitted by the Vizier, during the discussion of the treaty under negotiation in 1801, of some of which articles the object appeared to him to be, "under the shelter of the British name, to cancel all the public debts of the State of Oude." This refusal was highly proper in his Lordship, and his obvious and indispensable duty. But the Court expressly deny that there is any connexion between that act and an obligation on the British Government to use its irresistible means to make the Government of Oude pay those debts, and still less one single debt, extracted, by particular favour, out of the entire number.

The next circumstance adduced in the Draft of the Board is a "trust," expressed by the Secret Committee in their despatch, dated 19th November, 1803, that the revenue belonging to the Vizier "would enable him to put his just debts in a course of progressive liquidation." After what has already been said, to show the real nature of the anxiety so often expressed by the British authorities on the matter of the Oude debts, it would be unnecessary to add any thing here, if the Court were not anxious to leave nothing unnoticed on which the Board have rested their case, though, as appears to the Court, it has no power or tendency to support it. The Court did wish, and the Supreme Government wished, that the Sovereign of Oude would free himself on honourable terms from the embarrassment of his debts, and they have often told him how much it concerned his interest. But this is so far from implying a right or intention to interfere by coercive means in any individual case, or in all the cases, that it implies the very reverse. They would not have been contented with merely *advising*, if they had thought it their right, as well as their policy, to *order* payment.

The Board further deem it of importance to introduce the letter which the Marquis Wellesley, in 1814, addressed to the then Governor-General, communicating to him, for his own information, and that of his Government, that it was their bounden duty to extract from the Vizier of Oude the payment (not of his debts which had been, and not unworthily, the subject of earnest advice by former Governments, but) of a single solitary debt, that of the constituents of Mr. Prendergast.

The Court revert to this transaction with reluctance; but so much weight is attached to it in the argument of the Board, that they cannot omit such observations as seem to them necessary to obviate the erroneous impression which the Board have derived from it.

It seems only necessary to point attention to the circumstances of the letter itself, to prove to the Board that it cannot be considered to

have that weight and authority in this question which is attached to it by the Board.

It was written by the Marquis, when he had ceased to be Governor-General, and to have any concern with the Government of India. It was not written on a matter of such importance as might have justified an irregular and uncalled-for offer of advice by a great man, well acquainted with the springs of Government in India, but on a debt due to a private creditor by the Sovereign of Oude; one debt out of many peculiarly distinguished by nothing but the refusal to accept a composition which had been accepted by others.

The letter of the Marquis says:—"It will be sufficient for me to assure you, that, after full consideration of the whole matter, my decided opinion was, that the memorialists were entitled, in justice and equity, to the full amount of their claims."

The Court cannot understand by this "full consideration," that the Marquis had rigidly investigated the circumstances of the case, had explored the origin and progress of the debt, ascertained by evidence, sought for and obtained, what was the sum originally advanced to the Vizier, what proportion it bore to the sum now demanded, and whether in this demand no more than a reasonable compensation for the loan, or an unreasonable and extortionate compensation, was included? There is nothing in the circumstances but what goes to a contrary belief; the belief that all the Marquis knew of the case was, that the Dosses had bonds for such or such an amount, and that it had not yet been denied by the Vizier that his servants had granted the bonds.

What we know with certainty of the demand is this, and it is a matter, doubtless, of the highest importance that the Dosses had refused payment of the principal lent, with interest at a rate which was still high, and that they demanded payment in full of interest according to the original terms.

With respect to the rate of interest, a short explanation is required. The letter of the Resident, which describes the arrangement with the creditors, states expressly three per cent. per month as the rate of interest paid to all the creditors: nor is there mention of a lower rate in any case, in any part of the recorded correspondence. At the same time, the writings which have been produced as acknowledgments of the debt (memorandums, not bonds, as they have been generally called), two per cent. per mensem is set down as the rate of interest in five out of the seven, two and a half in one, and three in another, which is for a small sum. Till these writings, however, have undergone examination, and have been proved to be what they pretend to be, they are no evidence, and nothing can be rested on their authority; while all the authentic documents we possess go to prove that the rate was three per cent. The fact, therefore, is, that we have evidence of the rate of three per cent., but no evidence of the lower rate. It is not the intention of the Court, however, to lay stress upon this circumstance, because the argument is not affected by it. Whether the rate of interest was the higher or the lower, they are both unfit to be enforced by the authority of the British Government. An interest which might not be extravagant, all things considered, when the parties were left to their own resources, would be manifestly extravagant in the highest degree, were a literal fulfilment of the terms to be exacted by the power of the British Government.

Payment at the rate of thirty-six, or say twenty-four, per cent. per annum, compound interest, the letter says, it is the Marquis's "decided opinion the Dosses are entitled in justice and equity to receive;" nay, what is more, that "it was the duty of the Supreme Government to urge the demand on the Nabob of Oude with all the force which the delicacy of such a question might admit."

