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STAY VS IN THIS  
FELICITIE.

MILTON.

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# BUILDERS OF GREATER BRITAIN

EDITED BY H. F. WILSON, M.A.

*Barrister-at-Law*

*Late Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge*

*Legal Assistant at the Colonial Office*



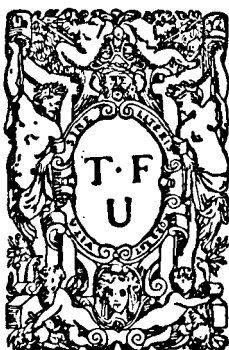
## BUILDERS OF GREATER BRITAIN

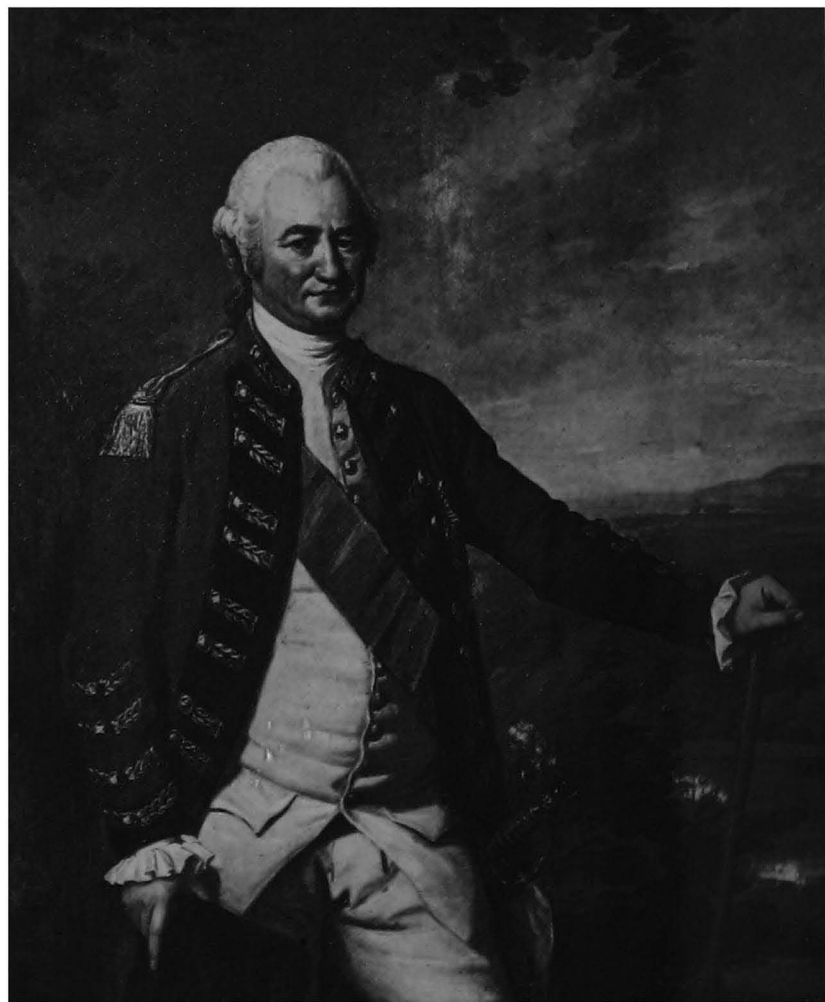
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Builders  
of  
Greater Britain

LORD CLIVE





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Printed in Paris

*Clive*

# LORD CLIVE

THE FOUNDATION OF BRITISH RULE IN  
INDIA

BY

SIR ALEXANDER JOHN ARBUTHNOT

*K.C.S.I. and C.I.E.  
Lately a Member of the Council of India*

AUTHOR OF  
A MEMOIR OF SIR THOMAS MUNRO

LONDON  
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1899



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## PREFACE

IF Sir Walter Raleigh, as Mr Martin Hume described him in the volume with which the present series began, was the man who laid the foundation stone of the Colonial Empire of Great Britain, Clive may be called with not less truth, in the words of Sir Alfred Lyall, 'the man to whom above all others the English are indebted for the foundation of our Empire in India.'

There have been few men who have so rapidly established such a reputation as was achieved by Clive very shortly after he had reached his twenty-sixth year. The son of a small and impoverished country squire, belonging to a family which, although old, had never previously been distinguished, Robert Clive in a remarkably short time won for it a name second to none in the history of the world.

It is the object of this brief memoir to show how this came about, to describe the salient points in Clive's career, and to explain how entirely it was owing to Clive that the place

now filled by the British *Rāj* in India was not occupied in the middle of the last century by the French.

Landing in India in September 1744, Clive in little more than five years, by his remarkable defence of Arcot, had proved himself an able soldier, and in less than a year and a half later was able to return to England recognised by his immediate masters, the Directors of the East India Company, as the one man in their service most fitted to be entrusted with high military command. In a very few years more it was felt, not only in India and by persons interested in and acquainted with Indian affairs, but by English statesmen as well, by such men as the elder Pitt, by George Grenville and others, that the talents of the young soldier were by no means confined to the camp, but that he was as able in council as he was skilful in strategy and daring in fight.

And when we reflect upon his death at the early age of forty-nine, after a persecution which, whatever may have been his errors, it is difficult to read of without shame, we can hardly avoid the conclusion that of the many sad and discreditable incidents which, in this

and other countries, disfigured the latter part of the eighteenth century, one of the not least deplorable was the attack made by his countrymen upon the founder of our Indian Empire.

Regarding Clive's career, opinions of the most diverse kinds have been and still are entertained. According to James Mill, the leading historian of British India, Clive was artful, tricky and exceedingly quarrelsome—an opinion which is not, however, shared by Mill's annotator, Horace Hayman Wilson. And strange to say, when dealing with the Parliamentary proceedings against Clive, Mill denounces them in language which might have been used by Clive's warmest supporters.

Marshman, an essentially fair writer, bears a high tribute to Clive's lofty genius, and denounces the ingratitude which embittered the closing years of his life.

Clive's first biographer, Caraccioli, appears to have written for the sole purpose of attacking him both in his public and in his private life.

Sir John Malcolm, on the other hand, defends almost every incident of his career, including the fictitious treaty with Omichand.

Of the two more recent memoirs, that by the

late Colonel Malleon, while doing ample justice to Clive's genius and services, dwells unduly, as I think, upon what he describes as Clive's baser nature, and upon the defects of his early training and the disastrous influence on his subsequent career, of his idleness and wildness as a schoolboy. That Clive as a schoolboy was idle and somewhat wild may be freely admitted, but it must not be forgotten that one of his masters predicted with remarkable foresight that he would rise to eminence, and that the use which he made of the Governor's library at Madras is hardly consistent with the theory that when he attained to manhood his mind was in the absolutely uncultured condition which Colonel Malleon attributed to him. The adjective 'base' is the last that should be used in reference to Clive. He was doubtless at times unscrupulous, but what he did he never attempted to conceal, nor was there anything in his conduct or his character to which the term 'base' could fitly be applied. I believe that most students of Clive's life would greatly prefer the opinion of Sir Charles Wilson, who, writing eight years later than Colonel Malleon, ends a memoir, of which the interest is only

equalled by the care and accuracy which have been brought to bear upon it, by affirming that 'among the many illustrious men whom India has produced, none is greater than the first of her soldier-statesmen, whose successful career marks an era in the history of England and of the world.'

There is one question in connection with this biography which perhaps may not unreasonably be asked. While so many *Lives* of Clive have been published, the last only eight years ago, what is the need of another? It certainly cannot be said that any new facts have been discovered which would justify the publication of another *Life* of Clive. The answer is, and I think it is a sufficient answer, that a series which deals with the Builders of Greater Britain would be obviously incomplete if it did not include a memoir of the man who gave to England her greatest dependency.

It should be mentioned that at some points the present memoir closely follows the comparatively brief article on Clive which I contributed eleven years ago to the *Dictionary of National Biography*, although a very large portion of it consists of entirely new matter.

The two principal speeches made by Clive during the Parliamentary enquiry, which are no longer available in a form accessible to the public, have been reprinted in this volume.

The best acknowledgments of the Editor and myself are due to the Earl of Powis for his permission to reproduce the portrait of Lord Clive at Powis Castle as a frontispiece, to Mr Lionel Cust, Director of the National Portrait Gallery, for his advice in connection therewith, and to Mr A. Story-Maskelyne of the Public Record Office, for assistance kindly rendered with regard to the two pedigrees which form Appendices IV. and V., and have been carefully compiled from printed sources. In preparing the maps, which are founded upon two of those by Juland Danvers, appended to Vol. VI. of Thornton's *History of the British Empire in India*, valuable help has been given by Mr Thomas, Assistant Librarian, and Mr Foster of the Registry and Record Department, at the India Office.

ALEX. J. ARBUTHNOT.

NEWTOWN HOUSE,  
NEWBURY, October 1898.

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## ERRATA

Page 78, line 8, *delete* 'of Oude.'

„ 103, „ 4, *for* 'Ganjam Vizagapatam,' *read* 'Ganjam,  
Vizagapatam.'

„ 137, „ 9, *delete* 'again.'

„ 141, „ 12, *for* 'Mahommadan,' *read* 'Muhammadan.'

„ 248, „ 1, *for* 'Sujah ul Daulah,' *read* 'Sujah ud  
Daulah.'

## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX I

IN the course of a debate in the House of Commons, on a motion made by Mr Sullivan, then deputy-chairman of the East India Company, under date the 30th March 1772, for leave to bring in a Bill for the better regulation of the affairs of the East India Company and for the due administration of justice in Bengal, Lord Clive made the following speech:—

Sir, it is with great diffidence that I attempt to speak to this House, but I find myself so particularly called upon that I must make the attempt, though I should expose myself in so doing. With what confidence can I venture to give my sentiments upon a subject of such national consequence, who myself stand charged with having been the cause of the present melancholy situation of the Company's affairs in Bengal? This House can have no reliance on my opinion whilst such an impression remains unremoved. The House will therefore give me the leave to remove this impression, and to endeavour to restore myself to their favourable opinion, which, I flatter myself, they entertained of my conduct before these charges were exhibited against me. Nor do I wish to lay my

conduct before the members of this House only—I speak likewise to my country in general, upon whom I put myself, not only without reluctance, but with alacrity.

It is well known that I was called upon, in the year 1764, by a General Court, to undertake the management of the Company's affairs in Bengal when they were in a very critical and dangerous situation. It is as well known that my circumstances were independent and affluent. Happy in the sense of my past conduct and services, happy in my family, happy in my connections, happy in everything but my health, which I lost in the Company's service, never to be regained. This situation, this happiness, I relinquished at the call of the Company, to go to a far-distant, unhealthy climate, to undertake the envious task of reformation. My enemies will suppose that I was actuated by mercenary motives. But this House and my country at large will, I hope, think more liberally. They will conceive that I undertook this expedition from a principle of gratitude, from a point of honour, and from a desire of doing essential service to that Company under whose auspices I had acquired my fortune and my fame.

