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INDIA IN THE 18TH CENTURY

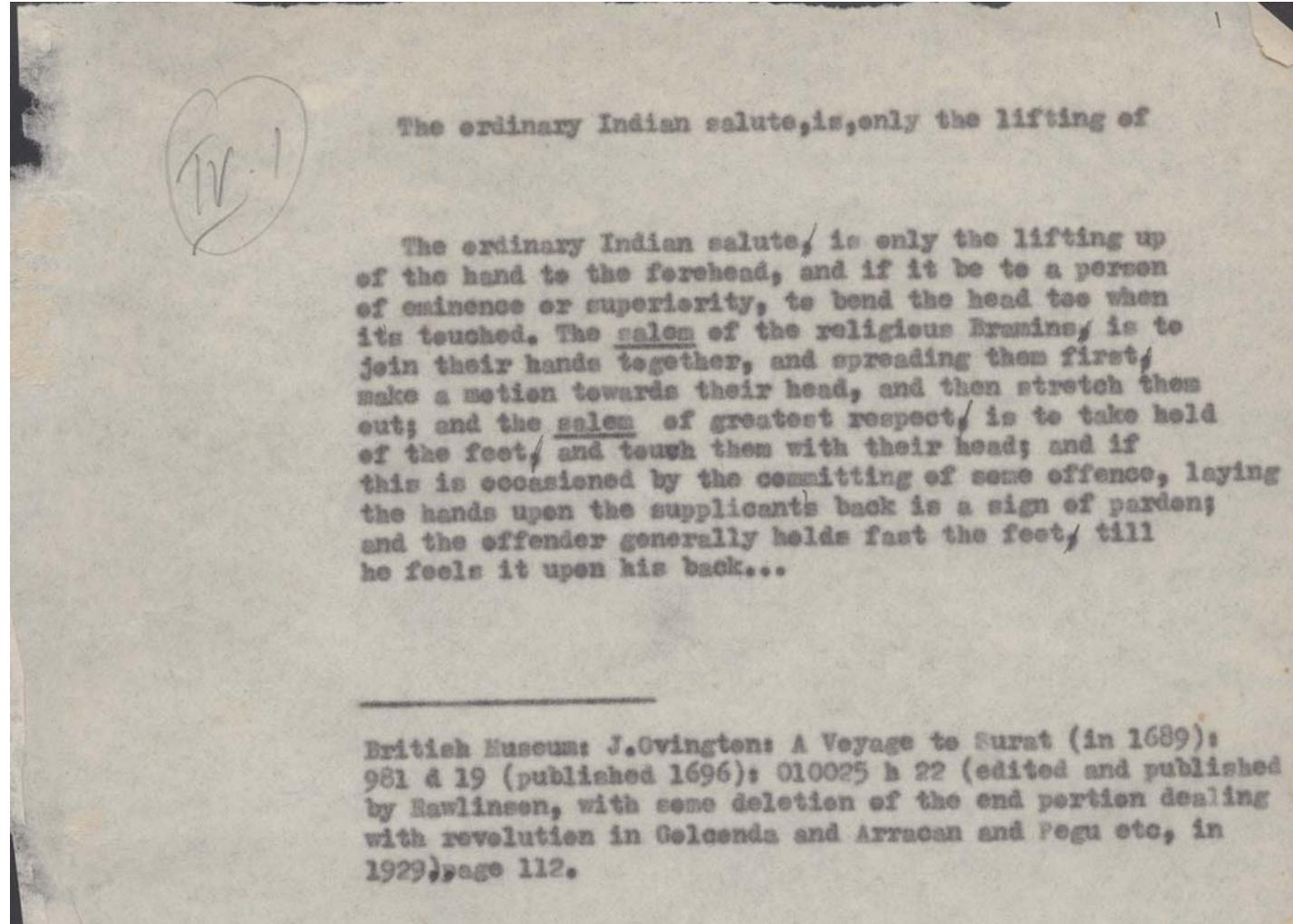
SOME ASPECTS OF SOCIAL AND POLITICAL LIFE  
BEFORE TOTAL DEFEAT

(British and other European Accounts)

VOL IV

(Compiled : Dharampal)

1966-68



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MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE HINDUS (circa 1753)

(Marriages, Sati, Parsons, Determination of Guilt)

(9)... but they universally abstain from the flesh of even oxen or cows, whom they rank at the head of the brute creation.

As I observed before, their marriages are all conducted by the parents during the parties infancy, the expence of this ceremony, which is considerable according to the ranks of the persons married, is always from the bridegroom's family, nor is it customary to give any fortunes with their daughters, because it should not be said they were obliged to buy them husbands, for this custom it seems they despise the Europeans very much.

They have peculiar months; in which only they (10) allow the consummation of marriages. In these months what with illuminations, singers, dancers and horrid musick, one would imagine the days and nights reversed for they never begin the entertainment before it is dark, nor conclude them while that favours the demonstration of their fireworks. All this time, the bride and bridegroom richly drest, are well mounted on horse back or carried in pallankeens (like a couch, in which there is a mattress and pillows) upon four or six men's shoulders thro the town, accompanied by the relations and friends of both families, preceded by the dancing girls, musicians, singers, with great number of masals or links attending them. Previous to this, there are machines of fire erected over against all their friends houses to whom they intend to pay respect, where always they stop, and are entertained by the dancers. And during the exhibition of the fireworks, throughgout the whole procession the bride and bridegreen are incessantly employed throwing flowers at one another, of which the servants carry basketsful for that purpose. Thought these ceremonies are not finished in less than six or eight days, yet in regard to their entertainments they never exceed a few sweetmeats and beatle nuts, which they use as Europeans do tobacco, but the former is a fine aromatick and in every respect much preferable, at the same time promiscuously sprinkling rose-water and other perfumes amongst their guests.

(11) You would be surprised to think how great a sum the expence of one of their better sort of marriages will amount to. I saw one my last voyage at Bengall, which I was well informed could not cost less than ten or twelve thousand pounds sterling, and one since I have been in Bembay that amounted to about one third of that sum.

As they have so steadfast a belief in transmigration and their women not being permitted to marry a second husband, if either the first should die in her

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nenage. I say from the consideration and hardships upon the tender sex, we may be may be enabled in some measure to account for the great fortitude and unmatched resolution of the wives burning with the bodies of their dead husbands, which instead of being obliged to, by the laws of their country, ask some people have suggested, great entreaties and arguments are generally made use of, to break their resolution, but seldom to any purpose. It is certain that after they have determined to burn and the Bramins have performed the ceremonies for that occasion, should they then attempt to retract, their friends and relations would assist to throw them into the flames.

Sometime since a young creature at Bengall embraced this resolution, she was known by many of the European ladies there, who kindly visited her, in her distress, and endeavoured to move her desperate design by the most influencing reasons they could offer, as she had two very (12) fine children, they represented to her the hardships and difficulties they would be liable to, when destitute of both parents, nor were her own relations and those of her husband less assiduous with their persuasions; however nothing could stagger her fixed determination.

The day she was to burn being arrived many gentlemen attended her to the pile with several Bramins &c.

The Bramins after ~~paying~~ praying with her for a considerable time, anointed her head and hair, all the while muttering some unintelligible sentences; afterwards they walked round the pile with her three times, constantly singing out their prayers. Having thus ended the ceremony, she takes off her bracelets, earings &c and distributes them amongst her relations who attend her. Then embracing them she took her leave very pleasantly and retired to the middle of the pile, where her dead husband lay, and having placed herself at his feet, the Bramin gave a lighted match into her hand. With joy in her countenance she received it and said 'this night I shall enjoy my husband's company in another form', then immediately set fire to the pile, but observing that she done it on the leeward side, she turned round and lighted it in several places to windward.

The gentlemen's curiosity led them as near to the pile as the flames would admit them, yet they never heard her utter the least moan. The the laws of the country do not oblige the women to this cruel custom yet in (13) private it is certainly encouraged amang them, for it is a great honour to the whole family, and the children of the woman who burns are always much regarded and very well matched.

Besides these castes which I have mentioned, there are a sect whom they call Parreas. They are the refuse of the whole nation, their villages and wells are always separate from others, they are looked upon as unclean therefore dare not walk the streets where the Bramins inhabit. As they are extremely poor they eat any kind of animal flesh except the cow without the least reluctance even when they

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find it in the fields dead and stinking. They exercise all the employments which every one of the rest think beneath them.

Althe in the eyes of all their neighbours this sect of people is a most despicable race, yet amongst themselves they have diversity of ranks and conditiens. Some of them are not allowed to keep upon the earth, therefore like the birds of the air, their habitatiens are built upon trees, to which they ascend by small ladders, or notches cut in the body of the tree. Others are not permitted on any account, to wear anything but leaves. Of this sort I saw one woman lately in the country, for they are rarely seen near European towns. I immediately pronounced her an Eveite, for it is not possible that anything could better express our original nakedness and simplicity, all her clothing being an apron (14) of leaves about four or five inches square. Notwithstanding this lady might be so easily dressed and at so small an expence yet the laws of this country in general are so very rude and impelite towards the females, that was this apron to fall off by any accident it is not in her power to put it on again but must immediately go in search of her husband, whose sole duty it is, always to perform that service, she at the same time judicieuely assigning some satisfactory reason for her dishabille.

As every division of the casts have variety of good and bad deties to aypace, so likewise they have more different and extraordinary methods of performing their several religius injunctions, but as they <sup>are</sup> almost all are very severe deties or rather corporeal punishments the better sort generally are excused for hiting these Farreas to attene for them.

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(16)... As these people never travel into foreign countries to rectify their ideas and improve their knowledge, their other customs are all of a piece, equally absurd and amazing, particularly their methods of convicting their capital offenders, when they are destitute of witnesses and have no other proof but strong suspiciens to alledge against them. In this case a copper vessel is provided with boiling oil into which a gold ring is thrown. The person suspected is to take this ring out with his naked fingers whilst the oil is actually boiling and afterwards they are tyed up (17) with a cotten roller to remain in that situation about 30 hours, when the roller is removed and his fingers examined; if there are any signs of their being burn'd by the oil, he is pronounced guilty, if otherwise innocent, so that he is either immediately reprieved, or dragged out and publicly executed with their bread swords, every one that cheeses it, making a stroke at the malefactor.

The relation of these stories to Europeans appear, and not unreasonably, mere juggles and ridiculous falsehoods, so that they generally draw upon the relater the common allowances according to the extensiveness of his travels.

At Tellicherry one of our settlement upon the

Mallabar coast, where this custom is much practiced, some English gentlemen of good capacities have very strictly attended to this particular, and to their great surprise have known several of the people come off unaffected, without the least sign either of burn or blister, after going through this fiery tryal and in consequence proclaimed innocent with great acclamation of joy.

The method they have of trying thefts and all inferior crimes, is by ordering the suspected persons to eat a certain quantity of rice, which, they say, the guilty man will have the greatest difficulty to swallow. This may be much (18) easier accounted for than the preceding mystery, for as the people in general have so high an opinion of the judgement of the Bramins who preside at all these examinations respecting their infallibility at finding out offenders, the guilty person is struck with so much confusion, dread and hurry to finish his medicum first, that he quite disappoints his intention and almost suffocates himself with too much haste.

The Gentees in general except some who are distinguished by the name of Merrattas, of whom hereafter, are subject to the great Mogul...

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Oxford: Bodleian: MS Douce 328: 46 pages (ff 23);  
dated: Bombay 20 Nov 1753: signed Alex Knox:  
addressed to David Doig, Lord Provost of Mentreze.  
(Perhaps a copy: ED Wainwright & N Matthews "A Guide  
to Western Manuscripts and Documents in the British  
Isles relating to South and South East Asia", Oxford  
1965, page 325 bottom)

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Major Mackenzie's Journal of his  
Travels in the East India's 1764

On the 30th day of March 1761, we set sail from England on board the Plassey Indiaman, being ordered on his Majesty's service to Madrass; and June 30th came to an anchor at the small island of Masambique, a Portuguese settlement on the East Coast of Africa situated in 15 D.S.L.

This island is about three miles in circumference, extremely barren. The Portuguese are supplied with the necessaries of life from the continent, which by their accounts is almost as poor as the island, and if we might judge from the entertainments they made for us, we had no reason to doubt their veracity. However, it abounds with limes, plantanes, coconuts, pine apples, oranges and other tropical fruits. Here I saw a few small cows and goats and a few small sheep of reddish colour, without any wool. I saw no horses and was told they had none in that country. The town is small and makes a mean appearance; it is defended by a Palty Fort built on a point towards the sea and commands the entrance into the harbour. There are two small churches and one Convent. On our landing, we were conducted to the Governor, who received us very politely, but we understood very little of what each other said, because our interpreter was bad. His Excellency was of a good stature, agreeable aspect and genteel deportment.

He is respected with all the formalities of a Crowned Head even to the bending of the knee. He is not allowed to marry while Governor and (60v) to continue six years only in his office.

Our audience was short and after common compliments we went to view the Town with thousands of slaves at our heels which the merchants buy up in the country and send to the Brazils.

We had not gone far, when we were accosted by a man, who spoke English very well. He told us he had been in our India Company's service, kindly invited us to his house (which we made our home during our stay) and served us usefully in quality of interpreter.

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National Library of Scotland: MS 1337

This day being the Feast of St. Peter, and the Governor's Birth Day, we were in the evening invited to a masquerade. Before the masques began to dance, we were entertained with a few songs in praise of the Governor. The words might be good, but the musick was wretched. The number of masques did not exceed fifty, and no ladies amongst them, some few men dressed in women's apparel performed the office of the ladies. I asked our interpreter if they had any in the settlement. He told me they had, but that his countrymen being naturally jealous did not chose to produce their ladies in publick assemblies, even tho' there should be no stranger in the place. The diversions of the night were closed with a supper consisting chiefly of trigacies and preserves. They had prepared for us a joint of sorry beef and a poor lean pig; great dainties! and undoubtedly imagined we would think ourselves feasted, but to their great astonishment, the beef and pig were suffered to be carried off unmolested. However, if we did not eat, our entertainers eat for us, a ham and cheese presented by the Captain of our ship, was greedily devoured, particularly by the priests, who used their teeth and played their glasses, as if they were resolved to make up for their days fast; but unhappily for them, they drank too freely, of beer and porter, which sent them down stains tumbling over each other. L(61R)

The climate is reckoned unhealthy and tho' we were here in the dead of winter, we thought the heat intolerable. Their whole trade consists in slaves, elephants teeth, and a little gold dust; they have no manufacturers of any sort. After a week's stay, we departed from this place and in a month arrived off Madrass, but not being able to get in, steered for Visigapatnam, an English settlement, five degrees to the Northward of Madras, and dependant on it. We got to this place the 4th of August. Here I did not go ashore, being indisposed, but the officers who did assured me it was a very pretty place.

The inhabitants here and on the other parts of the Coromandel Coast, have a very curious kind of vessel called a Calmaran, which is nothing else than three or four logs of wood fastened together at each end with a rope, on this they kneel, their heels supporting their postiriors, and with a paddle in their hands, navigate their little Bark. Surprising Dexterity with and that too in the most tempestuous weather, when no boat of whatever size, dare venture to sea.

I saw a sailor cut the ropes of a Catamaran in a frolick and ~~now~~ presently the whole vessel was dismembered, however, the amphibious owners leaped into the sea and soon repaired her.

The Governor of this place would not receive his majesty's troops, so we were obliged to go for Bengal and on the 16th of August came to an anchor in the famous River Ganges having lost ~~but~~ one soldier since we left England. Soon after we were disembarked and sent up the river about 100 miles to Calcutta, the Company's settlement situated on the banks of the river, which even here is almost a mile in Breadth. The town is large, irregular ~~and~~ populous, lying in <sup>L (61V)</sup> 23 D.N.L. The houses are built very spacious, with flat roofs, a great many windows and doors for the benefit of air and are generally well contrived and make a handsome appearance. This settlement carries on a very extensive trade with the other parts of India, and the many private fortunes acquired here, is a convincing proof of its immense riches.

The climate of Bengal, is perhaps as bad as any in the universe, and remarkably fatal to our countrymen. It abounds so much with standing waters and the Earth is so much impregnated with salt petre, that when the sun warms the water the air becomes absolutely putrid, and this occasion the frequency of agues and putrid fevers. In the winter season, mists and fogs are very frequent in the evenings and mornings, which are very cold, yet the day is very hot. The whole country has a disagreeable aspect, so low that not a mole hill is to be seen, full of woods and thickets the haunt of tigers. The produce of Bengal, is wheat, rice and tropical fruits. Their beef when some time stall fed, is good, the kid and mutton excellent, cabbage, pease, beans and other vegetables are good and in abundance during the months of November, December, January and February. Their poultry tho' plenty, is very dear and they have no fish, except what their river and ponds produce which are very bad.

It is a common observation that the English gentlemen finding unexpectedly this country to produce what is common to them in England, are too apt to indulge their appetites, so that it is become a saying they live like Englishmen, and die like Rotten Sheep.

Of Eighty four rank and file, which our Company consisted; on our arrival, we had but <sup>L H (62R)</sup> thirty remaining in three months. A convincing <sup>L</sup> four proof how fatal this climate is to Europeans. The most adult and robust, are most particularly unhealthy.

The inhabitants of Bengal wear turbans on their heads and a piece of cotton cloth rolled round their loins, all the rest of the body is naked, the better sort wear a habit like a night gown.

They are divided into a great number of tribes or castes, I mean the Gentoos, who are the original possessors of the country, the moors, (whose religion is mahomedan) are intruders only.

The Gentoos tho' Pagans, yet have a confused idea of one Supreme being and a future state; many of them adopt the opinions of Pythagoras. They are a gentle, harmless and inoffensive people adhering strictly to their own antient customs and manners, notwithstanding the moors, who conquered them, are almost as numerous as themselves. Simple indeed in their diet, but not so in their tempers, being greatly addicted to over-reaching and they think it meritorious to impose on a White man. They are slender in their persons and very agreeably featured. A very barbarous customs prevails among them, quite inconsistent with their character, and that is, they burn the living wives, with their deceased husbands.

When the husband is laid upon the pile, his wife must stretch herself on his body and her oldest son, or nearest male relation sets the first torch to it. Several instances of this happened while I was at Calcutta. If the woman declines or absolutely refuses to comply with this custom, they won't compel but excommunicate her, their tribe or caste after which life becomes <sup>L(62V)</sup> indeed a burden, so that the poor unhappy woman is forced to choose either to be burnt or to starve.

But this custom is observed by the better sort, only, it prevails most among the Banyans, who are commonly merchants.

I have often discoursed with the Banyans on this subject and they told me, as it was an Injunction of their Bramenees or Priests, from time immemorial, they thought themselves obliged to follow the example of their Fathers on this, as well as every thing else.

If the sick is thought past recovery (I mean among the common sort) they carry him to the river, and after stopping his nose, mouth and ears with meed, they commit him as yet living to the stream.

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I have seen numbers floating at a time. They pay divine honours to this river. The Gentoo manner of taking an oath before a Court of Judicature is odd enough.

I once attended at a General Court martial when several of these people who had taken up the deserter were brought in, to give their evidence, with a Bramenee attending them, who administered out of a silver cup a spoon full of a certain herb, ~~and~~ water, which having swallowed, they wished. It might prove their poison, if they did not tell the truth.

Should any European enter their houses, they imagine them to be then polluted, neither will they eat or drink any thing that has been touched by Europeans or even moors, whom they hate and not without reason, for they are a lazy, haughty people, oppressing without mercy where they have any power. (63R)

The trade of Bengal, consists chiefly in Salt Petre, muslin ~~silk~~ handkerchiefs, they export <sup>land</sup> likewise a great quantity of rice.

After a stay of five months, we left this Golgotha, and arrived at Madras in February 1762 with the miserable remains of our Company and diseases sticking to us, from which the change of climate and skill of doctors, freed a few of us tho' not in a short time.

Madras or Fort St. George lies on the Coast of Coromandel and situated in 13 D.N.L., a pretty compact well built town and extremely well fortified. The trade of this place is not so flourishing as that of Bengal, but the climate much preferable. The sea breezes cooling the air and the adjacent country is not incumbered with woods and low shrubs, nor have they any standing waters, yet it too has its diseases, which are chiefly fluxes, and an inflammation in the liver, but in general it is healthy. In the months of May, June, July, August and September, the land or hot winds blow very strong and are very troublesome.

This country produces very little wheat and rice, and except their fish, provisions in general are neither so good or plenty as in Bengall. The country in general is ill peopled and ill cultivated. The inhabitants differ very little from those of Bengall, they seem to be the same sort of people. We had the pleasure of the Nabob's company here for a few months lately and <sup>LL</sup>(63V)

he did us the honour to come and see us returned. His complexion is olive and person graceful. He has little or no retinue except a Rabble of the common blacks may be called so. His Begham or Queen received the ladies of the settlement, but no gentleman was allowed to see her. It is the custom of the moors to lock up their wives from the sight of all mankind. Her majesty is ill favoured and awkward. She was greatly at a loss how to receive her visitors, however, she was polite enough to dismiss them all with presents. I must here observe, that the settlement of Calcutta and Madras, are abominably addicted to scandal. A great many young women, generally, material makers, milliners, etc. come annually to this country in quest of husbands and are amazingly successful, in so much, that one would be apt to think the gentlemen many here for such a dowry as is some when mentioned in Plautcis.

What these ladies have formerly been is very conspicuous in their behaviour, which is an awkward attempt, to appear what they never were. This and the distant voyage, these bold adventurers make, who seldom have any relations or friends or even acquaintances in the country and who come upon the strength of recommendation only, naturally creates suspicions, which break out ~~mark~~ <sup>kind</sup> scandal.

The people of these settlements live in astonishing luxury but notwithstanding, have very little politeness among them. One seldom meets with a Father and son, two brothers, uncle or nephew or even cousins in one settlement, and as they have no ties of blood to cement their friendships, 'tis no wonder we find them so selfish. Every man's fortune seems to depend on the death, ruin or removal of another. (64R)

Having now given a description of the country, the customs and manners of the inhabitants I proceed next to give some account of the civil and political Government of these settlements

The different settlements belonging to the Hon'ble India Company, Bombay, Bengal, Madras or Fort St. George, and lately Fort Marlborough on the Coast of Sumatra are independent of each other. These have many subordinate settlements and are governed by a President and Council. This President and Council are constituted by their Charter Justices of Peace, and any <sup>five</sup> of them the Governor being one, can hold quarter sessions and courts of record in nature of courts

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of Ayer and Terminer for trying criminal offenders (High Treason excepted) and from their decision there is no appeal.

These settlement have likewise a corporation, of very extensive privileges, and of this body no counsellor can be a member. They are indulged with a common seal for the business and affairs of their corporation, which they may break or change at pleasure. This body constitutes what they call the Mayors Court and from it any party that thinks himself aggrieved may appeal to the King in Council but not to any Court of Justice in England, but such appeal does not suspend the execution of their sentence. (64v) When any dispute arises between the India natives within the limits of the settlements they are allowed to decide it among themselves or submit it to the decision of this Court, but no one native can sue another at this Court unless they mutually agree to submit to its determination, and the party aggrieved may appeal to the King in Council, provided the value of the property exceeds 1000 Pagodas of £400 sterling. The English subjects are likewise restricted to this and any suit may be appealed first to the Governor and Council if the party chooses it.

They likewise have a Court of Requests not to consist of more than twenty Commissioners, or fewer than eight for the more speedy and easy method of recovering small debts.

By their Charter the Mayors Court is empowered that when any person shall happen to die, and by his will have appointed his Executors to grant under their seal, a probate of the will, upon proof made, of due execution of said will, whereby the persons so named executors shall have full power and authority to act as such, and when any person happens to die intestate and not having appointed executors, they are empowered to grant letters of administration. This prevents the property of the individuals who happen to die at so great a distance from their friends, from being embezzled a mischief unavoidable in so distant a country.

The Political Government of the Company and the methods whereby they have acquired such immense pitched extended their territory and <sup>inches,</sup> influence in India, seem to be but imperfectly known in England except to those who have the

(65R)

direction of their affairs [and even from their knowledge many things are suppressed.

We need not wonder at this when we consider that all transactions in this country are either misrepresented, superficially related or plausibly accounted for, and afterwards undergo a scrutiny at the India House, so that the public is informed of no more than the Hon'ble Company chooses to make known.

We may date the rise of their greatness from the time the French were obliged to raise the seige of Madras, which happened on the 17th day of February 1759.

From this period they have been advancing with long strides to their present power; and their territory may for its extent be very properly termed the British Empire in the East. For the right understanding what follows, it is necessary to promise that the cause of the late war between the two Company's of France and England was the dispute who should succeed to the late Nabob, his own son, Mahomed Ali Cawn or Chunda Saib; a Grandee of the country.

The latter by dint of money got the French to espouse his interest and the first applied to the English, who undertook his cause.

This fate being now inseparable from theirs, he saw himself in a very short time stript of all his dominions and besieged with his allies in their capital town of Madras, where he remained a little while, and was then conveyed by sea to Negapatnam, a Dutch settlement from whence he got to Trichinopoly in which there was an English garrison. Here he patiently waited the fate of Madras. The French were no sooner obliged to raise the siege, than the English, now reinforced emerged from their misfortunes, and were once more in a condition to cope with their enemies in the field. The successful progress of their arms is related at large in the history of the wars in India lately published and therefore unnecessary to give any account off *here*. (65v)

For this war, the undertaken on his behalf (and other political reasons by the by) Mahomed Ali Cawn, could not for some time contribute any support. The Company were obliged to carry it on at their own expense, but they amply indemnified themselves afterwards as we shall see in the sequel.

As they proceeded in their conquests, they took the precaution to garrison every town with their own tropps, so that when the French were cooped up in Pondicherry, they were in actual possession of the greater part of the Carnatick. It may not be improper here to observe, before we proceed that in the Letter Patent, granted by his late Majesty to the Hon'ble Company, they were permitted to cede, restore, or dispose of such ~~xxx~~ fortresses, districts or territories only, as they may have conquered from any Princes or powers in the country, but not of any possessed by Europeans, till his Majesty's pleasure shoul<sup>d</sup> be known. As this is most particularly expressed in the Letter Patent, we shall give a quotation of that clause:

"And further we have of our like especial grace certain knowledge and mere motion, given and granted and by these Presents, for us, our heirs and successors, do give and grant unto the said Company of Merchants of England, trading to the East India, that they shall and may by any Treaty or Treaties of peace made or to be made between them or any of their officers, servants or agents employed on their behalf and any of the Indian Princes or Governments to cede, dispose <sup>(66R)</sup> offer restore any fortresses, districts or territories acquired by conquest from any of the said Indian Princes or Governments or which shall be acquired in time coming, provided always, that the said Company shall not have any power or authority whatsoever to cede, restore, or dispose off any settlements, fortresses, districts or territories acquired from any European Power with the special licence and approbation <sup>and</sup> of us, our heirs and successors."

The fortresses and towns which they reduced was in fact a conquest from the French whose troops composed the Garrisons and whose flag was displayed on them all and as we have never heard the Company have made any application to his Majesty for his royal permission either to restore them to the Nabob or keep possession themselves of those places (as they still do) it is plain they have exceeded their Patents and slighted his Majesty's authority.

Mahomed Ali Cawn now without a competitor, was universally acknowledged Nabob. He could not help however looking on himself as little better than a nominal one. While all his cities were in the possession of his England allies, and himself without an Army.

It never was the intention of the Council at Madras to deliver up to him his lawful inheritance. The French inflamed with ambition, conquered his country and the English after expelling the French kept possession of it. Under pretence they had conquered it from the French. To force them to surrender it, was impossible. He could not attempt to raise any troops for want of money and call any neighbouring Potentate to his assistance, would be exposing his country to all the miseries of war, and even supposing him to be successful with such help, His new (<sup>b6v</sup>) allies would very likely prove as bad, if not worse, than the old, for in these despatch countries convenience and interest supercede all other considerations. Our Nabob, therefore seeing himself destitute of men and money and ~~waxhink~~ without any resource quietly submitted to the English yoke. In this deplorable condition, he continued one year, and might have done to this day, but for a fortunate accident, which raised him in some degree from this low state.

The major part of the Council at Madras were for keeping possession and levying the revenue of his country not only to indemnify them for the expenses of the war but as their property by right of conquest. The President (Mr. Pigot) and one of the Council (Mr. Andrews) proposed however (because it was agreeable to their private views) that the Nabob should be permitted to collect the revenues of his country.

This occasioned a violent contest and after much debate, it was agreed to, that the Nabob should have leave to levy the rents of his dominions, provided that he would consent to indemnify them for the expenses of the war and the damage Madras had sustained during the siege. But still their troops were to keep possession of all the towns and fortresses in which they were then distributed. They term this in their records, restoring of his country. The Nabob having consented to these conditions, they immediately like true merchants opened an account in their books, in which they charged him with all their expenses, commencing in the year 1749 at which time his father ~~died~~ died and the war broke out.

It was in vain for him to dispute the price of their services, and the first year 1761, He paid 53 lacks of rupees which is equal to (<sup>b67R</sup>) £662,500 sterling, in 1762 33 lacks or £412,500 in the year 1763 24 lacks or £350,000. Besides this, in December this year he ceded a district to them, the revenues of which amount to 370,000 Pagedas or £148,000 annually. In all, he paid

them one million ~~faux~~<sup>four</sup> hundred and twenty thousand pounds sterling in the space of three years and if we value the district he ceded to them, at thirty years purchase it will amount to four millions, four hundred and forty thousand pounds more. An astonishing sum when we consider that their army never exceeded three thousand Europeans and eight thousand sepoys and of that number 2000 were his Majesty's troops. Yet the sum diminished his debt very little, and what is still more surprising this country which he yielded to them was not received as payment of any part of his debt. It is their maxim to find a fresh article of charge, as fast as an old one is paid off, so that the Nabobs debt in a great measure resembles our national debt in England never to have an end.

