

found that by accepting the price which the Raja was still willing to pay, he should, exclusively of a pecuniary aid, be relieved from the necessity of making a large detachment for the occupation of the place, while its use as a point of communication would still be preserved; it was accordingly delivered in July 1687 to the troops of Chick Deo Raj. It was obviously prudent in the state of Mysoor to abstain from any encroachments which should attract the particular attention of the greater powers: and although Chick Deo Raj observed the general policy of enlarging his dominions in the more unobserved directions, yet as he acquired more confidence in his strength and political address, we find him venturing across the line of general operation which has been described. So early as 1676 and 1677 he engaged in the conquest of the territories of the Hindoo chief of Mudgerry¹ and previously to the arrival of Kasim Khan in 1687, he had seized most of the principal places necessary for connecting his former frontier with this more northern acquisition. The amicable arrangement by which he obtained possession of Bangalore would render it incumbent on Kasim Khan to represent Mysoor to Aurungzebe as a state which ought to be encouraged as a counterpoise in the south to the dangerous power of the Mahrattas; and although it is known that the conquest of Mysoor was in the direct contemplation of that emperor, it was obviously his interest to postpone it so long as the Raja could be of use by being placed on the flank and rear of his actual enemies. We may on the whole infer, with great probability, the establishment and continuance of a friendly intercourse between Kasim Khan and the Raja, who skilfully availed himself of the confusion of the times, and continued to propitiate, in whatever manner, the court of Aurungzebe.

¹ *Mudgerry*.—Mudgere, now a taluq of the Kadar District. The head-quarters, Mudgere, is a small village about 90 miles N.W. of the town of Mysore.

1688. In the succeeding year we accordingly find him wresting Ooscota and some places of minor importance from the connections of the Mahrattas,* and pushing his conquests to the eastward, below the ghauts, in that and the following year over a considerable portion of the Baramahal, and of Salem, as far south as Permetti¹ on the Caveri. In 1690 he turned his arms to the opposite directions; and in the four following years had extended his dominion to the verge of the western hills of Bednore, with which power he seems to have concluded in the year 1694 an advantageous peace, which left him in possession of most of his conquests. Thus relieved from hostility on the west, his increasing power and resources encouraged him, after a few years of repose, to turn again his attention to the S. E., and to plan the conquest of the dominions of the Naick of Madura, commencing his operations with the siege of the important town of Trichinopoly. In the intermediate period, since the acquisition of Bangalore in 1687, Aurungzebe had found sufficient occupation in the conquest of the Deckan. Neither the destruction of the monarchies of Vijeyapoor and Golconda, the death of Sevajee, nor the capture and cruel murder of Sambajee his son, in 1691, seemed to improve the prospects of that emperor for the general subjugation of the south. From the first appearance of Sevajee as an independent leader, his armies had been recruited with the troops of all casts, which the gorgeous improvidence of the Mohammedan kings of Deckan had compelled them to discharge; or by the direct defection of those in actual employ

* Ooscota had been assigned by Shahjee, when summoned to court, to his minister Ishwunt Row. I cannot trace with certainty in whose possession it was at this time. Pootia's manuscript says the house of Eccojee.

¹ Permetti.—Peramathi, a village near the Kaveri river in Namakal Taluq of Salem District, Madras. Owing to irrigation channels taken from the Kaveri, the land in this part of the taluq is very fertile.

who were chiefly Mahrattas. The destruction of the two last of these Mohammedan states left two considerable * armies disbanded, unemployed, and seeking for employment. The policy of Aurungzebe, however sagacious in many instances, could not descend to the contemplation of peril from the dregs of a vanquished people: the abuses, now grown too dangerous to be at once reformed, which had crept into the payment and mustering of his armies, added to the overwhelming expences of his splendour and state, deprived him of the means of preventing these armies from being again marshalled against him. The necessity of attending to this pregnant source of danger was accordingly merged in the greater necessities of disordered finance; and the whole or the greater part of the armies which had recently been opposed to him were, in a short period of time, united to different bands of Mahratta marauders, who at this period began to swarm in greater numbers than had ever before appeared in almost every part of India; thus presenting to the power of Aurungzebe opposition more abundant, diversified and perplexing, at the very time that he had flattered himself with the destruction of the last of his enemies in the person of Sambajee. On the capture of this chief, Rama,¹ the second son of Sevajee, escaped after many

* "In the countries dependant on Hyderabad and Vijayapoor, which before their conquest maintained above two hundred thousand horse, there were not now stationed above thirty-four thousand," says the Bondela officer, when narrating the events of a few years afterwards. Scott, vol. ii. p. 107.