My prospects on going abroad were by no means pleasing or encouraging; for after a violent contest, thirteen Directors only were chosen who thought favourably of my endeavours to serve the Company; the other eleven, however well they might wish to



the Company, were not willing that their good purposes should be accomplished by me. They first gave all possible obstruction to my acceptance of the government, and afterwards declined investing me with those powers without which I could not have acted effectually for the benefit of the Company. Upon my arrival in Bengal, I found the powers given were so loosely and jesuitically worded that they were immediately contested by the Council. I was determined, however, to put the most extensive construction upon them, because I was determined to do my duty to my country.

Three paths were before me. One was strewed with abundance of fair advantages. I might have put myself at the head of the Government as I found it. I might have encouraged the resolution which the gentlemen had taken, not to execute the new covenants which prohibited the receipt of presents; and although I had executed the covenants myself, I might have contrived to return to England with an immense fortune infamously added to the one before honourably obtained. Such an increase of wealth might have added to my weight in this country, but it would not have added to my peace of mind; because all men of honour and sentiment would have justly condemned me.

Finding my powers thus disputed, I might in despair have given up the commonwealth and have left Bengal without making an effort to save it. Such

conduct would have been deemed the effect of folly and cowardice.

The third path was intricate. Dangers and difficulties were on every side. But I resolved to pursue it. In short, I was determined to do my duty to the public although I should incur the odium of the whole settlement. The welfare of the Company required a vigorous exertion, and I took the resolution of cleansing the Augean stable.

It was that conduct which has occasioned the public papers to teem with scurrility and abuse against me, ever since my return to England. It was that conduct which occasioned these charges. But it was that conduct which enables me now, when the day of judgment is come, to look my judges in the face. It was that conduct which enables me now to lay my hand upon my heart and most solemnly to declare to this House, to the gallery and to the whole world at large, that I never, in a single instance, lost sight of what I thought the honour and true interest of my country and the Company; that I was never guilty of any acts of violence or oppression, unless the bringing offenders to justice can be deemed so; that, as to extortion, such an idea never entered into my mind; that I did not suffer those under me to commit any acts of violence, oppression or extortion; that my influence was never employed for the advantage of any man, contrary to the strictest principles of honour

and justice ; and that, so far from reaping any benefit myself from the expedition, I returned to England many thousand pounds out of pocket—a fact of which this House will presently be convinced.

The House will, I hope, permit me to lay before them a state of the charges I have alluded to, as well as of the manner in which they were conveyed to me.

The first public intimation I had of them was by the following letter from the Company's secretary :—

‘ EAST INDIA HOUSE, 7th Jan. 1772.

‘ MY LORD,—The Court of Directors of the East India Company having lately received several papers containing charges respecting the management of the Company's affairs in Bengal, wherein your Lordship is made a party, I am commanded to send you the enclosed copies thereof, and at the same time to acquaint your Lordship that, if you have any observations to make thereon, the Court of Directors would be glad to receive them as expeditiously as may be convenient to your Lordship.—I am, with great respect, my Lord, etc., etc.

‘ P. MITCHELL, Sec.

‘ The Right Hon. LORD CLIVE.’

My reply was to the Court of Directors as follows :—

‘ GENTLEMEN,—I have received a letter from your secretary inclosing copies of several papers, which he

informs me were lately received by you, containing charges respecting the management of the Company's affairs in Bengal, wherein I am made a party ; and at the same time acquainting me that, if I have any observations to make thereon, you will be glad to receive them as expeditiously as may be convenient to me.

'You have not been pleased to inform me from whom you received those papers ; to what end they were laid before you ; what resolution you have come to concerning them ; nor for what purpose you expect my observations upon them.

'I shall, however, observe to you that upon the public records of the Company, where the whole of my conduct is stated, you may find a sufficient confutation of the charges which you have transmitted to me. And I cannot but suppose that if any part of my conduct had been injurious to the service, contradictory to my engagements with the Company, or even mysterious to you, four years and a half since my arrival in England would not have elapsed before your duty would have impelled you to call me to account.—I am, gentlemen, your most obedient servant,

'CLIVE.'

'To the Hon. the COURT OF DIRECTORS.'

The charges I shall briefly state in the following order :—

First, a monopoly of cotton. Trade was not my

profession. My line has been military and political. I owe all I have in the world to my having been at the head of an army; and as to cotton—I know no more about it than the Pope of Rome.

The second charge against me is a monopoly of diamonds. And this also I shall get rid of in a few words. There are only two channels by which a servant of the Company can, with propriety, remit his fortune. The one, by paying the money into the treasury in India, and receiving bills upon the Company, payable in England; the other, by diamonds.

By the acquisition of the Diwani, and the successful endeavours of the Select Committee, the Company's treasury was so rich that we could not have been justified in drawing bills upon the Company. It was necessary I should, in some mode, remit the amount of my Jagir. For this purpose, and for this only, I sent an agent into a distant and independent country to make purchases of diamonds. Those diamonds were not sent home clandestinely; I caused them to be registered; I paid the duties upon them, and these remittances, upon the whole, turn out three per cent. worse than bills of exchange upon the Company. This is all I know of a monopoly of diamonds.

The third charge is frauds in the exchange and in the gold coinage. This is a subject very much out of my sphere. I am totally unacquainted with the proportions of alloy and the mixture of metals. All I

can speak to is the principle upon which we formed the plan of a gold coinage.

Everybody knows that silver is the only current coin in Bengal, and that gold is merely a species of merchandise. The Select Committee, apprehensive that the prodigious annual drains of silver to China and other places would soon occasion a scarcity of that metal in Bengal, considered of means to obviate the bad effect of those exports. We knew that there must be great quantities of gold in the country, and we hoped to make it circulate in coin. Hence the establishment of the gold currency. Whether it answered our purpose or not I cannot say, as I did not remain in Bengal long enough to experience the effect of it. But this I know, that the assay and mint master, by whose judgment we were guided, was a very able and a very honest man, and has, I understand, given a full and satisfactory explanation of his plan to the Court of Directors. With regard to myself, I shall only assert that I did not receive a farthing advantage from it, and that I never sent a single rupee or gold mohur to be coined in my life.

The fourth charge has this extraordinary title—A monopoly of salt, betel nut and tobacco, and other commodities, which occasioned the late famine. How a monopoly of salt, betel nut and tobacco in the years 1765 and 1766 could occasion a want of rain and scarcity of rice in the year 1770, is past my comprehension. I confess I cannot answer that

part of this article. And as to other commodities, as they have not been specified I cannot say anything to them. But with regard to the monopoly (as it is called) of salt, betel nut and tobacco, I will endeavour to explain the whole of that matter, and the House will permit me to dwell the longer upon it, as it is a point particularly insisted on by my adversaries. It is a part of my conduct that may be objected to by those who are unacquainted with the subject. I know it has been misunderstood and misrepresented even by some of my friends. They have imputed it to an error of judgment. Now, however ready I shall always be to acknowledge such an error, yet I hope to convince this House that no part of my conduct has been more unexceptionable, and that the plan, if it had been adopted by the Court of Directors, and strictly adhered to by the Government in Bengal, would have proved not only advantageous to the Company, but also beneficial to the country; but the Court of Directors, alarmed at the word monopoly, seem never to have examined, and I am sure never thoroughly comprehended, the principles and effect of it.

Many years ago an expensive embassy was sent to Delhi to obtain certain grants and privileges from the Great Moghul in favour of the East India Company, and amongst others was obtained the privilege of trading duty free. The servants were indulged with this privilege under the sanction of

the Company's name. The Company never carried on any inland trade; their commerce has been confined to exports and imports only. It is impossible that the servants should have a more extensive right than the Company itself ever had. Yet they claimed a privilege of carrying on an inland trade duty free. The absurdity of a privilege so ruinous to the natives, and so prejudicial to the revenues of the country, is obvious. At the revolution in 1757 no such claim was set up, nor was any such trade carried on publicly, or to my knowledge, during my government which ended in the beginning of the year 1760.

The first appearance of this claim was in Governor Vansittart's time. The Nawáb Kásim Ali Khán strongly objected to it, representing to the Governor and Council the fatal consequences to the black merchants and to the revenues of his country. Mr Vansittart was sensible of the justice of the Nawáb's complaints, and soon after entered into articles of agreement that the English should carry on an inland trade in salt, paying a duty of nine per cent., which in fact was no remedy to the evil, because the natives paid infinitely more. The Council disavowed this act of Mr Vansittart, and insisted upon their right to all inland trade duty free. The Nawáb, enraged, threw open the trade throughout his country, and abolished all duties, in order that his own subjects might trade upon an equal footing with the English. This on the other hand disobliged the



Council, who insisted that the Nawáb should not suffer even his own subjects to trade duty free, but that the English alone should enjoy that privilege. These transactions were not clearly known to the Court of Directors till the year 1762, when they disapproved of them in the strongest terms, positively forbidding their servants to carry on any inland trade whatsoever. It was nevertheless continued, and with exemption from duties except in the article of salt; upon which a duty of two and a half per cent. only was agreed to be paid, by a treaty with the Nawáb Mír Jafar, after the deposition of Kásim Ali Khán.

Although the Court of Directors had been of opinion that the inland trade ought to be totally abolished, they, as well as the Proprietors, thought the Company's servants might be indulged in it under certain restrictions and regulations. In consequence of this idea, the General Court, on the 18th of May 1764, came to the following resolution:—

‘Resolved that it be recommended to the Court of Directors to re-consider the orders sent to Bengal relative to the trade of the Company's servants in the articles of salt, betel nut and tobacco; and that they do give such directions for regulating the same, agreeable to the interest of the Company and Subah, as to them may appear most prudent; either by settling here at home the restrictions under which this trade ought to be carried on, or by referring

it to the Governor and Council of Fort William to regulate this important point in such a manner as may prevent all future disputes betwixt the Subah and the Company.'

This resolution was supported by the Court of Directors, who in their general letter to the Governor and Council, dated 1st of June 1764, at the time I went out to India, issued the following orders:—

Par. 54. 'For the reasons given in our letter of the 8th of February last, we were then induced to send positive orders to put a final and effectual end to the inland trade in salt, betel nut and tobacco, and all other articles whatsoever, produced and consumed in the country. To the remarks we made in that letter we must add one observation, which is, it appears very extraordinary that in a trade so extremely lucrative to individuals, the interest of the Company should not have been at all attended to or considered.

