



1616.  
Octob.

Turkish territories on the east: this commission Shirley designed for himself, but avoided the mention. Nevertheless this intention was penetrated by the vizir, and several other of the principal noblemen, who said that the proposal was the artful scheme of a needy adventurer, seeking the sumptuous enjoyment of exalted fortune at the risk of an empire; but the king inclined to the war, which he regarded as inevitable; and reasoned, that if the mission of Shirley should be ineffectual, the detriment would be no more than the loss of the expence, which he foresaw would, even in this event, increase the reputation of his magnificence, without diminishing the solid estimation of his abilities.

But whilst he was weighing in his own mind the ultimate probabilities of success, two incidents intervened, which were of opposite tendency to each other in the decision of this important question.

The Portuguese at Ormus, who with all their possessions in the east, as well as their state in Europe, were at this time subject to the king of Spain, had stopped a present of thirteen female slaves, which the Great Mogul, Acbar, had sent to Shah Abbas, and nine others which had been purchased for Alaverdi Khan, the military favourite of Shah Abbas, who had hitherto encouraged the schemes of Shirley; but this injury changed his opinions, and urged him to join with Shirley's opponents in representations, that it would be vain for the king to place any reliance on the christian princes in Europe,





Europe, since the subjects of one of them, from whose alliance much was expected, had dared to commit such an outrage against his majesty, at the very gate, as it were, of his own dominions.

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The other event, was the arrival and conduct of an embassador from the Grand Signior, who came from Bagdad, where he commanded the janifaries of the garrison. This man, in a very pompous speech at his audience, required the king to restore the prince of Chorasán and his people, whom he had lately subdued, to their former state and condition; and demanded the return of ten thousand families, which had quitted their country under the Turk, to seek refuge in that part of Curdistan which was subject to Persia. To these imperious demands, he added reasons, arguments, and advice, in terms which would have been insulting even from a pedagogue to his pupil. The king answered with temperate magnanimity, in what related to his own rights, against the demands of the Grand Signior, and bid the embassador depart, as a fool unfit to be employed on the business he had been sent: he appeared no more.

The next morning the king went to Shirley's house, and entered fully into the discussion of the war and embassy to Europe, affecting to expect little hope from it, but to comply merely as a testimony of his extreme regard to Shirley, from whom he had received such undoubted proof of his own, by the fatigue and expence of his journey to Persia, and the



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risques to which he now offered to expose himself for his service. Shirley, in a very long discourse, explained all the probabilities of his plan: that the emperor of Germany was already at war with the Turks; that the pope would excite all the other catholic princes; that the king of Spain was at continual enmity with the government of Algiers, which was subservient to the Turkish empire; that the invitations of the king would attract merchants, and christians of all other arts, trades, and occupations, who would not only increase the commerce of his country, but introduce new methods and inventions of great utility, especially to the improvement of his warfare; and that the liberal schism of religion, which the king wished to promote as a descendant of Sefi, between his own subjects and the Turks, would be encouraged by the intercourse of christians, whom they would be accustomed to see drinking wine, and exercising other tolerances, which the Turks held in detestation.

The king still cautiously avoided any expressions which might indicate much expectation, or any solicitude of assistance from the christian princes; in which he properly maintained his own dignity, by not trusting to the report of a stranger such a confession of the hopes or wishes he might entertain; but appeared much content with the probability of drawing European merchants to his country; for the increase of its trade had long been a principal attention of his government. On this ground he consented to the embassy,





and required Shirley to undertake it; who, after many apologies of his insufficiency, accepted the commission with as much satisfaction as he had pretended diffidence. Shirley requested, that a young nobleman of distinction, named Affan Cawn, might accompany him, to be the witness of his conduct; which was granted, but soon after revoked by reason of his marriage with an aunt of the king; when Shirley, to conciliate the vizir, and other ministers, accepted Cuchin Allabi, a man of ordinary rank, and suspected character. As Shirley could not pass through the Turkish dominions to Aleppo, excepting in disguise, it was resolved that he should proceed through Russia; which at this time was so little frequented by travellers, and so suspicious of them, that the king sent forward one of his officers as an ambassador to the Czar, in order to announce his mission, and to procure him good reception through the country.

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The day before the day appointed for his departure, the king visited him, as if to recapitulate all the points of the various negotiations which he had entrusted to his conduct; and now, with his usual foresight and sagacity, broke his last proposal, which, although dictated by warrantable suspicion, he clothed with the garb of elegant compliment. It was, that Robert Shirley should remain at his court during his brother's absence. Robert was present; and, without waiting his brother's answer, proffered himself to remain. This resolution produced a new arrangement in the retinue of Anthony; and





1616. and several of his English followers were left with Robert.  
Octob. The king, as the last compliment, according to Shirley's relation, rode with him, when he set out, six miles on the way from Ispahan; and then, he says, took leave of him, not without tears; although they had never spoke to one another, but through an interpreter.

The travellers were two months, not without evil chances, before they had passed the Caspian to Astrachan, where they found the embassador, sent to the Czar \* \* \* \*

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\* This curious tract was left unfinished by the Author.

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GENERAL IDEA  
OF THE  
GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE  
OF  
INDOSTAN.

BY  
ROBERT ORME.

September 1st, 1753.





## GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE

*Some small parts of this ESSAY, and of the subsequent one, on the EFFEMINACY OF THE INHABITANTS OF INDOSTAN, are printed in the DISSERTATION prefixed to the first volume of the MILITARY TRANSACTIONS of the BRITISH NATION in Indostan: but the WHOLE is here reprinted from the Author's manuscripts, that the narrative may not be broken into.*

ROBERT ORME





## P R E F A C E.

ALL general ideas are subject to exceptions, and I doubt not but that several may be made to this General Description of the Government and People of Indoſtan. But if the far greater number of the examples which may be produced, are correſpondent to my obſervations, the intent of giving a general idea is answered.

I can only ſay in favour of the following ſheets, that they are the reſult of an attention given to this ſubject during a reſidence of ſeveral years in India; and that although I may be deceived myſelf, I can have no end in miſleading others.

I am of opinion, that ſome reflections, of no mean importance to the commerce of the Indies, may be drawn from an attention to this work.





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## OF THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF INDOSTAN.

## B O O K I.

## CAP. I.

*Nature of the Government of Indostan in general.*

WHOEVER considers the vast extent of the empire of Indostan, will easily conceive, that the influence of the emperor, however despotic, can but faintly reach those parts of his dominion which lay at the greatest distance from his capital.

This extent has occasioned the division of the whole kingdom into distinct provinces, over each of which the *Mogul* appoints a *Vice Roy*.

These Vice Roys are, in their provinces, called *Nabobs*; and their territories are again subdivided into particular districts, many of which are under the government of *Rajahs*. These are the descendants of such *Gentoo Princes*, who, before the conquest of the kingdom, ruled over the same districts.