¹ *Rama*.—Raja Ram, the younger son of Sivaji, brother of Sambhaji. During Sambhaji's life, he had been confined as a prisoner in the fort of Raigarh. After the death of Sambhaji, Raja Ram was declared regent during the minority of Sivaji, the son of Sambhaji, who was six years old when his father was executed by Aurangzeb. When Raigarh fell into the hands of the Moghuls, Raja Ram escaped in disguise from the Mahratta country, passed through Bangalore and arrived safely at the fort of Jinji in the Carnatic. Zulfikar Khan had been sent by Aurangzeb to besiege Jinji in 1691. It was not taken until 1698.

perils across the peninsula, and assumed the direction of the Mahratta powers at Ginjee. Zulfecar Khan, with a large portion of the imperial army, had been employed since 1693 in feeble and ineffectual attempts to reduce that strong fortress; although he had extended his conquests over the open country with some degree of vigour, and with fluctuating success; and had exacted contributions from the Zemindars * (as they are uniformly named) of Tanjore and Trichinopoly. It was probably one of the auxiliary Mahratta armies, or reinforcements, under the command of Jugdeo Ghautkee, and Nimbajee Ghautkee, which, passing from the western country for the support of Ginjee and Draurveda, and provoked by the aggressions of Chick Deo Raj, or incited by the hope of plunder, suddenly appeared before Seringapatam, while the strength of the army was employed in the siege of Trichinopoly. An express was instantly sent to the Dulwoy Comareia, directing him to return for the protection of the capital.† He is stated in the

* See Scott, vol. ii. p. 81.

† This is one of the few dates which I have failed in arranging to my satisfaction. Neither the records of districts, nor the otherwise very correct MS. of Pootia, are careful in recording the date of an event, excepting when it has been followed by a change of possession. The memoirs of the Dulwoys have few dates: they place this Mahratta invasion next in the order of events to the occupation of Bangalore. Poornia's compilation, formed on a discussion of authorities, places it after the western conquests from Bednoor; but all are agreed that the Myscorean army was at the time before Trichinopoly. If we should adopt the former, and conjecture the Mahratta force in question to be that which is discussed by Mr. Orme in 155 to 158 of his *Historical Fragments*, namely, that which marched for the occupation of Bangalore in 1687, we must conclude that this Mahratta force watched the passage of the Myscorean army through the pass of Tapoor towards Trichinopoly, and moved rapidly across its rear by Changana, Wodiardroog, and Kaunkanhully, to Seringapatam. The objections to the adoption of this date seem to be nearly insuperable. According to Pootia's manuscript, the flag of Mysoor was hoisted at Bangalore on the 29th of July 1687; the Mahratta troops did not leave Ginjee till August; on the 10th of

family manuscript "to have made a vow not to appear before his Raja until he had taken Trichinopoly: in consequence of which he permitted his son Dudeia to take the command, and reserving with himself a small force, went afterwards to Ginjee;" a determination which seems to afford strong evidence of treachery, and of some secret intrigues which prevent our having received a more distinct account of this material transaction. Authorities are, however, agreed in stating that his son did proceed by rapid marches for the relief of the capital, and defeated the enemy by means of a most unmilitary practice, which we find to have been peculiar to the army of Mysoor so long afterwards as 1751; namely, that of always performing their night marches by the