55. 'Those orders were sent, it is true, before we received the new treaty you entered into with Mir Jafar Ali Khan, upon his re-establishment in the Subahship, in which it is agreed that the English shall carry on their trade, by means of their own dustick, free from all duties, taxes and impositions in all parts of the country, excepting the article of salt, on which a duty of two and a half per cent. is to be levied on the rowanna or Hughli market price; wherein it is further agreed that the

late perwannahs issued by Kásim Ali Khán, granting to all merchants the exemption of all duties for the space of two years, shall be reversed and called in, and the duties collected as before.

56. 'These are terms which appear to be so very injurious to the Nawáb and to the natives that they cannot, in the very nature of them, tend to anything but the producing general heartburnings and dissatisfaction; and consequently there can be little reason to expect the tranquillity of the country can be permanent. The orders, therefore, in our said letter of the 8th of February are to remain in force until a more equitable and satisfactory plan can be formed and adopted, which, as it is impossible for us to frame here, destitute as we are of the information and lights necessary to guide us in settling such an important affair—

57. 'You are therefore hereby ordered and directed, as soon after the receipt of this as may be convenient, to consult the Nawáb as to the manner of carrying on the inland trade in salt, betel nut and tobacco, and the other articles produced and consumed in the country, which may be most to his satisfaction and advantage, the interest of the Company, and likewise of the Company's servants.

58. 'You are thereupon to form a proper and equitable plan for carrying on the said trade, and transmit the same to us, accompanied by such explanations, observations and remarks as may enable

us to give our sentiments and directions thereupon in a full and explicit manner.

59. 'In doing this, as before observed, you are to have a particular regard to the interest and entire satisfaction of the Nawáb, both with respect to his revenues and the proper support of his government ; in short, this plan must be settled with his free will and consent, and in such a manner as not to afford any just grounds for complaint.

60. 'In the next place, the utmost care and attention must be bestowed in forming the said plan, that in some proper mode or shape a just and equitable consideration be secured for the Company.

61. 'If any inconveniences shall be apprehended to arise to the Company's investments upon carrying on such an inland trade, you are to give us your full thoughts thereupon, and in what manner they may be obviated.

62. 'You are to give your impartial and unbiassed thoughts, also, whether the carrying on this inland trade may affect the just rights and privileges of the French, Dutch or any other Europeans, and thereby tend to draw on any national altercations and embroils, which are by all means to be avoided in forming the said plan ; therefore you are to be particularly careful to prevent these, or any other evils of the like kind.'

Notwithstanding these authorities, it has been asserted that the Select Committee in Bengal, when

they framed a plan for carrying on the trade in salt, betel nut and tobacco, acted in disobedience to the orders of the Company. And to support this assertion, partial extracts have been produced of some of the Company's letters, which were in fact written in answer to those proceedings of former administrations in Bengal, of which I have already given some description.

When the Select Committee assembled in Bengal, they were determined upon a thorough reformation. They were determined at all events to do their duty.

It is necessary the House should know that there are but two ways by which gentlemen can acquire fortunes in Bengal—by the inland trade, and by presents. The export and import trade had been for some years dwindling away, and was not worth the attention of the servants. It was carried on chiefly by free merchants and free mariners, and they could scarcely live by it. The inland trade was, as I have shown, permitted to be carried on upon some equitable plan for the benefit of the Company, who had hitherto received no advantage from it, and likewise for the benefit of the Company's servants, who hitherto had swallowed up the whole.

With regard to the receipt of presents: that mode of raising a fortune was intended to be prevented by the new covenants. But we must consider a little the nature of the funds for presents. Every

revolution in Bengal was attended with some diminution of the Nawáb's authority, and with some advantages to the Company. Kásim Ali Khán, upon the deposition of Mír Jafar, was obliged to make over to the Company territorial possessions to the amount of between six and seven hundred thousand pounds per annum. Mír Jafar, when he was reinstated in the Subahship, added above sixty thousand pounds a month more for the support of our army during the war; so that the Company became possessed of one-half of the Nawáb's revenues. The Nawáb was allowed to collect the other half for himself. But in fact he was no more than a banker for the Company's servants, who could draw upon him as often and to what amount they pleased.

The new covenants, indeed, which prohibited the receipt of presents, were intended to prevent this mode of raising fortunes; but the Select Committee went much deeper; they struck at the root of the evil by procuring the whole for the Company, which totally deprived the servants of this resource.

It was not expedient, however, to draw the reins too tight. It was not expedient that the Company's servants should pass from affluence to beggary. It was necessary that some emoluments should accrue to the servants in general, and more especially to those in superior stations, who were to assist in carrying on the measures of government. The

salary of a councillor is, I think, scarcely three hundred pounds per annum : and it is well known that he cannot live in that country for less than three thousand pounds. The same proportion holds among the other servants. It was requisite, therefore, that an establishment should take place ; and the Select Committee, after the most mature deliberation, judged that the trade in salt, betel nut and tobacco, under proper regulations, might effectually answer the purpose. The great object of our consideration was, whether this trade could be regulated for the advantage of the Company, and also for the Company's servants, without oppressing the natives. We thought it could. The House will observe that I make no mention of the Nawáb, because the Company, to whom the revenues now belonged, stood in his shoes, a circumstance which seems never to have been thoroughly adverted to by the Directors, even to this day.

Had we only formed our plan and deferred the execution of it till the pleasure of the Court of Directors should be known, all the gentlemen in their service must in the meantime have been totally unprovided for. But the declared intention of the Company was that the trade in salt, betel nut and tobacco should be regulated, not only for their own advantage, but for the advantage of their servants. A plan was accordingly framed. I was up the country at the time, employed in

settling the treaty of peace with Sujah ul Daulah, and obtaining from the Moghul the grant of the Diwáni. The plan was framed principally by Mr Sumner, who took the medium price of salt throughout the country for above twenty years past, and fixed the price at from twelve to fifteen per cent. below that medium. Hence it was not probable that any grievance should fall upon the poor; and the plan was settled for one year only, that we might have an early opportunity of completing afterwards what was originally intended as an experiment. A duty, however, of thirty-five per cent. upon salt was established for the Company, which amounted to about £120,000 per annum; and all the Company's servants except writers, and also all the field officers of the army, had shares, according to their respective rank. But I soon found there was some defect in this plan. It was really a monopoly. The trade was taken out of the hands of some of the merchants. The proportion of the Company's servants was too large, the duty to the Company was too small. The agents appointed to sell the salt had made an improper use of their power; they had not strictly kept up to their contract, which was that they should receive five per cent. upon the sale of salt as a recompense for their trouble, and that they should not enter into any trade for themselves, under a very severe penalty.



I therefore proposed a plan for the next year, which I think destroyed every idea of monopoly. The society, instead of employing agents up the country to dispose of the salt, were to sell it at Calcutta, and at the places where it was made, to the black merchants only, who were each limited to a certain quantity of purchase, and tied down to a price for sale at every market town. The duty to the Company was now established at fifty per cent., which would produce £160,000 per annum; the black merchants were to have the liberty of transporting the salt all over the country, free from every taxation or obstruction; and the strictest orders were issued that no Englishmen, or their agents, should directly or indirectly have any further concern in it.

With regard to the price, I must inform the House that in Bengal salt stands the maker in about 2s. 6d. per maund by the time it reaches Calcutta. A maund is 80 pounds. The duty to the Company, and the advantages to the servants, were stated at about 2s. 6d. more, which makes upon the whole one hundred per cent. Salt in England, I am told, stands the maker in about 8d. per bushel, or 56 pounds; and the duty is 3s. 4d. per bushel, which is five hundred per cent. I have inquired into the salt trade in England. I think we settled it upon rather a better footing in India; for the quantity to be

bought by any one dealer was fixed, and the price at which it was to be sold in every town throughout the kingdom, according to the distance from the salt pans, was also fixed.

In London, salt is sold at 5s. a bushel, which is something less than a penny a pound. In India, salt is sold by the maund, which is, as I have said, 80 pounds, and it comes to a rupee, or 2s. 6d., a maund, all expenses paid, exclusive of the duty. The duty, as I have informed the House, is 2s. 6d. more.

Now, I will suppose that salt in Bengal sold under the second year's plan at the very price fixed by the first year's plan, then it would stand the consumer in about three farthings a pound at Calcutta, a penny a pound at distant places, and five farthings a pound at Patna, which is one of the most distant parts, being about 1200 miles by water from Calcutta.

The whole quantity of salt contracted for by the society was 24 lakhs of maunds, which, multiplied by 80 for the number of maunds in a pound, make 192 millions of pounds. The number of inhabitants I shall take upon the hon. member's (Mr Sullivan) computation, that is to say, 15 millions. I strike off 5 millions for infants and accidents. Then divide the 192 millions of pounds by the other 10 millions of inhabitants, and we shall find the quantity of salt consumed in one year, by the rich and by the poor, will be under 20 pounds each. To give the

argument its utmost scope, I allow 20 pounds to the poor as well as to the rich man, although it is certain he does not consume half the quantity. These 20 pounds will cost the individual at Calcutta rather less than 1s. 3d., in the centre of the provinces, 1s. 8d., and at Patna, the greatest distance, rather less than 2s. 6d. This is the utmost of every man's expense in the year for salt.

The lowest wages in Bengal are 2 rupees a month, which is 24 rupees, or £3 per annum. The poor man can scarcely be said to be at any other expense than for eating. They drink nothing but water; they wear no clothes; the houses are built with mud or clay, thatched with straw. Now, I leave the House to judge whether the expense of from 1s. 3d. to 2s. 6d. a year for 20 pounds of salt, even to these the very poorest of the inhabitants, can be a grievance. The eyes of the world have been blinded by publications. The matter of fact is this: the grievance fell upon a number of black merchants who used to live by that trade, for the Company's servants not only monopolised the salt, but, by virtue of their influence and power, bought it at what price they pleased, and sold it at what price they pleased.

To indulge my enemies to the utmost, I will allow for a moment, although it is not so, that in the intermediate time, between the farming of the salt trade by a Mussulman (for it was always a monopoly in the hands of Khoja Vazid, or some person or persons

who paid large sums of money to the Nawáb or his Ministers for the exclusive privilege) and the regulations established by the Select Committee, salt was sold somewhat cheaper. What does that infer? It infers only this, that the Company's servants, by virtue of their power and authority, exonerated the salt of all those duties and exactions which it was formerly subject to, amounting, perhaps, to two hundred per cent., and then made a merit of selling it cheaper to the inhabitants; as if a set of men in this country, by their power and influence, were to decline paying the duty of five hundred per cent. to Government, and then boast of selling it at a lower price than had been usual. In fact, when the salt was what has been called an open trade, it was then the most monopolised, because the Company's servants traded in it to what extent and advantage they thought proper, as indeed they did in every other article of inland trade.