The Gentoos, having vastly the superiority in numbers throughout the kingdom, have obliged the Moors to submit to this regulation in their government.

The Nabobs ought annually to remit to the throne the revenues of their provinces, which are either ascertained at a fixed sum, or are to be the total produce of the country, authen-





authenticated by regular accounts, after deductions made for the expences of the government.

If the officers of the throne are satisfied, which is oftener effected by intrigue, than by the justice of his administration, the Nabob continues in favour; if not, another is appointed to succeed him.

A new appointed Nabob set out from Delhi, riding with his back turned to the head of his elephant: his attendants asked him the reason of that uncustomary posture; he said that he was looking out for his successor.

On the temper of the Nabob or his favourites, depends the happiness or misery of the province. On the temper of the King or his ministers, depends the security of the Nabob and his favourites.

The *Rajahs* who govern in particular districts, are notwithstanding their hereditary right, subject to the caprice and power of the Nabob, as the army is with him.

Even this appointment of Vice Roys was found too weak a representation of the Royal Power in the extreme parts of the kingdom; to which orders from the court are three months in arriving.

This insurmountable inconvenience occasioned the subjecting several provinces, with their distinct Nabobs, to the authority of one, who is deemed the highest representative of the *Mogul*.

Princes of this rank are called *Subahs*. NIZAMALMULUCK was Subah of the *Decan* (or southern) provinces. He had





under his government all the countries laying to the south of *Aurengabad*, bordered on the west by the *Morattoes* and the *Malabar* coast, to the eastward extending to the sea. The Nabobs of *Condanore*, *Cudapah*, *Carnatica*, *Yalore*, &c. the Kings of *Tritchinpoly*, *Myfore*, *Tanjore*, are subject to this *Subahship*. Here is a subject ruling a larger empire than any in Europe, excepting that of the *Muscovite*.

The consequence of so large a dominion at such a distance from the capital has been, that an active, wily prince, could overwhelm the empire itself, which *NIZAMALMULUCK* actually did, by bringing *THAMAS KOULI KHAN* into the kingdom.

*ALLAVERDY KHAN* the Prince of Bengal is a *Subah*. He too lies at a vast distance from Delhi. He is a great warrior, and has never paid the court any tribute. The *Morattoes* were sent as *free-booters* into his country, to divert him from attempting the throne itself. He has, notwithstanding, been able to add to his dominion the whole province of *Patna*, which before was dependant only on the King. His relations are at this time the Nabobs of that province.

Thus the contumacy of *Vice-regents* resisting their sovereign, or battling amongst themselves, is continually productive of such scenes of bloodshed, and of such deplorable devastations, as no other nation in the universe is subject to.

If the subjects of a despotic power are every where miserable, the miseries of the people of Indostan are multiplied





tiplied by the incapacity of the power to controul the vast extent of its dominion.

## CAP. II.

*Particular Government of the Provinces.*

Every province is governed by a subordination of Officers, who hold from no other power than that of the *Nabob*.

*Nabob* (derived from *Naib*, a word signifying deputy) is a title which, at Delhi, none but those who are styled thus in a commission given by the King, dare to assume. In distant provinces *Nabobs* have governed, who have been registered as dead at Delhi. A *Nabob*, although appointed by a *Subah*, ought to have his commission confirmed by the King, or one with an authentic commission appears to supplant him. He then depends upon his own force, or the support of his *Subah*, and a war between the competitors ensues.

A *Nabob* is so far despotic in his government, as he can rely upon the protection of his sovereign or his superior. Secure of this, he has nothing to apprehend, but poison or assassination from the treachery or resentment of his subjects.

*Nabobs* more particularly attach themselves to the command of the army, and leave the civil administration to the *Duan*.

*Duan*—





*Duan* is properly the judge of the province in civil matters. This office is commonly devolved on a Gentoo, in provinces which by their vicinity or importance to the throne, are more immediately subject to its attention. This officer holds his commission from the King. But by the nature of the government of Indostan, where all look only to one head, he is never more than an assistant: he may be a spy; he cannot be a rival to the power of the Nabob.

He therefore comprehends in his person the offices of *Prime Minister*, *Lord Chancellor*, and *Secretary of State*, without presuming to advise, judge, or issue orders, but according to the will of his master, or to the influence which he has over it. Under the *Duan* is an officer called the *Buggshi*, or *Buxey*, who is the paymaster of the troops, and the disburser of all the public expences of the government.—This must be a post of great advantage. The *Buxey* has under him an *Amuldar*, who is the overseer and manager of all the occasions of expence.

Revenues, imposts, and taxes, are levied throughout the country, by the appearance, if not by the force of the soldiers. The other officers of the province are therefore more immediately military.

*Phousdar* signifies the commander of a detached body of the army, and in the military government, is a title next to that of the Nabob. As the governors of particular parts of





the province have always some troops under their command, such governors are called *Phoufdars*; although very often the Nabob himself holds no more than this rank at the court of Delhi, from whence all addresses to the rulers of inferior provinces, make use only of this term.

*Pollygar*, from the word *Pollum*, which signifies a town situated in a wood, is the governor of such a town and the country about it; and is likewise become the title of all who rule any considerable town, commanding a large district of land. This term is only used on the coast of Coromandel. In other provinces of the empire, all such governors pass under the general title of *Zemindars*.

A *Havildar* is the officer placed by the government to superintend a small village.

The *Havildar* plunders the village, and is himself fleeced by the *Zemindar*; the *Zemindar* by the *Phoufdar*; the *Phoufdar* by the Nabob, or his *Duan*. The *Duan* is the Nabob's head slave: and the Nabob compounds on the best terms he can make, with his *Subah*, or the throne.

Wherever this gradation is interrupted, bloodshed ensues.

*Kellidar* is the governor or commander of a fort.

*Munsubbar* is now a title of honour held from the throne, and exalted according to the number of horsemen which he is permitted in his commission to command. There are *Munsubbars* of ten thousand, and others of two hundred  
and





and fifty. This title originally signified a commissioned officer, who by favour from the throne had obtained a particular district of lands, to be allotted for his maintenance instead of a salary.

*Zemindar*, derived from *Zemin*, the word signifying lands, is the proprietor of a tract of land given in inheritance by the King or the Nabob, and who stipulates the revenue which he is to pay for the peaceable possession of it. Such *Zemindars* are not now to be frequently met with; but the title every where: it is transferred to all the little superintendants or officers under the *Phoufdar*.

*Caree* is the mahomedan judge ecclesiastical, who supports and is supported by the *Alcoran*. He is extremely venerated.

In treating upon the administration of justice in Indostan, farther lights will be thrown upon this subject of the government of the provinces.