The doctrine of the Marquis, therefore, if carried to its full extent is, that justice and equity call upon the British Government to compel the head of the Oude State to pay at the rate of thirty-six per cent. per annum, compound interest, or say (to avoid dispute) twenty-four per cent., every person to whom he or any of his predecessors may have been indiscreet enough to give bonds upon those exorbitant terms, without any inquiry into the circumstances in which those bonds originated.

It thus appears that the letter of the Marquis, as respects the debt, is evidence of nothing. In regard to the other question of interference, it testifies his opinion that interference ought to be employed. But on that question it is sufficient to say, that his opinion is opposed by other opinions of not inferior authority; not to insist further on the paramount reason of the case.

What the Marquis Hastings did in consequence of this application is also adduced by the Board as yielding support to their view of the question; and the Court think it necessary to explain with requisite fullness the light in which it appears to them.

The first thing which is said in the Draft of the Board on this topic is, "that the receipt of Lord Wellesley's letter induced Lord Hastings to investigate the claim of the Calcutta bankers." There is, however, nothing to show that Lord Hastings made any investigation, but much to prove that, beyond a few unquestionable facts—namely, that the Dosses had bonds, and that the grant of bonds had not been denied by the Vizier, he neither knew nor had inquired.

In the Board's Draft it is added—"And the result of that investigation is stated by his Lordship in a Minute of the 1st of January, 1816, of which, although not entered on your proceedings, a copy has been furnished to us by Mr. Prendergast."

The Court are strongly, and not favourably impressed with the circumstance of a Minute of the Governor-General not recorded, and thence not communicated to the Court, but communicated to Mr. Prendergast. What evidence is there that such a document ever existed? There is no entry on the records to show that such a Minute was communicated to the Council of Government. It is perfectly open to the Court to deny the authenticity of this most irregular document; but as the letter of instructions to the Resident is in accordance with the tenor of that paper, they are not inclined to dispute its origin, though they deem it highly objectionable to make use of it as a document of authority in a despatch to India, or as any ground on which to prescribe a measure of importance.

The Draft goes on:—"From this Minute we learn that, in his Lordship's view of the case, it" (the claim of the Dosses) "stood distinguished from the rest of the claims in the following particulars:—"

"The Court deem it indispensably necessary, reluctant as they are to occupy the time of the Board, to examine, in respect to this distinguishing property, these particulars, one by one.

"That these Bankers, though not European, were British subjects."

The claim of the Dosses was not distinguished by any peculiarity in this respect. There were many claims, not of native only, but of *European* British subjects. Without questioning the right of the Dosses to be considered British subjects, there is no doubt that the transactions of the Vizier were with an establishment in his own capital, subject to the laws of his State, and entitled to protection from no other. It is also undeniable that the British Government, in all its branches, has repeatedly refused, on grounds both of right and policy, to enforce the pecuniary claims of its subjects upon foreign rulers; and, in point of reason, it is indisputable that a foreign Government has no right to force the payment of a common debt, from the Sovereign of another State, in favour of one set of creditors more than another.

“That the debt which they claimed from Asoph-ud-Dowlah was admitted to be just, both as to the purity of origin and as to amount, by the Nawaub Vizier and by the British Government.” This assertion goes far beyond the facts. Nothing was acknowledged on the part of Vizier, but that bonds had been granted by his servants. Nothing beyond this fact was known, or inquired after, by the British Government, on which to found the opinion, that the claim of the Dosses was, in all its parts, a just claim. But, independent of this, which is the true state of the facts, still there is nothing here which is peculiar in respect to the Dosses; for all the creditors in Mr. Cherry’s list (how many more it is needless to inquire) were in the same predicament. Another observation is required with respect to the conduct of Asoph-ul-Dowlah. It is but just to take all the parts of it together. If his admitting the grant of bonds is one part, the retrenchment which he proposed to make when payment was about to take place, is another. It is not an unreasonable inference, with our knowledge of the frequency with which exorbitant claims of the kind in question are compromised in India, and of the expectation of such compromise with which, on both sides, contracts are entered into, that the terms offered by the Vizier, and accepted by the Native class of creditors, with only one exception, were not materially different from what the Vizier thought they ought to be. The inference is confirmed by the fact, that the Vizier thought fit to offer almost precisely the same terms to the European creditors, and that through the hands of the British Resident.

“That the liquidation of it” (the claim of the Dosses) “was recommended in the settlement of the Nawaub Vizier’s affairs.” This circumstance is altogether irrelevant: such general recommendations had been frequent, as has already in this paper been repeatedly brought to view.

“That the Bankers could not vitiate the quality of their demand by declining to accept a composition which they expected to have been brought forward for the purpose of exacting sacrifices from some of the creditors, while others were to receive prompt and full payment.” It is not alleged that the Dosses weakened their claims by refusing the compromise. The following part of the sentence, “which” (the composition) “they expected to have been brought forward for the purpose of exacting sacrifices from some of the creditors, while others were to receive prompt and full payment,” is a distortion of the facts, and is, besides, useless to prove the point of the Marquis Hastings, that there was in the claim of the Dosses any thing which recommended it peculiarly for the interference of Government. To propose a composition, could be nothing else but to propose a

sacrifice; that is, payment of less than was demanded; and it is, at the same time, true, that the European creditors received better terms; but that does not strengthen the claim of the Dosses. That other, and better, terms, were extorted by the European creditors, in nothing concerns the arrangement with the Native creditors, which arrangement was effected before any proposition was made to the European creditors, to whom the proposition which was first offered differed but little from that which had been offered to, and accepted by, the Native creditors.