In short, the Select Committee established their plan upon experience and a thorough knowledge of the Company's interest, and the conduct of the Court of Directors in abolishing it was founded upon obstinacy and ignorance.

A short history of the conduct of these gentlemen will set the matter in its proper light.

I have said before that the Directors disapproved of the trade in salt, betel nut and tobacco carried on by the servants from the first moment that they became acquainted with it.

They positively and repeatedly ordered that they should have no concern in it, directly or indirectly. They declared that it was an infringement of the rights of the natives, that they had consulted the sages in the law, and that the servants were liable to prosecution for persevering in that illicit trade. After this, they agreed that the Select Committee should regulate this trade in such a manner as might be advantageous to the Company and their servants without injury to the Nawáb. The Committee did regulate it; a very large profit was established for the Company. The servants, also, were amply provided for, and no oppression (under the Committee's regulation) could possibly fall upon the people of the country. The Court of Directors disapproved of our plan, and did not substitute any in the room of it, neither did they establish any duties. They issued orders that their servants, who acted as sovereigns, should totally relinquish this trade themselves, and endeavour to prevent its being monopolised by any rich overgrown merchant of the country. They meant that it should be laid open to the natives, and to them only, not seeing that their orders could not extend to the servants of foreign companies, who would, of course, gain considerably by that trade, of which the English were to be deprived.

In November 1767, and not before, the Court of Directors came to a determination of allowing their servants, in lieu of this trade, two and a half per cent.

upon the revenues. They then also, for the first time, thought of establishing a duty upon salt. They proposed fixing it so as that it should produce to the Company £31,000 per annum. At this time I was in England; I heard accidentally what was in agitation. I expostulated with the Court of Directors by letter; I represented to them that they were doing the most manifest injury to the Company; that if those advantages which the Select Committee had proposed for the servants were disapproved of, they ought to be enjoyed by the Company; that those advantages and the duties together would amount to £300,000 per annum, which I thought no inconsiderable object. I further represented to them that although they should give the servants two and a half per cent. on the revenues in lieu of the salt trade, the gentlemen might still trade in that article, under the names of their banyans or black agents, to what extent they pleased. To these representations they paid no other attention than that of altering the proposed duty from £31,000 to £120,000 per annum. What was the consequence? The servants received the two and a half per cent. on the revenues; they traded in salt as much as ever, but without paying the duty, and I am well informed that the Company, from the time of the abolition of the Committee's plan to this hour, have not received a shilling duty. Finally, the Court of Directors suffered this branch of trade to revert to the very channel from whence

had flowed all those abuses and all those misfortunes which they had so loudly complained of. This trade, contrary to their own ideas of equity to the natives, and contrary to the advice of the sages of the law, is now laid open to the English, and to every European, as well as native, inhabitant of Bengal, Behar and Orissa. The consequences of this we are still to learn. As the case stands at present, the Court of Directors have in all this time (five years) given up no less than £1,500,000, which the Company ought to have received if the emoluments taken from the servants had been added to the duty proposed by the Select Committee. And in this sum is not included the two and a half per cent. commission granted out of the revenues.

Having thus stated everything material relative to this matter, I submit to the consideration of the House whether the plan adopted by the Committee was for the benefit of the Company or not. The House will observe that I have spoken of the salt trade only. I omit mentioning the betel nut and tobacco trade, because the former is not an advantageous article in comparison with the salt trade, and the latter, although a part of the plan of the Committee, was totally relinquished.

The Governor and Council are accused of having entered into a combination, by bond, to support the society in spite of any orders from home. Mr Bolts, in his book, has given a copy of the bond. The

substance of the bond was stated in the public proceedings of the Board sent to England for the information of the Directors, and we applied to them for permission to renew the bond annually, if the plan of the salt trade met with their approbation. In that bond the committee of trade made themselves responsible for the duties. The contract for the making of salt ran for a year. The society, therefore, could not be abolished before the end of the year, which was the first of September; and nothing more seems necessary to prove we had no idea of contesting any orders from home, but that on the contrary we resolved to obey, than to read to the House the following resolution of the Select Committee:—

‘Resolved, that the society of trade shall be abolished, and the inland trade totally relinquished on the first day of September next, but that we fully express our sentiments in our next advices to the Company, respecting the advantages which would result to the service and to the country from the continuance of this trade under the present restrictions.’

This resolution also confutes a particular accusation against myself; for the gentleman who laid the charges before the Court of Directors has roundly asserted that, although the Company disapproved of the plan of the society, no order was issued during my government for abolishing it.

I must in this case beg leave to inform the House that I, as Governor, had a proportion of advantage



in this trade. What that proportion was, and in what manner I disposed of it, shall be clearly and accurately stated before I sit down.

I shall now proceed to the next charge against me, which is peculation of revenues. And here I must have recourse to a minute of mine, which stands recorded in the India House, because I think it will explain this matter much more fully than I can do by word of mouth, and the House will see in that minute the ground-work of part of a Bill proposed to be brought in for the regulation of the Company's affairs abroad.

‘LORD CLIVE’S MINUTE.

‘Our attention as a Select Committee, invested with extraordinary powers by the Court of Directors, has been constantly engaged in reforming the abuses which had crept into the several departments of this Government. The important work has been steadily prosecuted with zeal, diligence and disinterestedness on our parts; and the success of our labour gives us reason to hope that our employers will be of opinion we have established many useful and necessary regulations. Many others, however, are still wanting to complete our plan; but I doubt not that the same principles which have hitherto guided our conduct will continue to direct and justify the measures we have yet to pursue.

‘To place the President in such a situation as will

render his Government honourable to himself and advantageous to the Company, appears to me an object of as much consequence as any that has been taken into our consideration. Where such immense revenues are concerned, where power and authority are so enlarged, and where the eye of justice and equity should be ever watchful, a Governor ought not to be embarrassed with private business; he ought to be free from every occupation in which his judgment can possibly be biassed by his interest. The extensive commercial affairs, the study of the finances, the politics of the country, the epistolary correspondence, the proceedings of Council and Committee, these are sufficient to employ every moment of his time, and I am confident they cannot be conducted with the requisite attention to the Company's interest if the mind of the Governor be diverted by complicated mercantile affairs of his own.

‘If we look back on those unhappy dissensions which have frequently brought the Company's possessions in Bengal almost to the point of destruction, we shall find that they have generally proceeded from the conduct of Governors, who, too eager in the pursuit of private interest, have involved themselves in affairs which could not be reconciled to the strict principles of integrity. To prevent scrutinies and discoveries which might in any degree affect their honour, they have frequently been reduced to the necessity of conniving at abuses which would other-

wise have been brought to light and remedied. The welfare of this great Company should be the sole study of a Governor; attached to that point alone, his measures could never be thwarted by the malice of opposition, because they would all be proposed for the public good; and actions will always be justified or condemned from the principles on which they are founded.

‘Such a state of independency and honour must be highly eligible to a Governor; and in my opinion it can only be acquired by cutting off all possibility of his benefiting himself either by trade, or by that influence which his power necessarily gives him in these opulent provinces.

‘I therefore propose that the Governor shall in the most public manner, in the presence of all the Company’s servants, the mayor and aldermen, and free merchants, assemble at the mayor’s court, take the oath and execute the penalty bond annexed.

‘The consideration I have proposed is, one and one-eighth per cent. upon the revenues; excepting those arising from the Company’s own lands at Calcutta, Burdwan, Midnapore and Chittagong.

‘Although by these means a Governor will not be able to amass a fortune of a million or half a million in the space of two or three years, yet he will acquire a very handsome independency, and be in that very situation which a man of nice honour and true zeal for the service would wish to possess. Thus

situated, he may defy all opposition in Council: he will have nothing to ask, nothing to propose, but what he means for the advantage of his employers; he may defy the law, because there can be no foundation for a bill of discovery; and he may defy the obloquy of the world, because there can be nothing censurable in his conduct. In short, if stability can be insured to such a Government as this, where riches have been acquired in abundance, in a small space of time, by all ways and means, and by men with or without capacities, it must be effected by a Governor thus restricted, and I shall think it an honour, if my proposal be approved, to set the first example.'

In the bond herein mentioned, and which I executed, was inserted a penalty of £150,000: £50,000 of which was to go to the informer, and £100,000 to the Company, if the Governor should be convicted of having benefited himself, directly or indirectly, beyond that commission. In addition to this was an oath to the same purport, and of as solemn a nature as could be devised. There were a few necessary exceptions in the bond and in the oath. The common interest for money was permitted to be received till remittances could be obtained. The purchase of diamonds for remittance to England was allowed, and such presents as might be received under the new covenants were also allowed. But of this last exception I did not avail myself; for after

I had executed the bond, every, the most trifling, present, even to the value of 6d., was brought to the Company's credit.

A circumstance of allegation against me is brought from a letter I wrote to the Court of Directors before I went abroad, in which I had expressed my disapprobation of the commission of two and a half per cent. that had been granted to Governor Vansittart on the Company's territorial possessions, notwithstanding which I had received a commission of one and one-eighth myself. The case was this: the Court of Directors did not think proper to restrain Mr Vansittart in any respect or degree. He executed no penalty bond. He took no restricted oath. He had unlimited liberty to receive presents, to trade to any amount; and he had this commission of two and a half per cent. on the Company's territorial possessions into the bargain; in short, he was at liberty to make what fortune he pleased. Now, the commission of one and one-eighth per cent. which I received was an establishment proposed not only for myself, but for all future governors in lieu of everything, in consequence of giving up every emolument whatsoever that might be made in that station. The Court of Directors, so far from disapproving of this commission, continued it to my successor.

Another charge is, that I took to myself these advantages arising from the salt trade, and the one and one-eighth commission, although I had declared

in the letter which I have just alluded to that I had no interested motives in accepting the government. With what justice this can be alleged against me, the House may immediately determine.

I carried out three gentlemen with me. These gentlemen I certainly meant to serve, but I meant to serve them in a way that should be honourable for themselves and honourable for me, and that should at the same time be consistent with the interest of the Company. One was Mr Maskelyne, a relation of mine. A friendship commenced between us in our early years. We began life together. We were both of us writers in the Company's service in the year 1745; we were both made prisoners in Madras, when it was taken by M. La Bourdonnais; we made our escape together; we then entered into the military service together as ensigns; we served together at the siege of Pondicherry; we went into the field together; but our fates were very different; he was a second time taken prisoner. This misfortune put a stop to all his prospects, whilst I went on in a career of success. He continued in the civil and military service till he was of the rank of Council, and after fifteen years' service in India, was obliged by ill health to return to his native country, not worth £3000 in the world. I thought him entitled to some share of my affluence, but what I did for him was not sufficient to make his circumstances perfectly independent; for these reasons I

took him with me on my last expedition. Another gentleman was my secretary, now a member of this House. He was recommended to me by one of the greatest men in the kingdom, now no more, Mr Grenville. Many and great are the obligations I have been under to him, but the greatest of all the obligations was his having recommended me to this gentleman. Without his abilities and indefatigable industry, I could never have gone through my great and arduous undertaking, and in serving me he served the Company. The third gentleman was Mr Ingham, a surgeon, who quitted a profession of some hundreds a year to accompany me to Bengal.