### CAP. III.

#### *Of the Lands.*

ALL the lands in the kingdom belong to the King: therefore all the lands in the provinces are subject to the Nabob. With him, or his representatives, farmers agree for the cultivation of such an extent, on reserving to themselves such a proportion of the produce. This proportion is settled ac-





according to the difficulty or ease of raising the grain, and seldom exceeds a third.

On the coast of Coromandel where excessive heats and infrequent rains exact the utmost labour to bring rice to perfection; if these farmers were not mildly dealt with, they would undertake nothing, and the whole country would be famished. Here therefore encouragement is given to them, and the government will sometimes be at the expence of works to assist them in the labour of raising and conveying water through the land.

The province of Bengal is the most fertile of any in the universe, more so than Egypt, and with greater certainty.—A stratum of the richest mould upon a bottom of sand, the equal level of the country, and not a stone to be picked up in the space of some hundred miles, whilst shells are found every where. Such signs declare the soil to have been formed by the retreat of the sea; and in such a soil excessive rains falling at particular periods, cannot but render the cultivation of it to be scarce a labour.

The country about Dacca, where the Ganges disembogues itself by a hundred mouths into the ocean, is alone sufficient to supply the whole province of Bengal with rice: and every other part of the province, if duly cultivated, would produce exceedingly more than its occasions.

Here therefore the people depend more upon the elements than on themselves for subsistence. No encouragements are  
1 given,





given, or regulations made, concerning the grain; and the farmer is as little exempt from violence, as any other subject. Nature, at times, will leave her ordinary course. If the rice countries fail, the severest of famines afflicts this land of excessive plenty, as no part of the province is cultivated in proportion to the wants of the inhabitants who reside on it.

This has happened in the year 1752: at Muxadavad the capital of Bengal, rice became six times dearer than the usual price: the consequence of which, in a country where nine-tenths of the people daily spend what they daily earn, may be easily conceived.

## CAP. IV.

*Of the Mechanicks.*

THE mechanick or artificer will work only to the measure of his necessities. He dreads to be distinguished. If he becomes too noted for having acquired a little more money than others of his craft, that will be taken from him. If conspicuous for the excellence of his skill, he is seized upon by some person in authority, and obliged to work for him night and day, on much harder terms than his usual labour acquired when at liberty.

Hence all emulation is destroyed; and all the luxury of an Asiatick empire has not been able to counteract by its propensity





penalty to magnificence and splendour, the dispiriting effects of that fear which reigns throughout, and without which a despotick power would reign no more.

If any improvements have been made in the few years of a milder administration, they are utterly lost again when the common methods of government succeed.

Hence rudeness and inelegance are seen in all the works of wealth and magnificence; and Milton has justly said,

——The gorgeous east with richest hand  
Pours on her sons *Barbaric* pearl and gold.

## CAP. V.

*Of the Arts and Sciences.*

In happier climes, the arts and sciences have been courted, to heighten the blessings of life, or to assist the labours and wants of it.

But such a spirit cannot exist where mankind are treated on principles directly contrary to all ideas of their happiness.

Were the ideas of virtue, morality, and humanity, discussed by such genii as have enlightened happier nations, notions would soon be established, which would teach men what was due to them—notions which would overfet every principle and every practice of the constitution.

Who therefore shall dare to make such researches his study or discourse?

We





We cannot therefore admire, that arts and sciences of all kinds have been able to make no greater progress in the empire of Indostan.

## CAP. VI.

*Of the People.*

WHERE the human race is struggling through such mighty ills as render its condition scarcely superior to that of the brutes of the field; shall we not expect to find throughout Indostan dreary plains, lands uncultivated, miserable villages thinly interspersed, desolated towns, and the number of inhabitants as much diminished as their miseries appear multiplied.

On the contrary, we find a people equalling if not exceeding in numbers the most populous states, such as enjoy the best of governments and the best of laws.

Effects of the climate of Indostan seem to counteract, in favour of the human race, the violences to which it is subject from the nature of the government.

1. The sun forbids the use of fuel, and renders the want of rayment to be scarcely an inconvenience. 2. The bare earth, with the lightest hut over it, affords a repose without the danger of diseases to a people vastly temperate. 3. Productions peculiar to the soil of India exceedingly contribute to the ease of various labours: a convenient house may be built





built in three days, with no other materials than what are furnished by the bamboo and kajan: a boat, with all its appurtenances, may be made from the single coco-nut tree; which at the same time supplies oil, and a nourishment in much request; the ease of producing and manufacturing cotton is evinced by the plenty and price of linen. 4. Health is best preserved in this climate, by the lightest and simplest diet: perhaps it is from this consideration that religion has forbid the use of flesh meats and spirituous liquors amongst the Gentoos.

Thus the general wants of other climates become extremely lessened in this. Now if men multiply in proportion to the ease of gaining a subsistence, it will no longer be admired that the kingdom of Indostan should, even under the iron sway of despotism, continue populous; especially if we add this better fundamental cause, which, resulting like the other from the effects of the climate, is still rendered more effectual by the most sacred of customs.

In Indostan, the fecundity of the women is extreme; and the propensity of the men to propagate their species is equal to it. Every Gentoo is by his religion obliged to marry, and is permitted to have more wives than one. It has been proved, that the number of females exceeds that of the males; so that a plurality of wives produces not the effect in India, which it is imagined to do in other countries, that of decreasing the numbers of a people.

CAP.





## CAP. VII.

*Of the Manufactures.*

A people born under a sun too sultry to admit the exercise and fatigues necessary to form a robust nation, will naturally, from the weakness of their bodies (especially if they have few wants), endeavour to obtain their scanty livelihood by the easiest labours.

It is from hence, perhaps, that the manufactures of cloth are so multiplied in Indostan. Spinning and weaving are the lightest tasks which a man can be set to; and the numbers that do nothing else in this country are exceeding.

It is observable, that the manufacturers of cloth prevail most, both in quantity and perfection, in those provinces where the people are least capable of robust labours.

In the northern parts of the kingdom, where the men have more bodily strength, they weave hair, or the coarsest of cloths.

On the coast of Coromandel, and in the province of Bengal, when at some distance from the high road, or a principal town, it is difficult to find a village in which every man, woman, and child, is not employed in making a piece of cloth.

The assistance which a wife and family are capable of affording to the labours of the loom, may have much con-





tributed to the preference given by a lazy people to this manufacture.

The thread is laid the whole length of the piece of cloth: hence the weavers live entirely in villages, as they could work no where else in this manner.

A weaver amongst the Gentoos is no despicable cast. He is next to the scribe, and above all the mechanics. He would lose his cast, were he to undertake a drudgery which did not immediately relate to his work.

After what has been said of the discouragements to which the mechanic of every denomination is subject; it may be asked, in what manner the amazing perfection to which the linen manufacture has been brought in Indostan, can be accounted for.