"That the Government did not consider them (the Bankers) as having forfeited a claim to its mediation by declining that composition, but, as would appear from Marquis Wellesley's letter, did subsequently countenance their application." They forfeited no claim by declining the composition. Any claim to the mediation of Government they never had. Government uniformly adhered to its principle of non-interference, and, therefore, never "countenanced their application," if that means interfering.

"That there was a fair implication of equitable reliance on the good offices of Government, inasmuch as the money borrowed from the Bankers was known to have been taken up for the purpose of discharging the arrears due to the Honourable Company; a circumstance which, though it afforded no legal tie, appealed directly to one's feelings, whether the Bankers must not have been influenced by an ulterior confidence in the protection of Government with regard to a loan whence Government was to draw a material convenience, and which was, therefore, agreeable to it." The non-existence of the alleged fact from which this string of consequences is drawn, was fully demonstrated in the Report to the Court of the Committee of Correspondence, under date the 19th June, 1822, and printed by an order of the House of Commons, under date the 22d of the same month.\* And besides this, the incorrectness of the reasoning is obvious. During the whole of the period in which the Vizier had been making payments to the Company, he had been borrowing. There was not one of those lenders who might not, with equal propriety, have affirmed that their money was borrowed to enable the Vizier to make his payments to the Company. The supply drawn by the Vizier from his various resources constituted one general fund, from which he provided for his various necessities; and it is absurd to say that his payments to the Company were drawn from one source more than another. If the Nabob squandered his legitimate revenue, and was obliged to supply its deficiency by borrowing, how does that concern his payments to the Company more than any other disbursements which he had to make?

"That this implication was much strengthened when one adverted

\* The writings called bonds are themselves evidence against the allegation. One of them, an obligation for 3,85,000 rupees, states that the money was borrowed for the expenses of the quadrupeds of "the exalted Circar." Another sum of 3,12,000 rupees in Mr. Cherry's list as due to Monohur Doss, corresponding in amount with the sum of two of the other bonds, stands in the column headed Doab, or Cattle Establishment. The fact that both of these sums, amounting to nearly 7,00,000 rupees out of 11,68,000, the total demand, were a debt for the Cattle Department; and the fact, that in the rest of the writings or bonds, the loans are stated to have been for the use of the Vizier's Government, are incompatible with the assertion, that "the money borrowed from the Bankers was known to have been taken up for the purpose of discharging the arrears due to the Company."

to the extent and notoriety of intercourse between Government and Asoph-ul-Dowlah in pecuniary concerns." Because Asoph-ul-Dowlah paid a large subsidy to the Company, therefore the Dosses were the better entitled to the use of the power of the British Government to extort from him payment in full of their demand! What connexion between such premises and such conclusion?

"That, in fact, there was that sentiment (of implication) acknowledged by Government relative to this loan; but Government confessedly forbore to urge the re-payment, lest it might embarrass the liquidation of the demands which it was then pressing, on its own account, upon Saadut Ali." The records of the Company afford no evidence of any such acknowledgment, or of any such forbearance, nor can it be traced to any other source than the allegation of the claimants.

"That these circumstances took the Bankers' case completely out of the class of those demands respecting which the Honourable Court had precluded the intervention of Government, this case not being the simple transaction between individual and individual against which the Court had established the bar, but a claim heretofore recognised as just by Government, and only suffered to sink through the avowed preference we had given to our own interest." The Court have already examined, one by one, the circumstances to which the Marquis of Hastings annexes this effect; and they assert with confidence, that there is not one of them which has so much as a tendency to take the claim of the Dosses out of the general class of claims upon the Vizier. In the latter part of the sentence there is a misrepresentation of the matters of fact. The words used convey the idea, that the interdiction of interference made by the Court referred only to claims of individuals on individuals, not to claims on the Vizier, which is directly contrary to the fact. "Recognised as just by Government," is an equivocal expression, calculated to carry the conception of the reader beyond the matter of fact. There was no other recognition on the part of Government but that which applied to all the creditors—at least, all who were included in the list of Mr. Cherry; and the recommendation of Government never went farther than to this, that the Vizier should pay all his just debts, which did not mean his submission to extortionate demands. The last assertion, not very respectful to the Government to which it applied, is utterly unfounded in fact.