November they are stated by Mr. Orme to be again at Trinomalee, and they had probably been there for some time before the intelligence reached Madras: a conjecture which is founded on the usual severity of the season, and the ordinary habit of the Mahrattas to be huddled by the 15th of October, when within the influence of the N.E. monsoon. Calculating the longest period that can be embraced between these probable extremes, and adverting to the nature of the country to be passed by these two armies respectively incumbered with the equipments of a siege, it can scarcely be considered possible that the Mysoreans could make their arrangements for the occupation of their new possessions, receive equipments for the siege of Trichinopoly, march to that place, be engaged in the siege, and return to Seringapatam; and that the Mahratta army could have invested Seringapatam and have marched after their defeat to Trinomalee within the supposed period. But independently of the shortness of time, and the disagreement in the names of the leaders, it places the expedition at a time of the year when the river Caveri is full, and when it would be scarcely practicable to undertake the siege of Trichinopoly from the north.

The grounds (which I offer without any positive confidence) for adopting the order of time stated in Poornia's MS. are the following. I find in a general letter from Madras in 1695-6 that Zulfecar Khan is outnumbered by the Mahrattas, of whom more were expected from Concan, and, if not supported, must (in their opinion) either join with the Mahrattas or submit; but that an army was reported to be coming to his assistance. This army under Dunnajee Jadoo Row we know to have arrived in 1696.

light of numerous torches.* It was impracticable to conceal altogether from the Mahratta army the approach of this relief, and this peculiar practice was made the foundation of a stratagem, which was effected in the following manner. In the evening the Dulwoy sent a small detachment in the direction opposite to that on which he had planned his attack; and in the probable line by which he would move to throw his force into the capital. This detachment was furnished with the requisite number of torches and an equal number of oxen, which were arranged at proper distances, with a flambeau tied to the horns of each, in a situation where they could not be observed by the enemy. At an appointed signal the torches

On the 19th of January 1696-7 in a mutilated paragraph, of which the worms had become the chief possessors, I find the following.

"11th. Nabob Zulfecar Cawn is gone into the Mizore country after the Mahratta army (whether to join them or fight them uncertain) and hath left a very small part of his army in these parts."

The blanks are filled in Italics, and may be varied according to the imagination of the reader: but my inference is, that finding on his arrival in or near Mysoor that the Mahratta army was already defeated and dispersed, he returned immediately into the lower country, from which it is certain that he was not long absent: according to the journal of the Bondela officer, translated by Captain Scott, Zoolfecar Khan received a large reinforcement in 1696, but was compelled to raise the siege of Ginjee in the same year. This expedition to Mysoor is not specified in the narrative of the Bondela officer among the operations of the year 1697; probably from being relinquished almost as soon as undertaken; but the conjecture here submitted is farther strengthened by a paragraph from Madras dated the 7th of August 1697, which states that "there is now no army of Mahrattas in these parts," and I should rather infer an omission in the narrative of the Bondela officer than a mis-statement in the letter from Madras, where at this time the transactions around them are generally stated with a degree of accuracy which doubles our regret at the destruction of so large a portion of the records.—N. B. I have been enabled to correct the above blanks in the Madras copy from the records at the India-house.

* See Mr. Orme's account, vol. i. p. 211.

were lighted and the oxen driven in the concerted direction, so as to indicate the march of the army, attempting to force its way through the besiegers by an attack on the flank of their position. So soon as it was perceived that the enemy were making a disposition to receive the army of torches, Dudgeon silently approached their rear, and obtained an easy but most sanguinary victory. The two Gautkees and most of their officers were killed, and the action terminated in the capture of the whole of their ordnance, baggage, and military stores of every description; and the disorder and flight of the remnant of their army. The Raja on the following day ordered his general and principal officers to be presented to him in public durbar, in the same military habits in which they had fought, "covered with the blood of his enemies;" and in this state rewarded them with dresses and ornaments of honour, and munificent presents proportioned to their respective rank and exploits.