The distinctions of dress in Indostan consist entirely in the fineness of the linen of which the habit is made. The habit has at this day the same cut which it had a thousand years ago. Ornaments of gold and silver are marks of foppery, which are indulged only to the children: jewels are not wore about the person, excepting on particular occasions, even by the grandees: the richest man in the empire affects no other advantage in his dress, but that of linen extremely fine. The particularity of this taste must have been a great encouragement to the linen manufacture.

Let it be again observed, that at present (whatever it may have been formerly) much the greatest part of whole provinces





vinces are employed in this single manufacture: and this will be allowed another good reason for the improvements which have been made in it.

Other trades in Indostan are not subdivided as they are in Europe, where six or seven mechanics contribute to the making of a single instrument. Here one man makes all the parts himself: by which he becomes exceedingly liable to oppression; for when once his single person is secured, all that is necessary is secured.

It is quite contrary in regard to the weaver: to this trade six or seven hands contribute. To get a piece of cloth made by compulsion, a man, with one or two wives, and five or six children, must be taken up; and instead of being confined to a narrow room, must be placed in a spacious orchard: all this would be vastly inconvenient.

If guards were placed upon the village, which is the only method of compulsion that can be used, the alarm would be taken; and half the country, by the retreat of these people, would be depopulated in a day's time.

But cloth being the staple of the trade of Indostan, and trade in general being better encouraged than it usually is in a despotic state; such proceedings would too much injure the public revenues, in one of their greatest resources.

This manufacture is therefore less liable to outrages, than any other trade; and hence another cause of its improvements.





But it will be said, that although these reasons may account for the quantities of cloth made in Indostan, yet there remains a puzzle: how works of such extraordinary niceness can be produced by a people, who, if what is said of their mechanics be true, must be deprived of such tools as seem absolutely necessary to finish such fine manufactures.

The surprize will be heightened when we find, that at Dacca, in the province of Bengal, where all the cloths for the use of the king and his seraglio are made, these are of such wonderful fineness as to exceed ten times the price of any linens permitted to be made for Europeans, or any one else in the kingdom.

As much as an Indian is born deficient in mechanical strength, so much is his whole frame endowed with an exceeding degree of sensibility and plianthness. The hand of an Indian cook-wench shall be more delicate than that of an European beauty: the skin and features of a porter shall be softer than those of a professed *petit maitre*.

The women wind off the raw silk from the pod of the worm. A single pod of raw silk is divided into twenty different degrees of fineness; and so exquisite is the feeling of these women, that whilst the thread is running through their fingers so swiftly that their eye can be of no assistance, they will break it off exactly as the assortments change, at once from the first to the twentieth, from the nineteenth to the second.

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The women likewise spin the thread designed for the cloths, and then deliver it to the men, who have fingers to model it as exquisitely as these have prepared it. For it is matter of fact, that the tools which they use are as simple and plain as they can be imagined to be. The rigid, clumsy fingers of an European would scarcely be able to make a piece of canvas, with the instruments which are all that an Indian employs in making a piece of cambric.

It is farther remarkable, that every distinct kind of cloth is the produce of a particular district, in which the fabric has been transmitted, perhaps for centuries, from father to son—a custom which must have conduced to the perfection of the manufacture.

I should perhaps, with my reader, have thought this detail of so simple a subject unnecessary, had I not considered, that the progress of the linen manufacture includes no less than a description of the lives of half the inhabitants of Indostan.

## CAP. VIII.

*Of the Trade.*

THE numerous productions of Indostan, and the difference of wants in different parts of it, afford a large scope for an extensive trade within itself; which is carried on with no small degree of application, wherever the sword is sheathed.

The





The European nations, importing bullion and metals, which the Indians want, and exporting the cloths which they can easily spare, have much contributed to confirm the spirit of trade.

The king, by being proprietor of the lands, sells to his subjects their subsistence, instead of receiving supplies from them. Hence a resource exceeding that of all the taxes, imposts, and customs of other governments; but still a resource incapable of producing gold or silver without the assistance of commerce.

The multitude of valuable productions, the cunning and industrious temper of the people, the avarice of the rulers of Indostan, have all equally concurred to establish the extensive commerce of this country. The government has found, by repeated experience in the consequences of oppression, that they best consult the interest of their revenues in consulting the security of their merchants.

The customs and imposts throughout Indostan are fixed and unalterable. The merchant may at any time make an exact calculation of the deductions to which his trade is subject. Customs paid at any of the Mogul's ports, are not to be demanded at any other for the space of twelve months.

The diamond mines, like all other lands, are the property of the sovereign, who receives a vast revenue from the farmers admitted to work in them. This revenue is certain, be the success what it will; and all diamonds above a particular and  
very





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## OF INDOSTAN.

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very moderate weight, belong to the king. The penalty of death, to all concerned in concealing a large stone, is executed with the utmost rigour, and is the cause why so few are seen in Europe, except when a Nazir Jing is murdered\*.

None but princes who have been as weak in their intellects as violent in their inclinations, have distressed the merchants under their jurisdiction, by outrages exceeding the common bounds of imposition; which the slavery of an Indian spirit contentedly receives as his lot.

When the Europeans entered India, they found at Surat one of the greatest marts in the world. Arabia, Persia, and China, were from hence supplied with cloths, and all other productions of the kingdom. Later we have known a merchant of that city the sole proprietor of twenty ships, none of less burthen than five hundred tons: at present the merchants are seen ruined by the violences of an impolitic government, and we now only hear of the trade of this city.

Some years ago the province of Oude, laying to the north-west of Bengal, became quite impoverished by the excess of the customs and the severity of the collectors: the trade went round the province, instead of going through it. When Munfurally Cawn, the present Vizir of the empire, obtained that Nabobship, he instantly rectified the errors of his prede-

\* See The Military Transactions in Indostan, vol. i. page 162.

cessors.

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cessors. He lowered the customs exceedingly, and subjected the collection of them to better regulations. This province, being the shortest thoroughfare, immediately recovered its lost trade, and flourished under his administration beyond what it ever was known to do.

Bengal, by its situation and productions, has the most extensive commerce of any province of the empire. Delhi is from hence supplied with all its linens and silks; the foreign marts of India, Arabia, and Persia, with silk, raw and manufactured, with cloths, with sugars, opium, grain, &c. The European nations make their largest and most valuable investments here. The Nabob Allaverdy Khan obtained the government by his sword, and by that has ever since maintained it. The pay of a very numerous standing army has obliged him to be more rapacious than any of his predecessors were; the merchants therefore are obliged to buy their trade at dearer exactions than they were ever known to suffer: but this prince has not yet exceeded so much, as to leave the commerce of his province destitute of a profit sufficient to excite adventurers.

The European nations are possessed of considerable settlements and much property within his territory; by quitting of which their companies would be ruined: this Allaverdy Khan knows full well: he therefore hesitates not to make exorbitant demands from them; and if matters are not soon





compromised, he issues forth orders to stop every branch of their investments, which are dispersed throughout the country at great distances from their principal factories.