"That, by the letter from Mr. Thornton, it was indisputable that the Court had put this construction upon the Bankers' case, and had been withheld from recommending it to the consideration of Government only by the principle, that the judgment to be passed on such questions ought to rest with the local authorities." On the subject of this letter, the Court will here quote the observations of the Committee of Correspondence, in their Report to the Court, dated 19th June, 1822:—

"Your Committee have seen a collection of printed papers, which has been circulated among the Members of the House of Commons. In this collection is a letter dated the 3d March, 1814, signed 'Robert Thornton,' and addressed to Lord Moira, the Governor-General. Mr. Thornton was certainly at that time Chairman of the East India Company; but there is no trace of any such letter on the Company's records; and it is manifestly not an official letter, but a private one, unknown to the Court, neither carrying its authority, nor in any way

binding upon it. And the following fact will serve completely to invalidate the assertions which the letter contains relative to the present subject. In the letter in question there is the following passage:—‘The Deputy, myself, and several other Directors, could not concur in the opinion of the majority of the Committee’ (on Mr. Prendergast’s memorial), ‘which, of course, swayed the Court.’ But, on referring to the Report submitted by the Committee of Correspondence on the 2d of March, 1834, and here alluded to, which declined compliance with Mr. Prendergast’s application, your Committee find that it was signed by the Chairman (Mr. Thornton), the Deputy Chairman, and all the members of the Committee who were then present—viz., nine members of a Committee consisting of eleven.”

Even had the facts been as represented by Mr. Thornton, and not so entirely the reverse, still the inferences which the Marquis Hastings founded upon that letter would have been altogether unsupported and fallacious.

After all this display of reasons, to prove that the British Government ought to extort for the Dosses payment of a debt made up of compound interest, at the rate of thirty-six or say twenty-four per cent. per annum, with an original sum, how far real, how far nominal, not known; what was the practical determination?

The Draft of the Board here quotes the very words of the Minute, as follows:—“We cannot bring forward the claim to the Nawaub Vizier as one which Government formally supports, because we should have difficulty in vindicating our right of application, should he resist it.

This confession, after such a train of arguing, is singularly unfortunate. It is useless endeavouring to prove that you ought to make such or such an application, when you know beforehand that you have no right to make it.

The instruction to the Resident, accordingly, was in these words—“While you will forbear from urging the claim as one which the Government formally supports, you will take advantage of some favourable opportunity for stating the demand, as one which it would be creditable to the justice and honour of his Excellency to liquidate.” This recommendation differs but in one particular from many preceding recommendations, but that a particular of some importance, viz., that while former recommendations related to all the Vizier’s debts, this relates to that of the Dosses only.

The Court consider that this is the proper place for them to declare, what appears to them to be the state of the case, as between the Dosses and the other Native creditors of Asoph-ul-Dowlah.

The difference between the rest of this class and the Dosses is, that the former all agreed to receive payment from the Vizier on comparatively moderate terms; the latter refused to receive payment except on very immoderate terms; and both remained equally, as far as appears, without payment.

The difference towards the two, in the conduct of those who have urged the claims of the Dosses, is this; that they have totally overlooked the claims of the numerous parties who would have been contented with payment on moderate terms, and have expended all their zeal in favour of that party who refused all but the most extravagant terms.

The Draft of the Board, after stating summarily what occurred in

consequence of the instructions of the Marquis Hastings' Government to the Resident (not necessary to be noticed here and wholly without effect), makes the following observation on the letter which the Court afterwards addressed on the subject to the Bengal Government:—

It is to be observed, that this letter, though it objects to farther interference with the Vizier, does not impugn the justice of the claim. The Court appears to have purposely abstained from declaring any opinion upon the subject. It would, surely, be most improper to construe this into any admission.

The next of the Board's paragraphs asserts, that "the peculiar nature and circumstances of the present case" (the claim of the Dosses) "clearly distinguish it from all others, and preclude the danger of its becoming a precedent." The observations which the Court have just made, on the circumstances which have been adduced by the Board in support of that assertion, appear to the Court to prove the contrary; and they desire to be understood as making this declaration with all the confidence with which it is possible for them to deliver an opinion. To the Court, it appears, decidedly, that no measure can be adopted to extort money from the King of Oude, in behalf of the Dosses, which may not be demanded on equal grounds, how much soever held invalid by the Court, in behalf of parties indefinite in number.

The Board have put the whole question upon this issue, nor have the Court hesitated to join it.

In the next paragraph of the Board's Draft, winding up their argument, there is a most extraordinary misconception of the facts. The Draft says: "It must be remembered that our interference in the liquidation of the State debts of Oude was, in the first instance, exercised at the formally-expressed desire of the Prince by whom those debts had been contracted." The Court maintain that, in the sense in which the word interference is now used by the Board, namely, the use of forcible means to get money from the King of Oude for the Dosses, what is above alluded to ought not to be called interference. To do so, is to use the word in a double sense. Mr. Cherry, at the request of Asoph-ud-Dowlah, lent him his aid in getting made out a list of the claims upon him: but is this to be called interference, in the way of justifying, on precedent, a proceeding of a totally opposite character?

The Draft immediately afterwards says, that "our actual interference on that occasion in favour of the European creditors made it impossible for us ever to plead the general principle of non-interference as a bar to the demands of another class of creditors, whose claims were authenticated at the same time and by the same authority."