The Constitution of the country favours them very much in these practices. When the Nabob was permitted to collect his own revenues, he parcellled out his dominions to so many renters or farmers general, now it is usual with these people as they grow rich to aim at independency. Many of them it is true reside in or near those forts garrisoned by the Company's troops, but those who are remote and have no forces to over~~eeme~~<sup>lawe</sup> them, are very apt to rebel and when it happens so (which it frequently does) the <sup>L(67v)</sup> Nabob, having too small a force of his own, is obliged to apply to the Governor and Council at Madras for their assistance to reduce them, for which they charge him at pleasure.

Loyalty and allegiance are terms unknown in India; the Government being despotic and the change of their princes so frequent<sup>ly</sup> occasions, that any grandee amongst them, that is able to maintain it may raise an army with facility. Of this an instance lately happened, and as I served the campaign, some account of it may not be improper to insert here.

One Usouff Cawn or Consail, a person who has made a considerable figure in the troubles on the Coast of Coromandel, was, as is supposed a native of the Nellore country, one of the northern provinces of the Carnatic; of men birth, and had been employed early in life in some menial services at Pondichery, but being of an aspiring genius, took to the profession of arms, and in February 1752 was entertained at Madras by Captain (now Lord) Clive as a Subadar and sent with a company of sepoys, and a large detachment of Europeans under General Lawrence,

to Trichinopoly. During the years of 1752, 1753 and 1754 and 1755, he saw almost constant service in the field, and by his very gallant behaviour and superior judgement to the rest of his country men in military matters, raised his reputation so high that he was nominated Commandant of all the Company's seapoys, and at the recommendation of General Lawrence, had a gold medal given him as a distinguished reward for his abilities and good conduct. (68R)

In 1756 Usouff Cawn was sent with a thousand seapoys and a company of Coffers\* from Trichinopoly into the Madurah and Tennevelli country to assist Mauphus Cawn, the Nabob's brother, to reduce some rebellious Poligars, who were in arms against him. But before his arrival Mauphus Cawn's troops gained victory over the Poligars; after which he entertained a design of usurping the command of the Madura, and made some attempts by force to oblige Usouff Cawn to return to Trichinopoly. To prevent the bad effects of Mauphus Cawn's design Colonel Caillaud who commanded at Trichinopoly marched with a body of European<sup>s</sup> some seapoys and two guns by the way of Marawar country and joined Usouff Cawn who had maintained himself in the Tennevelli. About the middle of March 1757 the united force proceeded to Madurah where Mauphus Cawn had a strong garrison. The reduction of this place was attempted, first by an Escalade, without success, afterwards a battery was erected and a breach made, which was assaulted but the assailants were repulsed. The place was afterwards surrendered by the Commander of the garrison upon condition that rupees 170,000 or £ 21,250 should be paid them for arrears. This sum Usouff Cawn who was to be left in the country undertook to see paid. Colonel Caillaud then departed from Madurah to Trichinopoly leaving Usouff Cawn Governor of that place, and his artillery behind him. Some time after this, the French undertook the siege of Madras and as Colonel Caillaud and Major L(68V) Preston had still kept the field with flying parties, Usouff Cawn's assistance with what force he could bring was thought necessary, and he came accordingly with 1500 or 2000 seapoys. He continued in this service till the French were driven from most of their conquests and cooped up within the limits of Pondicherry, then he returned with his seapoys to Madurah in the end of the year 1760 being appointed Governor in form, by the Nabob (much

\* Blacks carried from Africa

\*\* A people who inhabit the woody parts of the country and pay an annual tribute to the Nabob.

against his inclination) at the recommendation of Mr. Pigot, President at Madras (for which Usouff Cawn afterwards proved very grateful). But by an unaccountable oversight no European troops were sent along with him to take possession of the city. Usouff Cawn quickly took the advantage of this and as he formed the country at every easy rate, soon became opulent and powerful. A body of seapoys, who had served the Company during the war, were, after the fall of Pondicherry reduced these to the number of 3000, <sup>he</sup> took into his service.

This gave cause of suspicion to the Nabob, to whom Usouff Cawn had always been obnoxious, but he pretended, that without he was allowed such a force. It would be impossible for him to keep the people under his government in obedience, or collect the revenue, as the neighbouring Polygars and Colleries were very turbulent. The Nabob however continued very jealous of him and tho' he frequently expressed his apprehensions to the Council, yet no notice was taken of what he said. He insisted however on an increase of his revenue and this Usouff (<sup>69R</sup>) Cawn complied with for a short time. Meanwhile he applied himself with assiduity to the fortifying the city of Madura, and some other places in the neighbourhood, purchased from the Dutch who had settlements on the Coast near him, ammunition and stores of all sorts, as he did likewise from the English, and bought up several hundred horses which he mounted with his best men.

Having now a good force, he marched into the Tennevelli country, a part of his government against a Polygar Chief who refused to submit, but he quickly reduced him. The capital of this country called Paleam Cotty, a place well situated by nature, he fortified at a great expense as he did several lesser forts. His ambition now increased with his good fortune, and upon some slight ~~xxx~~ pretence he invaded the King of Travancore's country, which extends from the borders of Tennevelli to the Malabar coast, but meeting with a warm reception quickly returned again. He afterwards by his bounty and liberality allured into his service a number of French soldiers who had escaped from Pondicherry and taken shelter in different parts along the Coast, some among the Dutch at Negapatam, and some among the Danes at their settlement of Trinquebar.

These were mostly of Hussars and artillery men; the first he mounted and appointed after their own manner. Some French officers

that had broke their parole, assisted him in fortifying his city and learning his troops the use of their arms. Seeing himself now at the head of a considerable force and his city in a good state of defence, he resolved (69R) to shake off his dependence on the Nabob. By this time his reputation became so high that the Nabob took the alarm and insisted on a second increase of his revenues, which Usouff Cawn refusing to comply with he ~~sampak~~ complained to the Council at Madras, and demanded their assistance to reduce this rebel. They began now to think that Usouff Cawn was growing too powerful and therefore granted the Nabob's request.

Accordingly an expedition against him was set on foot, under the command of our Colonel the Hon'ble Mr. Monson.

On the 15th day of June 1763, our regiment embarked at Madras (to save the men the fatigue of marching in so hot a season as much as possible) and landed at Fort St. Davids the 25th.

From whence we marched to Trichinopoly distant from Madras 250 miles and upwards and got there ~~in~~ the 17th of July.

The day before we arrived, Major Preston who commanded the Company's troops assembled at Trichinopoly for this expedition, consisting of three Companys of Europeans, one Cofre Company, a troop of Hussars and two battalions of seapoys with some guns had been sent on towards Madras, to clear the roads and establish magazines. On the 2nd of August the regiment followed with the two troops of horse, two battalions of seapoys and some field pieces; the heavy cannon ~~being~~ had been sent on a few days before, escorted by a battalion of seapoys.

We had marched but two days when we entered the Tondemans country, an independent Poligar in alliance with the Nabob.

This country is extremely woody and barren, and altogether wild as imagination can form it. We were obliged to cut and enlarge (70R) the roads through these woods for our artillery to pass, we had marched four days before we came to any village, some few deserted huts scattered along the skirts of the road, was all the sign of inhabitants we could see. We usually

encamped on some small open spot, near to a tank or pool of water, which indeed was extremely bad. The fourth day we arrived at a village called Perrour, wherein there was a Pagoda. Here we had a magazine of rice and an officer with some companys of seapoys was left to take care of it.

On the 7th, we proceeded on our march through a country not so well affected as Tondemands, but equally barbarous, called the Neleotta country. As there was reason to apprehend some attack might be made by the enemy so convenient for ambuscades, thro' which no army had every marched, our Colonel thought proper to make dispositions against the worst; and his order of march was much admired by the oldest officers.

His extraordinary care and indefatigable industry in keeping his camp well supplied with provisions, examining strictly into every department under his direction and in preserving the different petty Poligar chiefs, steady to their engagements reflect a great deal of merit on his conduct, but he suffered much in his health, thro' fatigue and anxiety of mind. We continued our march without meeting the least interruption and arrived the 14th at a place Trevindour, a Pagoda with a square wall and a small Bastion at each corner. On the outside of this wall there was a hedge of thorns, plaited together so as to make it an excellent defence; large stakes were driven into the ground at convenient distances and the thorns wave between them. Here the enemy had a large garrison. A few days before we arrived, Major Preston with his party had besieged it, but the enemy<sup>L</sup> thought proper to retire in the night. He did not however gain his point without a considerable loss, for as he was reconnoitring the fort with three companys of seapoys and 20 Hussars, the enemy had posted several hundred horse and seapoys behind a high bank directly in the Major's way. As soon as he perceived them, he commanded the seapoys to advance to the bank, which would serve them as a breast work, and fire regularly by platoons, assuring them he would sustain them with his Hussars. He sent to camp for a reinforcement and pointed out to them the advantage of ground. But they, terrified at the enemy's numbers, fired their pieces confusedly in the air, which the enemy's horse took immediate advantage off, charged in

amongst them, broke them, and cut to pieces  
and wounded 150.

The Major with the twenty Hussars however made good his retreat and even conducted a considerable number of the fugitives who had rallied to camp. After halting here four or five days, we marched on, and joined Major Preston now within fifteen miles of Madura. Our whole united force amounted to 1000 Europeans, horse foot and artillery included, and 5000 seapoys. We had likewise a great number of Colleries, of whom I must take some notice before I proceed, as they are wild savage people, and their customs so widely different from the other Indians. They inhabit the woods and mountains that make the pass called Natam, which is a shorter way from Trichinopoly to Madurah, than that we took; and the extent of this pass is computed upwards of 90 miles. They live by plunder and rapine, and when they meet but a few travellers together, they never fail to attack and murther them; if they see a considerable body, they are shy and temorous (71R) and keep close in their woods.

They are ghastly, meagre and truly laborious in their aspect, wearing no turbans <sup>barbarous</sup> as the other Indians do, and they allow their nails to grow as long as they can; they roll a dirty clot round their temples and loins and their weapon is a pike. As oft as they kill a man, they roll some black feathers round the pike that has done the deed and he is esteemed a great warrior that has most feathers. They are very fond of their women and if a traveller loaded with gold and jewels can procure even an old woman to be his conductor, they will not only not molest him, but entertain him hospitably. Their princes are elective and it is not the son succeeds the father, but the grandson by a daughter. No right at all is allowed to the grand children of the male branch and if the father should die without female issue, they proceed to elect a prince, and totally exclude the male children of the deceased. If any two of them happen to quarrel and that they are married they are obliged by their customs to retire to their respective homes, and put to death a male child if they have any, if not a female; this done they meet again, embrace and become friends.

If one of the parties should not comply and do as his neighbour has done, then the party injured applies to their Chief who orders him that refused to give the customary satisfaction to be put to death in the most cruel manner. But to return.

Soon after our junction with Major Preston, he was detached to attack a small fort of the enemy's called Terrembour, seven miles distant from Madura, with two European companys, one Coffre Company and three battalions of seapoys. The night of his arrival before this place, we heard in our camp, but three miles distance, a very small firing which continued five and thirty minutes without <sup>L(71V)</sup> the least interruption. Soon after, the Grenadier company of the 96th Regiment (to which I belonged) were ordered to march and join Major Preston with all expedition, taking with us two field pieces and three companys of seapoys; about an hour after our departure, we arrived in the rear of Major Preston's post, when our seapoys, who were in front, observing some black horse and foot, scattered along the skirts of the road, which here was woody, and mistaking them for the enemy, threw away their fire in the most disorderly and precipitate manner imaginable. This obliged us to stand and form. But not perceiving any more of our supposed enemies, we began to think of our mistake, when Major Preston's party taking us for real enemies that had got round their rear, turned a field piece loaded with grape and fired at us, but happily it did no execution.

We then joined, and upon inquiry, found the long firing we had heard in camp, was an attack made by the Major on the enemy who lined a very fine high bank about two hundred yards in front of their fort, from which he had drove them with the loss of two men only. This bank served to cover all our men, and erect a battery on ~~and~~ it run across a small plain, from one side of the wood to the other. We besieged this place, which is of the very same construction with Trivandour, four days, and notwithstanding we had completely surrounded it, the enemy found means to get away in the night. We halted here to refresh ourselves for six or seven days, and to give time to our heavy artillery to join us consisting of nine 18 and 24 Pounders.

On the 1st of September we again marched and the second day received orders from the line of battle as soon as we came to the bed of the river Vigo, which runs close to Madura. At this time it was quite dry and the opposite bank very steep and bushy.

Here we laid our account with meeting the enemy, as they had every advantage of situation and could retreat too with safety.

We crossed however without molestation and encamped before the place. This city is very large and of a square form. The garrison consisted of 200 Europeans and 500 seapoys, plentifull y stored with ammunition and provisions. The fortifications far exceeded report; the glacis was very good and the Esplanade very fine; nothing appearing to intercept the prospect, for two miles round about a ditch near 30 feet wide, and deep surrounded the town, which had likewise several good bastions, tho' there were but few guns mounted.

Our force was by this time greatly diminished by sickness; the regiment consisting of nine companays did not exceed 260, the artillery but 70, the two troops of horse and the troop of Hussars, 140 and lastly the pioneer company did not exceed 50. In all 860 Europeans, of which only 720 could do duty in the trenches. A force by no means equal to the undertaking. Our Colonel sensible of this applied for a reinforcement, but no regard was paid to his remonstrances by General Lawrence to whom he applied as Commander in Chief. He determined however to besiege the place and to convince them at Madras, of their mistake.

On the 3rd of September he went to view the place, accompanied by all the European and black cavalry (which last were in the service of the Nabob) a battalion of seapoys, a picket of Europeans, and two field pieces. As he drew near the Fort, he perceived a large body of the enemy's horse and resolved to attack them with his cavalry, his guns and infantry being unable to come up in time by reason of the badness of the ground. Unfortunately, our cavalry were terrified at the enemy's numbers as well as reputation, and to this the circumstance of being directly under the fire of the fort contributed very much. They did not observe

<sup>\*</sup> Could muster only, 340 fit for duty, and the companies troops

that the enemy forbore to fire from the fort, for fear of hurting their own people, but giving way to their pannick, after discharging their carabines, they turned, as if by const<sup>t</sup>ent to the right about, and galloped off; leaving their commandant, Captain Donald Campbell (a cool and intrepid officer) with a few resolute men to the mercy of the enemy. Colonel Monson was shocked and chagrined at this, and did all that lay in his power to remedy the evil, but to no purpose. The fugitives once indeed did attempt to form again, but perceiving a few of the enemy in pursuit, betook themselves a second time to flight and never halted till they came into camp, having lost 17 or 18 in the retreat and a subaltern officer. In the evening Captain Campbell was sent back by Usouff Cawn to whom he had been well known during the time. Usouff Cawn had served the company. The joy occasioned by the return of an officer so universally esteemed, was a good deal damped when it was understood he was <sup>L(73R)</sup> dangerously wounded. The enemy had surrounded him, and his few followers, but had not the courage to attack him till his horse dropped, then they fell upon him and cut him in seventeen different places and likewise received a pistol shot in the belly. However, by the great care and skill of his surgeon, he recovered in the space of one month. After this, we began to prepare materials for the carrying on our approaches and on the 15th opened our trenches under the inspection of Engineer Call famous for his Journal of the Siege of Madras, inserted, in the History of the wars in India lately published.

He carried on his works in front of the fort, by which means they were flanked by the bastions on the right and left, but happily the enemy's guns were both few and ill served, so that they did us no great mischief. Whether this was a judicious manner of attacking a fort or not, those skilled in such business are the best Judges, but we found it both inconvenient and dangerous.

We continued our approaches to the very Ditch, but being in want of a sufficient <sup>of</sup> materials for filling it up, as well as men and ammunition, we could not proceed, and therefore abandoned the siege on the 5th of November; having spent seven weeks in this fruitless undertaking. During the campaign his Majesty's order for us to return to England arrived, so we left the Company troops to finish the siege.

I have been since creditably informed that this expedition cost the Nabob two Lacks and a half of rupees a month, which is equal to £31,250, so that for the five months we continued upon it, it must have cost him £156,250 sterling.

(73v) From the transactions on the Coast of Coromandel, let us take a view of those of Bengal, which will afford us no less insight, into the conduct and affairs of the Hon'ble Company.

In the year 1757, the then reigning Nabob Sulajud Dowla was deposed by Col. Clive after some signal defeats, and his prime Minister Meer Jaffier Ali Cawn elevated to that high station, who put his predecessor to death, a state he greatly deserved, on account of his cruel and perfidious disposition. Meer Jaffier as he owned his good fortune to the assistance of the Company, so he granted them all the terms they required of him, and was particularly grateful to Col. Clive.

He continued in peaceable possession of his throne, till the year 1760, when Mr. Van Sittart, a Counsellor of Madras, arrived to take upon upon the Government of Calcutta. This gentleman, had from his youth been trained up in the Company's service, and being naturally acute, politick and ambitious, soon became conspicuous in Council at Madras where he held a great sway.

He found soon after his arrival in Bengal, that Meer Jaffier was a weak old man, very remiss in his Government and entirely influenced by his creatures. Mr. Van Sittart, therefore, contrived (but some say it was his predecessor Govld Howell) to depose him. Be that <sup>lno. (74r)</sup> as it may, tis certain Mr. Van Sittart executed the scheme. For the purpose, he commenced an intrigue with one Cassim Ali Cawn, Prime Minister to the Nabob, and married to his daughter, a man full of Asiatick subtilty and ambition. This Cassim Ali was as rich as powerfull, glad to find the English Governor, disposed to favour his views; he let him to understand, He would not prove less grateful, than his predecessors, and to show he was in earnest, gave him a Silam, or present of twenty lacks of rupees or £ 250,000 sterling, but as the consent of a ~~Majesty~~ in Council was necessary, a few lacks <sup>Imperial</sup> more were distributed among the Governor's friends.

Soon after followed the deposition of Meer Jaffier, whose palace was surrounded and the surrender of his person demanded before he knew there was any mischief intended.

He was carried prisoner to Calcutta where he had quarters allotted him and a pension to live on. So bold and so secret an enterprise filled every one with astonishment, and therefore that the affair might not be attended with immediate bad consequences, Mr. Van Sittart, published his reasons, for deposing Meer Jaffier and elevating Cassim Ali to the throne.

This performance tho' writ with the dexterity of a politician contains very few substantial reasons for so extraordinary a step. Among other things, he accuses Meer Jaffier of inability to govern and a cruelty of disposition; that he defrauded his army of their pay, that he made a practice of putting his subjects to death for very trivial offences, and the word murther shernes throughout the whole piece. (74v)

But we shall see in the sequel that this new Nabob of his own making; committed these murthers much more frequently than the former, for which he was never so much as reprehended by this Indian king maker. The most plausible reason of all that he alleges, against Meer Jaffier, is his carrying on a secret correspondence with the Dutch, but whether this be true or not, is doubtful at this day.

Cassim Ali Cawn now raised to the dignity of Nabob soon gave evident proofs of his abilities. He wisely considered that there might be about his person as ambitious men of rule as himself, and upon a change of Government at Calcutta; there possibly might such revolution be contrived as now happened. He had seen Sulajud Dowla deposed, Meer Jaffier raised and dethroned, and himself made Nabob, in the space of three years, and all these changes he well knew were brought about by the irresistible power of rupees. To secure himself therefore in his kingdom and prevent the bad effects of such machinations, he applied assiduously to the regulating his Government, raising and well forming a good army and securing the persons or cutting off, those whom he had reason to suspect of treasonable practices.

The late frequent changes of their princes, and the remissness of Government, had so vitiated the minds of the subjects, that (75r) every man ~~who~~ possessed of riches, aimed at

independency. Cassim Ali knew this and as they were very numerous determined to exert himself, many therefore were put to death according to the custom of the asiatick Governments.

In the former part of this Journal, it has been observed that Bengal, is a very populous extensive and rich country and till the rupture between Sulajud Dowla and the English, enjoyed profound peace. This enabled the succeeding Nabob to comply with the exorbitant demands of the Company without getting into their debt or submitting to receive their troops into their principal towns (of which there are but few of any strength in the kingdom) as happened to the Nabob of the Carnatick.

Cassim Ali continued for the space of two years to proceed on his own plan without any interruption. At the end of which thinking himself strong enough to resist any attempt that might be made against him, he ~~ever~~ resolved to suppress some malpractices carried on in trade by the Company's servants at Calcutta, and this lost him what he had been so anxious to preserve.

The former Nabob had granted a licence to the Company's servants to trade in European goods thro' all his territories without paying any duty; but in process of time this licence they extended to the staple commodities of his country, such as tobacco, beetle and salt from which he drew the best part of his revenues.

This soon became such a grievance that many of his subjects complained they could not perform their engagements or pay him his revenues, while the English were permitted to undersell them in these commodities, which they were enabled to as they paid no duties.

The Nabob represented the case to the Governor and Council at Calcutta, and many warm disputes (1755) arose upon it. After some time spent in alteration, it was agreed that Mr. Van Sittart should make a journey to Muxcadabad, the residence of the Nabob, but he returned without satisfying either party. And it was confidently reported he meant only to patch up matter, till he got an opportunity to go to England. The Company's servants at Calcutta were very unwilling to give up so profitable a commerce, and they thought it equal to a written licence, to have been permitted to carry it on so long without interruption.

The most sanguine amongst them (Mr. Ellis) who was Chief of the Factory at Patna, perceiving matters were drawing near a rupture, determined to be beforehand with the Nabob and accordingly in the month of June 1769 without waiting to know the issue of an Embassy sent to the Nabob in the person of Mr. Amyatt, or for any order from the Council, made a disposition with 250 Europeans and 3000 seapoys, to surprise Patna the second city in the kingdom. He effected this, but permitting his people to fall to plunder the Commanding Officer, in the place for the Nabob, who had a little before retreated, meeting with a reinforcement returned and surprised Mr. Ellis, and cut off or made prisoners of all his troops, himself with many officers being taken.

This precipitate conduct of Mr. Ellis, gave the Nabob a very fair and just pretence to hold measures with the English no longer, and being enraged at their attempt on Patna, gave orders (tho' he never owned it) to seize Mr. Amyatt and all his Company as they were returning to Calcutta.

Soon after he put them as well as Mr. Ellis and his party, to death, their number amounted in all to 62 officers and civilians. (76R)

The news of this disaster filled them with consternation at Calcutta. A Council was held to deliberate on what measures they should follow for their common preservation. They exclaimed against Mr. Van Sittart for being so indolent in observing the conduct of Cassim Ali, since he had been made Nabob, and for not compromising matters when he made a visit to them for that purpose. They accused him of avarice and double dealing; that while he pretended to be indefatigable in his office for the good of the Company he was conniving at the Nabob's measures, and in short that he was no better than a pensioner and had been bribed to silence. Mr. Van Sittart retorted; that their obstinacy in not complying with the just and reasonable demands of the Nabob when he required them to pay duty on the staple commodities of his country, as well as his own subjects and the unwarraitable and hasty conduct of Mr. Ellis, had been the occasion of these misfortunes. That he was conscious to himself his behaviour all along was irreproachable which he hoped he would be at all times able to make appear.

There was a great deal of truth in the allegations on both sides, but ever after this Mr. Van Sittart had little to say in Council.

They determined however to make vigorous efforts to oppose the Nabob's progress and accordingly applied to Major Adams, commanding Col. Coot's regiment, an officer of valour and conduct; and happy was it for them they had this regiment then in Bengal for their own troops were very few, I mean Europeans and very bad, destitute of all discipline, as they plainly proved in the engagement, under Mr. Ellis where they gave way and run, whilst the seapoys stood their ground and maintained an obstinate conflict against greater numbers. Major Adam's force, the regiment and Company's troops included amounted to 1000 Europeans 2500 seapoys and 10 pieces of cannon. I shall here again give an extract of a letter that I received from a Captain in the Company's service, as it contains an exact and brief account of the Major's successful proceedings.

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Dacca October 3, 1763

"Since my last to you of the 8th of March there has been a strange revolution in Bengal, our Nabob taken down, and the former Nabob (Meer Jaffier) put up. How all this came about would be tedious to mention at present, but I must acquaint you that affairs bore a bad aspect, about the first of July last when accounts arrived of the defeat of the Patna Party, consisting of 250 Europeans, 3000 seapoys, four guns and a Horvet. The day following the Board received accounts of this place being lost, as also Cassimbazar Factory and a party of seapoys. Mr. Amyatt had with him being attacked and defeated, himself and all the gentlemen that were with him killed and their heads sent to Mongeer to the Nabob.

"In this situation affairs stood, when Major Adams marched with the army consisting of 1000 rank and file Europeans 2500 seapoys and 10 guns. (77R)

"He met the enemy upon their march to Calcutta, attacked them; took all their guns and killed 1000, this happened 19 July. He pursued and attacked them again in their trenches near Muxc-adabad, the 22nd defeated them and took about 70 pieces of large and small cannon, they then moved about 20 Corse or 80 miles up the river, where they met with a large reinforcement and waited for our army at a place called Sooty, the Major came up to them the 2nd of August in the morning, and

attacked them with much resolution; they defended themselves with great or firmness, for four hours all the time within the reach of small arms and grape; they had 24 fine brass field pieces mounted and equipped in every respect as ours and well served with about 100 Europeans of the Patna factory party who they forced to work the guns by having peons with drawn swords ready to cut them down if they did not point them well, they had eight complete Battalions of sepoys in the field, as well armed and disciplined as ours, with 30000 chosen horse. This formidable army was at last obliged to leave the field, after losing all their guns, ammunition and 3000 of their best troops. 200 boats they had with them to push for Calcutta in when they had beat our army, fell into our hands.

" You would think that after such a total overthrow as this, they would never face our army again, but they did not retire above 15 course or 60 miles further up the river, then they met with a large reinforcement of men, guns, and everything they wanted, which determined them to make another stand, but they thought, with more security, for they intrenched their camp ~~so~~ so strong, that there seemed no possibility to come at them, but regular approaches which were accordingly begun and carried <sup>by</sup> <sub>on</sub>, on from the 12th of August till the 5th of September, when it was actually found that our guns could not make any impression upon the fresh mudded banks they threw upon, upon which it was resolved to attack a hill upon their right that very night which was accordingly carried by the European and seapoy grenadiers of the army, supported by the pickets, and they by the whole. Here a terrible slaughter ensued, for after the Hill was carried, their own guns were turned on the enemy which made great havock.

" They had no possible means to escape but by one single bridge, which they had made over the Onnullah in the rear of their camp, and you may easily judge what time an army of near 50000 men with as many attendants would take to cross one bridge.

" They lost 5000 men in this affair which has frightened them so much, I believe they never look an European in the face again, and indeed <sup>will</sup> I don't wonder at it, for the best troops in Europe would be disheartened at so many successive defeats.

"You may judge in some respect with what resolution these people fought and what our army have suffered by the number of officers killed since the beginning of it, which amounts in all to twenty one commissioned officers; just about a third of the whole Corps. There has been in all 300 pieces of artillery taken. Our army is now at Patna and I am pretty sure will have no more fighting this season."

(789) Cassim Ali Cawn, now no longer able to keep the field, retired with his treasure and the scattered remains of his army to the kingdom of Oud, situated to the northward of Patna, some hundred miles, the sulta of which place, afforded him protection, there he continues, waiting without doubt for a favourable opportunity, to be revenged.

The Council at Calcutta now masters of the whole kingdom disposed of it, to Meer Jaffier, whom they released from his confinement and raised once more to be Nabob. To this Mr. Van Sittart never gave consent. He is now waiting for an opportunity to return to England after having well nigh ruined the Company's affairs, first by deposing Meer Jaffier, from whose feeble government nothing was to be feared, on the contrary so much a friend afraid of the English, that they might have extorted from him what they pleased without drawing a sword, secondly by overlooking or ~~or~~ winking at the spirited measures of Cassim Ali, and thirdly by disagreeing with his Council, the consequence of all which would have been the expulsion of the English from Bengal, but that fortunately one of his Majesty's regiment commanded by an expert officer, happened to be at Calcutta at the commencement of the late hostilities.

Before we conclude, it may not be improper to relate in what manner these gentlemen who have the management of the Company's affairs in India, acquire their Private fortunes, and likewise touch (78v) in general upon their characters.

We shall begin with the Governors, as they are first in rank and acquire the greatest fortunes. As soon as he enters on his office, all the great people of the country, from the Nabob downwards, either come in person or send their representatives with a silam, or present, which is an antient custom used in India, to procure friendship or good will and when they have any favour to ask they first offer their Silams, and a refusal is deemed a very great affront.

These presents to the Governor generally amount to very large sums in so much that the Government of Madras has been known to be worth £10,000 the first day. But as the Governor is a good deal circumscribed by the Council, it is requisite that they should be silamed likewise, tho' in smaller sums.

The Company allows the Governor of Madras £3000<sup>0</sup> and the Governor of Calcutta £ 5000, per annum.

A moderate salary enough when we consider how expensive living is in India. But the other servants of the Company have scarce any allowance at all. In Madras there is little or no trade, therefore we find the Council more obsequious to the Governor than they are in Bengal, where commerce flourishes, and where independence is sooner acquired.

Most fortunes are made at Madras by the interest of money which is very great; eight per cent is the lowest, and I have known it at 30 per cent frequently at 24 and 16. But the most lucrative business is that of Nabob making. When the French were expelled from the Coast of Coromandel, and the Nabob intirely at the mercy of the President and Council of Madras, we have seen the Governor (79K) and a Counsellor espouse his interest and prevail with the majority to permit him to levy his own revenues; for which he proved very grateful to the Governor Mr. Riggen Pigot, who is now gone home with a fortune of £ 300,000 or thereabouts all which he got since the taking of Pondicherry in 1761, a space of three years only.

This gentleman was remarkable for his indolence and expensive living, and tho' he received with an open hand the gifts and liberality of the Nabob, yet he did not scruple at the same time to accept the silams of Usouff Cawn, the rebel of Madura.