It is not to be expected that navigation should have made great progress amongst so enervated a people as those of Indostan. They are unskilful practitioners, and worse theorists. It is common to find a Moor ship wasting three years on a voyage which might easily be performed in one: hence the Europeans are the general carriers of the east.

With this advantage, with the advantage of particular situations, the colonies abroad are enabled to create many private fortunes, without interfering with the interests of the companies on which they depend.

## CAP. IX.

*Of the War.*

THE rudeness of the military art in Indostan can scarce be imagined, but by those who have seen it. The infantry consists in a multitude of people assembled together without regard to rank and file: some with swords and targets, who can never stand the shock of a body of horse: some bearing match-locks, which in the best of order can produce but a very uncertain fire: some armed with lances too long or too weak to be of any service, even if ranged with the utmost regularity of discipline.





Little reliance is therefore placed in this force. To keep night-watches, and to plunder defenceless people, is their greatest service, except it consists in their being a perquisite to their commanders, who receive a fixed price for every man, and hire every man at a different and less price.

As the Moors are the lords of the country, they are of consequence the warriors of it. These derive from their originals, the Tartars, the affection which that people are famous for bearing towards their horses; and the love of ease, in an inclement climate, has fixed this preference. The strain of all the war rests upon the numbers and goodness of horse which are found in an army.

Every man brings his own horse, and offers himself to be enlisted. The horse, and not the man, is carefully examined; and according to the size and value of the beast, the master receives his pay. A good horse will bring thirty or forty rupees a month. Sometimes an officer contracts for a whole troop which he has enlisted.

A horse in Indostan is of four times greater value than in Europe. If the horse is killed, the man is ruined. Strange that such a regulation should be established, as makes it the interest of the soldier to fight as little as possible.

The privileges of free-booty and plunder, together with sudden and sanguinary executions, in some measure check this consequence. The officer who commands a troop which





he has raised himself, is responsible for the behaviour of his men: he therefore brings them of his own family, or at least as he can depend on. These interests and connections do but indifferently supply the effects of a real love to their country, or a real attachment to their prince—principles which are very rarely found to influence the people of Indostan.

The victory is commonly decided by the fall of the principal men in the army. These begin the onset, and are followed by the hardiest of their partizans; who no sooner see their chief destroyed than they take to flight. Numbers of such skirmishes compose what is called a battle in Indostan. The greatest slaughter falls around the commander in chief, as the victory is confirmed in the instant of his death.

Armies more encumbered with the conveniences of life, than with the preparations for war, form loose, straggling, and disorderly camps, and make irregular, dilatory marches. The mutual inactivity becomes the general security; for as it is a custom of the east to make the great meal at night, and of consequence to fall into deep sleep immediately after it, a handful of resolute men might easily beat up a camp of many thousands.

The courage of the people depends on the climate. In the northern parts of the kingdom, firmer fibres produce a proportionable degree of resolution: in the southern all is sensibility;





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2 bility; and fear must be predominant in such as are infinitely susceptible of the minutest impressions.

Persons of high rank and distinction are seldom wanting in an intrepidity as little sensible to the apprehensions of danger, as the pusillanimity of the lower and meaner people is incapable of resisting such impulses.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

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*Composed at Calcutta in September 1752.*

*Corrected on board the ship Pelham, September 1753.*

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## BOOK II.

## CAP. I.

*Of the Moors of Indostan.*

THE Descendants of those *Moors* or *Tartars*, who under the command of Tamerlane conquered Indostan, are now become exceedingly numerous; and, if collected together, would form a very populous nation.

But being dispersed throughout the vast extent of this empire, their numbers appear so very small, when compared to that of the *Gentoos*, who are all the original people of the country, that nothing but an effeminacy and resignation of spirit, not to be paralleled in the world, could make it conceivable how these can remain subjected to masters whom they outnumber ten to one.

The number of *Moors* in the northern countries, and about Delhi the capital, is found vastly to exceed that of the southern and more distant provinces.

In the principal cities of the provinces, they are likewise in great numbers, as forming the greatest part of the soldiery, or depending upon the officers and offices of the government. Out of these cities it is difficult to find a trade or manufacture carried on by a Moor.

The





The Moors in Indostan may be divided into two kinds of people, differing in every respect, excepting in the profession of the same religion. Under the first are reckoned the descendants of the conquerors; Tartars continually naturalizing themselves in Indostan, through the encouragement which their martial spirit is sure to receive; Arabians and Persians who have quitted their own, to seek their fortunes in this country. The second rank of Moors comprehends all the descendants of converted Gentoos—a miserable race, as none but the most miserable of the Gentoos casts are capable of changing their religion.

## CAP. II.

*Of the Manners of the Moors.*

THE Tartars are known amongst themselves to be of honest and simple manners; and if at times fierce and cruel, they cease to be so when they cease to be enemies of war.

The conquest of Indostan was made by them with little difficulty, and has since been maintained with less: a distinction of religions (that of Mahomed, and that of the Gentoos) has ensued, whilst the conqueror may without controul vaunt his own, and insult that of the subject; the subject, by being more numerous has only become more despicable, from this proof of not daring to exert his strength. Almost the whole wealth of this vast territory is divided amongst the Moors,





Moors, the effect of their tenaciousness in keeping all offices of the government amongst themselves. The principle of the government has nevertheless reduced all these mighty lords to be as much the slaves to some powers, as others are slaves to theirs. A licentiousness and luxury peculiar to this enervating climate, have spread their corruption, and instead of meeting with obstacles from laws or opinions, is cherished as the supreme good to the utmost excesses. 2

All these will surely be deemed causes sufficient to have changed, in the present Moors of Indostan, the spirit which their ancestors brought with them into it: and from hence many and dreadful vices are now naturalized amongst them.

A domineering insolence towards all who are in subjection to them, ungovernable wilfulness, inhumanity, cruelty, murders and assassinations, deliberated with the same calmness and subtlety as the rest of their politics, an insensibility to remorse for these crimes, which are scarcely considered otherwise than as necessary accidents in the course of life, sensual excesses which revolt against nature, unbounded thirst of power, and an expacioussness of wealth equal to the extravagance of his propensities and vices—this is the character of an Indian Moor, who is of consequence sufficient to have any character at all.

It would be injustice to human nature, were we not to think all general descriptions of it liable to exceptions.

Inhumanity





Inhumanity and cruelty is not always the propensity of a Moor, as such; but as of a man determined to remove all obstacles to his ambition: this effected, it is common to see the prince of a disposition less sanguinary than that of the best of his courtiers. Such is Allaverdy Khan, the present Nabob of Bengal; and what is more singular in a person of his station and religion, this prince has always persisted to live the husband of one wife.