The real facts have been already stated; and, in accordance with these facts, the Court must deny that there was any interference in favour of the European creditors. The Resident had no further concern in the matter than being the channel of conveyance of the proposition of the Vizier to those creditors, and he expressly declares that they conducted their negotiation with the servants of the Vizier without his intervention.

The Court cannot sufficiently express their wonder, that such an act of studied non-interference should be said to render it impossible for us ever to plead the general principle of non-interference.

"As a bar to the demand of another class of creditors." Nobody

ever pleaded any such principle as a bar to any such claims. The demands of any class of creditors are one thing, the interference of the British Government to enforce them is another thing. The British Government barred no claims when it refused that interference: the claims remained just as they were before. But it is not fair to the British Government to say that it barred the claims of a class of creditors, which (if the claims were not known to be unjust) would be a wicked act, when it did no such thing.

“Another class of creditors.” The Board here recognise a “class” of creditors, a class in which the Dosses were included; and this is an admission that the case of the Dosses is not peculiar, but that every individual of that class has similar claims.

“Whose claims were authenticated at the same time, and by the same authority.” If authentication means a determination of the just amount of the demands, the Court utterly deny that there was any authentication. The demands of the European creditors were paid without any inquiry; and instead of inquiry, a composition was offered to the Native creditors and accepted.

The Draft goes on to say, “that, in point of fact, the liquidation of the claims of the Native as well as the European creditors was actually put in train, and was to some extent pursued, and this with such formality and notoriety, as to constitute an implied pledge from the British Government that a settlement would take place.”

First of all, this is a declaration that the British Government is under a pledge to the whole class of the Native creditors, not to the Dosses alone.

In the next place, the Court are unable to call to mind another instance of an attempt to make a pledge out of such materials.

The expressions—“liquidation actually put in train,”—“to some extent pursued,”—“with formality and notoriety,”—are not calculated to present to view the real state of the facts.

We know that Mr. Cherry co-operated with the Nabob in making out a list of his debts; we also know that a composition was offered to his Native creditors by the Vizier, and accepted. We know these two facts, and we know nothing more whatsoever. We do not know that any body ever received a farthing in consequence of this arrangement. This arrangement was made without so much as the cognizance of the Resident. The act was entirely and exclusively the act of the Vizier: yet it is affirmed that this act, in which it had so little concern, constituted “a pledge from the British Government to the Natives, that a settlement” (that must mean payment) “should take place.”

“In supporting,” says the Draft, “the case of the Native creditors, your predecessors appear to have acted in strict conformity with the sentiments of the Home Government, as recorded in the passage extracted from the Secret Letter of November, 1803.” The Court have already remarked upon that extract, and shown that the construction here put upon it is unfounded. The Court affirm, and that with the utmost confidence, that the sentiments of the Home Government have been invariable, in strong opposition to any interference between the head of the Oude Government and his creditors.

“In supporting the case of the Native creditors.” It is most improper to apply this expression to the British Government. It supported no creditors. Its advice to its ally to rectify the disorders arising from his debts, as well as from other sources, was an act of

another description; and to call it a support of creditors, is to convey a wrong impression of the fact.

The same objection applies to the following expression:—"It seems probable, that, if the influence of your Government had been exerted so as to have prevailed on the Sovereign of Oude to discharge the debts then outstanding, such a measure would have received the approbation of the Home Government, and it is a source of just regret that this course was not adopted."

That which would have received, and constantly did receive, the approbation of the Home Government, was the advice about his pecuniary embarrassments in general, which the local Government so often gave to the Vizier; but if it is here meant that any thing beyond advice would have been approved by the Home Government, it is evident from the whole tenor of the despatches that it would not; and it is to the Court, not a source of regret, but of great satisfaction, that a different course was not adopted.

The Draft thus concludes:—"We feel that it is incumbent on us to use our utmost efforts to retrieve the present claimants from the unfortunate situation in which they are placed. Under a strong conviction that this is a valid claim against the King of Oude, we are of opinion that the settlement of it should no longer be delayed. We are of opinion that the present claimants are entitled to the same terms as those which were accorded by Asoph-ud-Dowlah to the European creditors in 1796."

"The utmost efforts" of the British Government mean compulsion, either by intimidation, or force.

"The present claimants:" the Dosses. Why them alone?

"Unfortunate situation," of a party who would accept payment on no other terms than thirty-six or twenty-four per cent. per annum compound interest.

Why should the situation of the Dosses be more unfortunate than that of the other creditors, who were willing to accept payment on moderate terms, but never received it?

"A strong conviction that this is a valid claim." A valid claim to thirty-six, or say twenty-four per cent. per annum, compound interest, which the "utmost efforts" of the British Government ought to be employed to enforce. As to this strong conviction of the validity of the claim, the Court cannot forbear asking, upon what does it rest? Of the origin of the debt the Board can know no more than the Court, which is nothing. The mere existence of the bonds, unexamined and unauthenticated, as they are, is no ground for a strong conviction, nor any conviction at all, upon the subject.