Kasim Khan,¹ the friend and protector of the Raja at the court of Aurungzebe, who had for many years held some of the highest offices of the state, died in the following year; and this event had probably a considerable influence in determining Chick Deo Raj to send a splendid embassy with valuable presents to the imperial court. His various conquests had excited combinations against him among his powerful neighbours, and a certain degree of jealousy in the mind of the emperor himself. It was necessary that he should establish a fresh interest at court,

¹ *Kasim Khan.*—Khasim Khan committed suicide by taking poison in 1696. Zulfikar Khan, who was engaged on the siege of Jinji, left that place in this year and marched towards Trichinopoly and Tanjore. When he was absent, Santaji Ghodpade, the Mahratta general, laid waste the Carnatic, and a force was sent against him from Bijapur under Khasim Khan; the force was attacked by the Mahrattas near Dodderi, a village in Chitaldroog District, Mysore, and defeated. Khasim Khan, to avoid disgrace, determined not to survive and took poison.

1700.

and, if possible, obtain the recognition of his authority in its present enlarged extent. Some motives of vanity were probably also mixed with those of policy, and his late signal victory over the Mahratta enemies of the empire afforded solid ground for expecting a favourable reception. The splendour of the embassy does not, however, appear to have made much impression at the imperial court; and if we may judge from the trifling sum * recorded to have been expended in the entertainment of the ambassadors, the Zemindar of Mysoor (as he is called) was not held to be a person of very high consideration. Whether Aurungzebe actually conferred the high honours which were pretended to be received, would perhaps be a balanced question if it were of sufficient importance to merit a separate discussion. It is sufficient to our present purpose to state that they were publicly assumed, and as far as is known were never questioned; although a similar assumption on the part of the Raja or Zemindar of Bednore (namely, that of sitting on a throne), attracted the vengeance of Aurungzebe some years afterwards. The embassy which departed in the year 1699 found the imperial court at Ahmednuggur, and returned in the year 1700. The Dulwoy and other great officers of state were sent out in due form to receive the supposed letter, presents, and insignia of honour despatched by the emperor, which were carried in solemn procession through the town; and after being exhibited in the great temple at the feet of the idol *Sree Runga*, were brought in similar state to the palace. Among the presents was a new signet prepared by the emperor's direction, bearing the title of Jug Deo Raj, which was thenceforth employed; and part of the ceremonial was the new dignity alleged to have been conferred by the emperor of being seated on an ivory throne.¹ This was after-

* Two hundred rupees. Notes on the Asophia Dufter, communicated by Colonel W. Kirkpatrick to Major Mackenzie.

¹ *Ivory throne.*—The throne is now in the palace of the

wards used by his successors, and is the same which, in the year 1799, was found in a lumber-room of Tippoo Sultaun's palace; was employed in the installation of the present Raja; and is always used by him on occasions of public ceremony.

It was soon after the return of this embassy that he is also stated, in some manuscripts, to have distributed the business of the government into eighteen cutcheries or departments, in consequence of learning from the ambassadors that such was the practice of the imperial government, and consequently fit to be adopted by so great a prince as Jug Deo Raj (the sovereign of the world); but this arrangement is referred by others to an earlier period. I incline to the former supposition, from being unable to trace any good reasons for the establishment of so many departments for the transaction of business, which might with greater simplicity and convenience be allotted to less than half that number: the reader who has sufficient curiosity to form his own judgment on a subject of so little importance, will find these departments detailed in the subjoined note.*

Maharaja of Mysore, in Mysore. The original structure, which was of fig wood overlaid with ivory, may have been sent by Aurangzeb, but the local legend is that it was found buried at Penukonda, by the founders of the Vijayanagar Empire, and handed down to the Mysore Rajas. It is, however, certain that it was used by Chikka Deva Raja and by his successors up to the time of Tippu Sultan. It was found by the English in Seringapatam, and employed at the coronation of the restored Raja. It is now overlaid with gold and silver plating, on which are carved figures relating to Hindu mythology. An account of the throne will be found in Vol. II of the *Gazetteer of Mysore* by B. L. Rice, 1897.