Usouff Cawn, when besieged by our army, and desired to give up the place declared, he would not, because he had conquered the country and bought the city at the price of 170,000 rupees or £21250 sterl, which the gentlemen at Madras knew very well, these were the very words of his letter to our Commanding Officer. Now it is worthy observation that Mr. Pigot was extremely averse to the expedition against this man, but finding the Council (where his influence was declining fast) were not to be diverted from it, he acquiesed.

A few months after, he signified his intention to the Nabob, of going home who condescended to come and take farewell of him in Madras. But he met

with a reception from Mr. Pigot he little expected, and I have heard it from very good authority, that he very absurdly as well as ungratefully inveighed against the Nabob for coming to extremities with U souff Cawn. He confirmed the truth of the saying, one cannot serve two masters. As he had accepted the silams of U souff Cawn and the Nabob too, he could not oblige the one without prejudice to the other, and he accordingly preferred the <sup>intrests</sup> ~~of~~ the first, probably because his silams were more frequent. (79v)

We have seen the Governor of Bengal (Mr. Van Sittart) receive £250,000 for deposing one and setting up another Nabob, which and the other presents he received he has so well improved that he is now going home with a fortune computed to be upwards of £600,000, all this treasure he acquired from the month of September 1760 till this month of February 1764, a space of three years and four months.

It is said that power is often attended with pride and insolence, how justly the Company's servants in India confirm this observation, may be judged from the following anecdotes.

A gentleman whose name was Orme, one of the Council, in the year 1758 a little before the siege of Madras (where the Nabob was obliged to reside) {being stript of all his country} went privately to wait upon the Nabob and taking him into the garden, told him that he hoped by the interest of his friends in England to be very soon appointed Governor, and that he might depend at all times on his friendship and services, but in the meantime requested the favour of 20000 Pagodas or £8000. The Nabob a good deal surprised at ~~kk~~ his extraordinary assurances, thanked him for his good intentions, but assured him he was not them worth as much money in the world.

The Counsellor was not to be put off so and therefore insisted on a compliance with his demand threatening to use his utmost endeavour to hurt his interest both at the Board and by writing against him to the Directors at home. The Nabob was weak enough to be terrified at his menaces and actually offered him one half of his demands, protesting with tears, it was all he then had in his c-offers. But the insatiable Counsellor thinking him ~~kinsincere~~, refused to accept anything less than his first demand, which so enraged the Nabob, that he went immediately to Governor Pigot and with a flood of tears complained, Mr. Orme had used

him worse than if he had been a coolie (a coolie is a person that does the meanest offices for hire). Mr. Ormes behaviour was so gross and unprecedented that he was dismissed from the Council and sent home to England.

His Majesty's troops to whose services they owe their very existence have during the course of the late War, met with such treatment from these Gentlemen as deserves particular notice. I shall therefore mention two only of a thousand instances.

In 1759 (Major Brereton), the Commanding Officer of Col. Drapers Regiment and at this time Commander in Chief of the army, had, while they lay at a place called Conjeveram, sent out a party to collect some cattle; a small part of the adjacent country was the property of the Company, which the Nabob had some time before ceded to them, and which they had let to a renter. The party that was sent out made no distinction however, of places, and accordingly carried off what cattle they could find to a considerable number, and brought them to Camp. A few days after Major Brereton was obliged to leave the army, on account of his health and go to Madras, the Command then devolved on the Hon'ble Major Monson (now Colonel) who was likewise obliged to follow Major Brereton in a few days, to confer with him on the state of affairs. In the meantime <sup>L(80V)</sup> the inhabitants of this little district made grievous complaints to the renter that they had been plundered by order of the Commanding Officer, and that they could not be answerable for payment of their rents. Major Monson had just got the Command when this complaint was made, and the renter believing the order proceeded from him writ to the Council against him. Major Monson happened to arrive at Madras as soon as the accusation, and meeting with Mr. Van Sittart, then one of the Council, was asked by him, if he had given such an order. Major Monson assured him on his honour he knew nothing of the matter. The Major stayed three days only in Madras and then returned to camp, sent for this renter and asked him how he came to make such a complaint against him.

The renter replied that as he had refused the silam or present he had offered him some time ago, he deemed him his enemy, and had on that account the more readily believed him to be the person who gave out that order. The Major provoked at this answer as well as with many complaints made

to him of this fellow's cruelty to the poor people under his jurisdiction, told him that if ever he complained against him again to the Governor and Council, or if ever he received any more complaints of his oppression, he would first flog and then cut off his ears. The renter greatly offended at this, went down to Madras, and represented Major Monson's behaviour in the worst light to the Council, particularly to Mr. Van Sittart by whose interest he had been appointed renter.

Credit was given for a considerable time to this fellow's story, and many sharp letters passed between the Council and the Major, in which they made use of this remarkable expression, that <sup>(81R)</sup> they were the sovereigns of India, <sup>(Land)</sup> if he presumed to maltreat any of their servants they would convince him. They even wrote to the Court of Directors against Major Monson, who believing their servants had been ill used, carried their resentment so far as to go to Mr. Pitt, and lay their complaint before him. The Minister not choosing to disoblige them, offered to recall Mr. Monson but they knowing by experience how needfull for their interest such an officer was in India, did not choose to accept Mr. Pitt's most gracious offer.

Some time before this happened, Major Brereton had accepted a silam or present of money from this renter, but having disagreed soon after, about some supplies for the camp, Major Brereton sent for him to his tent, and the fellow being very insolent, the Major laid hold of the bag with this money and ~~threw~~ at his head bedding him get about his business.

The renter wrote a letter of complaint immediately to his friend, Mr. Van Sittart, who without taking time to enquire into the affair, writes a very sharp and unbecoming letter to Major Brereton. When the Major asked him afterwards how he could believe such a fellow so implicitly, and write him in such scurrilous terms, all the answer Mr. Van Sittart made him was, that the Major must always make a distinction between his public and private character. <sup>(81V)</sup>

Upon the fall of Pondicherry, a dispute arose between the Governor's Council at Madras and Colonel Coote, who commanded the Army.

The Colonel was for keeping possession of the place till His Majesty's pleasure should be known, and the Council were for destroying it immediately. To put an end to the matter, Governor Pigot <sup>came</sup> in person to Pondicherry and told Col. Coote that if he would not deliver up the place, he would dismiss immediately from the Army all the servants of the camp in the Company's pay, withdraw their troops, stop payment of the gratuity given by the Company to His Majesty's forces (this gratuity is an allowance to make up the difference between the pay of the Company's troops and His Majesty's) and bid him in a very peremptory manner; subsist his troops as he could for that he would give him no assistance whatsoever. He even yielded to his passion so far, as to say, they should starve before he would give them any relief.

A speech of which the Colonel took no further notice than by complying with his demand.

Fort St. George 1st May 1 764

(V.4)

(Ballasore Bearers)

(9) From this part of Orissa, which lyes between this and Cettai, come all that people which the English improperly call Ballasore Bearers. This circumstance contributes also in some measure to the depopulation of this country, for althe this people stretch the levitacal law, so far, that a brother not only raises up seed to another after his decease, but even during his absence on service and by that means no woman lyes idle, and althe few of those who go to Bengall settle there, yet as they return with some money, and with hands softened by the luxury of Calcutta, they ever after choose to leiter after a herd of cattle than to apply to the labour of the plough and a tract of land to supply that herd with pasture would be sufficient for the support of 30 families if applied to the purposes of agriculture.

(10) The bearers of Calcutta form a commonwealth, the most politie in the world. They have for their motto concordia resparve crescent, and by concord alone have they made themselves masters of the conquerors of Indostan. They have a Perramenick or judge, and hold frequent councils, in which every thing is settled for the good of the community, and when a resolution is formed neither strifes nor boids must cause any member to recede; if he does he is banished ab arie et feuis.

The air of Bengall has a surprising effect on them, for here they are reported by their neighbours to be the greatest thieves on earth, whereas there they are trusted with every thing. It is true they have bye-laws which make it impossible almost to detect them in case of a robbery. For by them, first a bearer is to prejure himself, rather than accuse another and secondly; they will suffer none but their brethren to enter their houses, pretending they shall lose cast, whereas it is well-known an European may go into the house of a Bramin, and it will have no other effect, than obliging him to break his earthen potts. They have gained their present ascendance over the English by taking advantage of the ruling passion at Calcutta insolence, for if a person incurs the displeasure of this worshipfull society, he may walk till he dies of a fever. I have known them carry their authority so far as to fine a poor gentleman for accidentally spitting in his servant's face, though the man was no more defiled by it than by his own urine nor had it any other consequence than obliging him to wash before he eat: but the society regarding it as an insult it was his place to submitt. Many other absurdities have they made by their union the English swallow. Was that union as firmly engaged in the most glorieus of causes the defence of their native country, the Marhattas would never be able to keep them in submission.

Bedleian: Dep b 66: (copyright: Miss Margaret Dickinson, Bisham Grange, Marlow, Bucks). Titled 'Journey of a March from Ballasore to Semulpeor'. Dated 1766. 36 pages. Author George Vansittart, member of the council of Bengal. The above extract ends at the bottom of page 10 except for two lines of a new para.

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pp. 19..... It is surprising to me how the gardeners in this country have stole from the Bommins the right of officiating in the temple of Roodur and Bawanee. Was a person of that cast to do so in Bengall, all the Bommins would rise against him, and thunder the most shocking anathamas against them. It is certain the Bommins originally confined the priesthood to their own tribe. It is certain the priesthood is beneficial because the priests hold everywhere large tracts of land in the name of their God rent free, besides keep the management of all the lands appropriated to religious purposes in their hands. By what means then the laity have been admitted to share this advantage with them I cannot conceive. I enquired of a Bommin regarded as a man of learning. He told me Roodur and his family were so jealous and punished the least omission in their duty (p. 20) with so much severity, that the Bommins not caring to serve him longer gave up that office, reserving to themselves only the right of officiating to Wisnoo or ~~or~~ Jagannant. This is scarce possible for the Gentoos being actuated rather by fear than by God are much more generous in their offerings to the God that hurts them, than to him that does them good, and the service of Roodur is consequently is much more advantageous than that of Wishnoo. The Bommins of this country have thus lost the means of supporting themselves without labour, are more illiterate than those in Bengall, which has also an effect on their religion, in the practice whereof they are not near so strict, selling and even eating fowls, creatures held in so great abomination by all other Bommins, that if one of them alights on their house it obliges them to break all their earthen water potts.

Opposite this part of the Bankey country on the other side of the river is the chuchla of Tigorea, the Raja of which is named Chumput Sing. This Raja has taken great pains to improve his country by keeping it in a state of tranquility. When Sheeco Butt wanted the zemindaries of Dinkanol and Burrumba, because they did not pay their rents, he invited the weavers who fled from thence to settle in his country at the village of Mid Patna, to which place he annexed extraordinary privileges, and has since given all possible encouragement to merchants. That place therefore bids fair to be a flourishing aurung if not nipped in the bud by the rapacity of the Marhattas.

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Bodleian Oxford: Dep b66: Journal of a March from Ballasor to Somilpoor: Dated 1766 pp. 36

pp. 25.....(Puddamtola.....10 miles from Burnule)....They grow no grain or pulse but such as ripen in the rainy season, as for such as ripen in March and April, they are entirely neglected, because the inhabitants expect the Marhattas to over run the country in those months.

The policy of the Marhattas in the government of those parts, appears at first shocking, but a more close examination on the principles of the eastern nations convinces us that it is adapted to the manners of the inhabitants and to the situation of the country. To a son of liberty taught, that government was intended for the protection of every individual and that the meanest, who finds himself oppressed by it has a right to complain and be redressed, if such redress is not (in) consistent with the common weal, it will appear strange that a sovereign, the head servant of the state, should march an army into any countries subject to him, and suffer it to live at discretion untill the inhabitants agree to pay a sum to support that army, and keep it in readiness to play the same game the next year. He will at once pronounce that to give money to be employed for your own destruction is unnatural. While an inhabitant of the eastern world, whom the climate invites to ease the desire of which arms him with a stoical indifference, forbid by natural suspicion of his temper from forming such an alliance with his neighbour as may protect them both, submits to any thing he cannot alone resist and bred up with the most abject notions of subordination, in the midst of his misery impiously pronounces it the will of God. At the same time a mean cunning ever the attendant of a servile disposition, make it a folly to repose the least confidence in them.

When Rogoojee entered Orissa at the instigation of Neer Hubbid, who had fled disgusted from Allivadi Khan's service in 1738, he found all these parts divided into small zeminiars dependent on the Rajah of Pooree at whose capital the famous Temple of Jagga<sup>g</sup>ant is. Suspicious of this Rajah's power, he made all the zeminiaries dependent on Cottai; and thus formed the Chuclas of Dinkanol, Bonkay, Nasipoor, Tigorea, Tolarchari, Cundea, Parra, Duppullor, Hindole, Ungool and Boad. The four first are kept in order, by the neighbourhood of Cottai, the others are refractory, and make their payments, only when they have an army at their doors. Since his time the Marhattas finding the revenues of these countries not sufficient to pay a force sufficient to keep them in awe usually march their troops after the rains, and (redire?) what they can from them. If this like all other eastern armies lives at discretion, the Rajah only is to be blamed for bringing such vengeance on his country, but not being punctual in his payments.

pp.31.....The ordinary revenues of the country are paid in kind and the regulation of it is easy for each village being rented at a certain number of measures of rice in the husk, the ground is again rated at a certain number of measures of rice to the inhabitants. In this manner a person being of a proper age is enrolled as a fighting man and allowed for his subsistence half a measure of rice per day and three rupees per annum for clothing. As much arable land is then made over to him as it is rated at 202-1/3 measures. Of this he (is?) to pay the Rajah 60-5/6 measures and the remainder is for his own use. The land is given in charge of the wife who feeds him and provides for paying the rent, and if it produces more than it is rated at, it is her profit, if less, her loss. The reserved rent of three or four villages being always one fourth of the value of the land are applied to the use of the Rajah's household, the reserved rent of the rest is given to his relation or principal servants of the village dependent on them. The extra revenues consist of duties on merchants and others passing through the country and of fines. The former are not settled but depend on the conscience of the Rajah, and indeed within (those? three?) years since he robbed and plundered a Nagpoor merchant of considerable wealth, near this place, none have passed this way. The latter also are entirely arbitrary, nor is it necessary to find a man guilty of any crime in order to fine him in a country where money (cannot be acquired?) by means prejudicial to society.

With respect to the power of government the Rajah is arbitrary, but idly delegating all his authority to his servants and he cannot resume it without murdering them, for if they get any notice of their approaching disgrace and find themselves not a match for the Rajah, they fly to the village, the reserved rent of which belongs to them, and assembling the people of it, stand on their defence. This will be better explained by an history of the last three years.

In the year 1763, Ajeet Sing was Rajah and Dwan Roy Duvan. This man taking advantage of his master's indolence acquired such an ascendance over him, that he directed everything according to his own will and pleasure. At length some busy body roused the Rajah, and represented the extreme dependance of his situation. The Rajah privately consulted with the people about (p.32) and reflecting it would be dangerous to attack the Dewan ~~the~~ openly because he had so many villages dependent on him, resolved to get him assassinated. This resolution suited the genius of the natives who were very sensible in the midst of (his) disturbances, consequent on such assassination, the plunder of the Dewan's house would fall their share, they therefore readily came to the place, and the Rajah

having on the 16th June, ordered the Publick Hall to be cleared of every body except the Dewan, on pretence that the Ranner would pass through it in her way to a Temple whither she was going to pay her devotions and would then speak to him. He not suspecting anything, but waiting for her, when eight or ten <sup>Ruppias</sup> ~~Ruppias~~, who <sup>had been</sup> ~~had been~~ concealed for the purpose rushed out and cut him to pieces. This was the signal for plundering his house which the populace instantly did, and although the Rajah sent a party to secure his share of the booty, he got scarce any thing.

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pp. 33.....The forces of the Rajah consist of all the men able to bring and bear arms and may amount to 15,000. These are allowed each two pounds of rice per day, when upon service about 500 of them are armed with matchlocks, and these receive higher pay than the rest, who have only swords and shields and bows and arrows.

If a state of ignorance is a state of nature, the inhabitants of this country, are perfect naturals, since as they are as naked with respect to rational improvements, as when they were born. The men are all military, and leave labor to the women, nay so indelicate are they in that respect that I have been introduced to and embraced by a man of consequence in the morning, whose wife in the afternoon was cutting, as much as she would stagger under, and sold it me for a Penny. This soon destroys the softness of the sex, which the husbands do not at all reject being addicted in the greatest degree to the most abominable of vices. (Pathicks) are so much encouraged that it is safer to insult the Rajah, than to affront one of them, nay so far do they carry their insolence, that they will not suffer a female prostitute in the streets, and a poor little whore which I countenanced for the use of my family was afraid to venture out of doors for fear of being pulled to pieces. They often insult the married women, who do not fail to exercise the female weapon with great success on them and sometimes proceed to blows, though then they come off with the worst because the husbands always take the part of their minions. This is doubtless (p. 34) a mortification in the most sensible part, however it seems as a spur to the industry of their women by which they get the command of the purse and are able to buy the favours of their husbands or of other able men, for those who are addicted to this abominable crime usually become impotent towards the female sex. I have been more than once requested to join in effecting the destruction of the female Durvan. I had granted it since they are evidently of the female sex. They are very abstemious eating only once in every 24 hours and that in the evening. Their meat is then two pounds of rice, and they keep the water in which it is boiled for drinking the next day - raw water being apt to give them a flux. The Pathicks are the only dancers of this place, but the dewan understanding I would not admit them into my house, sent twenty miles for two dancing girls to amuse me. (end of 34 page).

(V.3)

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There is no forming a general character for so vast a tract of country, extending from Cape Comorin in the latitude 6°, to Lahore in 30°. The whole of it is divided into little principalities, many of which being tainted with the dissolute manners of their conquerors, afford a variety of characters, differing according to the climate, the tribes and the government. But in justice to the Gentoo religion and customs, I must say, that, before the late wars between the French and us in the Carnatic country, which is chiefly divided into little Indian Rajahships, human nature in no part of the world afforded a finer scene of contemplation to a philosophic mind: Everything (12) seemed calculated to promote agriculture and manufactures.

The fruitfulness of these hot countries depending entirely on their being well watered, and the rainy season being here of very short duration, the preservation of the water is a principal object: For which reason the high lands are mounded in by great banks to collect the water that falls from the mountains; and these reservoirs are kept up by the government for the public benefit, every man paying for his portion of a drain. The roads are planted with rows of large trees, which add to the beauty of the country, and afford a pleasing and refreshing shade; and every two or three miles are stone-buildings called Choultrys, for the convenience of travellers, who always find Bramins attending to furnish them with water: And so free is the country from robbers, that I doubt there having been an instance of one in the memory of man. The diamond merchants, who generally pass this country, have seldom even a weapon of defence, owing to that admirable regulation, which obliges the Lord of that spot where the robbery is committed, to recover the effects, or make good the value. At the extremity of every town or village are large groves of trees, where the weavers carry on their

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British Museum: Serafcon: Letter I: (Extract)

manufactures, and, if the soil will admit, there is a handsome stone reservoir, called a Tank.

In the capital of every considerable district is generally a large temple or pagoda, some of them most stupendous buildings, all of stone, the outside from top to bottom adorned with little images, representing the histories of their gods, and too often their armours, full as bad as any of the ancients. These pagodas are generally built by the Rajahs, or rather by successive generations of them, for some of them appear to be the work of ages. They consist of several courts, which contain places (13) for their idols, and apartments for their Bramins, of which there are some thousands, who have generally the revenues of a tract of country assigned them for their support.

The Bramins, who in other respects have perverted the doctrine of their founder, have however strongly inculcated the virtue of charity, by teaching them how much it will contribute to their happy transmigration. Happily for the country they have grafted a vanity on this virtue, which promotes and extends its good effects. It is the height of their ambition to have a temple or choultry called after their name, and reflects more honour to their children, than if their parents had left them immense wealth.

What greater proof need we of the goodness of the government, than the immense revenue their country yields; many of the Gentoos provinces yield a revenue in proportion of extent of country equal to our richest countries in Europe; and yet, like us, they have no mines, but draw their wealth from the labour of their hands. Such was the Carnatic before it was ravaged by our late wars. And I have been told, that the Gentoos of the northern provinces still preserve the Gentoos purity and simplicity uncontaminated; but they indeed were never properly subdued: The successors of Tamerlane made fierce and constant war upon them, but always met with a vigorous and brave resistance, and were

at last convinced it was better to have them as a kind of tributary allies than enemies. Ehbar Shah was the first who entered into a treaty with them; his example was followed by succeeding emperors; and they long proved an excellent barrier against the Afghauns and the northern Tartars. But when the emperors degenerated into lewd monsters and tyrants, they forsook their alliance, and thenceforward the empire was exposed to (14) the invasion of the Mahrattas, the Persians, and lastly, of the Afghauns.

The most extensive Gentoo government is that of the Mahrattas, who have now almost overturned the whole empire, of which more when I come to speak of their government and history. I shall only observe here, that they have vastly deviated from the true Gentoo character. The military spirit that has prevailed among them for the two last centuries, has utterly corrupted their manners; their manufactures are totally neglected; commerce is banished; and their Rajahs have laid waste their own country by their oppression, almost as much as that of their enemies, while the generals of their army and their soldiery are grown immensely rich by the plunder of more than half of the Mogul empire. There are a number of Rajahships interspersed throughout India, which by the advantageous situation of the country, have either never been subdued, or are only tributary to the Mahometans, preserving their own religion and laws: Such is the Rajahship of Tanjour, the Rajah of which two years ago repulsed the veterans of France, commanded by Lieutenant General Lally.

We read in the ancient authors, that the Brachmans, who I incline to think were a set of philosophers rather than the tribe of Bramins, excelled in astronomy, and were famed all over the world for their learning. It is very possible they had just pretensions to that character, but in all these eastern countries, if any man possesses any secret of nature, he only considers how he shall make use of it to delude the ignorant multitude, and attract their veneration;

and therefore the key of the Arcana is trusted to very few. For example, I was amazed to see, that the Bramins could foretel an eclipse; and yet ask them the nature of it, and they tell you an absurd story of a dragon laying hold of the sun, and they teach the people (15) to run into the river and make all the noise they can, which they persuade them will frighten the dragon away. This led me to enquire into it, and I found that they are possessed of a list of eclipses calculated for some ~~some~~ thousand years to come. Now, whoever made this list must certainly have known the motions of the heavenly bodies, whereby it was occasioned; but it is the system of the Bramins, that the vulgar are to be governed only by taking advantage of their ignorance: Therefore we are not to wonder at the excesses they run into in judicial astrology, which they carry indeed to the highest degree of folly. Their almanac, composed by the Bramins, has not only a planet or genius that presides over everyday, but over every hour, every minute, and every action; nor do they enter on any new undertaking, without consulting it, and it requires a concurrence of fortunate circumstances to form a lucky minute. Some days are fit for going to the north, others to the south; some days are so entirely taken up by evil spirits, that they abstain from all manner of business; and a clap of thunder at once breaks their resolutions, let the almanac say what it will. So that between the Mahometan and Gentoo astrologers together, one half of the year is taken up in unlucky days. The head astrologer is ever present at all their councils; no new enterprise is begun without his being first consulted; and his veto is as effectual as that of a tribune in the Roman senate; the stress they lay on this really makes it of great consequence, and the general who should march ~~in~~ army against the opinion of the astrologer, would be as much condemned, as the Roman general who fought, though the chicken would not feed.

After having said so much on the customs and religion of the Gentoos, I think I may venture to say on the whole, that the Gentoos,

uninfluenced by the Mahometans, (16) are a meek, superstitious charitable people, a character formed by their temperance, customs, and religion. They are almost strangers to many of those passions that form the pleasure and pain of our lives. Love, at least all the violent tumults of it, is unknown to the Gentoos, by their marrying so young, and by the little intercourse they have with other women; ambition, is effectually restrained by their religion, which has, by insurmountable barriers, confined every individual to a limited sphere; and all those follies, arising from debauchery, are completely curbed by their abstaining from all intoxicating liquors. But from hence also, they are strangers to that vigor of mind, and all the virtues grafted on those passions which animate our more active spirits. They prefer a lazy apathy, and frequently quote this saying from some favourite book: "It is better to sit than to walk, to lie down than to sit, to sleep than to wake, and death is best of all." Their temperance, and the enervating heat of the climate, straves all the natural passions and leaves them only avarice, which preys most on the narrowest minds. This bias to avarice is also prompted by the oppression of the government, for power is ever jealous of the influence of riches. The Rajahs never let their subjects rise above mediocrity; and the Mahometan governors look on the growing riches of a subject as a boy does on a bird's nest; he eyes their progress with impatience, then comes with a spoiler's hand, and ravishes the fruit of their labour. To counter-act this, the Gentoos bury their money under ground, often with such secrecy as not to trust even their own children with the knowledge of it; and it is amazing ~~the~~ what they will suffer rather than betray it: When their tyrants have tried all manner of corporal punishments on them, they threaten to defile them; but even that often fails; for resentment (17) prevailing over the love of life, they frequently rip up their bowels, or poison themselves, and carry the secret to the grave; and the sums lost in this manner, in some measure account why the silver in India does not appear to increase, though there are such quantities continually coming into it, and none going out of it.

(V.6)

H7

The Gentoos of the lower provinces are a slight made people. Rice is their chief food. It seems to afford but poor nourishment; for strong robust men are seldom seen among them. Though the people in general are healthy, yet they rarely attain to any great age, which is in some measure made up to them by an early maturity. They are married in their infancy; and consummate at fourteen on the male side, and ten or eleven on the female: and it is common to see a woman of twelve with a child in her arms. Though a barren woman is rare among them, yet they bear but few children; for at eighteen their beauty is on the decline, and at twenty-five they are strongly marked with age: The men indeed wear something better, though they also are on the decline after thirty. Thus the spring of life is but of short duration, and the organs decay before the faculties of the mind can attain to any perfection. Is nature then deficient? Surely not. We always see the organs of the body suited to the climate; nor do I know a stronger or more active race of people than the Mallays, who live mostly within six degrees of the equinoctial: We must however rather look for it in that early indulgence in venereal pleasures, their excessive abstemiousness, their sedentary way of life, and, in Bengal and the conquered provinces, in the dejected state of their minds, oppressed with the tyranny of their conquerors. No wonder then, that with such customs, such bodies, and such minds, they fall an easy prey to every invader.

#### OF THE MOORS

The word Moors is used by us to express the Mahometans of all sects and countries who are settled in India. It is indeed necessary to have some general word; for whether Python, Persian, or Tartar by birth, it matters not, the enervating softness of the climate, soon forms but one common character of them, the distinguishing qualities of which are pessidry and sensuality: But it will

be, nevertheless, necessary to trace their progress to that character, and to distinguish the various nations they come from, before they are melted down into the common mass.

The Moors of India have the following origins.

The Arabs, who came from the Persian gulph, settled at Massulipatam; from thence made conquests of the open country up to Delhi, to which they gave a race of kings, who were expelled by Tamerlane and his successors; but they appear to have founded various colonies in different parts, who still subsist, and are called Pytans.

The Afghans, who came from Candahar and the mountains that divide Persia from Hindostan, are also called Pytans; but whence the word is derived, or why the appellation should be common to both of them, I will not pretend to ascertain. The Tartars, or the Mungul Tartars, who came in from Bochara and Samarcand with Tamerlane, are commonly called Moguls. The same name is also given to the Ousbeg, Calmuc, and other tribes of Tartars, who are continually coming in, as a kind of adventurers as well as the Persians, who, since the destruction of their own empire, seek a refuge at the courts of the Mogul and the Nabobs of the provinces. These, with the slaves they have brought up to their own religion, compose the (19) whole body of Mahometans, whom we blend together, under the general denomination of Moors; and who, though not in number the hundredth part of the natives, yet, by the division of the Gentoos, keep almost the whole in subjection. Of these, the Moguls are in possession of the throne of Delhi, and most of the principal governments and employments dependent thereon.

If we would come at their true character, we must look for it in their education. Till the age of five or six, the boys of rank and family are left entirely to the eunuchs and women; and from the soundness and tenderness of their management, they first acquire a delicacy of constitution, a timidity, and an early tendency to the pleasures of the seraglio: They are then provided

with tutors, to teach them the Persian and Arabic languages; and, at this early age, they are brought into company, where they are taught to behave with great gravity and circumspection, to curb every motion of impatience, learn all the punctilious ceremonies of the eastern courts, to say their prayers in public, and every exterior of devotion; and it is astonishing to see how well a boy of eight or nine years old will acquit himself in company. They are also taught to ride, and the use of arms, and are furnished with their shield and sabre, and a little dagger at their waist, which is called a cuttarry, the principal use of which, is to stab on occasion. When the hours of school and company are past, they return to the seraglio, and the parents never scruple to admit them to all their plays and diversions, at which are exhibited representations of every thing that is beastly and unnatural, not in a manner to excite horror, but merely to afford diversion. Nothing ever shocked me more than to see the insensibility of the parents, in exposing such scenes to the tender minds of their children.(20) The slaves and women of the seraglio wait with impatience the first appearance of desire to debauch them, unknown to the parents, and this manner of education continues till thirteen or fourteen, when they consummate their marriages, which are made by their parents in their infancy, and a separate household is formed for them. They are then forbid their father's seraglio, are permitted to see none but their mothers, nor has the father even the permission to see his daughter-in-law; and from that time, that dissimulation, which they learnt from the father's lessons and examples, is practised between father and son, and too often a jealousy arises between them, which their history shows frequently ends in blood. This is the general education of all the great, and there are few exceptions; the poor and middling sort are only curbed by the shortness of their finances; for as soon as they acquire money, they tread in the steps of their superiors. Here, then, you see the seeds of that peregrity and sensuality, which are the distinguishing qualities of an Indian

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Moor; qualities, that would long since have destroyed the whole race of them, had they not been continually supplied with new recruits from their original country.