I stood in a particular point of view ; my situation was nice and critical ; the eyes of the whole settlement were upon me. It was difficult for me to take any steps with regard to those gentlemen without being condemned. They had executed no covenants ; I might have suffered them to receive presents to any amount : the world would then have said that I carried them out with me in order to evade my own covenants, and to receive presents for me, as well as for themselves. I might have granted them the privilege of trade, the advantage of which, under my favour and credit, might have been to any amount. The objection to this also was obvious : it would have been said that my own interest was at the bottom ; that they traded under my influence ; and that the extent of their concerns interfered with persons who

had a better right. It was therefore determined that they should not benefit themselves a farthing but by what they should receive from my hands.

My share, as Governor, in the salt society, and also the manner in which it was disposed of, were publicly known both here and abroad before my return to England; and yet this latter has of late been considered as something clandestine. But I think I can prove to the satisfaction of this House that it was known to everybody.

In the beginning of the year 1767, a General Court was called for the purpose of rewarding my services. A continuation of ten years of the Jagir was proposed. In opposition to this, some people urged that I was benefiting myself largely abroad. A friend of mine, an hon. member of this House, hereupon read to the Court an extract from a letter he had received from me upon that subject. Before the question was balloted for, he printed this letter in handbills, and also published it repeatedly in all the newspapers. I have one of them, which was printed at that time, now in my hands, and with permission will read it.

‘That his lordship has been adding to his fortune abroad is most untrue; his friends defy the bitterest of his enemies to support the charge. A solemn asseveration in that respect from Lord Clive himself was read in Court by the friends to whom Lord Clive had addressed his letter; and it is now submitted to print in order to discredit assertions which are false;



or else to remain in public testimony against his lordship.'

EXTRACT of a LETTER from LORD CLIVE, dated  
Calcutta, 30th September 1765.

'That you may assert with confidence the justice of my cause, I do declare, by the God who made me, it is my absolute determination to refuse every present of consequence, and that I will not return to England with one rupee more than what arises from my Jagir. My profits arising from salt shall be divided among those friends who have endangered their lives and constitutions in attending me. The congratulatory nazzars, etc., shall be set opposite to my extraordinary expenses; and if aught remains, it shall go to Poplar or some other hospital.'

In Mr Bolts' book is a copy of a bond, by which it appears that I sold my concern in salt for £32,000. I do acknowledge there is such a bond, but the sum actually received by me on that account amounted only to about £10,800. The fact was this: I could not think of suffering the three before-mentioned gentlemen who had accompanied me to India to return to England without realising something on their account; I said so to my friends in Bengal. The salt concern was of a very extensive, tedious nature, and the accounts might not be made up in some years. Could I, in honour, leave those gentlemen in a situation which made it doubtful when they

should receive anything, and to what amount? I told them I would not: I told them I would get rid of this salt concern at once, that they might be secure of the money amongst them. I therefore disposed of my whole concern in salt, even my share for the second year, which was just commenced, for the sum mentioned in the bond. But when the mode of a commission of one and one-eighth per cent. on the revenues was settled for the Governor in lieu of every other emolument, I then relinquished my share in salt for that year (the second year) in which I was to receive the commission, and had paid back about £20,000 of the £32,000.

It now remains, Sir, for me to show that my own interest was not the motive of my going to India.

I have here an account of every sixpence I received or disbursed from the day of my leaving England to the day of my return. It is taken from my books, which were kept all the time I was in India by Mr Verelst, who will readily attest their accuracy. I omit the first part of this account, because it was transmitted to the Court of Directors, and stands upon record in the India House. The other part I will read. The House will observe that in this account there are the names of others whom I rewarded besides the gentlemen I have mentioned. One was an old servant who went out with me; and the others were young gentlemen in my secretary's office.

The balance against me, upon the whole, is £5816.<sup>1</sup> Now, sir, I have no objection to having this account lodged among the records of this House, that it may stand in judgment for or against me if future Commissioners, either on the part of the Crown or the East India Company, should ever think a retrospection into my conduct necessary.

There is only one circumstance more with which I shall trouble the House; and I do assure them I should be ashamed to touch upon it, as it may carry with it an appearance of vanity, were not my honour and reputation so much at stake. It was in my power to have taken from my enemies every shadow of pretence for arraigning my conduct, on account of these profits, as they have been called, of my Government. I could have rewarded those gentlemen much more liberally without the possibility of an accusation. But I should not have acted so much to my own satisfaction, nor, I believe, so much to that of the House, if I had neglected the opportunity that offered of doing something essentially beneficial to the East India's Company's service.

The old Nawáb, Mír Jafar, if ever Mussulman had a friendship for a Christian, had a friendship for me. When the news of my appointment to the govern-

<sup>1</sup> It has not been thought necessary to insert the figured statement in this Appendix. It clearly shows that Clive, instead of having added to his fortune during his last administration of Bengal, was a loser to the extent of £5816.

ment reached Bengal, he immediately quitted Muxadavad,<sup>1</sup> came down to Calcutta, impatiently waited my arrival for six weeks, fell ill, returned to his capital, and died. Two or three days before his death, in the presence of his wife, and in the presence of his Minister, he said to his son and successor, 'Whatever you think proper to give to Lord Clive on your own account, the means are in your power. But, as a testimony of my affection for him, I desire you will pay to him as a legacy from me five lakhs of rupees.' I must observe that the Nawáb's death happened whilst I was on my voyage, and some months before my arrival in Bengal. The principal and interest amounted to near £70,000. A very respectable gentleman and great lawyer, who is now the Speaker of this honourable House, gave his opinion in favour of my right to this legacy in the strongest terms; another great lawyer, a member of this House, has often declared to me in private his opinion of my right; and the Court of Directors have themselves confirmed that right. Authentic attestations of this legacy are upon record in the India House. The whole of the money, added to about £40,000 more, which I prevailed on the Nawáb to bestow, is established for a military fund in support of officers and soldiers who may be invalided in any part of India, and also in support of their widows. Nothing was

<sup>1</sup> This seems to have been the name in those days of the town commonly and correctly called 'Murshidabad.'

wanting but such an establishment as this to make the East India Company's military service the best service in the world. Before that period, an indigent invalid officer and soldier might live in India, but if he returned to his native country he returned to beggary. By this fund the officers are entitled to half pay; the soldiers are upon the same footing as those in Chelsea Hospital; and the widows of both officers and soldiers have pensions.

Having encroached so long upon the patience of the House, I doubt whether I may now expect their further indulgence, or whether I must defer what I have to say upon this important business till a future occasion.

(House—Go on, go on.)

But before I proceed, I must beg leave to deviate a little into a digression on behalf of the Company's servants in general. It is dictated by humanity, by justice and by truth.

Indostan was always an absolute despotic government. The inhabitants, especially of Bengal, in inferior stations, are servile, mean, submissive and humble. In superior stations they are luxurious, effeminate, tyrannical, treacherous, venal, cruel. The country of Bengal is called, by way of distinction, the paradise of the earth. It not only abounds with the necessaries of life to such a degree as to furnish a great part of India with its superfluity, but it abounds in very curious and valuable manufactures,

sufficient not only for its own use, but for the use of the whole globe. The silver of the west and the gold of the east have for many years been pouring into that country, and goods only have been sent out in return. This has added to the luxury and extravagance of Bengal.

From time immemorial it has been the custom of that country for an inferior never to come into the presence of a superior without a present. It begins at the Nawáb, and ends at the lowest man that has an inferior. The Nawáb has told me that the small presents he received amounted to £300,000 a year; and I can believe him, because I know that I might have received as much during my last government. The Company's servants have ever been accustomed to receive presents. Even before we took part in the country troubles, when our possessions were very confined and limited, the Governor and others used to receive presents; and I will take upon me to assert that there has not been an officer commanding His Majesty's fleet, nor an officer commanding His Majesty's army, not a Governor, not a member of Council, not any other person, civil or military, in such a station as to have connection with the country government, who has not received presents. With regard to Bengal, there they flow in abundance indeed. Let the House figure to itself a country consisting of fifteen millions of inhabitants, a revenue of four millions sterling, and a trade in proportion. By

progressive steps the Company have become the sovereigns of that empire. Can it be supposed that their servants will refrain from advantages so obviously resulting from their situation? The Company's servants, however, have not been the authors of those acts of violence and oppression of which it is the fashion to accuse them. Such crimes are committed by the natives of the country acting as their agents, and for the most part without their knowledge. Those agents, and the banyans, never desist till, according to the ministerial phrase, they have dragged their masters into the kennel; and then the acts of violence begin. The passion for gain is as strong as the passion of love. I will suppose that two intimate friends have lived long together; that one of them has married a beautiful woman; that the friend still continues to live in the house, and that this beautiful woman, forgetting her duty to her husband, attempts to seduce the friend, who, though in the vigour of his youth, may, from a high principle of honour, at first resist the temptation, and even rebuke the lady. But if he still continues to live under the same roof, and she still continues to throw out her allurements, he must be seduced at last or fly. Now the banyan is the fair lady to the Company's servants. He lays his bags of silver before him to-day; gold to-morrow; jewels the next day; and if these fail, he then tempts him in the way of his profession, which is trade. He

assures him that goods may be had cheap, and sold to great advantage up the country. In this manner is the attack carried on ; and the Company's servant has no resource, for he cannot fly. In short, flesh and blood cannot bear it. Let us for a moment consider the nature of the education of a young man who goes to India. The advantages arising from the Company's service are now very generally known ; and the great object of every man is to get his son appointed a writer to Bengal, which is usually at the age of sixteen. His parents and relations represent to him how certain he is of making a fortune ; that my Lord Such-a-one, and my Lord Such-a-one, acquired so much money in such a time ; and Mr Such-a-one, and Mr Such-a-one, so much in such a time. Thus are their principles corrupted at their very setting out, and as they generally go a good many together, they inflame one another's expectations to such a degree, in the course of the voyage, that they fix upon a period for their return before their arrival.