* 1. Neroop Chaouree cutchery or department, or the secretary's department, to which he appointed one *Daroga* or superintendent, and three *Duffers*, registers or books of record (N.B. every thing was recorded in each of the three in exactly the same manner); all letters or orders despatched to be previously read to the Raja. 2. Eikut Chaouree, whose business it was to keep the general accounts of revenue, treasury, and disbursements civil and military; this seems to approach our office of

It is certain that the revenues were realized with great regularity and precision, and this Raja is stated to have established a separate treasury to provide for extraordinary and unexpected disbursements, of which he himself assumed the direct custody. It was his fixed practice, after the performance of his morning ablutions, and marking his forehead with the upright insignia of Vishnoo, to deposit two bags (thousands) of pagodas in this treasury from the cash despatched from the districts, before he proceeded to break his fast. If there were any delay in bringing the money he also delayed his breakfast, and it was well known that this previous operation was indispensable. By a course of rigid economy and order, and by a widely extended and well organized system of securing for himself the great mass of plunder obtained by his conquests, he had accumulated a treasure, from which he obtained the designation of Nou-kote-Narrain, or the lord of nine crores (of pagodas), and a territory producing a revenue calculated on the estimate of the

accountant-general. 3. and 4. Obeik Viehar, or *two-fold enquiry*. He divided his whole possessions into two portions; that north of the Cavery he called the *Puttun Hobly*; that south of the Cavery was named the *Mysoor Hobly*: to each of these cutcheries he appointed one Dewan and three Dufters. 5. Seemé Cundachar: it was the duty of this cutchery to keep the accounts of provisions and military stores, and all expences of the provincial troops, including those connected with the maintenance of the garrisons: one Buckshee and three Dufters. 6. Bakul Cundachar (bakul, a gate or portal): it was the duty of this department to keep the accounts of the troops attending at the *porte*, that is to say, the army, or disposable force. 7. Soonka Dé Chaouree, or *duties and customs*: it was their duty to keep the general accounts of customs levied within his dominions. 8. Pom Chaouree: in every talook where the *soonka* was taken there was another or second station, where a farther sum equal to half the former amount was levied; for this duty he established a separate cutchery. 9. Tundaia Chaouree; tundaia, half, i. e. half of the pom: this was a farther *fourth* of the first duty, levied in Seringapatam only. 10. and 11. In the Obeik Viehar was not included the *Sree Rung Puttun* and *Mysoor Astagrams*, (eight townships): for each of these he had a separate cutchery; besides the busi-

schedules annexed to the treaties of 1792 and 1799, of Canterai pagodas 1,323,571; a sum which is no farther remarkable than in its near coincidence with the value of territory assigned to the revived state of Mysoor after the lapse of another century in 1799, when the minister of one of the confederates objected to its amount, as being (notoriously, according to him) much greater than the Hindoo state of Mysoor had even possessed. The curiosity of many of my readers may be gratified by referring to the annexed map descriptive of the actual extent of Mysoor at this period, and noting the powers by which it was surrounded. Such of them as may desire to investigate the valuation to which I have adverted, will find it detailed in a convenient form in Appendix, No. 6.

Before proceeding to relate the remarkable change in the actual condition of the landholders of Mysoor, which was introduced by Chick Deo Raj, and forms the chief feature of his interior administration, it seems necessary to take an extended view of the

ness of revenue they were charged with the provisions and necessaries of the garrison and palace. 12. Bennea Chaouree: benné, butter (the butter department): the establishment of cows, both as a breeding stud, and to furnish milk and butter for the palace: the name was changed by Tippoo to *Amrut Mahal*, and then to *Keren Barick*. Amrut, the Indian nectar. Keren-barick, an Arabic term, may be translated almost verbally *Cornu Copia*. 13. Puttun Chaouree: this cutchery was charged with the police of the metropolis, the repairs of the fortifications and public buildings. 14. Beakin Chaouree (the department of expedition), or the post-office: the business of espionage belonged also to this department. 15. Sammooka Chaouree: the officers of the palace, domestics, and personal servants of every description belonged to the charge of this cutchery. 16. Deostan Chaouree kept the accounts of the lands allotted to the support of religious establishments, the daily rations of food to the bramins, lighting the pagodas, &c. 17. Cubbin Chaouree, iron cutchery: this article was made a monopoly, and its management was committed to a separate cutchery. 18. Hooqe Suppin; *the smoking leaf* or tobacco (in Telinga it is *Pookakoo*), another monopoly by the government, which in Seringapatam was the exclusive tobacco merchant.