The Pytans, as I said before, are settled in numerous colonies in the interior of India, and chiefly in the barren and mountainous parts, and appear to be the descendants of those Arabs, who came in from the gulph of Persia, whose power was broke by Tamerlane and his successors; but such, who had got possession of any country difficult t of access, maintained themselves there, and their descendants are the best soldiers of the empire, but are detested by the Moguls, who look on them to exceed themselves in perfidiousness and cruelty. They make a trade of hiring themselves out, and if they have an opportunity, make no scruple of dethroning the power (21) which hires them. As to the Afghan Pytans, they seldom continue here, they only make incursions for plunder, and return with their booty. The Ousbec, Calmucs, and the various tribes of Tartars, who come to settle here, when they first arrive, are a bold, hardy, martial people. Their rusticity, and the barbarity of their manners, are greatly derided by the oldex standers. They generally bring a good horse with them, and are sure to be taken into service, for they are reckoned more faithful than other Mahometans. They begin as a simple cavalier, and are perferred by degrees, till some of them come to great commands. At first they abhor the sensuality and effeminacy of their masters; but by degrees their native manners wear off, they adopt the luxury they despised, they marry the women of the country, and their children or at the utmost their grand-children, have nothing remaining of their Tartar origin; like our English hounds, when sent abroad, the first breed of which retains some little of the qualities of a hound, but the next are no better than furs.

The Persians are but a small number; and on account of the fairness of their complexion, and their politeness, are favourably received at court, the great men being desirous of marrying them to their daughters, that they may keep up the

complexion of their family; for degenerate as the Moors are, they are proud of their origin, and as the Mungul Tartars are a fair complexioned people, a man takes his rank in some measure from his colour. As to the slaves bred up to the Mahometan religion, they are much such a race as the converts the Portuguese make to their religion; they are destitute of all the commendable qualities of the Gentoos, and acquire only the bad ones of the Mahometans. I am sensible I have altogether given the Moors a detestable character; and I am sorry to say it is so universally true, that I never knew above two or (22) three exceptions, and those were, among the Tartar and Persian officers of the army, whose native manners were not yet utterly corrupted.

Hospitality is, I think, the only virtue they can pretend to. It seems to be a refuge from the oppression of the government; and many of them scruple a breach of faith with any man they have entertained under their roof. By this you would think friendship was a sacred bond among them. True, it is ever in thir mouths, but rarely in their hearts, and it is a word seldom used but to deceive. Their friendship like their devotion is all ostentation; they will drink a dram in the intervals between each prayer, though all spirituous liquors are forbid by their laws, and they will stab while they embrace you; for which reason the great men never embrace but on the left, that the person they embrace may not come at their dagger with their right hand. The Mahometans in other parts of the world are enthusiasts to their religion; but here the sects of Osman and Ali never disagree about who was the lawful successor to the caliphat, if they agree about the succession to the government they live under. There are but few mosques, still fewer priests, and the great men, though, by habit, vastly punctual in their private devotions, rarely go to the public mosques.

The Moors may be divided into two characters; those who aspire at power, and those who are in possession of it. The former are brave, active, vigilant and enterprising, sometimes faithful to

the party they engage with; but once in possession of power, they seem to have sought it only to abuse it, by making it subservient to their sensuality. The charms of the seraglio at once disarm them, they abandon themselves to their pleasures, and seem to be fattening themselves up for a sacrifice to some one that possesses those qualities themselves have lost. (23)

Having said thus much of their character, I shall endeavour to explain how government can subsist with so little virtue.

As I before observed, the universality of the Gentoo religion throughout the continent should imply, that there also subsisted an universal empire; but no accounts we have of India go far enough back to prove it; for in Alexander the Great's time, it appears to have been divided into great Rajahships, whose Rajahs were continually at war with each other. Then ensues a long chasm in our knowledge of them. When the Portuguese first rounded the Cape of Good Hope, they found, that the Arabs had made several conquests along the sea shore, and had even penetrated along the open country upto Delhi. As they must have come by sea, it is highly probable their force was not very great; and their progress must have been owing to the intestine wars of the Rajahs. When Tamerlane came in, he over-powered them with mighty armies; but though he is called conqueror of India, he seems to have conquered only the open country. The vast tract of country, from the Indus to the Ganges, was undivided; nor had he made any great progress in the eastern provinces; and it was not till the time of Aurangezebe, that the Tartar arms penetrated into the Decan and Carnatic; and even he did not make a perfect conquest of them, for he was on an expedition against the Mharattas when he died. Thus the Tartar conquest was never perfect; for their government was so weakened, by the various struggles for the succession, on the death of every emperor, but more by their abandoning themselves so totally to the pleasures of the seraglio, that it never took any deep root; and even two thirds of what they had conquered, was still left in the hands of the old Rajahs families, in consideration of their paying a certain sum

annually to the viceroys appointed by the Mogul over each (24) particular province. Thus the Mahometan laws never extended further than the capital cities; and even there the old customs were still regarded. This is one happy effect of the tenaciousness of the Gentoos to their own religion; for had they turned Mahometans, they would indeed have been the most abject and wretched of the human species.

I am amazed to see, that all the writers have asserted, that there are no laws in this country; that the land is not hereditary; and that the emperor is universal heir. I am ready to allow, there are no written institutes; no acts of parliament; and that there is no power to controul the emperor; but I must assert, that they proceed in their courts of justice by established precedents; that the lineal succession, where there are children, is as indefeasible here as in any country that has no check on the supreme power; and that the emperor is heir to none but his own officers. Although the Tartars, from their roving life in their own wild country where they live in tents, require few laws, and no settled police, yet they could distinguish the use of them in the countries they conquered; and accordingly, both in China and India, they made no innovation, so that the old Gento law still previl. The most immutable of these is the hereditary right to all lands, which even extends to the tenants. The lord of the manor has an uncontested right, as long as he pays the usual tax to the government; so also the tenant under him cannot be removed while he pays his lord the usual rate; and the sum at which each acre is valued, as also the taxes to the government are wrote and preserved in the country books, and can never be exceeded. These laws were wisely instituted, as barriers against oppression, and were general, except for the demesnes of the crown, which on the expulsion of the great Rajahs families, fell to the Tartar conqueror; and for the Jaghire lands, which (25) are lands bestowed by the crown out of its demesnes to the Omrahs,

for the support of their forces, which, on the death of the possessor, revert to the crown; but even this regards only the lordship of the lands; for under these the right of the tenants is indefeasible.

These laws continued in full force, till the invasion of Nadir Shah; and till that time there was scarce a better administered government in the world. The manufactures, commerce, and agriculture flourished exceedingly; and none felt the hand of oppression, but those who were dangerous by their wealth or power: but when the governors of the provinces found the weakness of the Mogul, and each set up for sovereign in his own province, although they would not break through these immutable laws, they invented new taxes under new names, which doubled or trebled the original ones, and which the land-holder was obliged to levy on his tenants. The old stock of wealth for some time supported this; but when that failed, and the tenants were still pressed for more, they borrowed of usurers at an exorbitant interest; and the government still continuing these demands, the lords of the land were obliged to do the same; but as all this while the value of the lands did not increase, the consequence was, that, at last, unable to pay the interest of the mortgages, the rents were seized by rapacious usurers. The government finding the revenues fall shorter every year, at last sent collectors and farmers of the revenues into the provinces. Thus the lord of the land was divested of the power over his country, and the tenants exposed to merciless plunderers; till the farmer and manufacturer finding the more they laboured, the more they paid, the manufacturer would work no more, the farmer cultivate no more, than was necessary for the bare subsistence of his family. Thus this once flourishing and plentiful country, has in the course of a few years, been reduced to such misery, that many (26) thousands are continually perishing through want. The crown lands are still worse off; let out to the highest bidder, the farmer of them looks no farther than to make the most of his short time; and the Jaghire lands alone remain

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unplundered. Hence that equal distribution of wealth, that makes the happiness of a people and spreads a face of chearfulness and plenty through all ranks, has now ceased; and the riches of the country are settled partly in the hands of a few usurers, and greedy courtiers, and the rest is carried out of the country, by the foreign troops taken into pay to maintain the governors in their usurpation. This unhappy decay the Indian company have already experienced, in the decline of their trade, and rise of the price of their manufactures, and will, I fear, experience more and more annually.

I would always have you carry in your mind, that these grievances have arisen only since the invasion of Nadir Shah, from the disproportionate number of forces kept up by the revolted governors, whose necessities have led them into these oppressive measures, and not from the nature of the government: for, till within these very few years, merchants were no where better protected, nor more at their ease, than under this government; nor is there a part of the world, where arts and agriculture have been more cultivated, of which the vast plenty and variety of manufactories, and rich merchants, were proofs sufficient.

Unhappily for the Gentoos, themselves are made the ministers of oppression over each other; the Moormen, haughty, lazy, and voluptuous, make them, of whom they have no jealousy, the ministers of their oppression, ~~which~~ which further answers the end of dividing them, and prevents their uniting to fling off the yoke; and by the strange intoxication of power, they are found still more cruel and rapacious than their foreign masters; and what (27) is more extraordinary, the Bramins still exceed the rest in every abuse of power, and seem to think, if they bribe God by bestowing a part of their plunder on cows and Faquires, their iniquities will be pardoned. Yet at the same time, as they serve

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their tyrants with fear and trembling. There is no further connection between them than the use they are of to each other. The Gentoo, cool, deliberate, and indefatigable in application, is urged on by the prospect of enriching himself, while his master finds means and leisure to give himself up to the delights of his seraglio; But as his profuseness is still more than his minister can supply, in his first exigence he seizes on him, and puts him to the torture to discover his secret hoard. If the sum he gets by this means answers his expectation, he reinstates him in his former authority; if not, ~~the~~ he cuts off his head and puts another of the same stamp in his room. Thus all money affairs are in the hands of the Gentoos. Not only those of the government, but every Moorman of rank and every merchant has his Gentoo agent, who keeps his accounts, and is the petty tyrant over his tyrant's slaves. Thus much for the management of the revenues.

With respect to the executive part depending on power, the government of the Moors borders so near on anarchy, you would wonder how it keeps together. Here every man maintains as many armed men as the state of his finances will admit, and the degree of submission is proportioned to the means of resistance; and the grand mystery of their politics is to foment this disunion. Whenever any subject becomes formidable either by his wealth or power, they prefer the silent execution of assassination to that of public justice, lest a criminal, publicly arraigned, should prove as a standard for the seditious to repair to.

Loyalty and patriotism, those virtuous incentives to great and noble actions, are here unknown, and when<sup>they</sup> cease to fear, they cease<sup>(28)</sup> to obey; but to keep their fears and mistrusts in perpetual agitation, whole legions of spies are entertained by the government; these are dispersed all over the country, and insinuating themselves

into the families of the great, if they engage in any plot, are sue to betray them, but oftner give false information against the innocent for the sake of reward. The person informed against, ignorant whence the information comes, in self-preservation informs against his nearest friends. Thus mutual good faith, the bond of society, is broke, and treachery and suspicion embitter every hour of their lives; but still such measures answer the end of the government as far as the inspection of the supreme power extends; but in all these great unwieldy empires, they have no check on the distant provinces; and a governor has no sooner taken the oath of allegiance, than he plots how to break it with security. In vain are all precautions, where there is no check but fear; whatever calls the Emperor from the centre of his dominions, affords the opportunity of a revolt; and this is the source of all their revolutions. Money is here, if I may so express myself, the essence of power; for the soldiers know no other attachment than their pay, and the richest party soon becomes the strongest.

Another principal cause of the frequent revolutions in this country is, their strange error in the government of their armies. One would expect to see good sense in their military establishment at least. Their whole force is divided into great commands, and the pay is issued from the treasury to the respecive generals. Hence the soldiers regard only the man from whom they receive their pay, and are intirely at his devotion, except indeed the Emperor's or Subah's body-guard which he pays himself, and he only endeavours to keep a kind of balance of power among those great officers; he does not study to attach the whole to (29) himself, only a majority, the rest he awes with his power, and makes them fight from fear; and, what is more extraordinary, he keeps his troops greatly in arrear, from a mistaken notion, that they will be true to him, from the fear of

losing their pay. The consequence is, that if the invader offers fair, he wins over the general officers to him, and a revolution is at once effected; or else they refuse to take the field, till their arrears are paid, and perhaps the treasury is too low to satisfy them, and by this delay, the enemy have time to gather strength; and finally, when the day of action comes, they draw their swords but faintly, having no great motive to inspire them with courage, while the invaders are pushed on by the hope of reward and plunder. On the other side again, when the Emperors or Subahs have secured a majority of their general officers, and desire to dismiss a part of their force, they absolutely refuse the pay that is justly due to them, and make them and their soldiers quit the country, or perhaps follow them with a body of troops, and cut them in pieces.

I now flatter myself, to have explained to you the sources of the frequent revolutions among these people. An Englishman cannot but wonder to see how little the subjects in general are affected by any revolution in the government. It is not felt beyond the small circle of the court. To the rest it is a matter of the utmost indifference, whether their tyrant is a Persian or a Tartar; for they feel all the ~~same~~ curses of power without any of the benefit, but that of being exempt from anarchy, which is alone the only state worse than that they endure.

I am, etc.

(V.1)

### On the Mogul Empire Before the Invasion of Nader Shah

Toemoor Beg, otherwise called Toemoor Lung, or Tamerlane, invaded Hindostan about the 1397th year of Christ, or the 800th of the Higerah, where he was guilty of abundant ravages and murders; but soon retired to his own country, and never visted India more.

It was not till about the year 1525, that Baber, one of his descendants, got possession of Dehly, seated himself on the throne of Hindostan, and properly established the Mogul empire in India; the duration of which has not much exceeded two hundred years, with various degrees of fortune, figure, and prosperity.

The principles of the Mogul government were however so moderate and mild, that while the empire did continue to flourish, it certainly must have been more owing to the prejudices and peculiarities of the people, than to any faults in their rulers, that they did not grow powerful in proportion to their prosperity. As the court of Delhi always appeared ready to give every kind of encouragement to the commercial intercourses of other nations with the natives of Hindostan, we may reasonably suppose they would have been equally ready to favour any commerce, which their own subjects had discovered an inclination to prosecute with distant countries, especially as all sumptu scruples of a religious nature must have been entirely out of the question; for the Christian could not have been more offensive than the Hindoo religion to a Mahomedan government. But indeed it does not appear, that they ever much concerned themselves about the religion either of their own Indian subjects, or of those who traded with them. All people who went to deal in India found welcome and indulgence from the Sovereigns of the country: from which practice we

British Museum: 146.d.5(I Vol.): W. Bolts (1772)  
Considerations on Indian Affairs: pp.12-21  
(Extracts)

we may infer, that they would as willingly have encouraged a spirit of commerce as of manufacturing, in the natives of India; to which they probably had not unfrequently been invited by the sovereigns of many other countries. Such was at least the case with respect to England: for both Queen Elizabeth and her successor did give them such encouragement. And as such would have been the best means that could be devised for establishing in their country a maritime power, which must equally have added to their political importance and national strength, (both of which were always favourite (14) objects to Mahomedan governments) they would ~~form~~ policy have been inclined to favour such undertakings. And we may the more readily suppose them capable of comprehending a system of policy like this, as we know their right ideas of the advantages resulting from manufacturing induced them to give every encouragement to the practice, even in some instances considerably to the lessening of their own revenues by so doing.

The lands of Hindostan were principally the property of the Moguls, and almost the whole of their income arose from the rents of them; the rest of their revenues consisting of little else than a few low rated port and inland duties. Yet ~~is~~ so very ~~atg~~ attentive were they always to the manufacturing interest, and of course to the welfare and prosperity of their people, that in the prosperous times of the Mogul government the rents of their lands were always kept extremely low; though of late years the rates\* of them may at least be supposed to have doubled. The ancient laws of Hindostan indeed prohibited any advancement of the rents of the lands on those who really occupied them; nor could the agreements be violated that were made with such tenants, so long as they continued the regular payment of their rents: which surely may be considered as remarkable

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\* See letter from Mr. Sykes to the Select Committee at Calcutta, No. XXXIX in the Appendix, page 140- And likewise Mr. Holwell's letter to the Board of Directors in London dated December 1765. Historical Events, Part I, page 222<sup>nd</sup> etc.: It may be proper just to mention here what will be enlarged on hereafter; that there were two ways of paying those rents, according to stipulations. One by a fixed value in money, as rent is now paid in this kingdom; the other by a part of the products of lands<sup>s</sup>, paid in money, according to the rates of the markets when due.

instances of royal attention to the welfare of the state, the happiness and effectual protection of the people, and of extraordinary moderation in a government that was despotic, especially in so interesting an object as that of the revenue, and even the principal part of it: for those rents were made to answer almost every purpose of taxation for supporting the establishments of a splendid court and great empire. Such was the wise and benignant internal policy, and such were the humane and just laws of the Mogul government.

By such judicious regulations, provisions were rendered cheap; and as there were no kinds of burthensome levies on the people of Hindostan, the rates of all labour were consequently very low; so that manufactures were thereby made so favourable in prices, that they forced their own sale in the remotest regions of the globe; which caused such treasures to stream from all quarters into those countries that produced them, as kept Hindostan enriched, beyond comparative example in the records of time. A quick succession, however, of rapacious masters (15) since, with a total change of policy and practice, have of late years been as rapidly impoverishing those countries again.

So likewise, in order to encourage the purchase of such manufacturers, those Princes manifested equal wisdom and generosity in granting to foreign traders their royal firmauns\* of exemption

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\* Exemptions from such duties, to favour a beneficial trade that was carried on by foreigners, were certainly wise measures; as were likewise the fixing of low import duties on things necessary or useful; and more especially when they served to promote a mutual traffic which, upon the whole, had been experienced to be extremely profitable. But on the contrary, nothing can be more absurd than to value a trade, however losing on the balance, for the import-duties, or internal taxes which it is made to occasion consumers to pay; because direct or indirect national profit should be the only public end in view, from either prosecuting or encouraging any kind of foreign commerce.

from the payment of all duties; which was lessening another branch of the revenue, for the generous purpose of promoting public prosperity, and the reverse of what was ever practised either by ignorance or tyranny.

(From prepage.....of Foot Note)

Yet it has not been uncommon to hear the value of the India trade of this kingdom estimated by the duties and taxes which government has been enabled to levy on such commodities, imported from Asia to be consumed in this country; which is judging contrary to every principle of sound policy. Suppose, for example, we paid yearly a million balance to India, for tea, coffee, calicoes, muslins, wrought silks, and other articles of luxury which we could well do without, in order to enable government annually to raise two millions by taxes on the people; government would, in such case, be actually purchasing those powers of taxation at fifty per cent loss to the state, besides injuring the industry of the nation in an equal degree: for manufactures to answer all the purposes of those so imported, and even coffee, might be produced in the British dominions. As for tea, we had better not consume it at all; because it is expensive in the purchase, and many ways hurtful in its use. It should therefore be thought the reverse of good policy to encourage unnecessary, or pernicious imports, merely for the sake of the duties and taxes on them which are paid by consumers at home; because so much as the people are able to pay to government might be drawn from them by means that would neither prove hurtful to themselves or injurious to the state.

In like manner, since this nation has acquired immense territories in India, which must constitutionally be the property of the state, it is strange policy to suffer annual revenue of several millions to be there made subservient to a branch of national trade which is prosecuted under a direction that must be incompetent for good government, and is without sufficient power for the protection of extensive dominions. The revenues and preservation of large, populous and wealthy provinces are now with regard to India, the great objects of this country, and not the concerns of a company of natives and foreigners, who are carrying on a trade that is in many ways hurtful, and may, upon the whole, be likewise a losing one to the kingdom.

It must then have been the fault of the Hindoo people, and not of their Mahomedan government, that India did not many ages past figure as much in commerce abroad as in manufacturing at home; and she would thereby not only have acquired the valuable arts of the western nations, of many of which she is yet much in want, but likewise what would have been above all, probably such maritime power\* as might have effectually protected her against any nation on that element. (16)

But so entirely did the principles of and manners of the Hindoos prevent their visiting foreign countries, that, not only all their distant maritime commerce, but even their traffic by caravans from the back parts of their own country, together with most of their ~~manlike~~ coasting, and much of their inland trade, were prosecuted by foreigners: to which causes must have been greatly owing their weakness in past times, and their present miserable subjugation to a body of the trading subjects of one of the most distantly-situated potentates on the globe.

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\* Had there been ever any material maritime strength in India, which would really have been contrary to the genius of that country, it must have been impossible for the Portuguese either to have acquired or kept possession of the territories which they so long held in Hindostan; for they were always in a state of religious war with the natives, and never able to support a considerable navy. And yet, that they did lose their superiority in Asia at last, was in no degree owing to any power in the Indians, but to their subjugation to Spain, with which nation the Dutch were then desperately contending even for existence as a people. Perhaps the greatest maritime power ever belonging to Hindostan was that of Angria, who (as Grose informs us in his voyage to India, page 180) had the presumption to demand a yearly tribute of twelve lacks of rupees, or an hundred and fifty thousand pounds sterling, from the English Company; to let their ships pass unmolested: and yet we saw his whole power very speedily and effectually destroyed during the late war, by Admiral Watson, with but few ships.

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Indeed a free intercourse with remote countries would not have less tended to strengthen them as a military than a maritime power, because all the great improvements which, in late ages, have been made in the art of war, were of European invention, as hath likewise been the case with respect to other useful arts.

To the peculiar religious principles and consequent reserved manners of the people, therefore, may be attributed the continual weakness of Hindostan; and to the excess of their extreme despotism has been owing the instability of their governments. Tyranny was never long secure in any country but Germany; and there, by compact, it has been rendered constitutional: a confederacy of military despots having engaged to be the supporters of each other.

Wealth in other countries is usually considered as the foundation of power; but in Hindostan it has proved otherwise: it has there rather been the source of weakness. The very idea of despotism with riches, is apt to occasion indolence: and with great delegated power servants soon grow to be masters of those whom they appear to obey; of which the History of Hindostan abounds with striking examples. But that the Mogul empire, in the days of its splendor, was one of the most extensive and rich that the world has ever known, was always believed, and of late has been made evident by many writers, from indisputable authorities.

The most authentic account that has been published of the revenues of this empire, while in its flourishing state before the invasion of Nader Shah, is of the region of the Emperor Aurengzebe\*, who died in the year 1707; when the annual revenues are specified to have amounted to (17) thirty seven millions, seven hundred twenty-four thousand, six hundred and fifteen

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\* See Mr. James Fraser's History of the Mogul Emperors, page 35.

pounds sterling\*, the Subahs, or greater governments being rated as follows:-

<u>Subahs</u>	<u>Dams</u>	<u>Pounds Sterling</u>
Dehly	1,221,950,137	3,818,594 3 6
Agre	1,146,760,157	3,583,625 10 0
Azmeer	652,345,362	2,038,579 5 0
Illahabad	456,543,248	1,426,697 13 0
Panjab	826,132,107	2,581,661 16 8
Audih or Owd	322,327,829	1,007,274 10 0
Multan	214,442,936	670,134 3 6
Cabool	161,039,354	503,248 0 0
Cashmeer	229,911,397	718,473 2 4
Guzerat	607,849,135	1,899,529 3 6
Bengal	524,636,240	L. 1,639,488 5 0
Bahar	407,161,000	1,272,378 2 6
		2,911,866 7 6
		446,312 10 0
Orissa	142,820,000	3,358,178 17 6
Scind	91,816,810	286,927 10 0
Dowlatabad	1,034,945,100	3,234,208 9 0
Malva	403,901,658	1,262,192 13 6
Berar	614,025,000	1,918,828 2 6
Khandeish	448,630,000	1,401,969 0 0
Bedr	372,974,370	1,165,545 0 0
Hyderabad	1,113,360,000	3,479,250 0 0
Vizapore	1,078,305,000	3,369,703 2 6
Dams**	<u>12,071,876,840</u>	L. St. 37,724,615 2 6

Every person well acquainted with Hindostan will allow, if the above sum found its way into the King's treasury at Dehly, that it may, with great moderation, be admitted, twice that sum at

\* In the account of the embassy of Captain William Hawkins to Dehly, it appears the yearly revenue of the Mogul, Shah Seleem, son and successor of the great Akbur, in the year 1610, was rated at fifty millions sterling; and Sir Thomas Roe, another of King James's ambassadors to the Mogul, afterwards confirmed that estimation: but the provinces which were then possessed by the Mogul are not enumerated. See Purchas's Pilgrimes, printed at London 1625 and 1626.

\*\* The land revenues were computed at the court of Dehly by dams, which are here reckoned, according to Mr. Fraser, at forty for each standard, or sicca rupee, and each rupee at two shillings and six pence.

least was collected from the tenants, or husbandmen, as will be made to appear evident to the (18) reader in a following chapter, which will treat of the revenues and methods of collecting them in those countries.

Mr. Holwell, formerly Governor of Bengal\*, asserts, that "the revenues of the ~~xx~~ lands are very nearly in a quadruple proportion to the rents of them." We are therefore certainly secure in estimating them at only half that value; by which calculation we have the sum given us of upwards of seventy-five millions four hundred thousand pounds sterling, for the annual produce of the farmed lands of the Mogul empire in Hindostan about the year 1707.

In further proof of the late grandeur of this empire, it will not be foreign to our purpose to put the reader in mind of some circumstances, as related by others\*\*, attending Nader Shah's invasion of Dehly about the beginning of the year 1739.

The throne of the then emperor, Mahomed Shah, known throughout Hindostan by the name of Tukhte-Taoos, or the Peacock Throne, as taken by that invader, was valued at ten crores of rupees, or about twelve millions and a half sterling; which, together with the other regalia, treasure, and valuables that Nader and his nobels carried away with them, amounted, in the whole, to no less than from seventy to eighty millions sterling. The computation of the damage otherwise done to the capital and its inhabitants on this occasion would scarcely be believed, if it was not so well vouched by Mr. Fraser in his translation of Mitza Zuman of Dehly's very particular journal of the transactions of that period, and also by the concurrent testimonies of many reputable persons still living in Hindostan.

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\* Historical Events, Part I, page 219

\*\* See Dow's Hindostan, the first edition, page 26 of the Appendix: and Orme's Indostan, page 23 of the Dissertation. See also Letteres Edifiantes, Paris edition 1741, Vol. 25, pages 444, 452, etc.

The foregoing particulars, it is hoped, will be deemed sufficient for our present purpose of showing, in a compendious view, what have been the revenues and splendor of this empire, even at so late a period of time as hath been mentioned. If any one would wish to see a more particular account of the riches and magnificence of the court of Dehly, when in its prosperity, let him read the accounts of Monsieur Bernier\*, who was an eye-witness of what he relates of Aurengzeb's court.

With respect to the state of justice in the Hindoo governments, we might be induced to form the most romantic notion of it from the ingenious performance of the writer before quoted, who, from having been many years in the East India Company's service, and for some time their (19) Governor in Bengal, might reasonably be supposed to have had good intelligence. Speaking of Bissenpore, the dominions of Gopaul Sing, a Rajah, to the westward of Burdwan, who was then said to have preserved the antient independence of his country, Mr. Holwell says\*\*, "In this district are the only vestiges of the beauty, purity, piety, regularity, equity, and strictness of the ancient Hindostan government. Here the property as well as the liberty of the people are inviolate. Here no robberies are heard of, either private or public: the traveller, either with or without merchandize, on his entering this district, becomes the immediate care of the government, which allots him guards, without any expence, to conduct him from stage to stage; and these are accountable for the accommodation of his person and effects, etc."

But whatever may have been the ancient state of that country, there are others in England who have long resided in many parts of India, and do not remember ever to have seen in any part of Modern Hindostan, which they have

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- \* Voyages de Francois Bernier, printed at Amsterdam 1699
  - \*\* Holwell's Historical Events, Part I, pages 198 & 199

traversed, so much as one example of such purity of manners as this gentleman here mentions; though, from evidence that should be thought indisputable, it may be admitted, that there is no reason to think the natives of Hindistan have not in former times been as virtuous and happy as any people whomsoever.

With regard to later times, another modern writer on this subject, assures us\*, "that the laws of Hindostan were wisely instituted as barriers against oppression, and continued in force until the invasion of Nader Shah; till when there was scarce a better administrat<sup>u</sup>rk administered government in the world. The manufacturers, commerce, and agriculture flourished exceedingly; and none felt the hand of oppression, but those who were dangerous by their wealth or power. For, till within these very few years, merchants were no where better protected, nor more at their ease than under this government: nor is there a part of the world where arts and agriculture have been more cultivated, of which the vast plenty and variety of manufactures, and the rich merchants were proofs sufficient."

During the Mogul government, though they had no laws in Hindostan like English acts of parliament, they had various books, written by learned and religious men, containing collections of the Mahomedan immemorial usages and customs, founded on reason and the Koran, which, as in other countries, may be properly called their civil and (20) religious laws; particularly those written or compiled by Baha al Deen Mahomed Aumly, Malek Shafee, Hanbal, and Abul Haneefa; by which the officers of the government were usually guided in their decisions. In cases not capital or criminal, where Hindoos, or Gentoos alone were concerned, particularly in affairs of their casts, or tribes, which are of the most consequence to Hindoos, the matters (excepting where the Mahomedan Governor or the Kazy were more than ordinarily bigotted) were generally left

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\* Luke Scrafton's Reflections on the Government of Hindostan. Printed 1770, pages 24, 25 and 26.

to their own Brahmins to be decided according to their Shastras, or ancient Scriptures, of which, as before observed, we have but little knowledge; and, upon decision, a certain duty or fine was levied for the government.

The tenaciousness of the Hindoos to their own ancient customs forced the new comers to this expedient; for as, on the one hand, it was impossible that Mahomedans could conform to the customs of the Hindoos, so, on the other, it was equally impossible for the Hindoos, from the peculiarities of their own civil and religious constitution, to adopt the manners and customs of the Mahomedans, or to receive those invaders into their casts or tribes. But whatever expedient might have been adopted to lessen the great confusion and disorder which must naturally have been introduced on the mixture of two nations so widely different in every religious and political sentiment, it is certain, as we may judge from present experience that nothing could prevent therefrom a corruption of manners.

