

# Rulers of India

EDITED BY

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LORD CLIVE

**London**

**HENRY FROWDE**

**OXFORD UNIVERSITY PRESS WAREHOUSE**

**AMEN CORNER, E.C.**



**New York**

**MACMILLAN & CO., 66 FIFTH AVENUE**

# RULERS OF INDIA

## Lord Clive

By COLONEL G. B. MALLESON, C.S.I.

Oxford

AT THE CLARENDON PRESS: 1893

V2, L. L7

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801

Oxford

PRINTED AT THE CLARENDON PRESS

BY HORACE MART, PRINTER TO THE UNIVERSITY

## PREFACE

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THE following list represents the works of the last century which I have consulted to write this *Life of Lord Clive*:

Orme's *History of Indostan* (original edition); *The Siyaru-l Muta-akherin* of Ghulám Husain Khán (Review of Modern Times), translated copy; Cambridge's *War in India* (containing the Journal of Stringer Lawrence); *The Memoir of Dupleix* (in French); Grose's *Voyage to the East Indies*; Ive's *Voyage and Historical Narrative*; *Transactions in India from the commencement of the French War in 1756* (published in 1786); Caraccioli's *Life of Lord Clive*; Vansittart's *Narrative of the Transactions in Bengal*; Ironside's *Narrative of the Military Transactions in Bengal in 1760-1*; Verelst's *English Government in Bengal*; some numbers of the *Asiatic Annual Register*; Kindersley's *Letters*; and Craffton's *Letters*; and, for the earlier period—that displaying the period immediately preceding and following the dawn of genius—the recently written extracts from the Madras records by Mr. G. W. Forrest.

Of works of scarcely less value published during the present century, I have consulted the admirable volumes by Colonel Mark Wilks, which bring the *History of Southern India* down to the storming of Seringapatam in 1799; *The Journal of Captain Dalton*,

one of the heroes of Trichinopoli, written at the period of Clive's early victories, but only given to the world, with a memoir of his career, in 1886; Lord Stanhope's *History of England*; Malcolm's *Life of Clive*; and above all, that mine of wealth to a searcher into the details of Clive's services in Bengal, Colonel Broome's *History of the Bengal Army*. Colonel Broome was my intimate and valued friend. He knew more about the history of the rise of the English in India than any man I ever met. He had made the subject a life-study. He had read every tract, however old, every letter, however difficult to decipher, every record of the period up to and beyond the time of Job Charnock, and he was a past-master of his subject. He had collected an enormous mass of materials, the more bulky of which were dispersed at his untimely death. But I have seen and handled them, and I can state most positively, from my own knowledge, that every item of importance culled from them is contained in the admirable volume to which I have referred, and which was published in 1850. There is, alas, only that volume. Colonel Broome had set apart a vast mass of materials for his second, and had resolved to complete the work at Simla, to which place he was proceeding for the summer of, I think, 1870. But, in the course of transit, the box containing the materials was mysteriously spirited away, and I have not heard that it was ever found. From the nature of the documents collected I cannot but regard the loss as irreparable.

G. B. MALLESON.

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*NOTE*

The orthography of proper names follows the system adopted by the Indian Government for the *Imperial Gazetteer of India*. That system, while adhering to the popular spelling of very well-known places, such as Punjab, Poona, Deccan, &c., employs in all other cases the vowels with the following uniform sounds:—

a, as in woman : ā, as in father : ī, as in kin : ū, as in intrigue :  
o, as in cold : u, as in bull : ū, as in rural.



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## Opinions of the Press

ON

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OPINIONS OF THE PRESS  
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## Opinions of the Press

ON

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ON

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he had taken. The Rájá found his master in a state of great agitation. The English were showing themselves in the open; his own men were giving way; hope was vanishing quickly. Instead of encouraging the Súbahdár to fight it out, the treacherous Rájá gave fuel to his fears, told him the day was lost, and urged him to flee to Murshidábád. In an evil hour for his dynasty and for himself, Siráj-ud-daulá yielded to his persuasions, and, ordering his troops to retire within the intrenchment, mounted a swift dromedary, and fled, accompanied by 2000 horsemen, to his capital.