question of proprietary right, in order that these changes may be more clearly understood. The local regulation alone might be comprised, or rather dismissed, in a short superficial narrative; but the subject involves considerations which I am unwilling to pass over in that manner: I shall, therefore, in a separate chapter, discuss the nature, and, as far as is practicable, trace the history of landed property in India; and as in the investigation of this subject I have arrived at conclusions materially differing from those which have hitherto been received as authentic, it is necessary that I should submit to my readers the grounds from which those conclusions are derived.

[The following note is furnished me by H. T. Gonsalves of the India Office: (March 1, 1923):—

Chaoree. In Canarese ಚಾವಡಿ: Cāvadi=Lodge, port house, office.

Neroop. ನಿರೂಪ: Nirupa=Appointment, order, command.

Eikut. ?=Probably Persian or Arabic. Ekkada chavadi.

Obeik. Not Dravidian. May be Gujarati "be"=two. ? ubhaika.

Vichar. ವಿಚಾರ: Vicar=Enquiry, investigation.

Seemé. ?=Shime Kandachar.

Cundachar. May be Kundācār.=Gold artisan, goldsmith. Mint Master. ?

Bakal. ? Bakal=a gate, a portal.

Soonka. ಸುಂಕದ ಚಾವಡಿ: Sunka-da cāvadi=Office of customs.

Pom. Most probably ಪೊನ್ನು: Pomnu.=Both words mean gold or pound. ?

Tundaia. ತುಂಡಾಯ: Tundaya=A bit, fragment. May mean the Miscellaneous Department. (Tunde, half, i.e., half of the Pom.)

Bennea. ಬೆಣ್ಣೆಯ: Bennaya=butter, oil.

Puttun. ಪಟ್ಟಣ: Pattana=Town, Office, Police Department.

Sammooka. Wing (of the palace) where servants are quartered.

Deostan. ದೇವಸ್ಥಾನ: Devastan=Department of Ecclesiastical Property.

Cubbin. ಕಬ್ಬಿಣ: Kabbina=Iron.

Hogge Suppin. ಹೊಗೆಸೊಪ್ಪು: Hogesoppu=Tobacco.]



CHAPTER V.

On the Landed Property of India.

Preliminary observations—The term “landed property” not sufficiently distinguished from the mode of possessing it under the feudal law—Objection to the employment of feudal terms—Origin of “landed property” according to Menu—the Mohammedans—the Roman lawyers—meaning attached to the term in this work—Earliest opinions regarding the state of landed property in India derived from the companions of Alexander—and embassy of Megasthenes—collected by Strabo—and Diodorus—their imperfect information—later voyagers and travellers—servants of the East-India Company—authors of “The Husbandry of Bengal”—of “Plans for British India”—of digest of Hindoo law—all deny the existence of private landed property—Reasons for dissenting from these authorities—Description of an Indian village or township—Kingdoms composed of these elements—their interior constitution and relation to the government liable to no change—examination of ancient authorities—Menu—digest—contradictions in the commentary—examination of the text—person designated as proprietor—limitations regarding hereditary descent—and public contributions—Proof of hereditary and entailed landed property as an universal principle of Hindoo law—neither king nor zemindar the proprietor—Amount of land tax—objections—viz. fines for neglecting to cultivate—and the land itself granted by the king—answered by reference to the text of the law and the terms of the grants—Reference to the ancient state of