It remains to speak of the military resolution of the Moors. Where all is maintained by the sword, it is natural that the profession of a soldier should be the nearest road not only to honours but to power. Every one urges on to be as high in the rank of slaves as he can; and some have even affected intire\* independance. A governor of a province will scarce be able to maintain it, if he is not a very brave man, and at every instant ready to enter the field; nay, such a dignity is rarely conferred, but upon such as have given proofs of their abilities to command an army in person. Where courage is become so indispenfible a qualification, in all who attempt to better their fortunes in the state, it is no wonder that we see all of the highest rank of Moors possessed of it in no contemptible degree.

\* Nizamalmuluck, the Subah of the southern provinces; Allaverdy Khan, the Nabob of Bengal.





## CAP. III.

*Of the Politeness and Ceremonies of the Moors.*

THE climate and habits of Indostan have enervated the strong fibres with which the Tartars conquered it; and the rude sense of that people is now refined in their descendants, in a great measure, to the sensibility of the Indians.

I must apologize for reminding the reader so often, of the gradation of slavery which subsists throughout Indostan; without carrying this idea continually with us, it is impossible to form any idea of these people.

That tribute of obedience which a man pays to his superior, he naturally exacts from his inferior; and where every man is obliged to pay, and expects to receive, this obedience, it is natural that a check should be put to all outward indecorum. If to this we join the idea of a people in whom subtilty has been substituted to impetuous manners, we shall not wonder to see them become vastly polite. It is destroying the nature of things, for any more than one or two persons in any assembly, to be off their guard in the point of ceremonial or behaviour.

We find, therefore, amongst the Moors, the ceremonies of outward manners carried to a more refined pitch than in any other part of the world, excepting China. These manners are become a fundamental of their education, as without





them a man would, instead of making his fortune, be liable to lose his head.

An uncivil thing is never said amongst equals: the most extravagant adulation, both of gesture and words, is lavished upon the superior. The grandee is seated in his \* Durbar, where all who approach to pay their respects are ranged according to their respective degrees of station or favour. All is attention to his countenance: if he asks a question, it is answered with the turn that will please him: if he asserts, all applaud the truth: does he contradict, all tremble: a multitude of domesticks appear in waiting, as silent and immovable as statues. This is the ceremonial of paying court. I speak not of the Durbar as the tribunal of justice: there injuries must cry aloud, or will not be heard.

By the experience which they have had of Europeans, they deny us all pretensions to politeness. Our familiarities appear shocking to their notions of awe and respect: our vivacities quite ridiculous to their notions of solemnity. I shall be pardoned for giving an instance of this.

The gentlemen of one of the European factories in Bengal, were invited to see the ceremony of a sacred day at the Nabob's palace, where all the great men of the city were to

\* Durbar is the name of the place in which the prince makes his public appearance to receive homage, and likewise of that in which justice is administered by himself or his officers.





be assembled. The Europeans were placed near the Nabob's person. The scene was in a large area of the palace; in the middle of which, directly opposite to the Nabob, a fountain was playing. The Moors who entered, approached no nearer than just before the fountain; there made obeisance, and then retired to their seats. A man of some distinction added a step or two too much to his retreating bow, and fell backwards into the cistern of the fountain. I question whether half the foreign ambassadors of any court in Europe, could have suppressed their mirth on such an occasion: our foreign visitors burst into repeated peals of laughter, and flung themselves into all the attitudes which usually accompany the excess of it. Not a muscle was changed in the countenance of any other person in the assembly. The unlucky man went out with great composure, to change his raiment; and all the attention of the company was diverted from him upon the boisterous mirth of the strangers, which became real matter of astonishment to these nice observers of decorum.

The deputies of an European settlement on the coast of Coromandel, arrived at the camp of Nazirjing, late Subah of the southern provinces, who had at that time occasion for the services of their presidency. In stipulating the ceremonies of their audience, they insisted that they could not sit cross-legged upon the ground, without being cramped: it was answered, that they could not be admitted to sit upon chairs (according to the European custom) in the presence of a prince of Nazirjing's dignity; as, according to their customs,





no inferior could be placed on a seat raised higher than that on which his superior was seated. The deputies then desired that a hole might be dug in the ground of the tent, in which they might put their legs without injuring the dignity of that prince. This was granted, to the no small astonishment of all present, that these gentlemen should chuse, on such an occasion, to appear in a situation which amongst the Moors is a punishment for misdemeanors committed by the lower class of people. It had just the same effect upon them, as upon us would have the request of a stranger, who at such an introduction should desire, instead of a chair, to be set in a pair of stocks.

The Moors are much attached to such Europeans as comply easily with the solemnity and ceremonies of their manners; and nothing revolts them sooner than a contempt of their customs.

Persons of distinction have been known, through a sense of shame, to make away with themselves, after having committed an involuntary indecorum in the presence of their superiors. Need I say any thing more of their notions of behaviour and decorum?

## CAP. IV.

*Of their Dissimulation.*

THE politeness of other nations may have its rise from a natural ease and happiness of temper, a point of honour, the idea a man conveys of himself by the respect he shows to others;





others; but the decorum with which the common ceremonies and occurrences of life are conducted in Indostan, is derived from the constant idea of subordination, joined to a constant habit of the deepest disguise and dissimulation of the heart.

In Indostan, every man may literally be said to be the maker of his own fortune. Great talents, unawed by scruples of conscience, seldom fail of success: from hence all persons of distinction are seen running in the same course. The perseverance necessary to attain his end, teaches every man to bear and forbear contrary to the common instincts of human nature: and hence arises their politeness.

Let us carry these reflections a little farther. The general competition has put an end to mutual confidence: a sensibility capable of discerning every thing, is soon taught a disguise capable of concealing every thing. Where morality has no check upon ambition, it must form the blackest resolutions; and the dissimulation necessary to carry these into execution, will, amongst a people circumstanced as I have described them, be carried to excesses, which different manners and better morals will scarcely imagine human nature to be capable of.

An expression of indignation has cost a considerable officer his life, three months after he had betrayed himself to the apprehensions of his general, who never afterwards thought himself secure from the resentments of a man whose violence





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lence was capable of transporting him to a public manifestation of disgust: in the interim, nothing but the utmost complaisance and respect has subsisted between them. Just as the rash man has thought his peace was made, he has found his destruction determined.

I cannot ask credit for the multiplicity of facts of this nature, which I could relate: How many princes have been stabbed in full Durbar? How many have been poisoned in their beds? Chiefs of armies circumvented and cut off at conferences in the field? Favourite courtiers strangled without previous notice of their crime, or whilst they thought themselves on the eve of destroying their masters? A century of the politics of Indostan would afford more examples of this nature, than can be found in the whole history of Europe since the reign of Charlemagne.

How grateful, how noble are the reflections inspired by such a retrospect, in favour of the cause of Christianity, and in favour of the cause of Liberty!