All the offices and forms of government at the Court of Hindostan, during the empire of the Moguls, have ever been imitations of the Persian, as the names of them evince; to the keeping up of which, the constant ingress of adventurers from that kingdom, who generally met with a favourable reception at Dehly, must greatly have contributed. Those, therefore, who are desirous of knowing what the Hindostan government, as instituted by the Moguls, should be, if the original were well imitated, may see it in the Chevalier Chardin's\* very particular account of Persia.

Hindostan is in many places greatly favoured by nature for commercial advantages; and the provinces of Bengal, which are the more immediate objects of our considerations, above all others. This Subah of the empire, which was emphatically stiled by the Emperor Aurangzebe, The Paradise of Nations, spontaneously

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\*Voyages en Perse, du Chevalier Chardin

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produces, in great abundance, almost every thing requisite for the support and even high enjoyment of mankind. No country can be better watered, by a variety of considerable (21) streams falling into or from the great rivers Pudda and Brimhapytre, which render the inland navigation very extensive and convenient for the purposes of trade.\* This great facility of obtaining water, and the natural fertility of the soil, every where assisted by the periodical rains from May to September, render the cultivation of the earth an inviting task, and so easy, as to afford the husbandman great leisure for application even to the arts of manufacturing.

Dehly, without the aid of silver or gold mines, was in her times of prosperity a receptacle into which the gold and silver of the greatest part of the world had been flowing by regular channels for ages, till foreign invaders interrupted its courses. This great influx of wealth, ~~which~~ was, owing, first, to the extraordinary fruitfulness of the dependent dominions: secondly, to the sober

\* The Indians of Bengal formerly carried on a considerable trade by sea, and had some sort of maritime power, as we read in many parts of Purchas's Collection; particularly, in the year 1 607, an account is given of a fleet from the King of Bengal having invaded the Maldivia Islands. It is most probable that this fleet was composed only of coasting boats, such as are still built in some parts of the Bay. But whatever might be the state of such navies heretofore, it is certain that the Indians have not figured in the maritime way since the Portuguese found their way among them round the Cape of Good Hope. However, the late Angria whom we have before mentioned, at Gheria on the Coast of Malabar, gave many signal proofs of what might be done, even by an Indian navy, in Indian seas, under the direction of only one able man; and our East India Company may perhaps repent the surrender of that port, which they so imprudently and easily gave up to the Marahths.

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industry of the inhabitants, either applied to agriculture, which was greatly encouraged, or to manufacturing those commodities which have for many ages been in esteem throughout the world; and thirdly, to the strong protection that was granted to merchants.

The encouragement of foreign and domestic trade was more particularly necessary in the Subah of Bengal, which, not containing mines of diamonds, gold or silver, depended solely upon its manufactories for the very large balance of trade in its favour which alone could enable it to pay so considerable a tribute, as hath been shown, annually to the court of Dehly. Accordingly, as Mr. Scrafton hath expressed it, "till of late years", inconceivable numbers of merchants, from all parts of Asia in general, as well as from the rest of Hindostan in particular, sometimes in bodies of many thousands at a time, were used annually to resort to Bengal with little else than ready money, or bills, to purchase the produce of those provinces. The causes and effects of the unfortunate failure of such commerce since, will hereafter be made appear.

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D. 8

### Past and Present State of Bengal

In order to temper the despotism of the Mogul empire, as well as to secure the greater revenue to the emperor, the fiscal powers in the provinces were kept distinct from the civil and military powers; for the administration of the province was committed to two officers, the Subadar and the Dewan. The first of these possessed the civil and military administration; the last collected the revenues, part of which was applied to support the dignity of the Subahdar, and the remainder was remitted to court\*.

The revenues consisted partly of taxes upon the passage of goods, but chiefly of the rents of the lands of the province, because all the lands were deemed to be the emperor's. The taxes were collected by officers. Most of the lands were given off in the feudal form, under a condition, partly of military service, and (4) partly of payment of rents. The persons who got them, either collected the rents by their officers, known under a variety of titles; or gave them under the same conditions to others, who again continued the same arrangements under them; and the last person in this gradation of ranks who had the right to draw the rents of the lands, let them to the husbandman.

The possessions of most of these landholders were hereditary, and even the possessions of the husbandmen were so; for it was a general law of the empire, that a husbandman could not be removed so long as he paid his rent. The extent of the rent was fixed in the emperor's books\*\*. In rice, which is the great staple of the produce of the ground, the rate was one fifth of the produce of the land in a country in which the expence of the whole cultivation did not exceed an eleventh party of that produce; so that the

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British Museum: T.930(1772):

A Plan for the Government of the Provinces of Bengal.  
To the Directors of the East India Company (1772)  
(Author Anonymous) pp.3-9

\* Vide the authorities in Mr. Bolts, p.34

\*\* Mr. Scrafton.

husbandman was allowed to draw more of the profits of his industry in India, than he ever was, or is now allowed to do in any country in Europe.\* His condition was the more easy too because (5) the fineness of the climate and

\* Mr. Bolts, p.148 says, "that for cultivated ground in Bengal the established rate of estimation at Delhi was three sicca rupees, or seven shillings and six pence per bega, of five sixteen thousand and three square feet, one with another; that is, about twenty shillings an acre."

The maund of rice is eighty pounds weight, and sells at an average price for a rupee, or two shillings and six pence. A bega produces from five to ten maunds, and there are near three begas in an acre. The acre gives two crops in the year, and sometimes three. From these data the produce of the acre at five pounds ten shillings is a moderate supposition.

The cultivation consists, first, in plowing, which, in the soil and climate of India, is entirely superficial; the plough making little more impression than one of our harrows. This is done by oxen. An ox costs ten rupees. He is fed on chaff and grass, and is maintained at the expence of a rupee and a half per month. The second operation is taking the plants from the seed-bed, and dibbling them into the ground. The third is, watering the ground, which is a trifling charge, because it is watered from the public drains. The last is reaping, which is done with the sickle. Two men will reap a bega in a day. The wages of a labourer are three rupees and a half per month, which is not three-pence half penny a day. From these data the expence of producing the crop cannot much exceed ten shillings per acres--- I got these facts from natives of the country.

In the low parts of Scotland, which are corn countries, the peasant retains the third of the produce; in England, which is much a grass country, somewhat less; in the northern provinces of France, he does not receive a third; in the southern provinces of France, the landlord gets half the crop; and in Poland, and the hereditary dominions of the Empress, the landlord leaves the peasants, who are slaves, or adscriptitii glebae, a mere subsistence.

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soil requiring not all his time and toil, he employed some parts of both in the arts and profits of manufacture. Upon manufacture no customs or excises were imposed, except of trifling extent, and in particular places. In great perils of state, indeed, greater land rents were demanded, and these gave temporary powers of oppression; but when the storm subsided, the calm succeeded. The principal judges were appointed by the court of Delhi, and the inferior ones by those judges, in conjunction with the Subahdar.

In this situation, even under a despotic government, there was little room for extortion. The Subahdar was not tempted to commit extortions on the people; because, if the grandeur of his government was supported, he had no interest in the extent of the overplus of the revenues which were remitted to Delhi. The Dewan indeed had an interest to commit injustice; but he was checked by the hereditary rights of the landholders and husbandmen, and by the fears which the great officers of despotic governments are continually under, lest the cries of the people reaching (6) the throne, should draw upon them those miseries, which they might otherwise be tempted to inflict upon others. It was the interest of the landholder to be kind to the husbandman, that his land might be filled with people for the security of his person, and with wealth for the security of his rent. The Judges, unless they took bribes, had no interest to commit wrong, because they were to gain nothing by it. The chief error in the constitution of their courts was, that, to support the expence of the court, twenty-five per cent of the sum awarded went to its use. In the mean time, the gold of the eastern, and the silver of the western world, was flowing without intermission into India, in return for her manufactures; so that she was continually gaining, and never losing. In this condition the inhabitants of India were as happy as wealth and industry can make men, who, living under despotism, feel every minute that they depend for their security, upon the virtue of others, and not on their own. Bengal, notwithstanding all her late sufferings, was, till within these few years, the most wealthy and populous country on the face of the globe; a

sure proof that her government was not so much abused as has been represented. Had her condition been what it is at present, her provinces must long ago have become as desert as the Campania of Rome.

During this period the English East India Company was established, and various regulations made by Parliament and the Company for the exercise of its functions. But as in its institution it was merely commercial, and in very peculiar circumstances, all those regulations were adapted to the interests of commerce, and of a commerce, which, in almost every particular, is now changed from its original condition. (7)

Upon the invasion of Nadir Shah, in the year 1739, which overthrew the Mogul government, all this system which would almost reconcile men to despotism itself, disappeared. The Subahdars threw off their subjection to the empire. Other men too assumed the state of Subahdars by their own grandeur, or invading that of others. In confusions he who has the sword, can always command the purse. These Subahdars seized the office of the Dewan, giving the care of it, to officers appointed by themselves, and thus united the civil, military, and fiscal powers in their own persons. To secure their safety, they were obliged to maintain great armies; but as these were hastily raised, and not disciplined, they were only terrible to the Prince and his people, and harmless to his enemies. To satisfy the demands of these armies, as well as to support the new state they had assumed, the new princes were obliged to fleece their subjects. They imposed sudden taxes in sudden exigencies, and kept them up when the exigency was over. They increased the rates of the rents of the landholders, and disregarded their hereditary rights, giving them a power to relieve themselves at the expence of the husbandmen and the manufacturers. Most of the landholders being unable to pay the new demands, the collection of the land rents was put into the hands of the Subahdar's collectors, and the farmers of the revenue, to whose mercy the people were delivered over, provided the treasuries were filled.

At present the husbandman, instead of drawing three-fourths of the produce of his land, is allowed only a half, \*and even that half is exposed to the insolence of all in power. The power of oppression is continually followed by the corruption and infidelity of office; and these were hurried on in their course, by an original custom of the empire, that an inferior could not approach a superior, upon business, without a present (8) as a mark of his respect. The insecurity which these things produced, opened the gates to a devouring usury, because men would give any interest to get money wherewith to satisfy their oppressors, and the money-lender increased the rate of his interest in proportion to the chance of losing his principal. The current rate of interest, even where the security appeared good, rose to ten per cent, in those provinces in which those disorders took place; but the usury fell hardest upon the defenceless husbandmen, who, in Bengal, pay~~more~~, at least, <sup>now</sup> thirty-five per cent for the money they borrow for the cultivation of the ground. Yet even the profits of usury caused not money to circulate; for those who possessed it, either laid it up in chests which they placed in strong castles, or vested it in jewels, for the ease of transportation with their persons, or buried it in the earth, as <sup>in</sup> a more safe place of refuge. The civil wars which followed the destruction of the Mogul empire, introduced a new abuse: for, as in the times of public disorder men commit crimes with impunity, many of those who had money in their hands impaired the coin, which they found it the more easy to do on account of the variety of the specie of which the current coin consisted; and this raised up a new set of men to prey on the miseries of the public, to wit, the exchangers of money, who had an infinite advantage over all who stood in need of it. Thus the landed interest (if I may use such an expression) disappeared, and in its place came a monied interest, ~~conflicting~~ consisting of collectors of the rents, farmers of the rents, usurers, and dealers in money and exchange, whose lives were spent in oppressing the husbandmen and manufacturers, and in suffering oppressions from the Subahdar, and the officers of his court and armies, in return.

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\*Mr. Bolts, 148

These usurping Subadars, or Nabobs, like all other usurpers, soon fell into quarrels with each other, and with their own families; (9) dissensions, of which it was easy for European nations, by their arts of war, and of policy, to take advantage.

It has been the fate of France, for a century past, to be every where creating mischief, of which England has continually reaped the benefit. A French General in India, pointed out to our countrymen, the way to the command of that country, through the weaknesses and divisions of her new princes. The Nabobs of Bengal were, by <sup>her</sup> different treaties, obliged to cede different provinces of their dominions to the East India Company. And by the last treaty, the office of the Dewan, that is to say, all the land-rents and taxes of the Subahdar, are transferred to it, whilst the exterior forms of the military and civil government reside in a Subahdar who is surrounded with your guards, whose ministers you appoint, and whose pension you retrench whenever you think proper: And to give security to you in your office of Dewan, in all times to come, and to the Subahdar in the hands of your servants, in his office of Subahdar, during his life, you and the got grants from a Prince who, though he might be the right heir to the Mogul throne, was only a pretender to it, being an exile from his country, dependent upon your servants, and whose empire itself was at an end.

IV. 9

## POLICE AND JUDICIAL SYSTEM OF THE MARATHAS (circa 1800)

Questions by Mr Elphinstone on the police of the Marhatta country with Lt John Macleod's answers (1819).

### Questions:

What were the powers exercised in villages by Patels in general:

First, in cases of robbery, theft and other crimes.

Second, in cases of petty quarrels & affrays, assaults, abusive language &c.

Third, in realising from the ryuts the dues of government.

Fourth, in causing the payment of debts due by individuals to each other.

We knew that these powers were a good deal undefined, that they mainly depended upon the degree of influence and authority possessed by the Patells, but what was the general average or medium of power exercised; and what was the public opinion as to the limits of this power?

Could they or did they in the first and second cases imprison and corporally punish? Or take fines and compositions; and to what extent?

What was the mode of procedure in suing or exercising tugaza for balances of rent in the third and in the fourth cases?

In what cases were Patells supposed to transgress the limits of their power? And where and how did Government interpose?

Was it usual for people to complain against the Patells?

Was it usual for Government to listen to such complaints?  
or  
Was it only in extraordinary and extreme cases?

Define what were considered extraordinary or extreme cases?

### Reply:

1. In cases of robbery, theft, or such other crimes, the duty of the Patell was to enquire into the affair and endeavour to detect and trace the offenders, reporting at the same time to the Kumaveesdar or other superior. On suspicion attaching to any individual it was his duty to apprehend him and detain him in confinement, till the orders of Government should arrive respecting him. But, in trifling cases, if the offender confessed, restitution of the stolen goods was made, or such compensation as satisfied the injured party, and the business was settled at once. In other cases the Patell could not act without superior authority. If the offender

IOR: MSS European D 31 : Indian Jurisprudence and Revenue: (Erskine: 586 pages). The above is No 4 on pages 459-69.

IV. 10

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Memo randum respecting the proposed translation  
of the Rjee Metacshara or the commentary of  
Vynyaneswara on the Text of Yajnyavateya.\*

The body of Hindoo Law consists first of the Smritis, or Text Books, of which in the south of India there are reckoned eighteen, each in structure and most in doctrine the same as that of Menu, attributed to as many Menus or primeval stages.

Secondly, of glosses and commentaries, Vyachyana on these (550).

And lastly of digests, Arbandhana Gruntha, embracing either the whole system of jurisprudence or relating to particular titles of Law. These are collected from all the Mula Smritis or original text books, and from such commentaries as are considered of authority and are known under a variety of titles.

The only translation we yet possess from the great variety of Law books which exist in the Sanscrit are - the work of Halhed translated through the Persian, the original of which the Vivadarnava Siteme should be ranked as a general (551) digest, the text book of Menu by Sir William Jones and the Digest Jagannath Serapanchanana comprehending, at <sup>at least</sup> most, but eight of the eighteen titles of law, by Mr. Colebrook.

With respect to the work translated by Halhed it is at the present day merely necessary to mention it; but imperfect as it is, it contains more of the practice of Hindoo Law, than any other we possess. The "Institutes of Menu", tho' exceptions might be made to many parts of it as a translation, is most valuable as a literary work; but in a practical view its (552) benefits are very circumscribed; it is

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National Library of Scotland: Walker of Bowland Papers: (184c8) pp.549-591: Ellis on Aspects of Hindu Law.

- \* The author of this erudite memorandum was, I believe, Mr. Ellis of the Madras Establishment who lost his life by a mistake in a native servant in administering to him a dose of medicine. He was a man of uncommon acquirements.

is in fact a mere text book, and in the actual administration of Hindoo jurisprudence, especially in latter times, has never ranked higher than would the simple text of Littleton without the elucidations of Coke. With respect to the last, the extraordinary compilation of Serapunchanana, besides confined in its object, it is manifestly not the work of a Lawyer; the author is both a Grammarian and Rhetorician and, as his title implies, an acute Logician, but what weight would that writer have in Westminster Hall, who instead of referring to (553) the year book and the reports should prefer adducing the authority of Milton or ransacking for illustrations the Dramas of Shakespeare, or the poems of Dryden? Throughout the south, the modern works are proverbial for pedantry, and consequently for obscurity. These qualities are sufficiently apparent in this Digest and it is not therefore, surprising that the Sastris of this part of India, should consider it rather as exhibiting individual acquirement, than as calculated for general information.

But in truth there exists an objection to this work of (554) much greater importance, it may be adopted as a guide by the European Judge, but it never can be recurred as Law by the Sastries of Southern India; the Customs; the Religion, the Literature; but especially the Mimamsam of which Vivahara Law, is only a part, differ most materially in the two grand divisions, of India, Gauda and Dravida. Serapunchanana has followed so implicitly the Gauda school that he has scarcely noticed any other: The Law therefore as laid down by him contradicts in numerous instances the established and known practice of the South of India. (555)

Independantly of these observations, however the fact that we possess no translation of a general and practical treatise of Hindoo Law is of itself sufficient to prove the usefulness and necessity of such a work. When acquainted with the whole system of Hindoo jurisprudence, which certainly we cannot be said to be at present, we may perhaps find that it is at least equal in all its branches, to the foreign code we have partially introduced, the existence of which especially among the superior

classes is considered as the severest infliction  
of a foreign Government. (556).

In contemplating the translation of a work, which shall become the practical guide in the administration of Hindoo Law in the territories under this Presidency\*, it is essential to consider which of the many treatises current in the southern India, should be selected for this purpose. More of the primitive institutions of Hindoo jurisprudence remain in these countries than in any other part of India; but these institutions are by no means derived from one Government or from one period, they have grown up during a succession of Dynasties, and of ages, and a short notice (557) therefore of the principal Governments which have prevailed in the south, is necessary before we notice the books themselves, or determine to which the preference ought to be given.

The earliest governments established in the southern part of the Peninsula of India, of which there now remains any memorial, were the three Tamil principalities called respectively Sozham, Sheram, and Pandeyam. These included all those countries of which the Tamil and the Malayalmi are now the spoken languages. Shozam was the province of Tanjore, Sheram was (558) Coimbatore, to which the Coast of Malabar was subjected; and Pandeyam included the districts of Tennigelly, Madura, the Maravar countries and Trichinopoly. Contemporary with these comprehending the Maritime provinces in the North East of the Peninsula, was the Tellinga Kingdom of Colinga.\*\* These Governments must

\* Madras

\*\* These ancient divisions are by no means obsolete; tho' all the successive changes of Government, they have been retained, and at the present are those alone which are known to the people. I have omitted any notice of the original Government of Carnataca at Asla Brdu, Coceul with their ancient state, because the established religion was the Jama, and the institutions (of which but few traces now remain) derived consequently, from a system of jurisprudence altogether distinct from that now prevalent.

K2

have been established at a very early period of the world; Ptolemy notices them all, and assigns them their relative situations, (559) Pliny, also, and other ancient European writers, mention them, and with respect to the three former, there exist long lists of Kings, most of whom reigned before the commencement of the Christian Era.

The first event that appears to have disturbed this ancient arrangement, was the division of the Coast of Malabar among the officers of the King of Sheram; this took place, it is said, so early as the 311th year of the Salivahana Sacam, and finally, though at what period it is not as yet ascertained, Sheram itself was reduced to the province (560) of the Bandeya Government. Shozam in the eighth century of this era extended her limits far beyond her ancient bounds. Tondee Mandalam (the Subah of Arcot) she had previously reduced, and by the conquest of Calinga in one direction, and a considerable proportion of Carnataca in another, she advanced her northern boundary beyond the Godaveri, and her western at least to the Urshaba Parvatam (the hills of Nandidrug) forming the first powerful state which existed in the south of the Peninsula.

In the beginning of the 12th century of Salvahana, the Cacateya (561) family established themselves to the North of the Crishna. They built Amumi Conda, or Weerungala (Weerungala) and fixed there the seat of their empire, and about the year 1150 of the Sacam, Ganapati the fourth Prince of the line drove the Shazha Raja entirely out of Calinga, and would appear to have ultimately wrested from him the whole of his territories, except Shozam, and Tondee Mandalam. The dominion of Weerungala, is therefore the second empire of the south; it included the whole of the territories now under Haidarabad, the northern Circars, and a considerable proportion (562) of the Carnatic, properly so called; in general all the countries of which the Tellunga is now the Coloquial language.

The third empire of the south, considerably exceeded in extent those preceded that it was Vedyanagara; this city was founded towards the end

of the 13th century of Salivahana by the brothers Bucca and Karihara, immediately after the capture of Weerugeelu and its sovereign Prataparudra Divoi by the Paitous successive conquests, until Rama Raiyer was defeated by the Moslem Princes of the Deccan (Salivahana 1486) extended its dominion thro' (563) the Regions watered by the Narmada, the Godaveri, the Krishna, the Caveri, and the Tamraparna, embracing nearly the whole of the Peninsula. The defeat of this Prince tho' it dismembered, did not annihilate the Vedyanageera Empire; the Rayers during their successive removals to Penna Conda and Chandragire, retained until the extinction of the Dynasty in 1568, a considerable territory in the countries which are now called the ceded districts, the Maisur, and the Subah of Arcot, and they were to the last the nominal sovereigns of the Cartees of Maisur (564) Naier of Jeari, Madura and Tanjore.

Among the law books current in those parts of southern India successively under the dominion of these dynasties, and at present principally constituting the territory subject to the Presidency of Madras, the following are in more general use.

// Those composed in Dravidam or the South West division of India, are -

Saraswati Vilasam, a general digest, attributed to the King Prataparudra Diva, but more probably composed under his direction. (565)

Mad-havyayam, a commentary on the Para-sura Smrti composed by Vedyaramya, but named after his brother.

Smrti Chandrica, a general and excellent digest. The author was Devanna Bhutt.

Varadurajeyam Varadaraja, and Vaidyana-theyam by Veerdyanatha; these are both general digests the former by a native of the Subah of Arcot, the latter by a native of Tanjore. The date of either is scarcely anterior to the Mahratta and Mahomadan conquests.

Mitacshara, a commentary (566) in the Gautama Smrti, but citing authorities from all the Text books by Haradatta Atcharya, a native of Sozham, and famous for a variety of other compositions.

Vyavahara Mayacha a general Digest; it is one of the twelve Maychas, comprising the whole body of the Mimansam, composed by Milacanthiswara.

Daladipaca, by Vyashacharya Datta Barceruslee -  
gham, by Nagoje Bhutt. Dattachandrica, by Gangadhara Vazbey; there are geneeral Digests of the Law of adoption, the East was composed in L(561) Tanjore, since the Mahrattah conquest.

Those composed in the Gauda, or North East division of India are -

Rju Mitacshara, or as more commonly called Wynjaneshwareyam, a commentary on the Text (Smrti) of Vajnyavaleya, by Vejnyaneshwara.

I have given this work a place among the Gauda compositions, as it is so generally considered, and as the Title misra is frequently given to the author; I have reason however to believe it to have been written originally in Dravida, though (568) this would appear to be an edition composed partly in Gauda.

Med, hate theyam, a commentary on the text of Menee by Midhatetha.

Dhareshwareyam, a general digest by Dhareshwara.

I am not sure that this also is not a Dravidam work, tho' if so, it differs much in doctrine from the rest.

Jemutava Haneijam, a general digest by Jemutava hana; this work would seem to have been the guide of Jagaunatha Sereapanchanana.

Datta Memansam, by Seladhara (569) Datta Cuthanam by Krishnamisra, Digests of the Law of adoption.

Among these the four exceeding the rest in authority and celebrity are the Rju metacshara, the Sara-swate Velasam, the Madhaveyam, and the Smriti Chandrica.

The exact age of the Rju Nuctacshara or Wynjaneshwareyam, it would be now perhaps difficult to ascertain; it is said to have been composed in the North of India where it is still in high estimation, but it must have been brought at an early period to the South, as it is the standard (570) of Law throughout this part of India where if other Law Books differ from it, their authority is

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rejected, and was evidently the foundation on which the existing institutions of the Shozha dominions reared. In doctrine it differs very materially from what would appear to be the present tenets of the Gadda School, but with some exceptions evidently the innovations of latter times the general practice of Southern India is in conformity with it, an agreement which tends materially to prove that the modern Gandas and not the Dravidas have departed from (571) primeval institutions.

The author to whom the Seraswativitasam is attributed - Prataparudra Diva Maharajah, was one of the Princes of the Cacateya family; it is a general Digest and was the standard Law Book of the Deerungula dominions. Lwurunyha

In this the influence of modern opinions arising in past probably from the effect of the then recent Mahummedan conquests, and in part from its regal origin, becomes very apparent; the will of the Prince is for the first time in India, considered as permanent to the right (572) of the subject, and that preposterous claim to the actual proprietorship of the soil, on which the finance of modern India is founded, is herein advanced; the existing institutions of the Sircars and of the dominions of the Nizam derive in a great measure from this work.

Of the Madhaviyam, the suppositions text, as already stated is that of the Parasara Smrti. This Smrti is distinguished from all the rest, as having been written for and exclusively applying to the Calyugam. The second book, the Vevahara Candam, which ought to comprise (573) the legal institutes, consists in fact of only one stanza in which the Princes of the Earth are in this age merely enjoined to conform to the dictates of Justice. The Madhaveyam therefore is in fact tho' not in name, a general Digest; the author of this work at once the Minister and the Spiritual director of the first Rayers. Bucca and Karishara, was the actual founder of the Vidyanagara Empire, and this was the standard Law Book of the countries subject to it.

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The Smrti Chandrica has not the sanction of the (574) two cast, it was composed during the prevalence of the Vidyanagar dominion, but apparently not under the direction of the Government tho' in general authority it is at least equal to either the Saraswati Vilasam, or Madhvayam; it is most valuable in a literary view from the complete information it affords on the constitution of the several descriptions of judicial Tribunals, which existed in southern India at the time it was written, and in a practical view from it furnishing forms of proceedings, of Deeds, etc. and the clearness with which it discusses a (575) variety of legal cases. The value of this work may be estimated by the extent of its fame as of all the Dravida compositions, it is the only one mentioned by Mr. Colebrook as being known in the Northern India.

At the first view the selection of the Madhavyam would appear the most appropriate, as it is founded on the Smrti, revealed for the guidance of the present age, and as the dominions of this Presidency are now nearly co-extensive with those of the Vidyanagara Empire and Madras itself is situated in those countries, which (576) until their final extinction remained under the actual Government of the Rayers, after their removal to Chandragire.

Further consideration however will show this not to be so adviseable as at first it appears; almost every successive Dynasty in India has at its commencement produced, as the rule of its conduct, a new commentary on the ancient text books, or a new Digest of themselves the great number of these works, which in bulk at least equal the labours of our English Lawyers, now actually existing. The authority of these, however, have (577) all declined with the declining power of the dytasty with which they originated.

This is the case with the Madhaviyam; probably its authority never extended beyond the home dominions of the Canarese empire, and those provinces to the Northward of the Sennar and Eastward of the Ghauts, retained the use of the Law Books which had prevailed during the former

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Governments. That this was actually the case there appears indeed no reason to doubt, as the Canarese Government did not interfere with the primitive institutions of the Tamil nations (578) and in these countries the commentary of Vynaneswara has always been held as of superior authority to any other Law book whatever, not excepting even the text of Menu, with which it generally coincides. Northward of the Pennar also, this commentary has now superceded the temporary authority of the Saraswati Vilasam, tho' many customs, the holding of land especially, be derived from this book. The translation of the Vrjnyaneswariyam is also greatly facilitated by the work of Visveswara Deeshata, which is a commentary on the commentary (579) of Vejnyaneswara; this is most useful in fixing the meaning of the original commentator and in elucidating his obscurities, but as legal authority in this part of India, must be received with circumspection, as it is a modern Ganda composition. These reasons, in addition to ~~more~~ another of still greater force, which I shall immediately notice, determined me ultimately to select the commentary of Vynaneswara, for translation and the superior excellence of the work has since strongly corroborated my choice. To give greater perfection to the work, (580) as a guide to the practice of Hindoo Law, I propose, also, to form a Digest from the three other works of principal authority mentioned above on all disputed points; to select such parts from each as may be more clear or more particular than this commentary, and to add the result as an appendix to the translation.

The Bramans have ever in the Northern countries been the lawyers as well as the Priests; both these characters have however been disputed with them in Southern India, where they never been ~~/~~ able to (581) establish the same mental dominions as in those parts, where they would seem to have been originally seated. The higher classes of the Sudras have here ever shared with them in Ecclesiastic and legal power, and in that education which has enabled them to maintain their pretensions. Hence those works which in Northern India are considered so sacred as only to be perused by the select among

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the Bramans themselves, even the Vedas have been transfused into the Tamil, and have by a variety of writers been commented, disputed, and their authority of (582) often rejected. Many Sudras, the Pandarams (those of the ecclesiastic order) especially, at the present day understand the Sanscrit better than the Bramans, in addition to their native Tamil, of which few Bramans have a competent knowledge.

A Pandaram of Madras named Peorier Valleyser, whose qualifications from an extensive knowledge of the two languages, eminently qualified him for the task, undertook a few years ago the translation of the commentary of Vymaneswara into Tamil, the greater part of which he lived to complete. (583) What he left unfinished and a general revision of the whole has since been perfected, under the inspection of his Brother Sidambara Pandaram. This work is executed on the general plan of classical works in Tamil, the original texts of Yajnyavaleya, and all quotations from the other Mula Smrti, are as in the original, in verse, followed by a prosaic paragraph paraphrase; the commentary is in prose; the texts being in verse are necessarily in the high dialect, but every attention having been paid to perspicuity both of the authority and the revisors of the (584) work, they are with the assistance of the paraphrase readily intelligible to all of moderate education. The commentary which in fact as in all Indian works both in Sanscrit and Tamil, comprises the substance of the work, is given in the plainst stil&, which proper attention to elegance of expression and Grammatical propriety would permit.