landed property in other countries—Judea—Egypt—Spartan fables—Athens—Information doubtful regarding Greece—more ample and perfect in Italy—inference from this examination—Attempt to trace the state of landed property in India, from the earliest periods till the present day—Conquests—of Hindoos—Huns—Toorks—Afghans or Patans—Moguls—interrupted by natural impediments—central regions first overrun—Eastern and western tracts separated by precipices and a burning climate—Examination of the latter from the eastern coast at $13\frac{1}{2}$ north latitude, round Cape Comorin to 15 N. on the west coast—Canara—one-sixth of the crop the ancient land-tax—increase of 10 per cent. on its conquest by a Pandian in 1252—conquest by the house of Vijayanuggur in 1336—law tract composed by the minister of that state still extant—taxes conformable to Menu, and the ancient authorities on Hindoo law—that law dexterously applied to the calculations of the conqueror—raises the revenues 20 per cent.—farther assessment by the rebel governors in 1618—Rate at which lands were then sold—hereditary rights in land indefeasible in Canara—subsequent exactions up to and after the conquest by Hyder in 1763—under Tippoo Sultaun proprietors begin to disclaim their property—inference from this fact—Malabar—fabulous and real history—landed property of this coast perfect to a degree unexampled in any other country ancient or modern—Travancore—eastern coast, or Drauvada—beginning with the northern limit—conquered by the house of Vijayanuggur in 1490 to 1515—by the Mussulman states of Vijayapoor and Golconda in 1646—frequent incursions under Shahjee—Sevajee—first fixed Mohammedan government about 1698—its detestable character—these barbarians acknowledge in the very technical terms they employ the existence of pri-

vate hereditary property in land at that time—discussions on this subject on the records of Madras—their result—sale of the lands—and creation of Zemindars, in the Jageer Salem, &c.—suspicion of the propriety of that measure—its farther operation suspended—State of property in Tanjore—Madura—Tinevelly, &c. &c.—inferences—The territorial policy of Madras derived from Bengal—Errors in the permanent settlement of that country—Inferences from the whole.

THE three persons whose relations to each other, and to the property of the soil in India, have been discussed in former publications, are, the Sovereign, the Zemindar (a proprietor according to some, and an officer of revenue according to others), and the Ryot, or cultivator of the ground: and it has been objected to the whole discussion, that as the relative claims of each of these persons on the produce of the soil, and the extent of certain prescriptive rights which cannot be infringed without the imputation of injustice, are admitted without much variation by all parties; the argument for determining who is the actual proprietor of the soil is rather a dispute about words than a discussion concerning things. This objection would indeed be fatal to any farther agitation of the question, if the premises from which it is derived were fully admitted: it is therefore indispensable to the hope of obtaining a patient perusal of the following observations, that I should protest *in limine* against the definition, in substance as well as in form, of the whole of these claims and rights, regarding which the contending parties are supposed to be agreed.

“Landed property” is a form of speech so familiar to the English ear, that the ideas annexed to it would seem to require but little explanation: and yet the very word *tenure*, by which we express the manner of possessing the right to such property, not

only intimates a diversity in the meanings attached to the term "landed property," but also conveys the direct admission of holding such property from a superior on certain conditions. It is natural that an idea so entirely identified with the received notions of landed possession in England, should introduce itself with facility into all our discussions on the same subject in other countries; but those authors who have found in the incidents of landed property in India the whole system of the west, to the extent of applying the technical terms of the feudal law indiscriminately to both, appear to me to have made the same approach to correct investigation as the poet, who, in a happy simile, has discovered a fanciful and unexpected resemblance between things really unlike. I refrain for the present from the proof of this position, because I think it will abundantly unfold itself in the course of the investigation. An elaborate comparison of these two systems would lead to discussions of great length, and perhaps of little importance; and I am neither qualified nor disposed to enter the lists with those *learned men* who have investigated the origin of the feudal institutions; who are not agreed whether feod be a stipendiary property,* or simply glebe or land; whether the system of allotting landed property, in the descending scale of military subordination, as a payment for military service, was imported from the woods of Germany by a people among whom no landed property had previously† existed; or whether the highest of authorities‡ has solved the difficulty, by making the feofs of the German chiefs to consist in arms, horses, dinners, or other valuable things, according to which explanation every government on earth is feudal.

These diversities of doctrine seem to shew, that

* Blackstone, Vol. II. c. 4. and the authorities there quoted.

† Tacitus de Mor. Germ. c. 26. Cæsar de bello Gall. b. vi. c. 21.