It was then two o'clock. The first hour since Clive's conference had been marked by the heavy rain: the second by the repulse of the Súbahdár's horsemen; the following up of the repulsed attack; the conversations of the Súbahdár with his two treacherous generals. By two o'clock the enemy's attack had completely ceased, and they were observed yoking their oxen preparatory to withdrawing within the intrenchment as the Súbahdár had ordered. There remained only on the ground that body of forty gallant Frenchmen under St. Frais, whom I have described as occupying the ground about the larger tank, that nearest to the grove. The post was an important one, for from it the English could have taken the retreating enemy in flank, and have inflicted heavy loss upon them. St. Frais was nearly isolated, but he, too, had seen the advantage the English would derive from occupying the position, and, faithful amid the faithless, he, with the gallantry of his nation,

which were to follow, 'In case of their,' the native princes, 'daring to be troublesome,' they—a body of 2000 English soldiers—would 'enable the Company to take the sovereignty upon themselves.' After detailing how the transfer would be easy, and palatable, rather than otherwise, to the natives generally, Clive proceeded to represent that so large a sovereignty might possibly be an object too extensive for a mercantile company, and to suggest that it might be worthy of consideration whether the Crown should not take the matter in hand. The points he urged were the following: First, the ease with which the English 'could take absolute possession of these rich kingdoms, and that with the Mughal's own consent, on condition of paying him less than a fifth of the revenues thereof.' There would remain a surplus of two millions, besides most valuable productions of nature and art. He dwelt, secondly, on the influence in Europe which would thereby accrue to England, and the enormous increase of prestige and of the advantages which prestige conveys, on the spot. He added that a small force of European troops would be sufficient, as he could enlist any number of sipáhís, who 'will very readily enter our service.' This letter he transmitted by the hands of Mr. Walsh, his secretary during the campaign of Plassey and the year following, and whom he describes as 'a thorough master of the subject,' 'able to explain to you the whole design and the facility with which it may be executed.'

Mr. Pitt received the letter, but was deterred from

For the moment Clive's defeat was crushing, and he prepared to meet the consequences of it. His opponents did not delay to show their hands. Again was the question of the *jágír* mooted. The eminent counsel employed by Clive gave an opinion that the Court had no case. However, the Sullivan party persevered. Just on the eve of the trial, however, there came news from India which produced a revolution of opinion in the Court. The reports from Calcutta showed that the combined avarice, greed, misgovernment, and tyranny of the civil authorities left by Clive in Calcutta had produced a general uprising; had almost undone the great work Clive had accomplished; that there was no one on the spot who could be trusted to restore order; but that unless such a task were committed to a competent man, the possessions of the Company in Bengal would be in the greatest danger. This intelligence caused a panic in the India House. Instinctively the name of Clive came uppermost to every lip. The Proprietors were summoned to meet in full Court. Panic-stricken, they forced upon Clive the office, not merely of President, but of Governor-General, with very full powers. That their conduct regarding the *jágír* might not be pleaded by him as an objection to accept office, the Proprietors passed a resolution that the proceedings regarding the *jágír* should be stopped, and that the right of Clive to it should be officially recognized.

This was indeed a triumph. The policy, *reculer pour mieux sauter*, had been eminently justified.

three provinces the English possessed the richest parts of India. It was surely good policy, he argued, if he could by treaty with his neighbours, and by occupying the salient points which covered them, render them unassailable.

After some preliminary conversation with the Nawáb-Wazír, Clive found that it would be necessary to proceed to Allahábád to confer there with the titular emperor, Sháh Alím. He found that prince full of ideas as to the possibility of recovering with the aid of Clive his lost possessions in the north-west. Nothing was further from Clive's mind than an enterprise of that character, and, with his accustomed tact he soon convinced the two princes that it was necessary first to settle the English frontier before discussing any other subject. He then proceeded to develop his plan. He demanded the cession of the fortress of Chanár to the English; the provinces of Karra and Allahábád to the Emperor, to be held, on his behalf, by the English; the payment by the Nawáb-Wazír of fifty lakhs, for the expenses of the war just concluded; an engagement from him never to employ or give protection to Mír Kásim or to Samru; permission to the East India Company to trade throughout his dominions, and to establish factories within them. The Nawáb-Wazír agreed to every clause except to that regarding the factories. He had observed, he stated, that whenever the English established a footing in a country, even though it were only by means of a commercial fac-



tory, they never budged from it; their countrymen followed them; and in the end they became masters of the place. He then pointed out how, in nine years, the small factory of Calcutta had absorbed the three provinces, and was now engaged in swallowing up places beyond their border. He would not, he finally declared, submit his dominions to the same chance. Recognizing his earnestness, and having really no desire to plant factories in Oudh, Clive wisely gave way on that one point. He carried, however, all the other points. It was further arranged that the Zamíndár of Benares, who had befriended the English during the war, should retain his possessions in subordination to the Nawáb-Wazír; that a treaty of mutual support should be signed between the English, the Nawáb-Wazír, and the Súbahdár of the three provinces; and that should English troops be required to fight for the defence of the Nawáb-Wazír's country, he should defray all their expenses.

Subsequently at Chaprá, in Bihár, Clive met the Nawáb-Wazír, the representative of Sháh Alím, agents from the Ját chiefs of Agra, and others from the Rohillá chiefs of Rohilkhand. The avowed purpose of the meeting was to form a league against Maráthá aggression, it having been recently discovered that that people had entered into communications with Sháh Alím for the purpose of restoring him to his throne. Then it was that the question of the English frontier was discussed. It was eventually agreed that one