The Dosses "entitled to the same terms as those which were accorded to the European creditors;" in other words, thirty-six per cent. per annum, compound interest. In the opinion of the Court, neither the European nor any other creditors should have been paid at that rate, much less have had the "utmost efforts" of the British Government employed to compel such payment.

These considerations the Court submit to the Board, with full assurance that they will receive careful and deliberate attention: and, judging by the conviction which they have produced in themselves, they cannot but entertain the strong hope and expectation, that they will make a similar impression on the minds of the Commissioners.

I have, &c.

(Signed)

P. AUBER, Secretary.

T. B. Macauley, Esq., &c. &c. &c.

## No. V.

*Letter from the Acting Secretary of the India Board to the Secretary of the East India Company.*

India Board, 12th September, 1833.

SIR,

I am directed by the Commissioners for the Affairs of India to address you, in reference to your letter of the 1st of March, 1833, respecting the claims of certain natives of India, British subjects, and bankers at Benares and Calcutta, on the State of Oude.

Since the receipt of that letter, the time and attention of the Board have been so completely engaged by the measures relating to India and China, which have recently been sanctioned by Parliament, that it was not possible to give its contents the deliberate and uninterrupted examination due alike to the authority from which it proceeded, and to the important topics on which it dwelt.

On the termination of the Session, however, the Commissioners have lost no time in taking into condition the statements and reasonings submitted by the Court of Directors.

It is always with regret and reluctance that the Commissioners dissent from the deliberate opinion of the Court. On the present occasion they have not failed, most anxiously and patiently, to examine every part of this question, and to weigh every argument bearing upon it, whether adduced in your letter of the 1st of March, 1833, or stated in the course of previous correspondence.

The result has been, that the Commissioners see no reason whatsoever to depart from the course directed in Mr. Alve's letter of the 15th December, 1832, and I have it in command to desire, that in conformity with the provisions of the 15th section 33d Geo. III. cap. 52, the despatch which was framed by the Board, on the 15th of December, 1832, may be transmitted to India without further delay.

I am, Sir,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

(Signed) B. S. JONES.

To Peter Auber, Esq.

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“ Sir,

“ I have received from the Marquis of Conyngham a “ Treatise on Cholera Morbus,” and a work on ‘ The Evils of Quarantine Laws,’ together with the letters which accompanied them, in which you request that they may be submitted to the queen.

“ I perceive that the second of the above works is dedicated to her Majesty, and I am therefore, from the nature of my instructions, obliged to return it, as I cannot venture to comply with your request until I am informed when and by whom the permission was communicated to you.

“ St. James's Palace  
“ Nov. 8, 1837.”

“ I am, Sir,  
“ Your most Obedient Servant,  
“ J. H. GLOVER.  
“ H. M. Libr.”

“ Captain W. White.”

“ Whitehall, 10th Nov. 1837.

“ SIR,

“ I am directed by Lord John Russell to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 27th ultimo, enclosing copies of a work on the evils of Quarantine Laws, and a Treatise on Cholera Morbus.

“ I am, Sir,

“ Captain W. White.”

“ Your obedient Servant,  
“ S. M. PHILLIPS.”

Such was the manner in which the British Government acknowledged the important work. Of the various Ambassadors who have not only kindly acknowledged the work, but transmitted it to their respective Governments, we will cite but one instance of the many. We will take that of the Spanish Ambassador :—

“ Spanish Legation.

“ SIR,

“ I have had the honour to receive your obliging letter of the 13th instant, accompanying a Copy of your valuable work on the evils of the Quarantine Laws, and on the non-existence of Pestilential contagion, together with a little treatise on the means of prevention and cure for the Cholera Morbus, for which I beg you to accept my sincere thanks.

“ Being convinced of the vast importance of the subject to my country,

I accept the other Copy which you have had the goodness to offer me, and will transmit it to Her Majesty's Government, indicating at the same time the service which would be rendered to the cause of humanity in general by translating it into the Spanish language. I will also suggest to my Government the importance of forming the Council of Physicians which you propose, and also recommend your valuable services on the formation and conduct of that Board. Should your proposal meet the views of my Government, and they accept your generous offer, I will do myself the honour to transmit to you its decision."

"I avail myself of this opportunity to assure you of my high consideration, and remain, Sir, your obedient Servant,"

"MANUEL DE AGUILAR.

"33, Wimpole Street,

"Oct. 23rd, 1837."

"Captain W. White." \_\_\_\_\_

If any thing was wanted to convince the world of the disgraceful manner in which the British Government disregards those important affairs which involve the welfare of the whole of the human race, this letter, as compared with Lord John Russell's communications, would establish the fact. But this is not all, the following letter will convince the public that the British Government is the last on the face of the earth either to promote energy and zeal for great public objects, and still more so to acknowledge services so performed or to reward them.

"Spanish Legation.

"SIR,

"In answer to your letter of the 26th of last December, enclosing a Copy of the circular you have addressed to both houses of Parliament, I have the pleasure to inform you that I have received a dispatch dated the 6th of the same month, from His Excellency the Secretary of State for the Foreign Department, in which he acknowledges the receipt of *my* communications of the 10th of last November, and the enclosed copies of your work on the Cholera Morbus and the Evils of Quarantine Laws, which you presented to my August Sovereign the Queen Regent of Spain."