Let us now take a view of one of these writers arrived in Bengal, and not worth a groat. As soon as he lands, a banyan, worth perhaps £100,000, desires he may have the honour of serving this young gentleman at 4s. 6d. per month. The Company has provided chambers for him, but they are not good enough ; the banyan finds better. The young man takes a walk about the town ; he observes that other writers, arrived only a year before him, live in splendid



apartments or have houses of their own, ride upon fine prancing Arabian horses, and in palanqueens and chaises; that they keep seraglios, make entertainments, and treat with champagne and claret. When he returns, he tells the banyan what he has observed. The banyan assures him he may soon arrive at the same good fortune; he furnishes him with money; he is then at his mercy. The advantages of the banyan advance with the rank of his master, who in acquiring one fortune generally spends three. But this is not the worst of it; he is in a state of dependence under the banyan, who commits such acts of violence and oppression as his interest prompts him to, under the pretended sanction and authority of the Company's servant. Hence, Sir, arises the clamour against the English gentlemen in India. But look at them in a retired situation, when returned to England, when they are no longer Nawábs and sovereigns of the East; see if there be anything tyrannical in their disposition towards their inferiors; see if they are not good and humane masters. Are they not charitable? Are they not benevolent? Are they not generous? Are they not hospitable? If they are, thus far, not contemptible members of society, and if in all their dealings between man and man their conduct is strictly honourable, if, in short, there has not yet been one character found amongst them sufficiently flagitious for Mr Foote to exhibit on the theatre in the Haymarket, may we not con-

clude that if they have erred, it has been because they were men placed in situations subject to little or no control ?

But if the servants of the Company are to be loaded with the demerit of every misfortune in India, let them also have the merit they are entitled to. The Court of Directors surely will not claim to themselves the merit of those advantages which the nation and the Company are at present in possession of. The officers of the navy and army have had great share in the execution ; but the Company's servants were the cabinet council, who planned everything ; and to them also may be ascribed some part of the merit of our great acquisitions.

I will now pass to other matter—matter as important as ever came before the House. India yields at present a clear produce to the public and to individuals of between two and three millions sterling per annum. If this object should be lost, what can Administration substitute in the room of it ? I tremble when I think of the risk we lately ran from the ambitious designs of the French. They may have suspended for a time their views upon India, but I am sure they have not given them up. It is strongly reported they have at this moment 10,000 men at the islands,<sup>1</sup> and a great number of transports ; these men are not to return to France, and yet the islands cannot maintain them ; but at Madagascar

<sup>1</sup> The islands referred to are Mauritius and Bourbon.

they may possess themselves of a country capable of supporting any number. This they certainly will do, and their forces, instead of decreasing, will increase by additional battalions poured out from France, until they are ready to carry into execution their favourite design. The noble lord at the head of the Treasury will do me the justice to say that I laid before him a paper, drawn up fifteen months ago, in which I stated almost everything that has since happened relating to the views of France upon the East Indies. It was indeed impossible for me to be deceived, knowing the preparations that had been made.

If ever France should lay hold of our possessions, she will soon add to them all the rest of the East Indies. The other European nations there will immediately fall before her—not even the Dutch can stand; the empire of the sea will follow; thus will her acquisitions in the East, if any can, give her universal monarchy. I repeat, and I would have what I say remembered, that the French have not given up their designs upon India.

But danger abroad being for the present suspended, let us think of the danger at home.

It is certain that our affairs in Bengal are in a very deplorable condition, and that the nation cannot receive their £400,000, and the Proprietors their £200,000 increase of dividend, much longer, if something be not done.

It is necessary, since these affairs are brought before Parliament, that we should endeavour to understand them. There are a few material points which I will state as clearly as I can. The revenues, the inland trade, the charges civil and military, and the public trade, by which I mean the trade of the Company.

Upon the receipt of the revenues depend the £400,000 a year to Government, and the £200,000 a year additional dividend to the Proprietors; and upon the Company's or public trade depends the coming home of the revenues.

There are no mines of gold and silver in Bengal, therefore the revenues can be brought hither only through the medium of the Company's trade.

Upon the civil and military expenses depends whether we shall have any surplus revenue at all; for if they are swelled up too high, you can receive no revenues. Upon the inland trade depends in some degree the receipt of the revenues. Upon the inland trade depends almost totally the happiness and prosperity of the people. Indeed, the true cause of the distress in Bengal, as far as it relates to the inland trade, is this. The Company's servants and their agents have taken into their own hands the whole of that trade, which they have carried on in a capacity before unknown; for they have traded not only as merchants, but as sovereigns, and by grasping at the whole of the inland trade, have taken the bread out of the

mouths of thousands and thousands of merchants who used formerly to carry on that trade, and who are now reduced to beggary.

With regard to the public trade, it is material to observe what it has been and what it now is. Here is an account of the prime costs of the Company's investments from Bengal for seven years preceding the acquisition of the Diwáni, and for seven years subsequent, together with the number of ships employed.

*(It has not been thought necessary to insert here the figured statements which are referred to.)*

This account must be exact, because I had the whole of it from the India House particulars of the last year, which the Court of Directors are not yet in possession of. But I cannot doubt their authenticity, as I received them from a gentleman in Council at Bengal.

The House will observe that the gross collections have not decreased considerably till the year 1770, which was the year of the famine; but that the civil and military expenses have been gradually increasing ever since I left Bengal, which was in the beginning of the year 1767. And here lies the danger. The evil is not so much in the revenues falling short as in the expenses increasing. The best means of raising the revenues is to reduce the civil and military charges. Why should we strive at an actual increase of the revenues? They avail nothing unless we can invest

them; and to raise them beyond a certain point is to distress the country, and to reduce to indigence numbers who from time immemorial have derived their subsistence from them.

With regard to the increase of the expenses, I take the case to stand thus. Before the Company became possessed of the Diwání, their agents had other ways of making fortunes. Presents were open to them. They are now at an end. It was expedient for them to find some other channel—the channel of the civil and military charges. Every man now who is permitted to make a bill makes a fortune.

It is not the simple pay of officers and men upon the military and civil establishment which occasions our enormous expense, but the contingent bills of contractors, commissaries, engineers, etc., out of which, I am sure, great savings might be made. These intolerable expenses have alarmed the Directors, and persuaded them to come to Parliament for assistance. And, if I mistake not, they will soon go to Administration, and tell them they cannot pay the £400,000, and that they must lower the dividend to the Proprietors.

I attribute the present situation of our affairs to four causes: a relaxation of government in my successors; great neglect on the part of Administration; notorious misconduct on the part of the Directors; and the violent and outrageous proceedings of General Courts, in which I include contested elections.

Mr Verelst, who succeeded me in the government, I do believe to be a man of as much real worth and honour as ever existed; and so far from being wanting in humanity, as Mr Bolts asserts, I know that he had too much humanity. Humanity, if I may be allowed the expression, has been his ruin. If he had had less, it would have been better for the nation, better for the Company, better for the natives, and better for himself. No man came to the government with a fairer character, and notwithstanding what I have said, I am conscious no man ever left it with a fairer. He acted upon principles of disinterestedness from beginning to end: and let the Directors, if they can, tell me where I could have laid my finger upon a fitter man. But the truth is, he governed with too lenient a hand. The too great tenderness of his disposition I saw and dreaded. Nothing was wanting on my part to prompt him to pursue vigorous measures. Nor did I confine myself to verbal advice only. I gave it in writing before I resigned the government. The House will permit me to read to them my sentiments upon that occasion. They are contained in my farewell letter to the Select Committee, wherein I forewarned them of almost every misfortune that has since happened. The whole thing is too long to trouble the House with. I shall therefore read only that part of it which relates to the present subject.

‘EXTRACT from my FAREWELL LETTER to the SELECT COMMITTEE, dated 16th January 1767.

‘The reformation proposed by the Committee of Inspection will, I hope, be duly attended to. It has been too much the custom in this government to make orders and regulations, and thence to suppose the business done. To what end and purpose are they made, if they be not promulgated and enforced? No regulation can be carried into execution, no order obeyed, if you do not make rigorous examples of the disobedient. Upon this point I rest the welfare of the Company in Bengal. The servants are now brought to a proper sense of their duty; if you slacken the reins of government, affairs will soon revert to their former channel, and anarchy and corruption will again prevail, and, elate with a new victory, be too headstrong for any future efforts of government. Recall to your memories the many attempts that have been made in the civil and military departments to overcome our authority, and to set up a kind of independency against the Court of Directors. Reflect also on the resolute measures we have pursued, and their wholesome effects. Disobedience to legal power is the first step to sedition; and palliative remedies effect no cure. Every tender compliance, every condescension on your parts will only encourage more flagrant attacks, which will increase in



strength daily, and be at last in vain resisted. Much of our time has been employed in correcting abuses. The important work has been prosecuted with zeal, diligence and disinterestedness, and we have had the happiness to see our labours crowned with success. I leave the country in peace; I leave the civil and military departments under discipline and subordination; it is incumbent upon you to keep them so. You have power, you have abilities, you have integrity; let it not be said that you are deficient in resolution. I repeat that you must not fail to exact the most implicit obedience to your orders. Dismiss or suspend from the service any man who shall dare to dispute your authority. If you deviate from the principles upon which we have hitherto acted, and upon which you are conscious you ought to proceed, or if you do not make a proper use of that power with which you are invested, I shall hold myself acquitted, as I do now protest against the consequences.'

It is certain that, if my successor had followed my example and advice, the evil day would have been kept off some time longer. But had he kept the tightest rein, he could not have done much service to the Company, for neither he nor any man could have long guarded against the mischiefs occasioned by the Directors themselves, when they took away the powers of the Select Committee.

The Company had acquired an empire more extensive than any kingdom in Europe, France and Russia excepted. They had acquired a revenue of four millions sterling, and a trade in proportion. It was natural to suppose that such an object would have merited the most serious attention of Administration; that in concert with the Court of Directors they would have considered the nature of the Company's charter, and have adopted a plan adequate to such possessions. Did they take it into consideration? No, they did not. They treated it rather as a South Sea bubble than as anything solid and substantial; they thought of nothing but the present time, regardless of the future. They said, let us get what we can to-day, let to-morrow take care for itself; they thought of nothing but the immediate division of the loaves and fishes; nay, so anxious were they to lay their hands upon some immediate advantage that they actually went so far as to influence a parcel of temporary Proprietors to bully the Directors into their terms. It was their duty, Sir, to have called upon the Directors for a plan; and if a plan, in consequence, had not been laid before them, it would then have become their duty, with the aid and assistance of Parliament, to have formed one themselves. If Administration had done their duty, we should not now have heard a speech from the throne, intimating the necessity of parliamentary

interposition to save our possessions in India from impending ruin.

The next point is the misconduct on the part of the Court of Directors.