## CAP. V.

*Of the Gentoos in general.*

A people believing in metempsychosis, who are forbid by their religion to destroy the smallest insect; a people continually assembling to celebrate the festivals of their gods, who believe that acts of charity to the poor can atone for all their  
+ fins,





fins, who are fond to excess of the enjoyment of a domestic life, and extremely solicitous in the cares of it—such a people must acquire humane and gentle manners.

The Gentoos are very affectionate parents, and treat their domestics with great mildness. They are charitable, even to relieving the necessities of strangers: and the politeness of their behaviour is refined by the natural effeminacy of their disposition, to exceed even that of the Moors.

The sway of a despotic government has taught them the necessity of patience; and the coolness of their imagination enables them to practise it better than any people in the world. They conceive a contemptible opinion of a man's capacity, who betrays any impetuosity in his temper.

Slavery has sharpened the natural finess of all the spirits of Asia; from the difficulty of obtaining, and the greater difficulty of preserving it, the Gentoos are indefatigable in business, and masters of the most exquisite dissimulation in all affairs of interest. They are the acutest buyers and sellers in the world, and preserve through all their bargains a degree of calmness, which baffles all the arts that can be opposed against it.

The children are capable of assisting them in their business at an age when ours scarce begin to learn. It is common to see a boy of eleven years enter into an assembly of considerable men, make his obeisance, deliver his message, and then retire with all the propriety and grace of a very well-bred man.

It





It has before been said, that the Gentoos in general are a very timorous people. In the northern parts of the empire they are of stronger bodies, ruder manners, and have scarce a religion; when it is compared to the multitude of ceremonies and observances which the southern Gentoos adhere so strictly to: here they are better foldiers, and sometimes take the field against the Moors, but rarely with success.

## CAP. VI.

*Of the Brachmans.*

EVERY son of a Brachman inherits the priesthood of his father: from hence their numbers are more than requisite to attend the service of their gods; and many of them are seen versant in the common occupations of life, with no other distinction than that of particular reverence paid to their persons by all who accost them, being every where considered as the highest cast of Gentoos.

The influence of priestcraft over superstition is no where so visible as in India. All the commerces of life have a strict analogy with the ceremonies of religion; and the Brachman has inculcated such a variety of strange persuasions, that the Gentoos find himself every hour under the necessity of consulting his spiritual guide. The building of a pagoda, and maintaining within it a set of priests, is believed the best action which human virtue is capable of. Every offence  
is





is capable of being expiated by largesses to the Brachmans, prescribed by themselves according to their own measures of avarice and sensuality.

Nevertheless it may be asserted, that if ever superstition produced an universal good, it is in Indostan, where we see it the foundation of an universal benevolence.

The supreme good of the Brachmans seems to center in the idea of plenty enjoyed in peace. They quit not the silence of their groves to join the tumults of the state, nor point the brand flaming from the altar against the battlements of the citadel. Their ideas of power are confined to their own little community: here they live in a state of subordination which knows no resistance, and flumber in a voluptuousness which knows no interruption.

But if the precepts and exhortations by which they obtain this affluent subsistence, recommended no other object but their own important persons to the consideration of charity, they would have all the world, excepting their bigots, for enemies; and these too might become undeceived, by the flagrancy of such interested commands.

Aware of this, the Brachmans have made their gods require, besides the necessity of endowing their temples, the practice of all other kinds of charities, by which the necessities of human nature may be relieved. A third part of the wealth of every Gentoo is expended upon such occasions. We see no where so numerous and such vast fabricks built for the service of religion: refectories built on the high road for the relief





and lodging of passengers: spacious ponds dug for the ease of the labourer, and the convenience of the inhabitants: daily distribution of victuals given to the poor:—such effects concur to give us an idea of the charity of the Gentoos, not exceeded by that of the practice of Christians.

The Brachmans themselves profess great hospitality, and by this address preserve that extreme veneration, which otherwise would be lost through the effects of envy, in a detestation of their impositions.

Far be from me the malignity of attributing to the weakness of human nature, the effects which might justly be given to its virtues: were not the Gentoos infamous for the want of generosity and gratitude in all the commerces of friendship; were they not a tricking, deceitful people, in all their dealings; their charity could not be deemed to arise from the influence of superstition.

A very strange custom prevails in some parts of India: a Brachman devotes himself to death, by eating until he expires with the surfeit. It is no wonder that superstition is convinced of the necessity of cramming the priest, when he professes to eat like a cormorant through a principle of religion.

#### C. A. P. VII.

#### *Of the Gentoo Principalities.*

It is a remark warranted by constant observation, that wherever the government is administered by Gentoos, the people





people are subject to more and feverer oppressions than when ruled by the Moors.

I have imputed this to intelligent Gentoos, who have confessed the justice of the accusation, and have not scrupled to give their opinions concerning it.

A Gentoo, say they, is not only born with a spirit of more subtle invention, but by his temperance and education becomes more capable of attention to affairs, than a Moor; who no sooner obtains power, than he is lost in voluptuousness; he becomes vain and lordly, and cannot dispense with satiating the impulses of his sensual appetites: whereas a Gentoo prince retains in his Durbar the same spirit which would actuate him if keeping a shop. Avarice is his predominant passion; and all the wiles, address, cunning, and perseverance, of which he is so exquisite a master, are exerted to the utmost in fulfilling the dictates of this vice; and his religion, instead of inspiring, frees him from, the remorse of his crimes; for whilst he is harassing and plundering his people by the most cruel oppressions, he is making peace with his gods by denying nothing to their priests.

The present king of Travencore has conquered or carried war into all the countries which lay round his dominions, and lives in the continual exercise of his arms. To atone for the blood which he has spilt, the Brachmans persuaded him that it was necessary he should be born anew: this ceremony consisted in putting the prince into the body of a

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golden





golden cow of immense value, where, after he had laid the time prescribed, he came out regenerated, and freed from all the crimes of his former life. The cow was afterwards cut up and divided amongst the SEERS who had invented this extraordinary method for the remission of his sins.

## END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

*Composed at Calcutta in September 1752.  
Corrected, retrenched in some, enlarged in other places, on board  
the Pelham, in September 1753.*





## B O O K III.

## OF THE LAWS AND JUSTICE OF INDOSTAN.

## CAP. I.

*Of the Laws of Indostan.*

A government depending upon no other principle than the will of one, cannot be supposed to admit any absolute laws into its constitution; for these would often interfere with that will.

There are no digests or codes of laws existing in Indostan: the Tartars who conquered this country could scarcely read or write; and when they found it impossible to convert them to Mahomedanism, left the Gentoos at liberty to follow their own religion.

To both these people (the lords and slaves of this empire) custom and religion have given all the regulations which are at this time observed in Indostan. The sanction of such impressions continue the policies of this empire, such as they are, with a constancy not exceeded in legislatures founded upon the best of principles.