"His Excellency directs me to thank you in the name of her Majesty, which I have much pleasure in doing.

"With regard to your request of publishing my letter to you of the 23rd of October last, you are at liberty to do so if you think it will be productive of any good to the cause of humanity which you intend to serve thereby.

"I have the honour to be, Sir,

"Your Obedient Servant,

"MANUEL DE AGUILAR"

"33, Wimpole Street,

"10th of January, 1838."

"Captain W. White." \_\_\_\_\_

From those letters, containing such distinguishing and honorary compliments, a very important, if not serious, reflection lies at the door of the British Government. They either could or could not perceive the importance of the subject of the work.—If they did perceive it and would not appreciate and acknowledge it, the nation have no very great reason to feel proud of such legislators. If they could not perceive it, and which is more than possible, it establishes a stronger case against them; for it proves their incapacity for the high offices they fulfil, and the clumsy and bungling manner in which some of the most important interests of mankind at large, as well as those of this nation, are managed. It probably will not be long before the nation is visited with the cholera again, as it has in Asia and various parts of Europe again and again, or some other epidemic, when the public will suffer all the injury and annoyance possible from culpable and gross inattention to the subject by the ministers of the crown; and thousands of human beings, the victims to their supineness, may again be hurried into a premature grave."

We will close these remarks, with taking the liberty to add one more honourable testimony, borne to the utility of the work, and that is from the late Lord Mayor, Alderman Kelly :—

“Mansion House,

“October 27th, 1837.

“The Lord Mayor presents his compliments to Captain White, and begs to acknowledge the receipt of his letter of the 26th instant, accompanied by two valuable treatises upon the Quarantine Laws and Cholera Morbus.

“The Lord Mayor coincides in the opinion expressed by Captain White, of the importance of the subject, and begs to offer his thanks for the works, and to bear his testimony to the able manner in which they are executed.”

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## REVIEWS.

“This is a very scientific work, and worthy the attention of the government, medical gentlemen, and of every person interested in the welfare of the country.

“The Captain forcibly and unanswerably proves that quarantine laws are not only inhuman, but are an ineffectual check to prevent the spread of the cholera; that under the coercion of quarantine laws humanity is forgotten, and so atrociously barbarous has been the conduct of those persons to whom the administration of the laws was committed, that the suffering of cholera patients were almost beyond credibility. \* \* \* When posterity shall read the pages of history which record the deaths and sufferings of cholera patients in the year 1831 and 1832, occasioned by the coercion of the quarantine laws, posterity will then say that those years of murderous suffering were periods of the greatest barbarities, unequalled in countries where man in a savage state is a stranger to the sympathizing feelings of humanity, where pity was never known, and where the most fiendlike dispositions are the characteristics of misanthropy. We recommend every person to read carefully this work.”—*Bath Journal*.

“This is certainly a very extraordinary publication. It professes not only to expose the evils of the Quarantine Laws, which we are free to confess are about as absurd as they can be, but it enters into statements of abuses committed during the cholera panic—such as the mischiefs committed by drunken doctors poisoning people, burying them alive, &c., &c., &c., which are enough to make one’s hair stand on end.”—*United Service Gazette*.

“During the cholera reign of terror he stepped forward with an alacrity and zeal which did him honour, and not only remonstrated with the medical authorities on the pernicious nature of the sanatory regulations which they were enforcing, but actually laid the case before three Prime Ministers of the empire.”—*Edinburgh Observer*.

“Facts, impregnable, unassailable facts, and undeniable severely logical inferences, are the weapons with which this spirited writer combats, and unmercifully lays about him. He is not the first, by many a score, who has affirmed that the panic of the cholera morbus was a medical humbug of the most disgraceful character, got up to increase business, by alarming the nervous into real sickness, and not a few into such excitement, arising from apprehension and terrors of so dire a scourge, as to terminate fatally, and thus give a ‘colour’ to their fraud. The whole of this is exposed with unmerciful severity, and a series of facts and arguments adduced to demonstrate the non-existence of pestilential contagion, which appears to us irrefragable.”—*Bath Herald*.

“The principal objects of this work, which by the way is dedicated to the Queen, are, first, to show that the cholera is not contagious; and second, that the mode of treatment which was generally adopted in this

country was ineffectual, and in many instances something worse. On this latter subject the Captain is sufficiently full and explicit.”—*Scotsman*.

“The subject appears to us to be wholly exhausted, and to leave the various governments of Europe, and ours in particular, without even the semblance of an excuse for their perpetration of the present barbarous, vexatious, and cruel system of ‘sanatory police.’”—*Shipping Gazette*.

“To the public in general, and to the medical profession in particular, we recommend this valuable volume for consideration.”—*Satirist*.

“Captain White is a non-medical man, whose avocations have rendered him familiar with the diseases incidental to every climate, and he has evidently studied with most sedulous care the modes of prevention and cure. He reasons sensibly, and places his facts in a clear and imposing light. Our Sanatory Code is a mere humbug, absolutely calculated to superinduce disease.”—*Weekly Dispatch*.