After the Court of Directors had in the highest terms approved of the conduct of that Committee who restored tranquillity to Bengal; who had restored a government of anarchy and confusion to good order; who had made a peace with Sujah Daulah, by which they obtained upwards of £600,000 for the Company; who had quelled both a civil and a military mutiny; who had re-established discipline and subordination in the army; who had obtained the Diwáni of Bengal, Behár and Orissa, which produced to the Company a net income of £1,300,000; who had paid off the greatest part of a bond debt in Bengal, amounting to near £900,000; who had left the treasury in such a flowing state that they drew few or no bills upon the Company at home; who laid the foundation of investments so large as were never before known or heard of; and who had by these means enabled the Company to assist Government with £400,000 a year, and to make an increase of dividend to the stockholders of £200,000, one would imagine that the Court of Directors would have supported a system of government which had been so very successful. But they acted upon very different principles; they dropped the prosecutions against

those gentlemen in Bengal whose conduct the Committee had censured and fully represented. Thus they gave a stab to their own vitals. From that instant they destroyed their own power abroad, and erased from the minds of their servants in India every wholesome regulation which the Committee had established. The servants abroad were in anxious suspense to learn whether they were punishable or not for misconduct. The lenity or weakness of the Court of Directors removed their doubts. From that instant all covenants were forgotten, or only looked upon as so many sheets of blank paper; and from that instant began that relaxation of government so much now complained of, and so much still to be dreaded.

Their next step was to destroy the powers of that Committee whose conduct they had with reason so highly approved of. They divided the powers; they gave half to the Council, and left the other half with the Committee. The consequence was, the Council and Committee became distracted by altercations and disputes for power, and have ever since been at variance, to the great detriment of the service. The Court of Directors, as if this was not enough, restored to the service almost every civil and military transgressor who had been dismissed; nay, they rewarded some of them by allowing them a continuation of their rank all the time they were in England. And now, as a condemnation of their own conduct and a

tacit confession of their own weakness, they come to Parliament with a Bill of Regulations, in which is inserted a clause to put such practices as much as possible out of their power for the future.

With regard to General Courts, I believe I need not dwell long on the consequences of them. Their violent proceedings have been subversive of the authority of the Court of Directors. The agents abroad have known this; they have therefore never scrupled to set the orders of the Court of Directors at defiance when it was their interest to disobey them, and they have escaped punishment by means of the over-awing interests of individuals at General Courts. Thus have General Courts co-operated with the Court of Directors in the mischiefs that have arisen in Bengal; whilst annual contested elections have, in a manner, deprived the Directors of the power of establishing any authority over their servants. The first half of the year is employed in freeing themselves from the obligations contracted by their last elections; and the second half is wasted in incurring new obligations, and securing their election for the next year, by daily sacrifices of some interest of the Company. The Direction, notwithstanding all these manœuvres, has been so fluctuating and unsettled that new and contradictory orders have been frequently sent out; and the servants (who, to say the truth, have generally understood the interest of the Company much better than the Directors) have in many

instances followed their own opinion, in opposition to theirs.

It is not my intention at present to trouble the House with the remedies for these evils. I rather choose to defer them till the Bill come into the House. I have now opened my budget; it is not a ministerial budget: it is an East India budget, which contains many precious stones, diamonds, rubies, etc., of the first water and magnitude; and there wants only a skilful jeweller and able artist to polish them and ascertain their real value.

## APPENDIX II

LORD CLIVE's speech in the House of Commons on the 19th May 1773, on the order of the day, to take into further consideration the reports of the Select and Secret Committees appointed to inquire into the affairs of the East India Company :—

Sir, after rendering my country the services which I think I may, without any degree of vanity, claim the merit of, and after having nearly exhausted a life full of employment for the public welfare, and for the particular and advantageous emolument of the East India Company, I little thought transactions of this kind would have agitated the minds of my countrymen in such proceedings as these, tending to deprive me not only of my property and the fortune which I have fairly acquired, but of that which I hold more dear to me—my honour and my reputation. The House will not think me, I hope, fraught with any degree of vanity when I repeat again that I have done services to my country.

I must beg leave to say a few words relative to the presents which I am charged with receiving unwarrantably. I must beg leave to observe to the

House that presents were allowed and received from the earliest time of the Direction. They have continued to be received uninterruptedly for the space of 150 years ; and men, Sir, who have sat in the Direction themselves have at several times received presents. This the Direction must know ; but I am firmly of opinion that in honourable cases presents are not improper to be received ; but when for dishonourable purposes, then, Sir, I hold them to be highly improper. In the early part of my life, my labours were without emolument or laurels, and I hope the House cannot think but that I ought to be rewarded for my services to my country in the latter part of it. When I was employed by the Company, their affairs abroad were in a condition much to be lamented. Misfortunes attended them in every part of their settlements, and the Nawábs looked with a jealous eye upon the small privileges and possessions they then enjoyed, and though small, in danger every day of being wrested from them. Fear and weakness of power sought for protection from the dangers that surrounded them. In this critical situation I was called forth, and it pleased God to make me the instrument of their delivery. In the various battles and attacks in which I was employed, I had the good fortune to succeed ; nor were such schemes or undertakings entered upon without the previous provocation of the country powers. The treachery of Suráj ud Daulah was for ever in our eye, and his perfidy



was never at rest ; nor did we attack Chandernagore till the treaty on his behalf was first violated.

After these conquests, Sir, and acquisitions gained for the Company, I returned home. They approved in the highest degree of what I have done ; and as a token of their approbation, they presented me with a rich sword set with diamonds. This, certainly, Sir, was no mark of their opinion that I had either violated treaties or disobeyed their orders. Nor did their commendation and good opinion of my services terminate here. As soon as troubles broke out in that country, and when the news of the terrible disaster of the taking of Calcutta from us arrived to the ear of the Company, they immediately sent to me and requested that I would go once more to India, to protect and secure their possessions ; that my presence alone would effect it ; and they should rest secured, through the good opinion they had of me, that success would accompany me, and that I should be the means of putting their affairs again in a prosperous situation. I did not hesitate a moment to accept the offer. I went abroad, resolving not to benefit myself one single shilling on my return, and I strictly and religiously adhered to it. When I arrived there, I subdued Angria, a very powerful prince. I re-took Calcutta with an inconsiderable army. Suráj ud Daulah had at all times betrayed a disposition to break the treaty ; and when an army was sent under the command of M. Duprée, which

might have proved fatal to us, I do not hesitate to say that we bribed the general of that army, who immediately wrote to the Nawáb to let him know the English were invincible; and, upon a second request from the Nawáb to M. Duprée, that he would march with his army and destroy the English, his answer was couched in the same terms. He said that he always found the English invincible, and that it would have been the height of imprudence to hazard an attack. By such means, and by this stratagem, we succeeded. We soon discovered that the Nawáb, Suráj ud Daulah, was so turbulent and restless that he only waited for the departure of the fleet to exterminate the English. But, as treacherous men are too apt to have men of the same cast and disposition about them, the Nawáb was not wanting of such companions. Omichand, his confidential servant, as he thought, told his master of an agreement made between the English and M. Duprée to attack him, and received for that advice a sum of not less than four lakhs of rupees. Finding this to be the man in whom the Nawáb entirely trusted, it soon became our object to consider him as a most material engine in the intended revolution. We therefore make such an agreement as was necessary for the purpose, and entered into a treaty with him to satisfy his demands. When all things were prepared, and the evening of the event was appointed, Omichand informed Mr Watts, who was

at the court of the Nawáb, that he insisted upon thirty lakhs of rupees, and five per cent. upon all the treasure that should be found ; that, unless that was immediately complied with, he would disclose the whole to the Nawáb ; and that Mr Watts, and the two other English gentleman then at the court, should be cut off before the morning. Mr Watts, immediately on this information, despatched an express to me at the Council. I did not hesitate to find out a stratagem to save the lives of these people, and secure success to the intended event. For this purpose we signed another treaty. The one was called the red, the other the white treaty. This treaty was signed by everyone except Admiral Watson ; and I should have considered myself sufficiently authorised to put his name to it by the conversation I had with him. As to the person who signed Admiral Watson's name to the treaty, whether he did it in his presence or not I cannot say, but this I know, that he thought he had sufficient authority for so doing. This treaty was immediately sent to Omichand, who did not suspect the stratagem. The event took place, and success attended it ; and the House, I am fully persuaded, will agree with me that, when the very existence of the Company was at stake, and the lives of these people so precariously situated, and so certain of being destroyed, it was a matter of a true policy and of justice to deceive so great a villain. I have in my hand, Sir, a letter signed

by Admiral Watson, Messrs Manningham, Watts, etc., which, I apprehend will carry Admiral Watson's thorough approbation of the proceedings of the revolution, and the means by which it was obtained. (His lordship then read the letter, which conveyed Admiral Watson's full approbation.)

Nor, Sir, great as my fortune is (and which bears no proportion to what I might have made), yet, to show that I did not harass or lay under contribution those whom I have conquered for my own emolument, I can tell this House that neither I nor any one in my army received a sixpence from the inhabitants of Muxadabad. My Jagír was not received till 1759, though it has been reported I received it at the revolution in 1757.

I must beg leave to mention another circumstance to this House; that, upon these troubles, the Dutch were encouraged by the Nawáb to enter the country with seven ships and a vast army. I did not hesitate a moment to give them battle; and in twenty-four hours I destroyed every ship they had, and their whole army was either killed, wounded or taken prisoners. At this time the Dutch had most of my money; and in this instance, I think, I showed a zeal for the honour and interest of the Company superior to every other object even of my own concerns. I must now beg leave to read in the House two letters from the Court of Directors to myself, containing their approbation of the revolution in Bengal. These

letters, Sir, came not through the common channel of address to the Governor and Council, but were directed to myself. (His lordship then read the letters, which contained the most full and satisfactory approbation of what is termed in one of the letters the late glorious and profitable revolution.) These, Sir, are surely sufficient certificates of my behaviour and the proceedings of that revolution; and, whatever the House may think of them, will remain an everlasting approbation of my conduct from those persons who alone employed me, and whose servant I was. A late Minister (Lord Chatham), whose abilities have been an honour to his country, and whom this House will ever revere, will, I am sure, come to your bar, and not only tell you how highly he thought of my services at the time, but also what his opinion is now.

I am, however, sure that I shall have justice done me by the inquiry of those men who are likely to be appointed to go to India to regulate the affairs of that country. Then, Sir, may come from that part of the world a full justification of my conduct. Here I must beg leave to read a part of my late speech. (Here his lordship read a part of the letter and of his speech, made on the 30th of March 1772, stating the acquisitions he had obtained for the Company and the public.) After these services, I thought at least I might have enjoyed my fortune uninterrupted, and unenvied by those not so rich as myself. (Here his lordship then read another letter from the Company,

which contained in a stronger manner than any of the preceding ones a full and ample commendation and approbation of all his proceedings; this etter was directed to his lordship, and dated the 4th of March 1767.)