A detail of these customs and policies is not to be expected. A whole life spent in such enquiries, would at the end remain ignorant of the hundredth part of them: every province has fifty sects of Gentoos; and every sect adheres to different observances. My intent is only to give a general

idea





idea of the sources of civil and criminal cases, and of the methods of process by which they are adjudged.

CHAPTER III. OF CIVIL CASES.

*Of Civil Cases.*

It is a maxim, that civil institutions will always be found infinitely more circumscribed, and much less complicated, in despotick states, than in those of liberty. If these in Indostan are found less frequent than in freer governments, they certainly are more than could be expected in one so absolute: and this I shall endeavour to account for.

No property in lands admits of disputes concerning them. The slavery to which the rights of parent and husband subjects the female (who neither amongst the Moors or Gentoos is suffered to appear before any of the other sex, except her nearest relations) abolishes at once all suits of dowries, divorce, jointures, and settlements: but if these two of the fundamental causes of dispute are removed, the other two remain; commerce and inheritances are permitted, and naturally produce contentions.

CAP. III.

*Inheritances and Commerce permitted; and from hence Civil Cases arise in Indostan.*

ALTHOUGH the notion of absolute power admits of nothing which can be sanctified from its grasp, whence the king, as  
in





in other despotick states, may, if he pleases, become heir to any man in his kingdom; yet custom has not established this right to him in Indostan; and these perhaps are the reasons why neither the Moors or Gentoos have been subjected to it.

1. All the political institutions of the Gentoos are so blended with the idea of religion, that this is generally effected where these are concerned. The softness of manners which these people receive from the climate, has fixed all their attention to the solaces of a domestick life. There are not more tender parents, or better masters, in the world: such a people will make wills in favour of their offspring: and the prince finds himself restrained by policy from establishing a right so utterly shocking to the nature and disposition of the subject. He is likewise restrained by religion: the name of God invoked in the testament of a Gentoo, gives it as sacred an authority as with those who have better notions of a Deity; and the Brachman is too much interested, as father of a family, to sanctify a practice which would affect his own property. Thus the Gentoo princes were never seen to assert this right, excepting when avarice had got so far the ascendant, as not only to confound all their notions of policy, but even to make them look on religion as the prejudice of education.

2. The Moors, in the first outrages of conquest, doubtless possessed themselves of all kinds of property: but when the  
Gentoos





Gentoos would not be converted, and were left to the observance of their own rites, the right of testaments was continued, and still subsists amongst them. The Gentoos, by their subtilty and application, find many means of gaining wealth under the Moors; and this wealth they devolve by will to their male children. The obstacles which these may meet with in taking possession, will be explained hereafter.

3. The idea of being fellow-conquerors; the complacency arising from perpetual victories; the immense wealth which these conquests afforded; might have been the causes which prevented the first Mahomedan princes of Indostan, from establishing amongst those of their own religion, this utmost effort of absolute power. They were contented with knowing that they had at all times the power to seize, without declaring that they intended to inherit every man's property.

4. When the kingdom came to be divided into distinct provinces; when many of these provinces rendered their Nabobs almost independant of the throne; it would have been the height of impolicy to have attempted such an institution; it would have been impossible to have effected it.

5. Had the throne attempted such violence upon such subjects as were more immediately within its reach, the next province, or, if not that, one beyond it, would have afforded an asylum, where a part of the persecuted wealth, bestowed with address, could not fail to procure safety and protection to





to the remainder; especially if the heirs, as they doubtlessly would, took sanctuary with princes, who either were dissatisfied with, or disregarded, the authority of the court: hence confusions and revolts may be strengthened, if not produced.

6. If a Nabob thought his power sufficiently established to perpetrate, and should attempt the violence of such acquisitions, the subject would remove to the government of the neighbouring prince, whom he would probably find in a state of war with him from whose outrages he had fled.

If the right of inheritance in the sovereign were as chimerical a notion as it appears inconsistent with the existence of a powerful nation, I should not have insisted upon these conjectures; but this right is certainly established in the dominions of the Turk: and the emperor of Japan is not only the absolute lord of the property of his subjects, but is likewise so, in the utmost signification of the term, over their persons, which he massacres and tortures at his pleasure, at some times exterminating a whole city for the offence of a single man.

The different methods of inheritance amongst the Gentoos, are settled by their religion, according to the different casts by which they are distinguished. In general, the females are recommended to the care of the brothers; and these are commonly ordered to divide equally: sometimes first cousins, especially if born under the same roof, share equally with the brothers: sometimes the first wife of the deceased is intrusted





with the management of the whole estate during life—a custom attended with no consequences prejudicial to the children, as she cannot enter into a second marriage. It is always recommended by the parent, that the house, if in a way of trade, be not divided; and as surely it happens, that divisions ensue amongst the heirs.

If the rights of inheritance are seen to be a source from whence a multiplicity of litigations may arise in Indostan, the free exercise of commerce will be found to produce still more frequent occasions of dispute.

The varied and extensive commerce which exists in Indostan, both by sea and land, is more than can be imagined by those who are unacquainted with the multiplicity and value of the productions of this wealthy empire: the high roads are full of caravans; the navigable rivers of boats; the sea-coasts of barques; and ships with the richest cargoes make voyages from one part of the kingdom to another.

## CAP. IV.

*Spirit of the Moors and of the Gentoos, in Litigious Contentions.*

It may not be thought unnecessary to view the dispositions of the people of Indostan in litigious contentions.

The Moors hold the office of a scribe in contempt: commerce therefore cannot be held by them in honour. The Moors who engage in it have nothing but the name of the merchant; the business is transacted by some subtle Gentoos, who, when he wants his master to confirm a bargain, is sure





to find him in the women's apartment, or falling asleep over his Kaloon\*. Nothing is so indolent as a Moor out of the track of ambition: he will readily compromise a cause, if he entertains the least doubt of gaining it; and if there is a necessity of prosecuting it, he sends a Gentoo to the Durbar, as his representative solicitor.

That puffanimity and sensibility of spirit, which renders the Gentoos incapable of supporting the contentions of danger, disposes them as much to prosecute litigious contests. No people are of more inveterate and steady resentments in civil disputes. The only instance in which they seem to have a contempt for money, is their profusion of it in procuring the redress and revenge of injuries at the bar of justice. Although they can, with great resignation, see themselves plundered to the utmost by their superiors, they become mad with impatience when they think themselves defrauded of any part of their property by their equals. Nothing can be more adapted to the feminine spirit of a Gentoo, than the animosities of a law-suit.

## CAP. V.

*Of the Administration of Justice in Civil Cases.*

THE superiority of their numbers in every province of Indostan, may have first given rise to the custom of devolving the office of Duan upon a Gentoo: and the sense

\* An instrument out of which they smoke tobacco.