The importance of this work in those countries of which the Tamil is the current language, now that a system of regulated law has superceded the arbitrary proceedings, which since the (585) abolition of the Hindoo Governments had obtained, is too evident to require illustration; not the least of the benefits which will result from it, is its tendency to diminish the influence of the Bramans, by enabling the Sudras to obtain to a knowledge of Law independently of them, and without that gloss which their peculiar pretensions and prejudice ever incline them to give to the text; of this influence the people of Southern India have always been jealous, and tho' it is assuredly not the policy of our Government entirely to abrogate it, of the propriety of abating it, of being able,

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should it (586) be expedient, to act without the interference of this class, there can be no doubt.

The reasons for selecting the commentary of Vyঃসনেশ্বরা for translation have been already stated; but if these in themselves had not been conclusive, the work of Purier Vattesar must have determined the preference, as it enables the printing of the Tamil and the English translation in the same book, rendering thereby the provisions of Hindoo Law at once intelligible to the Judge and the Suitor. The accompanying sheets will show generally the mode in which (587) it is intended the two translations should be printed together.

The version in these sheets is from the Tamil, as a short specimen of the translation in that language, but the proposed English translation will for obvious reasons be made from the original Sanscrit. Besides the Tamil translations all texts whether of the author or quoted from the Smriti will be given in the Sanscrit, thus retaining the authority of the original language, and the reverence attached to \*Laws supposed to (588) have been revealed by inspired men, while their provisions are rendered familiar by being explained in a living language.

Throughout the countries wherein the Tamil is spoken, the Grantham character is used for writing the Sanscrit, as is the case with all those applicable to this language; it would be both difficult and expensive to cut types for the Grantham character, every text therefore will be printed from distinct plates in the manner shown in the first and second pages of the accompanying specimen. It is not proposed (589) to engrave these plates, but to stamp them with steel punches cut for the component parts of the Character, forming thus a new kind of stereotype, better calculated to express the Grantham compounds and less liable to error, than moveable types.

As the two translations the Tamil and the English have no other necessary connexion with each other than as relating to the same subject, it is

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\*The original texts only, not the commentaries, are supposed to be inspired.

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further proposed to print the former, now nearly completed separately, both for the use of the Courts, if Government should be pleased= so to determine, and for (590) general circulation, should the observations made in this paper evince the importance~~the~~ and usefulness of this work. It is submitted therefore that the Pandits of the Sudradalet should be directed to examine and compare it with the original, and, in case of their report being favourable that the copy-right should be purchased from the present proprietor Sidambara Purier Pandaram, the brother of the late Purier Vateyar, and the work published under the sanction of Government. This would give the translation an authority as a Law Book, which it would not otherwise possess, and of course greatly increase (591) its utility.

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ON THE GEOGRAPHICAL AND HISTORICAL  
LITERATURE OF INDIA 1813

My Lord

I feel a peculiar degree of happiness, that it is now in my power, to report to Government the progress of my researches, with regard to the ancient Geography, and History of India. There is an order of Government, that I should do it occasionally; however peculiar circumstances have, for many years past, prevented me from complying with it. It is true that great were my exertions; for I neither spared trouble, nor expence to procure books, and information: yet as they were not crowned with success, the whole of my report would have looked too much like a string of common place assertions. Unable to procure a single Geographical tract, I was reduced to seek for information from Pandits, and other learned men; but their answers, and surmises were unsatisfactory, and generally contradictory. Indeed, with regard to Geography and History, the Hindus, in general are most ignorant; nay, they are entirely indifferent about it; particularly Divines, who are in some measure the only learned people in India. These reasons induced the Rajahs of Jaipoor, such as Mansing in the time of Acbar, and Jaysing also to collect every former tract about Geography and to send people all over India, at an immense expence, to procure Geographical information. Even Mansing himself travelled much: and visited the Eastern islands such as Java, Sumatra, the Andamans Ceylon and the Maldivia islands, of which he wrote an account. This immense collection has fortunately fallen into my hands: books of this description, styled in India princely, or Royal books are seldom to be met with, and then, as to the price, there are no limits. It is the same in Europe, with regard to rare manuscripts, and scarce editions; and nothing but circumstances of a very peculiar nature could have placed them within my reach; and my success was entirely owing to female interest. The whole collection is immense, and truly enormous. It consists of the first Essays of the Rajahs of Jaypoor, then come numberless supplements, commentaries lexicons, etc. There is no method, and the whole is remarkably verbose, and prolix; dwelling constantly on the religious antiquities of each place, the holy men, who honoured it with their presence, the miracles they performed etc.: yet the Geographical part is highly interesting, and unimpeachable. Owing to the above circumstances it is impossible to translate any particular tract. This circumstanced,

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National Library of Scotland: Minto Papers : M191

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the only resource left to me, was to make an index or indicators to the more valuable tracts and to their various commentaries, and numerous supplements etc. The most natural subdivision of this Geographical treasure, is into four parts; with reference to the countries bordering upon the Ganges, to those on the Indus, next to the Peninsula, and lastly to the Eastern islands. I have nearly cleared up enough, with regard to the countries bordering upon the Ganges, and to the islands, so as to enable me to form a general and adequate idea of the whole, and which I hope shortly to be able to digest, and arrange in a suitable manner for the inspection of the public. This collection consists entirely of original manuscripts of various antiquity, some above two hundred years old: not a single copy amongst them; so that their genuineness and authenticity can by no measure of means be questioned. Besides the collection is so immense, that relatively speaking, that is to say with regard to my circumstances, I could not afford, with propriety, to be even at the expence of a copy, I mean an accurate one. When it came to me, it was in the utmost confusion, as the books are not bound like ours. It took me a long time, and it gave me infinite trouble, to arrange the whole properly, so as to enable me to judge, what plan to pursue, and what were the best tracts to begin with. In the prosecution of this work, I never have occasion to indulge any surmise of mine the opinion and assertions of the Rajahs of Jaypoor, I simply declare and unfold to the learned world. Thus, these illustrations and learned princes declare that the metropolis of the Baliputras was nearly opposite to Bhagilpoor, 5 miles N.E. of it; and that it extended East, and West 10 small cos. Datta Sinha, also a Rajah of Jaypoor, who lived in the latter end of the 12th and beginning of the 13th centuries, and whose travels were preserved by Mansing and which I am now perusing, visited this famous place, which was then verging very fast toward ruin and destruction: the King was poor, and the embankments were neglected. Soon after this the Ganges made some encroachments, and meeting with no opposition, in the course of a twelve month, not a single vestige remained, not even a single brick, or stone: all was swallowed up into the Ganges, except three immense stone pillars, which they wanted to carry to Dilli; but could proceed no farther than Benaras, where they were set up. Two have disappeared long ago, and are sunk into the Ganges: the remaining one, was that famous Lat or pillar, which made so much noise lately at Benaras, on its being destroyed by the Musulmans. In Mansing's time a dreadful affray took place at Benaras, between the Hindus, and the Musulmans, about one of the other pillars: great numbers were killed on both sides, and Akbar sent him to quell the insurrection. The sanscrit name of this famous place is Balinigram, the metropolis of the Baliputras.

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The Historical part is equally voluminous, and consists of a General History of India, which if printed would make at least five or six folio volumes. It is much inferior to the Geographical part, and is to be used with the utmost caution. Besides this, there are histories of different countries in India: among which, I have noticed that of the ancient town of Tagara, which according to our Royal authors is N.E. of Poonah, and about 11 Cos to the S.W. of Saler-Muler in Major Rennel's Map of India. It is in LL ruins. I shall now conclude and avail myself of this opportunity to return to my most sincere, and grateful thanks to your Lordship<sup>s</sup>, and to Government in general for the countenance and liberal support I have constantly met with, in the prosecution of my researches, even at a time when my long silence made it rather doubtful whether they would be crowned with any success whatever. I have the honour to be

My Lord

Your Lordship's most obedient  
humble servant

Sd/- F. Wilford

Benaras  
the 31st March 1813

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CHAPTER 31

MALABAR BIBLIOGRAPHY: THEIR PROGRESS  
IN LITERATURE, EDUCATION - SYSTEM  
BORROWED FROM IT. ACCOUNT OF IT  
FROM PETER DELLA VALL E. CUSTOM  
IN MALABAR TO TRANSLATE WORKS FROM  
SANSKRIT. MANNER OF WRITING OR  
ENGRAVING ON LEAVES. QUOTATION FROM  
LUSIAD - LIST OF BOOKS.

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(502)\* I do not propose to give a History of the literature of Malabar; far less to enquire into the origin and progress of the sciences of India. I mean only to preface by a few observations a Bibliographical list which I obtained many years ago (in 1800) of some of the Books and authors whose works are studied in that country (Malabar).

The literature of Malabar has the same foundation, and consists of the same materials, as that of all the Hindoo nations. The whole of their original works are composed in Sanscrite, a language of great antiquity, but which is no longer spoken, tho' its history is intimately connected with several of the present languages of Europe, with (503) those of Greece and Rome, and with the whole ~~the~~ <sup>of</sup> numerous family of cognate Gothic tongues. Sanscrite holds the same place in India, that Latin and Greek does in Europe; but as it would require an amazing period of time, and many political changes in society before a language ~~would~~ could fall into disuse and be unemployed in speech, this circumstance without any further proof, would carry us, back <sup>natural</sup> to the first ages. It is ~~material~~ to suppose that the sciences would first prosper where men were not exposed to excessive labour in order to procure the necessities of life: plenty and tranquility would leave them at liberty to cultivate knowledge, to (504) apply their minds to Books, and learning. Unfortunately the Hindoos, like the ancients, seem to have considered that almost exclusively as science, which is more grounded on precepts and ideal pictures, than on facts and demonstration. They taught the duties of life, and explained the faculties of the mind; but, the favourite study of the Indian sages, was a metaphysical and obtruse, philosophy, founded on superstition and error. They regarded logic, rhetoric and grammer with particular approbation; and those who aspired to a superior reputation, acquired those sciences with unceasing labour, and (505) intense application. They spent their lives in their cultivation. The Hindoos made no use of experiments, and it is extraordinary that without this <sup>and</sup>, they should have become acquainted with <sup>and</sup> the most difficult and hidden branches of Mathematics, Astronomy and Algebra. Have the acquisitions been the fruits of their own study and reflection; or have they been obtained from extraneous and a more ancient source which is now forgotten and lost? It is not possible to determine these questions; and as we cannot prove that they derived their knowledge from another people, it is but fair to consider them as <sup>them</sup> the inventors of all which they possess, which they have preserved through so many perils and (506)

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\*National Library of Scotland, Edinburgh:  
Walker of Bowland Papers! 184a 3: chap 31: pages 501-27

which they must have cultivated with so much ardour.

The learning of the Malabar is probably more limited than that of the more central people of India; but they are not inattentive to the cultivation of letters. They are particularly anxious and attentive to instruct their children to read and to write. Education with them is an early and an important business in every family. Many of their women are taught to read and write. The Bramans are generally the school masters, but any of the respectable casts, may, and often do, practice teaching. The children are instructed without violence, and by a process peculiarly (507) simple. It is the same system which has caused so much heat and controversy, as to the inventors of it, in this country, and the merit of which was due to neither of the claimants.<sup>(a)</sup> The system was borrowed from the Bramans and brought from India to Europe. It has been made the foundation of National Schools in every enlightened country. Some gratitude is due to a people from whom we have learnt to diffuse among the lower ranks of society instruction by one of the most unerring and economical methods which has ever been invented. The pupils are the monitors of each other, and the characters are traced with a rod, or the finger on the sand. Reading and writing are acquired at the same time, and by (508) the same process. This mode of teaching however is only initial. If the pupil is meant to study the higher branches of learning, he is removed from these primary schools, where the arts of reading, writing and accounts are acquired, and placed under more scientific Masters. It is to these elementary schools that the labouring classes in India owe their education. It gives them an advantage ~~on~~ which the same classes in Europe, only now partially possess, from the introduction of the system into this part of the world, it conferred on them a superior share of intelligence, and placed them in a situation to perform better all the duties of life.

(509) About 200 years ago, Peter Della Valle published an account of this mode of instruction in Malabar. He wrote from Tkkeri 22nd November 1623.

"In the mean time, he says, while the burthens were getting in order, I entertained myself in the porch of the Temple, beholding little boys learning Arithmetic after a strange manner, which I will hear relate. They were four, and having all taken the same lesson before the Master, to get that same by heart, and repeat likewise their former lessons, and not forget them, one of them singing musically with a certain continued tone,<sup>(b)</sup> (which hath the force of making a deep impression

(a) Bell and Lancaster by Stein.

(b) This is done in no infant-school.

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in the memory) (510) recited part of the lesson, as for example, "one by itself makes one"; and whilst he was thus speaking, he writ down the same number, not with any kind of pen, nor in paper, but (not to spend paper in vain) with his finger on the ground, the pavement being for that purpose strewed all over with fine sand; after the first had wrote what he sung, all the rest sung and writ down the same thing together. Then the first boy sang, and writ down another part of the lesson; as, for example, two by itself makes two, which all the rest repeated in the same manner; and so forward in order. When the pavement was full of figures, (511) they put them out with the hand, and if need were, strewed it with new sand from a little heap which they had before them wherewith to write further. And thus they did as long as the exercise continued; in which manner likewise they told one, they learnt to read and write without spoiling paper, pens, or ink, which certainly is a pretty way. I asked them, if they happen to forget or be mistaken in any part of the lesson, who corrected and taught them, they being all scholars without the assistance of any Master; they ~~said~~ assured me, and said true, that it was not <sup>universel</sup> possible for all four to forget or mistake in the same part, and that they thus exercised together, to the end, that if one happened (512) to be out, the other might correct him. Indeed a pretty, easy and secure way of learning!!

We are continually reproaching the Natives of India with the slow advances they have made in knowledge and their neglect of opportunities to acquire it. There we have an instance of the same neglect in Europeans, who have allowed two centuries to pass after they were acquainted with this invention, before they applied it to any practical use. It was at length introduced into this country without any acknowledgment and it was even claimed as an invention by two individuals who disputed upon the priority of discovery.

(513) The Missionaries have now honestly owned that the system upon which these schools are taught was borrowed from India. It has been probably improved by us, but this is the fate of all original conceptions, which commonly make the most rapid advances at second hand.

No people probably appreciate more justly the importance of instruction than the Hindoos; hence instead of offering obstacles or creating opposition to the establishment of schools, they have formed institutions themselves to meet various cases of ignorance and misery. They are not

(a) They have small courts of the size and shape of our halls, covered with sand or chaff.

(b) Letter Bellar Villn - page no.

(c) Missionary Register - Jan 1819.

(d) ib.

averse to a spirit of enquiry and discussion. All they wanted was a Government that would not check and discourage this spirit. (514)

In Malabar is still to be seen the earliest mode of writing. The paper is the natural produce of the woods. They make no use of ink; the characters are engraved on the leaves of trees. The leaf of a particular palm is selected and dried until it can bear the impression of the styles. These leaves strung or tied together are formed into Books. They are enclosed in a wooden cover, sometimes gilded and lacquered, so as to make a neat and handsome appearance. On these leaves also they write their letters, which they fold up, but the original practice of the country did not require them to be sealed. "The original Acts of the Council of Basil 900 years since, leaden affix, which has a silken cord passing through every parchment". Is mentioned in the above words by Evelyn as existing in his time at Cambridge, and which would appear to be the same form as that in which the Malabar MSS are preserved a

(515) In Norway and Sweden they formerly wrote, or rather engraved, on flakes and planks. They wrote on wooden tablets. Poetry was inscribed on staves. A verse is therefore still called a stave.

The mode of writing or engraving on leaves was probably at one period extended all over India. It is mentioned by Abdulrizack who travelled in 1442, as the common practice at Bisnaghur.

There is no difficulty in multiplying schools at present in India to any extent provided funds are furnished. The people are anxious and earnest in calling upon the Missionaries for teachers. With a little patience, we (516) may introduce into these schools any books that we please. In them the children know of no precedence, but that which is derived from ~~script~~. This is an <sup>almost</sup> extraordinary testimony in favour of the Native character, and from a source where we can expect no kindly prejudice. They entertain no suspicion of the ultimate designs of their instructors; but with candour and openness send their children to school, where we ~~are~~ are elsewhere informed, no difficulty was found in introducing the scriptures, when done with discretion. They sacrifice all the feelings of wealth, family pride and caste that their children may have (517) the advantages of a good education. This desire is strongly impressed on the minds of all the Hindoos. It is ~~much~~ inculcated by their own system, which provided schools in every village. The learned and the ignorant, one of the Missionaries writes from Chinsiram, congratulate

- (a) Evelyn v P.277.
- (b) Edinburgh Review 1867
- (c) See page 518.
- (d) Missionary Register for Jan 1822.
- (e) 1630.

one another, that their children now enjoy the great blessings of education. Native free schools were once universal throughout India.

It has been long the practice in Malabar to translate the Sanscrit writings into the common tongue, and to transcribe them in the vernacular character. By this means knowledge has been more generally diffused among the inhabitants; it is less confined to any order or (518) class, and the people are better acquainted with the mysteries and dogmas of their religion. This spirit of enquiry and of liberty has most probably been effected by the sooders who compose the great body of population, and who were in possession of the principal authority and property in the country.

\* The Malabars have a mode of writing peculiar to themselves: it may be called with more propriety engraving. The letters are imprinted on a palm leaf dried and prepared by a particular process. Instead of a pen, they make use of an iron instrument with a sharp point resembling the stylus<sup>a</sup> of the ancients. When they write on paper, (519) they have recourse to the pen; but this is only in imitation of our manners or of the Mohammedans. Stones, skins, leaves, and the bark of trees, were the earliest materials made use of in writing. These leaves are not subject to decay, and resist vermin. They may be preserved a long time, much longer perhaps than paper; they write only in general on one side, and from left to right. They cut the leaves into different sizes, and manufacture them of different qualities, which may be compared to different sorts of paper. They are made to answer either for books, notes or letters. They are formed into neat and convenient sized volumes not by stitching or binding but (520) by stringing them together. A blank space is left at the end like our margin, through this a hole is made which admits a string or cord, generally of silk, and this drawn tight, or tied round them keeps the whole secure. The leaves are opened and unfolded by the Natives with the same facility as we do those of our books. The Malabar books are bound or covered by two pieces of wood which serve as boards, and which are varnished and painted according to taste.

In Malabar in short, the original practice was to use neither pens, ink nor paper. The leaf of the palm, smoked and dried served <sup>(521)</sup> the purpose of paper. They engraved on this with a pointed iron resembling that with which the ancients inscribed letters on wax and with a quickness and facility equal to our fastest writers. \*

The following contains a list of books which are to be found in Malabar: many were lost or destroyed during the disturbances under the Mohammedan Government, but the whole are still said to be existing in Travancore. This probably

(a) See figure

100

comprises the greatest part of Malabar literature. About 30 or 40 of these works have been transferred from the Sanscrit into the common tongue. Many of the Sanscrit words are allowed to remain in the translations and the affinity of the languages permits this liberty.

(522) In the notes to the Lusiad mention is made of a Malabar work which is probably contained in No. 181 of the Bibliography, it may have been written by some secretary and is perhaps at present suppressed or concealed.

"There is extant in India the writings of a Malabar Poet, who wrote nine hundred Epigrams, each consisting of eight verses, in ridicule of the worship of the Bramans, whom he treats with great asperity and contempt. Would any of our diligent enquirers after oriental learning favour us with an authentic account of the works of this Poet of Malabar (523), he would undoubtedly confer a singular favour on the republic of letters."

The author was probably a Deist: this is the secret profession of many Bramans, who are often at no pains to conceal their sentiments, and express openly their entire disbelief in all the Hindoo Deities. I have been acquainted intimately with several Bramans who entertained these opinions, and who avowed their belief in one God only, the supreme being, the Creator of all. Reformers have appeared at different times in India, and the Vedantic sect in particular put no faith in the popular superstition.

(524) The Malabars have a number of Dramas or Naticas and are fond of theatrical exhibitions.

I have been present at these exhibitions. The Theatre is either in the open air, or under a slight temporary covering; but sometimes large enough to contain several thousand spectators. On these occasions, they have regular rows of forms and benches, on which the audience seat themselves. The men and women are intermixed as in our play houses. This is an amiable and remarkable contrast with the manners and jealous reserve of other parts of India. I have seen probably two thousand men (525) and women assembled and sitting close together to witness one of these exhibitions. This, however, was on a great occasion of the marriage of a Raja's daughter. There was a very large pendall erected, with rows of seats one above another, for the accommodation of the audience. The Dramatic persons were Gods, Goddesses, Kings, Heroes and their attendants. The actors were dressed, suitably as they imagined to the characters they represented, but there was no machinery employed. The whole of the sce-nery consisted of a sheet or a calampoe, which formed a curtain.

- (a) 8th Book, Ruyard, page 300.  
(b) Pendall (451<sup>st</sup>)

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The subject of the piece seemed to be the  
embarrassment of a Raja who was married to two wives.  
(526) They tormented him with their quarells and  
jealousies. He prayed to the Gods for relief.  
His prayers were heard, and he received a charm  
which enabled him to put whichever of the ladies  
he chose a-sleep. He was delighted with the remedy  
and looked forward for nothing in future but  
happiness. On a trial however he was disappointed.  
The waking wife was as suspicious as ever, and  
was continually upbraiding him for his partiality  
to her rival. He throws them by turns asleep, but  
has no relief. Each as she awoke was still  
jealous of the other. I have forgotten how it  
ended, but the account of this marriage was  
published in the News papers of the time in India.  
(About 1793. I cannot at present lay my hands on the  
account of this wedding) and afterwards transferred  
to some of the periodical publications at home.  
The object I think was to inculcate that one wife  
was preferable to two.

(V.13)

102

Agriculture of Malabar. Hindoo Husbandry in general - Condemned by Europeans. How far that censure is just? Their ploughs and implements of Husbandry. The principles of agriculture understood but impeded by the want of capital and impoverished condition of the people. Various opinions and statements. Tanks, Drill Ploughs: irrigation and transplanting. Opinion on the agriculture of Guzerat and Deccan. Malabar Husbandry. Rice - condition of the people different: large farms. Proprietors. Tenants. (578) Slaves and hired labourers. Soil.

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Agriculture is the art of cultivating the ground. It is the art of raising all kinds of trees, plants, fruits and grains.\* It is in fine the most effectual and expeditious method of procuring abundant harvests. This system cannot be perfect without the use of a considerable number of tools and instrument, and of animals subdued to labour. The system will be more or less laborious and troublesome, according to the nature of the climate and soil. (579) These are simple and obvious propositions to which every one will give his assent. It is necessary however that they should be remembered in the course of the following remarks. The state of agriculture in Malabar will form a strong contrast, with that of the first Husbandmen, who had neither ploughs nor beasts of burthen. It will also be admitted, that the art of cultivating the soil is the most important of human labours. It is the first step in the progress of cultivation civilization: a compact and numerous population is the result of the industry and ingenuity which produces food. It is on the power of augmenting the means of subsistence, that the increased the people depends. h.f

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National Library of Scotland: Walker of Bowland Papers: (184a3) pp.577-654: Agriculture: Chapter 33: (Circa 1820)

\*Goguet Vol. 1. Pa. 85

(580) In Malabar the knowledge of Husbandry seems as ancient as their History. It is the favourite employment of the inhabitants. It is endeared to them by their mode of life, and the property which they possess in the soil. It is a theme for their writers; it is a subject on which they delight to converse, and with which <sup>all</sup> ranks ~~passess~~ to be acquainted. They profess have provided a code of rules for good husbandry. A system is laid down for the proper cultivation of the soil. The rights of the proprietor and of the mere occupier of land are distinguished and explained. The Husbandman is protected. The proprietor is secured against bad management, while the cultivator or improver is (581) encouraged. There is a curious analogy between their agricultural Code and that of the Scandinavians. The customs of both people gave a legal sanction to the privileges of the cultivator. The duties of the landlord and the tenant are defined; those of the Master and servant.\* The Bondi and the Chirmir were the Husbandmen; they were the slaves of the soil, but yet under a legal protection. The price of labour was paid in Victual: this practice was anciently in Malabar, and is still in many instances followed. The farming leases contained arrangements for the management of the land. Another unfortunate resemblance consisted in obliging the peasants and (582) artizans to work at low rates for Government.\*\* One of the most remarkable of the rites of Hindoo worship probably owes its origin to their respect for agriculture. Their sacred Bulls, and their superstitious regard for the cow, have their foundation in the great service they rendered to Husbandry. Under all these circumstances of favour and encouragement, we should expect that it would be the study of this people to improve the art of cultivating the ground, and that they would in such a length of time have discovered the most convenient and effectual instruments for the purpose. This

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\* Edinburgh Review No.67 Pa.201

\*\* This species of forced service prevails in all despotic Governments. Service against the will was known even in ancient Greece. It was called forced service.

however has been strenuously denied by those who (583) wish to accommodate the ideas and habits of European Husbandry to that of Malabar. They ~~are~~ reproach the Hindoos for employing rude and imperfect instruments. This censure cannot apply equally to every part of India where various instruments are in use, and of different construction. The plough is the first and most important machine in agriculture. In Guzerat it is a light and neat instrument. It has no Coulter (?) but has a sheathing of iron: the furrows of the Husbandman are as straight as a line, and of sufficient depth to produce the most abundant crops. This is the real and only useful test of good farming.

The form of the plough in Malabar (584) is nearly the same, but it is still lighter, and more rudely constructed. A man may carry one of them on his back. They are nevertheless convenient, accommodated to the soil and the labour. The structure of these instruments, all over India is very simple; but they answer the purpose of the Husbandman where the soil is light, unobstructed by stones, and softened with water. In a climate where the productive powers are so great, it is only necessary to put the seed a little way into the ground. If it was buried deeper, it would rot and decay before it could germinate, or it would remain dormant in the earth. This is the case with several roots and seeds, when (585) they are put deep in the ground and as it were interred; the process of germination ceases. It remains dormant for years, until the seed is again brought to the surface, and exposed to the vivifying rays of the sun.

It is not necessary in this mild and regular climate, to protect the seed from frost and cold. Experience is the best test of every thing. It must be a strong proof that the Indian plough is not ill adapted for its purpose, when we see arising out of the furrows it cuts, the most abundant and luxurious crops. What can be desired more than this? The labour and expence beyond this point must be superfluous. The Indian

peasant is commonly well enough informed (586) as to his interest, and he is generally intelligent and reflecting. This is the character of his class everywhere. He is attached to his own modes, because they are easy and useful; but furnish him with instruction and means, and he will adopt them, provided they be for his profit. He will not be led away by speculation and theory, which he cannot afford to follow; but he will not refuse any more economical, and less laborious mode of cultivation. He must have prejudices and ancient habits, which it would be difficult to shake; but let him clearly understand that the change would give him less trouble and better crops, and he would adopt it. (587)

They have been always ready to receive the roots and seeds of Europe, that suited their climate, and have adopted several which they found to answer their purpose into their regular course of cultivation. All over the World men are attached to their early habits and ancient customs. The History of our own artists and manufacturers would afford many strong instances of this. Although men of superior education and intelligence, it has often been very difficult to make them alter their established methods after science and philosophy had detected their errors.

I remember that almost 40 years ago an experiment was made on (588) Salsette by delivering to the natives English ploughs and agricultural implements. Some active and enterprising Mahrattah Husbandmen who had but few prejudices were procured: a village was built for them, they were furnished with seed and cattle. They entered on the trial of their own accord and choice. Having adopted the measure it was their interest that it should succeed, and there was no reason that I could ever discover that it failed through any negligence or misconduct of theirs. That it did fail however is certain, and as usual we imputed the failure to the prejudices, sloth, and obstinacy of the natives. I firmly believe however that they judiciously rejected (589) the whole of the cumbrous

European machinery. They objected that the plough was too heavy: that the labourer and his oxen were needlessly fatigued: that it therefore performed less work, and that this was not better done for the purpose required than the work of their own plough. It was next observed that the plough was too costly, and similar objections were made to the greatest part of the European equipment. I would not say that this experiment was decisive, or that they have nothing to learn from us, but before we charge them with ignorance and obstinacy for neglecting to adopt our recommendations, we should first be sure of two things; that the new system would give them more abundant (590) harvests, at less expence and labour; and that we have taken all the means and care that were within our power, for their instruction in the art? It should also be well considered how far our agricultural process is suited to the cultivation of rice, the great crop of India, and of which we have no experience.

The figure and power of the instrument must be suited to the soil and climate. The American plough of Rhode Island does not weigh more perhaps than 40 lbs. It has no Coulter and a man can easily carry it in his arms; but it would be absurd to expect that this plough would answer any where but in the lightest soils. (591)

The agricultural society which has been formed in Calcutta may diffuse knowledge and correct some errors: they contemplate the introduction of new and useful plants; the improvement of implements of Husbandry and stock\*; but the Indian Husbandman must be rendered independent and furnished with capital before he can enter into the expensive details and machinery of the English farmer. It can be of little importance to him to rear stock for the purpose of food, where it is only eaten in any quantity by a handful of Europeans. Even this encouragement has generally, if not always, been sufficient to secure at the (592) European stations, an abundant supply of excellent and wholesome meat.

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\*See a Journal for 1820-387

We ought also to remember that India has very little occasion for the introduction of new plants for food. There are more kinds of grain cultivated perhaps, than in any other part of the world. She has also a vast variety of nutritive roots, and as a fruit, the plantain alone supplies her with the most nourishing diet.