Upon my arrival, Sir, in England a second time, a committee of the Directors waited upon me to desire to know when I would receive the congratulations of the Direction. I accordingly waited upon them at their court in Leadenhall Street, and the chairman, at a very full court, addressed me in the words contained in this letter (which his lordship read). These, Sir, were circumstances, certainly, that gave me a full satisfaction, and a ground to think that my conduct, in every instance, was approved of. After such certificates as these, Sir, am I to be brought here like a criminal, and the very best parts of my conduct construed into crimes against the State? Is this the reward that is now held out to persons who have performed such important services to their country? If it is, Sir, the future consequences that will attend the execution of any important trust committed to the persons who have the care of it will be fatal indeed; and I am sure the noble lord upon the Treasury bench, whose great humanity and abilities I revere, would never have consented to the resolutions that passed the other night if he had thought on the dreadful consequences that would attend them.

Sir, I cannot say that I either sit or rest easy when I find by the extensive resolution proposed that all I have in the world is to be confiscated, and that no one will henceforward take my security for a shilling. These, Sir, are dreadful apprehensions to remain under, and I cannot look upon myself but as a bankrupt; nothing my own, and totally unable to give any security while these resolutions are pending. Such, Sir, is the situation I am in. I have not anything left which I can call my own except my paternal fortune of £500 per annum, and which has been in the family for ages past. But upon this I am content to live, and perhaps I shall find more real content of mind and happiness therein than in the trembling affluence of an unsettled fortune.

But, Sir, I must make one more observation, that if the definition of the hon. gentleman (General Burgoyne) and of this House is that the State, as expressed in these resolutions, is *quoad hoc* the Company, then, Sir, every farthing that I enjoy is granted to me. But to be called, after sixteen years have elapsed, to account for my conduct in this manner, and after an uninterrupted enjoyment of my property, to have been questioned and considered as obtaining it unwarrantably, is hard indeed, and a treatment I should not think the British Senate capable of. But if it should be the case, I have a conscious innocence within me that tells me my conduct is irreproachable. '*Frangas non flectes.*' They may take from

me what I have. They may, as they think, make me poor, but I will be happy. I mean not this as my defence, though I have done for the present. My defence will be made at that bar, and before I sit down I have one request to make to the House, that when they come to decide upon my honour, they will not forget their own.



### APPENDIX III

#### MR ELPHINSTONE'S ESTIMATE OF CLIVE

(Given in the Preface to his *'Rise and Progress of the British Power in the East,'* p. 7.)

'THE only chance of success in this part of the history lies in stern impartiality, mixed with candour and indulgence, towards all the parties concerned. Measures must be discussed, serving no doubt to illustrate the characters of the leading men of the day, but more with a view to utility, and to pointing out what objects are to be attained and what are the sure means of ascertaining and promoting them.

'This is the key to the treatment of Clive's character, commanding respect and admiration from its great qualities, which feelings are painfully checked by instances of duplicity and meanness.

'The impression he leaves is that of force and grandeur; a masculine understanding; a fine judgment; an inflexible will; little moved by real dangers, and by arguments and menaces not at all. He exercised a supreme control over those who shared his counsels or executed his resolves. Men yielded to a pressure which they knew could not be turned

aside, and either partook of its impulse or were crushed by its progress.

‘Where overmatched by his enemies, he appears in even greater grandeur. He meets the most formidable accusations with bold avowal and a confident justification. He makes no attempt to soften his enemies or conciliate the public, but stands on his merits and services with a pride which in other circumstances would have been arrogance.

After acknowledging his errors, history presents few great characters more blameless (?)<sup>1</sup> than that of Clive. Though stern and imperious by nature, his temper was proof against a thousand trials, and in a life spent amidst scenes of blood and suffering he has never been accused of a single act of cruelty. He coveted money as an instrument of ambition, but never acquired it in any manner that he did not openly avow, and he scorned to preserve it by swerving a hair’s-breadth from his duty. His few political offences he was led into by zeal for the public, and for the same object he sacrificed the peace of his last years and risked his accumulations of wealth and glory. He possessed undaunted courage, a strong understanding, sagacity and soundness of judgment, and unrivalled vigour in action. A mind so endowed rises high above ordinary imperfections. At worst it is a rough-hewn Colossus, where the irregularities of the surface are lost in the grandeur of the whole.

<sup>1</sup> The mark of interrogation is by the author, Mr Elphinstone.

‘Though naturally bold, open and direct, Clive did not despise the use of artifice when his purposes required it, and it is this propensity that casts a shade of meanness over his great qualities that prevents that unmixed respect which so powerful a character must otherwise have commanded.

‘Though Clive had a natural sense of honour, his independent and even reckless character made him indifferent to the opinion of others and regardless of form and propriety. The society in which he lived in India was not likely to promote refinement; the agitated scene in which he was soon engaged, the eagerness for success, the calamities and disgrace attendant on failure, left little time for reflection or hesitation. The practice of the natives, the example of the French, and the maxims current among his brother officers, led him to rate boldness and vigour far above scrupulous correctness, and the result was a high sense of honour, with but little delicacy of sentiment. He could sacrifice his life to his duty, but not his interest to his moderation; he was generous to his friends, but barely just to his enemies. He would have rejected praise he had not earned, but neither forgot, nor allowed others to forget, the extent of his real deserts.

‘Clive’s estimate of his own services, great as they were, by no means fell short of their actual value. This does not arise from any indulgence of vanity on his part, but there is no occasion on which they

can promote his views or interest where they are not brought forward in an exaggerated form, with a boldness and consciousness of worth that command our respect, and overcome our dislike to self praise. Hence arose a marked peculiarity of Clive's character. After the enormous extent to which he had profited by his situation, he delights to dwell on his integrity and moderation, and speaks of greed and rapacity in others with scorn and indignation. Convinced that the bounty of Mr Jafar fell short of his claims on the Company, he inveighs against his successors who received presents which they had not earned, and speaks of them with disgust as the most criminal, as well as the meanest of mankind. Nor are these sentiments assumed to impose upon the public; they are most strongly expressed in his most confidential letters, and appear to be drawn forth by the strength of his feelings. In no stage of his life did Clive appear with more dignity than during his persecution. His boasts of merit and service now appear as a proud resistance to calumny and oppression; the spirit with which he avowed and gloried in the acts which excited the most clamour and odium, his independence towards his judges, his defiance of his powerful enemies, excite our interest, while they command our respect and admiration.

‘Clive's views were clear within the circle of his vision, but they were not extensive. His political plans were founded on the existing relations without

much attention to prospective changes. His reforms were temporary expedients, and even his knowledge of the state of India in his time was only accurate within the scene where he had himself been an actor.'

#### CLIVE'S RETURN HOME.

'He now paid for his disinterestedness. All who had been brought to punishment by his severity ; all who had suffered indirectly by his reforms ; all who were disappointed in their hopes of wealth and favour, with their numerous connections among the Proprietors, and with the old band of enemies at the Indian Office House, combined to raise a clamour against him ; and in this were speedily joined those who envied his wealth and reputation, and a numerous class whose indignation against Indians had been roused by the very abuses which Clive had put down, and which in their ignorance they imputed to him, in common with all the Company's servants. Against these attacks the Government gave him no protection.

'All his former proceedings, over which many years had passed, and which, when not applauded at the time, had received a general sanction from his appointment to the government of India at a time when honesty and public spirit were regarded as much as talent, all were scrutinised as if they were now mentioned for the first time.

‘But all these investigations brought forth no fresh charge against the accused. Whatever faults Clive might have committed, the facts had never been denied, and his acquisitions, if immoderate, were on too great a scale to be concealed. There were no petty peculations, no lurking corruption to be detected. A Committee with a hostile president, with Mr Johnston himself for a member, produced a report, the effect of which may be judged by the result. A motion strongly inculpatory was made by the chairman, Clive replying by avowing everything of which he was accused, and declaring that in similar circumstances he would do the same again.

‘The division of the House was worthy the best days of the Roman Senate. Without approving of actions of mixed merit or demerit, or sanctioning questionable principles, they voted that Robert Lord Clive had rendered great and meritorious services to his country.

‘But this honourable testimony could not remove the effect of two years of persecution; and it is doubtful whether the sense of injury and ingratitude did not concur with sufferings from disease to cut off the career of this proud and aspiring genius.’

## LIVE

Brereton of Brereton  
 y Ann, d. of Sir  
 Dunham Massey,

Henry Copinger of  
 Kent, esq.

of Styche, co. = Alice, d. of Thomas Townshend of  
 esq. Braconash, co. Norf., esq.

tyche, co. Salop, = Mary, d. of Sir Edward Alleyn of  
 Inn 7 June 1632, Hatfield Priory, co. Essex, Bart.  
 of Ambrose C. of  
 arm.'

Wormbridge, co. = Mary, d. and heir of Martin Husbands  
 s; d. *vita patris*. of Wormbridge, co. Heref.

r, co. Worc., 2. George Clive, Cursitor Baron of the  
 auncefoot, co. Exchequer; buried in Lincoln's Inn  
 Chapel 5 Jan. 1739-40.

of Na-  
 kell of  
 gent.  
 1716,  
 Sarah  
 17 June  
 burd. 4

Sarah Gaskell, *m.*, 13  
 May 1718, Hugh,  
 11th Lord Sempill  
 (d. 25 Nov. 1746),  
 and d. 17 April 1749.

Elizabeth Gaskell, *m.*,  
 1717, Daniel Bayley  
 of Manchester, and  
 d. 26 Feb. 1734,  
 aged 34.

Ann Clive, = George Sempill, Col.  
 E. I. C. Service; d.  
 18 Oct. 1779.

John, Lord  
 Sempill.

APPENDIX V  
PEDIGREE OF LADY CLIVE

(EXTRACT)

WILLIAM MASKELYNE = AGNES, d. of Richd.  
of Purton, co. Wilts. Stephens of Burderop,  
co. Wilts, esq., by  
Margaret Kibblewhite  
(her descts. 'Founder's  
Kin' St John's, Oxford).

George Maskelyne of = Jane, d. of Christopher  
Purton, Gent. Richmond Webbe, by  
Jane, d. of Ric. Pulley of  
Purton, esq.; burd. in  
chancel there.

<p>Edmund Maskelyne of = Katharine, d. of Richd. M.P., Wilt. Westminster, cester City, E.L.C.S., or &amp;c. Basset Down, co. Wilts. inherited ob. S.P. Bathe estate at Purton, ob. S.P.</p>	<p>Sir George Booth of = Camb. Astro- nomer-Royal, Projector of Nautical Almanac. =</p>	<p>cap. St Mary Abbot's, Ken- sington, 24 Nov. 1735; m. at Fort St George Madras, 18 Feb. 1753.</p>
	↓	↓



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