“We would not rashly pronounce an opinion upon a subject surrounded with the difficulties which even professional skill allows to appertain to the doctrine of contagion; but we would ask, as a matter of prime importance to humanity, and of deep responsibility with the government and the professors of the healing art, that they should give to the statements of Captain White at least a calm, an attentive, and an unprejudiced perusal.”—*York Courant*.

“There are few subjects of greater importance to commerce than the question, whether the laws of quarantine can safely be dispensed with? . . . We should rejoice to see the doctrine for which Captain White contends fully established.”—*Public Ledger*.

“Whether in granting freedom to the intelligent population of the empire, or in seeking to guard against a dreadful epidemic, our Government will ever be found several stages behind the progress of events.—*True Sun*.

## TREATISE ON CHOLERA MORBUS.

Second Edition, 1834, STRANGE, Paternoster Row, Price 2s. 6d.

“DEAR SIR,

“30, York Place, 29th December, 1834.

“When I received your pamphlet I felt myself called upon to review it, and sent it to the *Patriot* newspaper for insertion. I consider it of great value, as it comes from a non-professional gentleman, who has seen much of the disease, and who has no theory to support. If the important truths you have brought forward tend in the least to prevent a repetition of the disgraceful scenes during the cholera panic, or tend to lessen the baneful effects of our quarantine laws, which I had the misery to witness at Gibraltar and Malta, I consider your exertions will deserve well of your country.

“Dear Sir,

“Yours, very truly,

“JOHN LIZARS.”

“Captain W. White.

*Review by Professor Lizars, of the Royal College of Surgeons, Edinburgh.*

“It is certainly an extremely valuable and important little treatise, and may be considered an extraordinary production, coming, as it does, from the pen of a military man; for although he did study medicine in his youth, his professional duties as a soldier must have withdrawn him at a very early period from the prosecuting either pathology or the practice of medicine. He shows, however, that he still retains a knowledge both of pathology and practice, and such as would do credit to many professional medical men. He seems to understand the subject thoroughly, and handles the question, in all its various forms, in a scientific and masterly manner. It is by far the most valuable little tract that has yet appeared upon the subject, and not only deserves the attention of the public, but, from the many important facts therein stated, will be found very useful even to the medical practitioner.”—*Edinburgh Patriot*.



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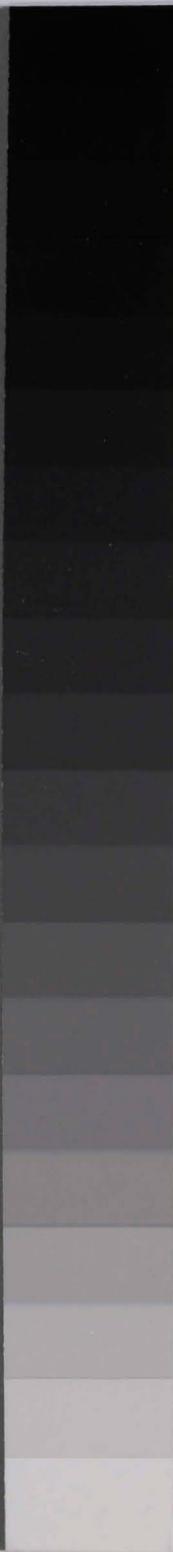


# Kodak Gray Scale



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A 1 2 3 4 5 6 M 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 B 17 18 19



inches

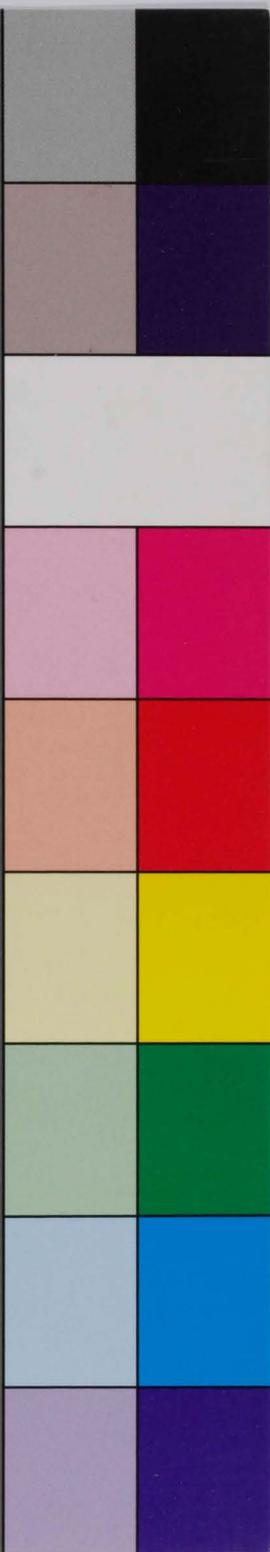
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# Kodak Color Control Patches

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Blue Cyan Green Yellow Red Magenta White 3/Color Black



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