The potatoe is cultivated in many parts of India; and I have seen Bramans making their repast on it; but the yam is equally pleasant, and perhaps a more alimental food. I am at a loss to know what essential present we can make to India. (593) She has all the grains that we have and many kinds more of her own. If we should give her some fruits and vegetables, we should first be certain that they are agreeable to her taste. Most of our fruits would be too sour, or would degenerate in the climate. The instrument of taste is likewise very various. There is a national as well as an individual relish for food. It is unnecessary to look for examples, as every man's own experience, and every Nation of Europe will supply them.

Nothing should surprise us more in the present condition of the Indian cultivator than his persevering industry, and well cultivated fields. (594)

Any other than a people of a very buoyant spirit would have sunk under these circumstances.

The Hindoos have been long in possession of one of the most beautiful and useful inventions in agriculture. This is the Drill Plough. This instrument has been in use from the remotest times in India. I never however observed it in Malabar, as it is not required in rice cultivation in which its advantages have been superceded by transplanting. The system of transplanting is only in fact another method of obtaining the same object as Drill Husbandry. It would be but just to adduce this, as another proof of the ingenuity of this people (595) and of their successful attention to this branch of labour. They have different

kinds of ploughs, both Drill and common, adapted to different sorts of seed, and soils.

They have a variety of implements for husbandry purposes, some of which have only been introduced into England in the course of our recent improvements. They clean their fields both by hoeing and hand weeding; they have weeding ploughs, which root out and extirpate the weeds. A roller would be useless on rice grounds, which are always wet, and frequently an equal mixture of water and mud. The place of the roller is supplied by an instrument (596) which levels or smooths the ground, without turning on an axis. They leave also Mallets for breaking clods, the usual assortment of Hoes, Harrows and Rakes.\*

It has been objected to these instruments that they are simple, clumsy and rude. This does not however make them less useful. Simplicity cannot surely be counted a fault in some of our districts the plough is by far too complicated a machine. They are not unhandy to the people who have been in the habit of using them. They appear awkward to us because we have not been in that habit, and because the Indian (597) Husbandman can afford to throw away nothing on ornament. The same instrument painted and smoothed by the plane would have given a very different idea of its value. The judgment of the eye decides more than we imagine. All this however depends rather upon taste and opulence, than on utility. The circumstances of an Indian Husband are not to be compared <sup>man</sup> to those of our substantial tenants. They can study effect and appearance, which are in fact essential to their credit as good farmers. It is not however very long since we have painted and polished our ploughs. I have seen them within these few years in some parts of the country covered by the (598) unremoved bark of the tree.

The numerous ploughings of the Hindoo Husbandmen have been urged as a proof of the imperfection of his instrument; but in reality they

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\* See Figures of the Plough and of all these instruments from 55 to 64 and....

are a proof of the perfection of his art. It is not only to extirpate weeds that the Indian Husbandman re-ploughs and cross-ploughs; it is also to loosen the soil, apt to become hard and dry under a tropical sun; and hence it becomes necessary to open the earth for air, dew and rain. These advantages can only be obtained by exposing a new surface from time to time to the atmosphere. In India dews fall much more copiously than they do with us, and they are powerful (599) agents in fertilising land. Weeds also increase with a quickness, and a luxuriance, of which we can form but an imperfect idea in this country. These are sufficient causes for the frequent operation of ploughing, without the necessity of blaming either the Husbandman or his implement. The frequency of ploughing must depend every where on the nature of the soil, its situation, and the purpose for which it is intended. In some cases, our farmers in this country, plough three or four, and even as often as six times.\*

It is the practice in many parts of India, to sow different species of seeds in the same field. (600) This practice has been censured, but it's probably done for the same reason that most of our farmers sow rye-grass and clover with wheat; Barley, or oats; tares with Rye; Beans and Peas; Vetches and Corn etc.

It has been found by experience that these crops not only thrive in the same field; but improve each other. Rye and Oats for instance, serve to support the weak creeping tares, and add besides to the bulk of the crop by growing through the interstices. Clover and Rye grass are sheltered by the corn. This analogy will apply to the Husbandry of India. These similar experiments may be carried further, where the climate and soil are superior. (601) In India different kinds of seeds when sown in the same field are kept

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\* "When I spoke of three ploughings for I scarcely allowed enough; they ought to have four or ~~or~~ even five, especially if the land be at all heavy." Burkes letters.

separate by the Drill, or they are mixed together, and sown broad east. In the last case they are commonly cut down as forage. A plant called sota gowar, is sown broad east with sugar cane, in Guzerat. The gowar ~~serves~~ as a shelter to the sugar cane, from the violent heat of the sun, during the most searching season of the year. Joar and Badgery are sown together, in the same country late, not for the sake of crop, but for the straw, which is very nutritive and very abundant. This is one of the instances in which the natives provide a green crop for their cattle. Other (602) grains are sown both together and separately, merely for their straw. Soondea, Darrya Joar, Rateeja and Goograjoar are sown together; but with the exception of Googra Joar which is allowed to ripen, the rest are reapt while they are green.\*

It is evident that these examples are not founded on bad principles, and that they are in conformity with the best practice of farming. They evince the care of the Hindoo Husbandman to provide food for his labouring cattle. This is an object to which I have generally seen him attentive; but in many parts of India during the dry season it is extremely difficult (603), and often exceeds the impoverished means of the cultivator, to lay in a sufficient supply. He is sensible enough of the want, and does his utmost to scrape together, all the heterogeneous substances that are within his reach. In some parts of India, hay is not made, in other parts it is a regular crop, stacked and preserved. This is the case in Guzerat, and some other Pergunnahs. The hay is cut down not by the scythe but by the reapers hook. It ~~is~~ is dried and brought home in carts. The stacks are generally of an oblong shape something like our own, but often of much larger dimensions than any that I have seen in England. The (604) stack is not thatched merely, but covered and protected by a moveable roof. In those parts of India where they hay is not made, and which are I believe unfavourable to this kind of crop, the cattle are fed with

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\*See a very intelligent agricultural memoranda from Captain A. Robertson.

111

the roots of grass, very like our fiorin, with straw, and especially with the straw of joaree, all of which are considered to be very nourishing food. The roots of this grass are preferred by our own people in the Carnatic to hay. Besides the Hindoo in many parts of India, prepares various crops of pulse, solely for the use of his domestic animals. In some places he feeds them with carrots. Lately an ingenious gentleman has (605) sown with great success, near Kaira in Guzerat clover\*. The seed was obtained from Bulsara and produced a most abundant crop. It fed a cavalry Regiment, and kept it in excellent order\*\*@A

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\* Lucerne, I believe.

© The history of this experiment must be found in some of the recent dispatches from Bombay. Has it been kept up, or is it discontinued?

\*\* In a season of great scarcity, Dr. Gilder cultivated Lucerne to a considerable extent, so much so as to warrant his considering that he could grow a sufficient quantity of it for the use of a Dragoon Regiment and he offered to engage to do so, but the offer was not accepted. I believe the constant use of green Forage in quarterters was considered objectionable. During the same season, he found carrots useful as a food for horses, and he supplied a considerable quantity of these and of his lucerne to the Cavalry; but on the return of a favourable hay-harvest both were discontinued. At present many gentlemen cultivate Lucerne for their private sheds. If regularly watered and occasionally weeded, it bears cutting all the year thro', once every 20 or 25 ye days, yielding a heavy crop. It will thus produce for several years. The natives of India have a grass of a very nutritious quality which is grown in the same way, and which may be cut every month. It was during the famine adverted to that it was brought to my notice by Bappo Mheta, who got some of the seed from Ahmedabad. It succeeded very well, but I did not continue to grow it after hay became abundant. Lately in Khandaish during scarcity I sent to Guzerat for a quantity of the seed, but what was sent did not come up. I cannot at present recollect the name of this grass, but it is well known in Guzerat.

It would require a volume to pursue all the details of Hindoo Husbandry. I shall however mention some other principal features. In many parts of India the fields are fenced and enclosed. This is the case wherever the people live in quiet and security. It is sufficient to show what was the ancient practice, when the Government was good and the country not exposed to the ravages of war. In Guzerat this attention to the security of (606) property was seldom neglected. Even during the native Government, the Ryot was protected in his revenue engagement; in ~~sense~~<sup>he might not leave</sup> be able to fulfil them, either from war or adverse reasons. This was effected by exempting him in his leases on the event of any of these circumstances occurring by the <sup>Sultanees</sup> "there". The enclosures are generally of a square form. The divisions are seldom large, and are of unequal sizes according to the judgment, interest, or taste of the proprietor. They are remarkably neat, kept clean, and well dressed. These fields have frequently broad grass margins which are left for pasture, such as are seen in some parts of Yorkshire. The whole world does not produce finer and more beautiful cultivated fields than those in Guzerat. In the neighbourhood of towns, they are commonly planted at the edges, with fruit, and other trees. This gives them the appearance of our Hedge-rows, and they (607) may be compared to the finest parts of England.

This appearance is not peculiar to Guzerat: it may be found in many other countries of India. I am desirous that these remarks should not be considered as extending to Bengal, of which I have had no personal observation. The gentlemen who have resided in that province seem to agree in giving an unfavourable account of its agriculture, and of its people. They describe the natives as characterised <sup>by</sup> the lowest and most disgusting vices. If this be so, they should not be considered as affording a just notion of the rest of India. It has however actually been by this mark that the public judgment (608) has been in a great degree formed of the qualities of perhaps 200 millions of human beings, spread over a vast country, and divided into many nations, some of whom are totally

unknown in Bengal. This species of amalgamation has happened from the superior wealth and political importance of Bengal, from our connection with it, and from the fallacious practice of drawing a universal conclusion from a particular fact.\*

My own experience agrees entirely with the neat, accurate and comprehensive view that Colonel Wilks has given of the Husbandry of Mysore.\*\* I have seen from Cape Comorin to the Gulph of Kutch details of the most (609) laborious cultivation, of the collection of manure, of grain sown for fodder, of grain sown promiscuously for the same purpose; of an attention to the change of seed, of fallows, and rotation of crops. The rotation may sometimes be imperfectly followed; but it is a system understood and acted upon throughout India, with more or less skill and intelligence. All the changes however which are necessary for preserving the fertility of land in Europe, may not be equally essential to the fecundity of soil, under a climate like that of India. In America, virgin or new land continues for many years to produce crop after crop, without the assistance of manure. In (610) Lithuania there is a regular succession of the same crops: even in Britain in the neighbourhood of towns, where there is a perpetual command of manure, the regular rotation is frequently neglected without impoverishing the land. In the West Indies, where there is no cultivation but the sugar cane, the same crop is constantly produced.

\* In the Deccan the cultivation is as good as that in Guzerat, and the people are in every respect as active and as intelligent as well as moral and independant as those of that country. I doubt whether the Bengallers are really as depraved as they are said to be.

\*\* Col. Wilk's History Vol. I Pa: 209. The whole of the note is instructive. It is the result of observation and study on the spot. It shows that the practice of the Indian farmer is founded on the most enlightened principle of modern farming.

We may see from all these instances, that tho' it is a rule of good Husbandry to avoid a frequent repetition of the same species; yet it may under particular circumstances be entirely disregarded without any bad consequences. Some places are more indebted for good crops to the natural fertility of their (611) soil than to artificial labour and skill.

Rice is supposed to be the least exhausting of any crop. It occupies the ground but a short time and binds it less than any other culmiferous plant.\* The water and moisture by which it is continually surrounded, keeps the soil soft, divided, and pealverized. It is by some causes like these, that the Indian farmer is enabled to repeat the same crop for many years in the same field with this species of grain. We must allow something also to the extraordinary fruit, fulness of the soil, and the regularity of the climate.\*\*

In every part however that I have visited (612) the application of manure for recruiting and restoring land is well understood. The people seem to have all the resources that we have in this respect. By littering their cattle with straw, they ~~exercise~~ the quantity of manure. They ~~litter~~ collect leaves, and putrescent substances. When they have no means of rotting the straw, they mix it with dry dung, old grass and even branches of trees, which they place in a heap and set fire to it. The ashes are then spread on the ground. The slime and bottoms of tanks are dug up, and considered to be a valuable manure.

It may be considered as a part of Indian Husbandry, tho' by no means a universal custom, as it is only in particular (613) situations practicable, to set fire to the long and luxuriant grasses which the cattle have not consumed. This is not practised in arable Husbandry where it is unnecessary. The stubble of a rice field is ploughed

\* Lord Kaims

\*\* Rice lands are always manured to the utmost of the zamindars. They spare no expence in this. Abilities. In the Concan they cover the fields with a thick layer of leaves, brush wood and even hay and set fire to it. Even in Bombay rice fields are manured by using hay for this purpose. This manure is not got without considerable trouble and expence, and thank(<sup>muu</sup>) this, nothing shows more the care and skill of the cultivator.

into the ground in the same way as with us; but it is resorted to for reducing the natural pastures of the hills, which are beyond the reach of the plough. These luxuriant grasses are burnt and decomposed in order to nourish a new growth. It is the same operation, and for the same purpose, as that of burning heather for improving sheep pasture. This is usual practice in the Concan and Deccan; but it is not so generally resorted to in Guzerat, or in Malabar, as it is not so well suited to the circumstances of (614) those countries. The practice of burning grass is only followed on bare and naked mountains. In those that are covered with trees, such as the Ghauts in Malabar, it would be destructive, and not is therefore had recourse to. In the Concan, and where the high lands are generally without wood, and where the grass grows to the luxuriance almost of reeds, the burning system is pursued. Wherever it is practised, the natives consider it as a proof of barrenness, and caused by a curse of one of their Gods. The heat of the sun, natural and artificial moisture, and the inundations of rivers, keeps the soil in India in a state of perpetual fecundity and renders it fruitful year after year (615), as was the case under the same circumstances in Egypt.

The Indian farmer is again reproached for using his dung for fuel; but an explanation of the fact will in some measure vindicate him from this censure. The dung which is employed in this way (a small quantity after all,) is obtained principally from what the animal lets fall on the high road, and which would otherwise be lost. Boys and girls are employed with baskets to gather it up from the roads and streets as in our own country. These children are seldom those of the cultivators, but of any of the inhabitants, most commonly of very poor people, who mix the fresh dung with charcoal or straw, make it into cakes, and dry them in the sun.\* (616) The boys and girls may be seen in many parts of the North of England employed in the same way; and I have been told that in no very remote time a similar manufactory was carried on all over this country.

\* which is done for fuel

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I have already mentioned the Drill Husbandry, as an invention of the Hindoos; that of transplanting which has the same object in view, is equally useful and beautiful. It gives the field the regularity of a garden, and every vacant space is filled up. The operation of transplanting is calculated to afford one fourth more of produce than the broad cast method of cultivation. Many of the details of Hindoo Husbandry are curious and original. (617)

The practice of watering and irrigation is not peculiar to the Husbandry of India, but it has probably been carried there to a greater extent, and more laborious ingenuity displayed in it than in any other country. The vast and numerous tanks, reservoirs, and artificial lakes as well as dams of solid masonry in rivers which they constructed for the purpose of fertilizing their fields, show the extreme solicitude which they had to secure this object.\*

These works were not always executed at the expence of Government; they were often defrayed by the zeal of wealthy individuals, and sometimes by women. The names of these benefactors are still preserved; but they frequently serve only to commemorate a dry spot, (618) and to point out where a tank had been. Perhaps no circumstance can more strongly show the decline of India than the decay of those works, which were at one time necessary to supply with food a redundant population. The bottoms of many of the tanks, are now converted into rice fields, and the waters of others run waste. The dry bottoms still retain moisture, and as they are enriched with the alluvial deposits of a former age, they are eagerly seized by the Husbandman, who is sure to be rewarded by an abundant crop. The ruin of these beneficent labours cannot but give to the travellor in passing melancholy and unpleasant reflections. (619)

The Mohammedans were probably excited by the example\*\* and intercourse of the Hindoos

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- \* Chandiesh abounds with these and many of them cost vast sums of money. In the late disturbed state of that province for many years, many of them have gone to ruin, but the Government of Bombay is repairing them at a great expense.
  - \*\* We may suppose that this example produced this effect, as the character of the Mohammedans was more mild and tolerating in India and their conduct more directed to improvement and civilization than in any other country where they have established themselves.

to cultivate the arts of peace, and they also employed themselves in constructing many magnificent reservoirs for water. There was a great distinction however in general between the works of the two people.

For the most part of the tanks of the Musselmans were built for luxury, ostentation and ornament. Many very expensive ones were unfit for irrigation. Ali Merduns Canal however, a noble and useful work, was an exception to this remark. (620)

Besides the great reservoirs for water, the country is covered with numerous wells which are employed for watering the fields. The water is raised by a wheel either by men or by bullocks, and it is afterwards conveyed by little canals which diverged on all sides, so as to convey a sufficient quantity of moisture to the roots of the most distant plants.\* When these are seen in operation it gives the most cheerful picture of quiet and useful industry, that can occur even to the imagination. The very sight of it conveys to the mind peace and tranquility.

I must repeat that I have seen in India the most abundant crops (621) "the corn standing as thick on the ground as the land could well bear it"; fields neat, clean and generally without a weed. Infinite pains are taken to extirpate these, and several ingenious instruments have been contrived for the purpose.

It is hardly possible that a weed can be found in a transplanted field, where every stalk is put in by the hand, and carefully planted.

The Husbandman in fine labours incessantly to increase his produce, varying his operations according to circumstances, and acting always when he can, on fixed principles. A system of rotation is attended to, but the alluvial deposits makes it in many places unnecessary, and local peculiarities, (622) local oppressions, and the want of resources compels the Cultivator to forego many advantages: he is obliged no doubt by so many

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\*This still is the case in many parts of India as it is in Egypt. See Braces Travels and those of Dr. Skater.

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pressing necessities too often to deviate from the best plan, to submit to such shifts and expedients as are within his power. Some allowance should be made for the circumstances of the people, general as well as particular. Some compassion should be felt for their situation, and when we see one district highly cultivated, another in poverty, and the wrecks everywhere of a greater agricultural prosperity in former times, would it not be equitable and just to conclude that ignorance and stupidity were not the sole causes of these anomalous appearances? The (623) flying surveys, partial, and hasty reports that have as yet only been made of their agriculture, are not to be depended upon. It would require the leisure and application of years, much patience and knowledge of the subject, and a judicious allowance for the peculiarities of the climate, to appreciate either the merits or defects of Hindoo Husbandry. In the present political state of India; the connection and dependance of the greatest part of that fine country on the British Government, renders it an imperious duty for us to use every prudent and proper means for the improvement of its condition; but we should be careful in these attempts at amelioration not to throw it back, and to (624) to obstruct its progress, by too hastily condemning the practices of the country, which have been sanctioned by experience, and have their utility in local circumstances. The minds and inclination of the people should be consulted wherever their own interests are concerned. In general their experience is the best guide. It is in vain to suggest expensive improvements where there is no capital, where the rent is taken as a tax by Government, and where the proprietary right of the soil is disputed. The cultivation of grain in some places yields no profit to the Husbandman, beyond his mere subsistence.\* In this case (625) there is

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\* Mr. Colebrooks statement of Bengal Husbandry. The extraordinary fertility of the soil in Bengal is probably unfavourable to the Hindoo Husbandman. He has always almost a super abundance. In some parts of Poland the natural fecundity of the land produces spontaneous crops of wheat. The consequence is a most ignorant and unskilful system of Husbandry. In Scotland again which owes little to nature, and where nothing is obtained without excessive labour, agriculture is indebted for some of the finest improvements.

neither means, nor stimulus for improvement. Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, the state of agriculture among the Hindoos is respectable; I may say wonderful, some of the details of their management would furnish information to the European farmer: when they follow a bad system, it is not from ignorance of the true principles of the art, but from poverty and oppression; remove these and improvement would follow. The Hindoos, whatever may be their moral qualities, are a temperate and an industrious people, knowing, and well acquainted with their own interests. In the course of our intercourse with them they have adopted many things from Europe, and they are continually adding when it suits their taste, and (626) conveniency. If their system of agriculture is bad, they will alter it as soon as we can show them a cheaper and an easier way of procuring more abundant harvests; but this will not be produced by mere theoretical recommendations. We should succeed in altering many of the habits and practices of India, provided it were possible to compell our own habits to mix with the labours of the people. It is more than probable that any great change depending on the introduction of European acts and manners will be introduced by the Half casts, who are now spreading and multiplying in the usual increasing ratio of population. I shall conclude these general remarks by an extract from a letter (627) of a valuable friend whose intelligence and opportunities of observing the practice of Indian Husbandry, are not I believe exceeded by any man in that country.

"In Guzerat, and indeed in the Deccan, but especially in Guzerat, careful and skilful agriculture is probably as much studied as in England. In many points an English farmer might condemn the practice at first sight; but in time he would learn, that such of what he did not approve, under an idea that the same system in all respects that succeeds in England ought to be followed here, was of the first importance: was in fact what constituted the great means of success in this climate (628) and that to depart from the existing practice would be folly. For instance as to ploughing in this country, it is condemned as not being deep enough. The native however knows from experience that the

soil at the surface, and which has been well heated by exposure to the sun, is that which yields the best return. It is not uncommon to see them before the hot season plough their more valuable lands roughly, so as to expose as much as possible of the soil to the revivifying influence of the sun. It is a fact too, that in most soils in Northern Guzerat, the lands are more productive, when kept continually from year to year under cultivation, than when allowed to lie fallow: such soils however (629) as improve by a year or two's respite, always receive it. This is not uncommon in the Surat, and even in the Broach District, and in some parts of the Deccan. One of the many proofs that where requisite, the system of the natives is too well founded on experience to reject.\*"

If is now time to return to the more immediate subject of this article, the Husbandry of Malabar. The practice varies in many respects from the Northern parts of India, or where they grow wheat, and other grains which are not cultivated in Malabar. The practice is regulated by the soil, the surface and the crops. In each region of (630) India there is some peculiarity in the mode and articles of cultivation, which must be adapted to the climate, the difference of seasons, and the nature of the ground.

In Malabar, agriculture, is an important, and an honourable occupation. This is the consequence of this species of property being well established, and an interest created which requires, that every proprietor should understand something of an art on which not only his comfort, but his support must depend. Most of these men therefore are qualified to direct the labours of their cultivators, and many of the Nayrs hold the plough themselves. Some of the proprietors farm their estates to (631) tenants, and live on the rent; but most of them reserve some land in their own hands, and others have larger farms. The order and arrangement are not different from what we find in Europe. The size of the farms vary from one plough to 20. The Chirmirs

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\* Extract of a letter dated 9th April 1820. This process in fact is a species of fallow.

perform a great part of the labour, but not the whole. Every estate has some Chirmirs attached to it. Some of the largest farms have from 50 to 100 Chirmirs, men, women and children. The oxen and cows are each about the same number as the slaves. Such farmers have also a number of hired servants, and very often a Karrigar or superintendent, who directs the labour of the rest, but does not (632) work himself. The duty and character of this person resembles that of our Bailiff or Overseer.

These establishments are respectable, they convey an air of wealth and comfort, seldom seen among the peasantry in other parts of India. They recall to mind the proprietors and farmers of our own country.\*

I do not mean to enter into all the details of Malabar Husbandry which will be best explained by the annexed table. A general description however is necessary. The land is generally well fenced and subdivided. The long, narrow and beautiful vallies form (633) indeed natural divisions. The artificial divisions are commonly small, for the convenience of irrigation, and to mark the shares of individuals. The fields, or divisions, are formed into neat and oblong squares. In preparing the ground for rice, they plough twice, and even thrice according to circumstances, before they sow. The first operation is to surround the field with banks, and then to overflow it. The banks are about two feet broad, and raised rather more perhaps above the level of the ground. They serve as well as to keep in the water, as foot paths. Without them the people would be obliged to wade through mud and water, either when they wanted to inspect their fields, or in prosecution of many (634) of their necessary labours. The depth of water in a rice field depends on the particular situation: it varies from six inches to a foot, and even a foot and a half.

In some cases a rice field is kept under water until the second ploughing. It is then almost an equal mixture of mud and water. The cattle

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\*For an account of Malabar farms see Dr. Buchannan for some curious and interesting circumstances. A judicious and short extract might be made. Even the Dr. speaks favourably of Malabar agriculture: this country was not in a state of oppression: here the Government did not require all the rent.

(are) in this state, <sup>are</sup> of as much use as the plough. The water first rots the weeds and grass, and afterwards nourishes the plant. Water is the most necessary agent of vegetation. The seed corn is sometimes, but not always, soaked for 20 or 30 hours in water. It is then laid in a heap for several days: in this state it shoots and grows. The ground is finally (635) prepared, either for sowing or planting, by dragging a plank over its surface by cattle. This <sup>and</sup> smooths the ground; <sup>level</sup> and mingles every thing together. The water is allowed to run out before the seed is sown. It is then sown broad cast, or planted.

The planting or transplanting is performed in this manner. When the rice plants appear a few inches above the ground, they are taken up, tied in little bundles, and again put into the same ground, or removed to another field as may be necessary or convenient. This work is performed by the hand, and very commonly by women. The field is again overflowed and kept so until the grain is nearly ripe. (636) The banks are then finally cut and the water escapes.

Generally speaking about three parts of the stalk of the plant remains above the water. The process in Bengal is very different from this.

There is cultivated in Malabar upwards of fifty kinds of rice. They are each distinguished by a separate name, by some peculiar quality, and different modes of cultivation are of course pursued. Some kinds grow on the hills and do not require irrigation. These are called Poomum and Modun. They are much longer in ripening than the usual cultivation. There is one species which is propagated by cuttings, a mode which I never heard (637) of except in Malabar. An account of all the different kinds of rice cultivated in this province, will be found in the tables, at the end of this article.

The southern parts of Malabar are more fertile than the northern parts. The former in many situations is capable of producing three crops a year, or rather in 14 months, while very

very few places in the latter produced two, and in the Wynnaad above the Ghauts only one crop is procured.

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Some kinds of rice are found to ripen earlier than others, and to thrive in different degrees of moisture: they have hence not all the same seasons of reaping and sowing. They have their particular situations and soil. In the Husbandry of

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- \* The contrast between the fertility of Malabar and the most fertile part of India was once strongly brought to my attention in a conversation with a native Officer who was an Detachment with me in the interior of southern Malabar, and who had come from the upper provinces of Bengal. His name was Bauldy Sing, a name which I still have a pleasure in remembering. He was very handsome man upwards of six feet high, and a brave soldier. Baulday Sing according to the character of his countrymen was describing in rather glowing colours the natural fertility of his native country, its beauty and all the happiness he enjoyed there. "Then Bauldy, what motive induced you to leave that fine country and to relinquish all these pleasures?" The suddenness of the question perhaps at first surprised him, but after a moment's pause he replied. "I left my country to see strange and wonderful things, and that I might have the pleasure of relating them on my return". "What can you have to tell from Malabar?" "I shall be able to tell," said Bauldy with an emphasis which showed the strength of the impression on his mind, "that I have been in a country which yields three crops of rice in a year!" But Bauldy never returned to his country.

(638) Malabar the skill of the Kudian or cultivator, is therefore exerted, to discover the grounds best adapted to each. He has discovered that it is useful to change his seed: but one crop of rice follows another in eternal succession. The hill rice requires 8 or 9 months to ripen, and that on the inundated fields but three. The hill crop is more precarious, as it depends entirely on a favourable season of rain. In the upper lands they observe a regular rotation. It is in these situations where they grow their green crops: these are confined to a few kinds of pulse, and gingelly or ellu. In these hills they plough for some kinds of culture as often as seven times. (639) But rice is the great article of cultivation in Malabar: they also cultivate, the sugar cane and Dholl, and the climate would probably answer for all the tropical plants.

The superiority of production is vastly of warm climates. The whole year is fertile. The great drawback is the want of moisture and rain. When the regular supply of water fails, nothing can prevent a sterile harvest. Malabar is however rarely, if ever, exposed to this calamity. In this respect it has the advantage of almost every other part of India. In Malabar the cultivation of rice may be seen at all seasons of the year, and at the same time in every stage of its progress. Nothing can be more rich and interesting than this picture. The appearance of the country is beautiful and various. At one view may be seen the operation of sowing or transplanting in one field: in another the plant shooting above the water, and elsewhere(640) it is quite ripe.

The people of Malabar have two sorts of ploughs; one is heavier than the other, but they have both the same simple construction. The Malabar ploughs have only one handle. It is curious that this is the case also with the plough of the south of France, that of Suffolk, and the Shetland Islands. This is one of those resemblances which belongs to taste and fancy, rather than to imitation. We may be surprised that people who live so remote from each other, and under such different circumstances, should have come to adopt the same apparently feeble

and inconvenient structure of this indispensable instrument. We can only answer, that they (641) must have been led to it by some practical or imaginary advantage, and that habit has made it convenient.

The obstacles to cultivation here are few. A farmer in Europe would follow the same principle. His ploughs are constructed to suit the nature of the soil, and the work they have to perform. The same sort of ploughing that is necessary for a wheat crop, would not be proper in the cultivation of rice. Husbandry is never disgraced in Malabar by yoking together animals of a different species. Moses forbids the Israelites to plough with an ox and an ass together as a lesson of moral instruction "Be not unequally yoked etc."

The Malabar plough is dragged by a pair of oxen, and driven by one man (642). The Husbandman repairs to the field before the dawn of day and leaves it at sun set. He takes his repast, and rest under the shade of a tree. His wife and children accompany him.

Like the Hindoos, the Greeks and the Egyptians had no Coulter to their plough. Such also are those use in the south of France, and in general in all hot countries.\* It has been from this conjectured that tillage was invented by those Nations which inhabited a light and loose soil.\*\*

The ancients, also like the people of Asia, made use only of oxen in tillage. The Greeks who speak of Bachus as the inventor of agriculture, say he was the first that (643) brought oxen out of India into Europe\*\*\* We may infer from this that they considered the art of cultivating the ground to have come from India.

The corn is reaped by the sickle, men and women engaging in this labour. It is not allowed to remain long in the straw, and is separated in the field by the ancient, and simple method of

\* Goguet Vol. I. Pa91

\*\* ib.      \*\*\* ib.

treading it out by ozen. It is evident that this method could only answer in a country, where the climate was regular, and the sun powerful. The process of thrashing, drying and winnowing are all finished together. The grain is carried home in baskets or in bags, which is performed by men and bullocks. It is then put into larger baskets plastered in the inside with cow dung, to exclude (644) the air, and to protect the corn from vermin. It is lastly deposited in a granary. In some other parts of India the baskets are burried in the earth but this can only take place in a dry soil and one which does not abound in springs, which is not the case in Malabar.

In Malabar the natives make use of no wheel carriages. All the alk labour of conveyance is performed by bullocks and men. This is the case also in Persia and among the Afghauns.\* What causes could have prevented these nations from adopting one of the most useful arts? They must have been acquainted with its advantages by their neighbours, who carry on their inland commerce on carts; and chariots seem to have been part of the warlike machinery of rude people. The nature of the (645) country, and the rice cultivation of Malabar, are unfavourable to carriages; but these obstacles could not operate in every situation, and could not be very difficult to overcome.

It is evident that the nature of the soil, must have great influence in determining the operations of the Husbandman. The fertility of land in India, depends on the access to water, and the regularity of the periodical rains, as much as on the fruitfulness of the soil. These supplies are particularly requisite in a country where the soil is hard and cohesive during the half of the year, except on the sea shore where it is sandy.

In Malabar the soil is classed in point of productiveness under three sorts (646) They

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\* Mr. Elphinstone in his account of Cabool, I think, states this fact; but it should be examined which I have not at present an opportunity of doing by referring to his interesting work.

form their judgment of its quality by the following experiments and process.

The first sort is called Pashmemah Koor. This is the highest quality of soil, and consists of rice clay. In order to discover its relative properties, they dig a pit about a yard deep and as much wide. If the soil is of the kind in question, the hole will not receive, the earth that was dug out of it, when returned back by a considerable quantity. The natives assure us that the hole cannot be made to contain the whole of the earth even by pressure, as by stamping with the foot, and beating it down with a spade, or a piece of wood. This earth is very adhesive (647) and unctuous. It sticks when handled to the fingers like grease; hence, its name, Pashee signifies paste or grease, and Koor, kind relatively considered.

The second is called Rashee Casheemah Koor; ground of an equal or middling sort. To determine its quality, they dig a hole as before; but on returning the earth into the hole it will be exactly filled, and appear level with the rest of the field. This earth will also stick to the fingers, but not so adhesively as the first. It has therefore the epithet Rashee, which implies a mixture of earth and sand, which are united with the rich clay of the former soil. (648)

The third kind of soil is simply called Rashee Koor, a term descriptive of its poverty. This is very poor light land. The earth in this experiment, when returned into the hole, will not fill the pit. This soil consists merely of loose land.

It is curious and not a little interesting that these experiments correspond exactly with those of Lord Kain's in his theory of fertilizing soils. He says: "Some earths fill not the hole out of which they were dug: some do more than fill it. Poverty occasions the former; the pores are diminished by handling which makes it more compact. Solidity occasions the latter; clay (649) swells by stirring and continues so, till its former solidity be

restored by the power of gravity\*\*". It is equally remarkable that these experiments of the Malabar farmer, should correspond with Sir H. Davy's philosophical observation; "that the fertility of soils is in proportion to their power of absorbing moisture". "Alumina, or pure clay, he says, is the earth to which soils owe their fertility." He adds; "Soil with too great a proportion of sand is absolutely steril.\*\*\*"

It is certainly a singular circumstance, that this theory, the discovery of science, should be understood and acted upon by the Hindoo peasants. (650)

It has been observed that altho' the Hindoos live chiefly on vegetable diet, they cultivate few horticultural plants, and pay little attention to gardening. In this climate the whole country may be called a garden, and nature furnishes many things spontaneously which elsewhere can only be obtained by the most laborious exertions. Their abstemious habits are easily satisfied, and a small spot is sufficient to raise all the plants which they require. These are confined to spinnage and some of the Brassica tribe. The chilly or red peper, some Badjee or spinage, some cumcumber and pumpkins, and a few flowers, compose the principal articles in their little gardens. This is merely (651) because these articles are daily and hourly wanted for their culinary purpose, and to save the trouble of going into the fields for them. Cucumbers, melons, pumpkins, the beerinjal, bendy, a variety of beans, or pulse, and yam, are cultivated on a more extensive scale. These are reared in the common fields, and as a regular crop, particularly the yam, which attains great perfection in Malabar. But corn and fruit trees are the great objects of attention. The soil of the Malabar vallies is alluvial earth.

They study with particular care the changes of weather and the seasons. At the full and new moon, rain and dew fall more copiously and the (652) Husbandman regulates many of his operations by the phases of this Planet.

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\* Gentleman Farmer Pa:367

\*\* Sir Humphrey Davy's Chemistry.

The Stars are consulted and the Astrologer opens his Books. But it is not altogether an idle superstition, that plants ripen and grow faster under some of these changes. It was probably with more reason, than we are aware of, that the Stars were formerly consulted even in Europe, before the farmer committed his seed to the ground. It was strictly recommended that they should not begin to sow before the setting of the stars.\* They had in Europe, as well as in India, Astrologers, to foretell the seasons, and to write horoscopes. (653)

Bacon says in his natural History, that seeds, hair, nails, hedges, and herbs, will grow sonnest, if set or cut in the increase of the Moon.

The Malabars are attached, as we have seen, to a country life. The Nayrs and Namboories live in houses, at a distance from each other. Segregation is the consequence of a rural society. This is the only way in which groves can be enjoyed, and labour carried on. "When there was not room enough for their herds to feed, they by consent separated and enlarged their pasture\*\*". It is to this mode of life, and the easy circumstances, that usually attend it, that we are to ascribe the neatness and cleanliness of the houses and villages (654) of Malabar. The same circumstances produce the same effect on their persons. It is not a mere freedom from dirt or filth, but a neatness of dress, and a cleanliness of person from head to heel. The same neatness may be seen through every part of the country. It is displayed in their agriculture. It is not fine houses, but nature and the broad canopy of Heaven, that they contemplate with delight. They have every where under their eye, magnificent and fertile landscapes. These they improve and ornament by planting fruit or umbrageous, trees, which refresh the travellers.

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\* Browns vulgar errors - Columella

\*\* Locke

W. 14

### Vaccination

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The casts of India have been long a theme of reprobation. Their effect upon the people is alledged to have made them immovable and incommunicable. In short that they have been rendered as unwilling to impart as to receive knowledge. Experience must long ere this have proved the falsity of this opinion.

In matters of mere habit (430) and taste they will give the preference to their own modes. These are less the objects of reason than the force of custom, which is every where a second nature.

In affairs of a serious nature, I scarcely ever knew them to reject what was substantially good and necessary. Of this our merchants are sensible.

We have another strong instance of this disposition in the almost universal reception of the practice of vaccination. In the parts of India where I resided it may (431) be asserted that the people evinced much less difficulty on the subject than they have done in England. I never knew half a dozen of Indians who refused it. Two of these were men of rank, who were universally condemned by their own countrymen for their bigotry and low prejudices. It was scarcely a case of cast, as one was a Mahometan\* prince and the other a Hindoo\*\* Governor of a Province. On the other hand Princes\*\*\* much higher than either of them, Bramans and men of rank and (432) family, hailed vaccination as a boon from heaven. Mothers were known to bring their children from a distance to have the benefit of the operation. The following extract of a letter from a Medical Gentleman may be produced in confirmation of this; this is the only one that I have preserved tho' numerous similar testimonies exist.

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National Library of Scotland: Walker of Bowland Papers: (181. d. 11)

\* The Nabob of Cambay.

\*\* Ragonath Row Sir Suba of Ahmedabad.

\*\*\* The Guicawar Raja and his family.

About the same period a European woman resisted all the entreaties and arguments that were anxiously made to induce her to have her child vaccinated. (433) It appeared that she had lost two children by the smallpox; but she obstinately replied to those who solicited her to save the one that remained by vaccination. "No ! I shall not give my child a bestial disorder."

Extract of a letter from the Vaccinating Surgeon at Dohud dated 16th September 1805.

"We found the minds of the people much more plaint than possibly could have been expected, and less biased by prejudice or superstition than those more hackneyed in civilization (434). Indeed we met with that kind of confidence which ought to command esteem as it arose from a modest resignation to our judgment associated with an opinion of our disinterestedness and humanity.

(R. 15)

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Gentlemen,

I have the honour of forwarding the returns of the sick in the southern division of the army for the month of May, June, and July. I have likewise the honour of informing you that I have inoculated for the small pox 225 persons of different description; and with such success (having <sup>1(1353)</sup> had not one casualty) as has in a great measure done away the prejudices of the natives against this practice; of the above number 212 have been inoculated in the course of the last 20 months, and 86 since the 14th of May last; of the whole 23 only were the children of Europeans, the rest consisted of Moors, Gentoos, Malabars, and Christians; but by much the greatest number of the latter, owing I believe to my having inoculated two Portugese Padries in May and June last, who having the disease favourably have in consequence strongly recommended it to all the people of their persuasion and I have now upwards of 50 patients from villages at the distance of ten, 20, and even 30 miles. I have inoculated some since the 18th and do not propose inoculating any more on account of the unfavourableness of the weather till after the Monsoon when I have no doubt of its becoming very general; as soon as my present patients <sup>1(1354)</sup> are perfectly recovered I will have the honour of giving you a more particular account.

I am etc.  
J. Richardson  
Head Surgeon  
Southern Division

Trichinopoly  
25th August, 1800

India Office Records: Madras Military  
Consultations: P/254/61: pp.1352-4:  
Letter from Head Surgeon J. Richardson  
to the Medical Board.

(11.16)

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The Board proceed to read and pass resolution on the following proceedings of the Medical Board.

Medical Board: 5.9.1800

We have much pleasure in finding by the enclosed letter from Mr. Richardson head surgeon in the Southern Division that the practice which was several years ago introduced by Mr. Mein a member of this Board for inoculating among the natives for the small pox has lately been followed up with much success.

It deserves particular notice that 86 of these patients were inoculated under the unfavourable circumstances of the hottest season and we conceive it might be of advantage that some public notice were taken of Mr. Richardson's humanity as an encouragement to the other medical gentlemen throughout the service for a continuance of this beneficial practice.

Resolution: 9.9.1800

The Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council will direct his approbation of Mr. Head surgeon Richardson's humane conduct to be expressed in general orders and will authorise his being paid the sum of five hundred Pagodas as a compensation for the expense which he may have incurred during his humane and meritorious attention to the numerous patients whom he had under his care.

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India Office Records: Madras Military Consultations: P/254/61: pp. 1346-8  
(Extract)

(IV.12)

To

William Petrie Esq.  
President and Members of the Board  
of Revenue

Gentlemen,

1. The Governor-in-Council being desirous of giving every degree of encouragement to the practice of inoculation, among the natives of the peninsula, I am directed to transmit to you the accompanying copies in the Malabar language, of the report, which was lately published under the orders of His Lordship-in-Council on that subject, and to desire that they may be circulated by the Collectors in the Districts under their charge respectively, and that you will instruct to explain to the natives the object intended by his Lordship-in-Council.

2. You will order Gento copies of the report to be circulated in those districts, where the Malabar language is not understood.

I have the honour to be etc.

G. Buchan  
Secretary to Government

Port St. George  
13th October, 1800

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India Office Records: Madras Public  
Proceedings: P/242/24: pp. 3320-1

(N. 18)

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The season advancing most favourable for inoculating for the small pox we consider this the most proper time to solicit the attention of Government for diffusing amongst the natives a practice which experience has proved to be attended with such salutary effects. As the Medical establishment will not admit of surgeons undertaking long journeys without specifically knowing what they may have to execute we are of opinion that the most eligible mode of acquiring the necessary previous information would be to issue orders to the several collectors to furnish government with correct lists of all the native inhabitants of all casts and description in their different districts who have not had the small pox and particularly to specify the names and place of Residence of all those that wish to submit to inoculation.

The publication which Government has already been pleased to circulate to the natives of Mr. Richardson's success will greatly tend to overcome their prejudice to this practice and when the reports of the collectors are received, and information thereof communicated to this Board, we shall not fail to use every means in our power to render inoculation general throughout the country.

We have the honour to acknowledge (p. 2641) the orders of government on the subject of establishing a general dispensary and will as soon as possible submit to Government a plan for conducting such an institution.....

Resolution of the Governor-in-Council  
18th November, 1800 - approved and ordered.

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India Office Records: Madras Military  
Consultations: P/254/63: Dated 18.11.1800  
from Medical Board to Government  
Dated 17.11.1800 pp. 2638-41.

W. 19

Sir,

I am directed by the Board to transmit you copy of a letter from the Secretary to Government in the Public Department and Commercial Department conveying the orders of his Lordship-in-Council for affording every degree of encouragement to the practice of inoculation among the Natives of the Peninsula and for which you are directed to circulate, through your districts, the accompanying report in the Gento language, on the subject, lately published by the authority of Government.

I am Sir, your  
obedient servant

J.B. Travers  
Secretary

Fort St. George  
27th November, 1800

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India Office Records: Madras Board of  
Revenue Proceedings: P/286/46:  
Dated 1.12.800: pp9929-30.

IV.D

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Translation of a Gentoo Paper which  
the undersigned Woodia Brahmins of the Village  
of Chempapuram Aggraharam in the Fukally  
district, have written, respecting their  
practice of inoculation in the districts dated  
21st December, 1800.

Wherever the natural small pox may  
prevail the Bramin inoculators in the  
beginning of the month of March, go and  
examine the nature of the disease, if they  
find the pustules to be on the surface  
of the skin and of the favourable kind they  
then punch them with the end of a paddy <sup>lunch</sup> grain  
and receive the matter in cotton;  
which is afterwards taken down to a place  
appropriated for the purpose of invoking the  
diety of the small pox, when the ceremony  
is performed, the matter is squeezed into  
a skill (still), and grains of rice are  
put into it to absorb the matter, these  
grains of rice are technically called the  
seed.

The person who is to be inoculated  
by these Bramins must wash himself in cold  
water taking with him an addah of rice and  
a Dub and is to proceed to the place where  
the diety had been invoked, deliver the rice  
and Dub to her; then the inoculators make  
incisions with a lance, above his wrists lancet  
filling the wounds with matter, giving the  
person to take, inwardly one of the seeds.

The person must bathe himself in cold  
water seven times a day and his diet be butter  
milk and rice or rice and sour ~~coffee~~ for <sup>kenje</sup>  
seven days, when a fever will come upon him  
and ~~as~~ on the third day the pox will appear  
on his body. Then the following prescription  
is to be followed. The juice extracted from  
the leaves of the plants called (in Gentoos)  
Dardatikoo are to be mixed with lamp oil

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India Office Records: Madras Board of  
Revenue Proceedings: Dated 26.1.1801:  
Enclosure in letter from Collector  
Chicacole dated 16.1.1801: Translation  
of a Gentoo paper on the native  
practice of inoculation. M<sup>p</sup> 83-5

and tamarind juice, and this mixture is to be rubbed on the persons head. When the fever will abate a decoction of cloves, nutmeg, coreander seed, commin seed, and sugar is to be given inwardly to carry the whole off. If the patient bathe himself for eleven days once every day the Pox will become fellucid, and then an addah of rice a Dub is to be given, and on the 13th day boiled green gram with mooroongah leaves, and the crust of ginzzellee oil seed with some balls made with rice flour are to be put in a winnowing pan, which after being carried round the persons head three times is to be conveyed out of the village where the god of the village is kept, and then thrown before him, On this day an addah of rice and a Dub is to be given, After these three ceremonies are performed. By the 14th, 15th, and 16th day the poes will fade when cooled, boiled rice with water pumpkin, mooroongas, Gangoorah or some greens, is to be given to the patient. After all the Poos, are fallen off entirely he is to be bathed in warm water, and a quarter of a rupee is then to be given as a present to inoculators. In this case life and death is in the hands of the almighty god. This practice has been in use ever since these two or three ages.

The manner in which the practice of inoculation first originated is as follows. On the side of the river Ganges, the ammauvvar, or the diety of the small pox commanded the practice of inoculation to be used. Afterwards the Bramins of the wood country went there and learnt the art and the necessary prayers etc. and afterwards came to this country and practiced it in this manner. The practice after became to be used in the Teckally and Kemidy districts and has since been known both in the Havelly and the Vizianagram districts.

The following an inoculated person must not eat till he finally gets well, for they will not agree with him; Brinjals, Ginzele oil crust, mooroonga leaves, vegetables, plantains, coconut, flat rice cakes, fish and flesh, sweetmeats, and great care is to be taken that the person inoculated does not subject himself to Venery nor should there be any, in the house where a patient is.

Signed in Woodiah - Gopunatho Rudry, Ranye Shettoportoy, Chundrancharloo, Balabadra Hootah.

A true copy of the translation - Peter Cherry Collector.

(W.21)

The Board having received from Government copies of our Advert calculated for encouraging the practice of inoculation in the territories under the Company's authority transmitted translations of them in the Tamul and Talinga languages to (p.5331) the collectors of the several districts with orders to circulate them and explain to the natives the object intended. The extract from the proceedings of the Medical Board on the subject was also furnished to the collectors with direction for furnishing the medical gentlemen with correct lists of all native inhabitants in their districts who might not have had the small pox, specifying the name and place of residence of those who were willing to submit to the operation.

In reply to these orders Mr. Scott forwarded the addresses noticed in the margin the first of which the Board submitted for the consideration of Government, and as it appeared therefrom, that the attention of Vassa Reddy Venkattadry Naidoo the zemindar of Chintapilly had been previously devoted to the important object of introducing inoculation they suggested, in consideration of the singular attention evinced by this zemindar for the happiness of the inhabitants of the zemindary that his Lordship should address him in approbation of his past conduct and stimulate in his future exertions in the cause of (p.5332) humanity.

The Board also recommended that Mr. Asstt. Surgeon Peat might be allowed what might be deemed an adequate allowance to defray his additional expenses for superintending the sick during the season of the year proper for inoculation.

With their recommendation government were pleased to comply intimation of which was accordingly sent to the Collector and

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India Office Records: Madras Board of Revenue Proceedings: P /  
Dated /  
Minute of the Board of Revenue on Inoculation: pp. 5330-39

the letter from his Lordship to Vassareddy was forwarded to him wherein he was informed that a mark of approbation would follow to commemorate the sense government entertained of his humane and singular good conduct; the receipt of this by the zemindar with due respect was reported by the Collector under date 16th February, 1801.

Mr. Scott noticed the alacrity with which Mr. Peat afforded every assistance in his power to the interesting object intended by Government. But as that gentleman was removed from Guntur and having been previously much occupied, as he had not been able to proceed in the proposed plan of inoculating the inhabitants, the (p.5333) stated the necessity of postponing the practice thereof until another season, this was accordingly reported to Government.

On the 30th March the Collector forwarded copies of letters and enclosures received from Vassareddy Venkatadry Naidoo relative to the success of a native doctor named Nagalingam deputed by him to inoculate the inhabitants of Jagerdamoodly where the small pox had broken out, he also noticed his having desired the doctor to be sent to him and requested sanction for making him a small present. This recommendation the Board sanctioned and Mr. Scott accordingly reported that he had presented him with two gold wrist rings, at the same time describing the mode of inoculation practiced by this man (in the presence) and that of Mr. Wise the surgeon at the station. From the practice it appeared that, though in Guntur alone 300 persons of all ages had been inoculated, there had not been a single instance of death in the village or its neighbourhood.

The Collector at the same time transmitted various papers on the subject from which it (p.5334) appeared that the inhabitants of the Guntur Sircar were so far from being averse to inoculation that they were very anxious the persons who practiced it should be sent to them,

and he suggested that the same person who had succeeded so well in his district might when the proper season returned, be sent into others to endeavour to introduce it into them also. He also noticed the desire of Vassareddy that certain <sup>Sivashum</sup> which he had conferred on his two doctors, Nagalingam and Veerashim should be confirmed to them, and reported that the practice of inoculation had been stopped for the present season. It is the Board's intention to desire Mr. Scott at the proper season to prevail on these persons to proceed in their labours southward to commence in the village in the immediate vicinity of their present practice that it may be gradually extended by the parties having daily proofs of its success as they travel south.

Mr. John Read and Mr. Peter Cherry Collectors in the 4th Division Masulipatam and the 3rd Division Vizagapatam, having by mistake of the orders of the Board, under date 22nd November, 1801 forwarded lists of the (p.5335) inhabitants in their districts who had not had the small pox, those were returned and it was explained to them that they ought to have furnished them to the Medical gentlemen in the districts to whom they were directed to afford every assistance in their power to induce the whole to undergo the operation.

Mr. Cazalit, Assistant Collector at Masulipatam noticed that though inoculation had been introduced into some of the zemindarees people in general were averse to it, and Mr. Cherry Collector of the 3rd Division Vizagapatam stated in his address that it had for some time been practiced in the Northern parts of the Circars by the Woodiah Bramins and forwarded a paper given in by some of them, accounting for its origin, and describing the mode of treatment that ought to be observed. Notwithstanding its being practised by the Bramins the Collector remarked the villages were averse to it and seldom called in the assistance of the inoculators unless they dreaded the ravages of the disease.

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As it appeared that it would be advantageous of some of the Woodiah Bramins, whom the Collector (p.5336) noticed as practising inoculation in his district, would be prevailed upon to proceed for the purpose to the Southern districts the Board desired him to endeavour to prevail on some of them so to do, and report what they would consider as an adequate compensation and that ~~each~~ Enam would ultimately be bestowed <sup>on</sup> upon them, but they observed that his own personal exertions could alone overcome the prejudices they would of course at first feel to the measure.

The Collector replied he had in obedience to the Board's directions sent for the Woodiah Doctors and could report the success of his endeavours to prevail on them to proceed to southward and the terms on which they might agree to undertake the journey.

Mr. Skinner, Collector in the 2nd Division Masulipatam informed the Board he had attended to their instructions on the subject of inoculation but without the desired effect as none of the natives could be prevailed on to submit to the operation. The Board informed him in reply that they did not expect the establishment of this practice so much from a mere (p.5337) circulation of the advt as from his own personal exertions and expressed their opinion that if a few leading people would be induced to submit to the operation others would follow their example and as the attention of the faculty had been particularly enjoined to this important object the practice of inoculation might be established in his district in the ensuing season.

They also informed him they had, to assist his exertions, desired Mr. Cherry to endeavour to prevail on some of the native Wediar Doctors to proceed to the southern parts of the Circars.

Mr. Branfill, Collector in the 3rd Division Masulipatam having reported that the prejudices of the people were so great

against the practice of inoculation that no persuasions could prevail on them to submit to it, and that, with the hope of inducing others to follow the example, he was endeavouring to persuade some of the more enlightened natives to have their children inoculated. The Board forwarded to him the enclosure in Mr. Cherry's letter given in by the wodish Bramins and desired to circulate it generally in expectation that the (p.5338) inhabitants of his district might from respect to the high authority to which the origin of the practice is therein ascribed be prevailed on to undergo the operation, and at the same time expressed their hopes that his exertions joined to those of the medical gentlemen in the district would finally succeed in establishing the measure.

The request of Mr. Hurdie the Collector at Dindigul to have medical assistance afforded him to forward the introduction of inoculation, and for other important purposes was submitted to Government, and the Board recommended, if a medical gentleman for the purpose could not be spared from the establishment, that the Collector's proposal of employing Doctor Rathor might be acceded to.

Major Macleod, Collector at Salem, reported to the Board that he had complied with all their orders on the subject and taken every measure in his power to introduce the practice of inoculation. He also gave it as his opinion that there was a prospect of making an early beginning in his district the beneficial effects of which would very soon be generally known and overcome (p.5339) former prejudices.

The Board observed the Medical Board recommend that Rungadass (of) a native practitioner should be stationed under the head surgeon at Forzt St. George and Moresawvery Pilla under the head surgeon at Trichinopoly on a salary of 10 Pagodas monthly. Perhaps a salary of 5 Pagodas each and a gratuity of 10 or 15 Pagodas for every 100 patients they inoculate and recover in the course of the year would be a better mode of reward, but the consideration of this matter rested with Government.

Ordered that a copy of the foregoing Minute be sent to Government.

(11.24)

4th. I have to acknowledge the receipt of your Secretary's letter dated the 6th instant with its accompaniments on the subject of removing the prejudices of (p.6835) the natives against the practice of inoculation.

5th. Having observed from Dr. Anderson's correspondence on this subject - by his having suggested to the Government to procure inoculating Bramins from Bengal - that he supposed the Bramins of this part of India were prejudiced against inoculation, I consulted some of the best informed Bramins at this place, who convinced me that in the religion of the Bramins, there is not the smallest foundation of prejudice against the operation. I could not trace that inoculation was mentioned in any of their books which treat on medicine; but I discovered that they are acquainted with a method of communicating the small pox in food; which they disguise by saying that they communicate it by Muntrums (incantation). On explaining to some of the inhabitants in this place, the certain benefits, ascertained through experience, to result from inoculation, I did not find them by any means averse to the operation; on the contrary eight or ten men of the weaver cast agreed at once to have their children inoculated.

6th. Mr. Stout and Mr. Evans inoculated at this place nineteen children, of which number fifteen had the usual symptoms of the disease and four had no apparent symptoms of infection.....

7th. I was aware that inoculation cannot be made general except by the native doctors and with this view I made a Bramin

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India Office Records: Madras Board of Revenue Proceedings: Dated 25.6.1801: Letter from Collector of Salem William Macleod to Board of Revenue: Bhovany Dated 19.6.1801: (Extract)

doctor attend the European medical gentlemen to see the operation.....

8th. You are pleased to require my opinion of the best mode of removing the prejudice of the natives and of generally introducing inoculation. Every Collector can persuade a few cases to submit to inoculation at, or near his chief place of residence.....

10th. Since the inoculation above noticed, was introduced at this place - upwards of one hundred families came forward of their own accord expressing their wish to have their children inoculated; by a want of what various matter occasioned their desire not to be at that time complied with. This is a proof that their prejudices are already in great degree removed in these districts.

The Board are happy to observe the success that has attended Major Macleod's endeavours to introduce inoculation into his district, agreed to authorise the employment of a native doctor, as a public servant for the purpose of introducing the system and doing away the prejudices that exist against it.

#### Resolution of the Board

The Board are happy to observe the success that has attended your endeavours to introduce inoculation into your district and they authorise your employing the Bramin Doctor as a public servant for the purpose, by practice of introducing the system and doing away any prejudices that exist against it.

Fort St. George  
27th June, 1801

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IV.23

2. The nature of the connexion which subsists between the collectors of the Revenue and the inhabitants of the respective districts furnishes these gentlemen with the means of a more extensive influence over the minds of the inhabitants than can possibly be derived from the casual intercourse of a medical man whose insulated efforts in the cause of science and humanity may reasonably be expected to prove too feeble to surmount the determined aversion to innovation which is the peculiar characteristic of the Hindoo race.

Board of Revenue's Order:

(p.5330) Ordered that letters be addressed to the several collectors agreeably to the orders of government. The Board will here record an abstract of their proceedings since the month of October last, when the first communication for encouraging the practice of inoculation was received from the Governor-in-Council.

Reply from the Collector of Guntur: Andrew Scott: Dated 21st June, 1801: pp.6911-5:

2nd (p.6912) It will have appeared by the papers forwarded to you from hence, that the prejudices of the natives, so far as regards inoculation for the small pox, are entirely overcome in this circar, .....  
(suggests building of hospital etc.)

India Office Records: Madras Board of Revenue Proceedings: Replies on practice of inoculation.

N. 24

2. I embrace this opportunity of acknowledging receipt of a packet from the Board, communicating the sentiments and orders of the Right Hon'ble the Governor-in-Council, regarding the general adoption of inoculation among the inhabitants of the Company's provinces; and beg leave to express it as my humble opinion (in as far as the subject relates to the districts under my immediate superintendency) that all theoretical doctrines must fail, in removing these rooted prejudices against the customs of Europe, imbibed by the natives from the earliest infancy, and cherished with a blind enthusiasm throughout their maturer years. I would recommend therefore practicable experiment as the surest means of combating their incredulity and surmounting these local barriers to the introduction of so humane and salutary a measure, and for this purpose it appears necessary, that a medical gentleman should be stationed at this place, to instruct such Braminy Doctor, as either by persuasion, or the powerful incentive of pecuniary advantage, I might be enabled to induce to become practitioners, and when the beneficial consequences of inoculation shall have been once satisfactorily demonstrated to them, I cannot but feel sanguine that its operation must be generally diffused.

18th June, 1801

G. Balmain  
Collector

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India Office Records: Madras Board of  
Revenue Proceedings: P/ /  
Letter from the Collector Cocanada  
(First Division Masulipatam):  
Dated 18th June, 1801: (pt 89)  
(Extract)

(IV.25)

Para 2 I have had frequent ~~and~~ long conversation with the inhabitants on the subject. They have a far greater dread of the small pox, than any I have yet met with, so much so, (p.14294) that there have been instances of a whole body of villagers ~~disturbing~~ <sup>leaving</sup> their everything and flying to the jungles or some distant place, whenever it has broken out, near them. They reckon that not above 3 in 20 recover of it, and that about one tenth only of the living inhabitants have had it; with respect to the practice of inoculation they argue very rationally that innovation ~~and~~ ancient custom, would be no obstacle in their way. That as yet they have only heard of the happy effects resulting from it, in other parts of India. Though they believe, which, nothing will fully convince them, the same benefits are to be derived from it here, but the seeing or knowing that some of their own countrymen have so happily recovered of the disease, when a proof of this kind has once been given them they say hundreds and thousands will submit to it.

Para 3 In consequence of the repeated orders of the Board.....(objection of surgeon to risk when there was little chance of natural small pox).....

India Office Records: Proceedings  
of the Madras Board of Revenue:  
P/286/73: Dated 14.12.1801:  
Letter from Collector of Canara  
John G. Ravenshaw, to Board of  
Revenue: Dated 29.11.1801: 14293-14303  
(Extract)