‡ Spirit of Laws, b. xxx. c. 3.

a fixed object of comparison will not easily be discovered in the feudal system; but in the investigation of the state of landed property in India, I object to the employment of feudal terms, because they beg the question, by implying a chain of facts which, at least, remain to be proved: and I shall avoid the comparison altogether, because I should only expect to be led by it to the discovery, not of what that property is, but of what it is like: a mode of reasoning which has, perhaps, been the source of most of the errors on this subject which have hitherto been promulgated.

The explanation of the origin of landed property which is delivered by Menu* is not exceeded in correctness by any of the writers† of the west. "Cultivated land is the property of him who cut away the wood, or who first cleared and tilled it;" and the exact coincidence of this doctrine with that of the early Mohammedans is worthy of particular remark. "Whosoever ‡ cultivates waste lands does thereby acquire the property of them; a Zimmee (infidel) becomes proprietor of them in the same manner as a Mussulman." The general idea of property, delivered by the Roman lawyers,§ and adopted into all the codes of Europe, is that of simple, uniform, and *absolute* dominion; but it is manifest that the notion of absolute dominion is to be understood with considerable limitations. The idea of *absolute* dominion over any thing which we possess, is altogether incompatible with the existence of society, which necessarily renders all our possessions *conditional*: property, whether moveable or immoveable,

* Menu, c. 9. v. 44. This is the allodial property of the west, or what may not inaptly be termed property *without tenure*.

† Blackstone, Vol. II. c. 1, and the authorities there quoted, together with the civilians quoted by Gibbon, c. 44, and Aycliffe *passim*.

‡ An oral authority of Mohammed, quoted in the Hedaya.

§ Gibbon, chap. 44. Aycliffe *passim*.



even the disposal of our time, and of our personal labour, the most valuable of our property, and the most unquestionably our own, are all of them liable to the conditions and restrictions prescribed by the community to which we belong, or by the person or persons representing or governing that community. At the very period when Justinian was employed in the compilation of the laws to which we have adverted, many of these persons described as possessing immoveable property in absolute dominion were compelled to relinquish* their lands, because they were insufficient to satisfy the demands of the treasury. The government must not only have absorbed the share of the produce belonging to the proprietor, but the profit derivable by a tenant before the proprietors could have been driven to relinquish their lands. This case of extreme oppression more than extinguished the property : but if we deny the existence of property merely because it is subject to contributions for the service of the state, we shall search in vain for its existence in any age or nation. In England a proprietor of land who farms it out to another, is generally supposed to receive as rent a value equal to about one-third of the gross produce ; this proportion will vary in different countries according to circumstances ; but whatever it may be, the portion of it which remains, after the payment of the demands of the public, may safely be described as the proprietor's share of the produce of his own land : that which remains to him, after defraying all public taxes, and all charges of management. Wherever we can find this share, and the person entitled to receive it, him we may, without the risk of error, consider as the proprietor ; and if this right has descended to him by fixed rules from his ancestors, as the hereditary

* Procopius, quoted by Gibbon in chap. 40. There is reason to suspect exaggeration in the statement of Procopius in all that could convey a satire on Justinian ; but the fact, though highly coloured, is still entitled to credit.

proprietor. Property may be limited by many other conditions; but "dominion so far absolute as to exclude all claims, excepting those of the community which protects it," conveys a general idea of the most perfect kind of property that is consistent with the restrictions incident to a regulated society: always supposing, in the case of land, the existence of the proprietor's share which has been described. There is perhaps no single criterion by which the existence of such share is so distinctly ascertained as by the fact of land being saleable. When unoccupied land is abundant (as it is in most parts of India), and all lands are taxed in proportion to their value, we do not hear of men purchasing the privilege to become tenants; to obtain that which is open to all, and even courts the acceptance of all: men do not give a valuable consideration for a thing of no value; the fact of purchase shews that there is something to sell, that there is a proprietor's share. If the demands of the government become so heavy as to leave no such share, the sovereign may then be named the proprietor, or the usurper, or any other more imposing or more gentle term which eastern courtesy shall invent: it is plain that the former proprietor is reduced to the condition of a tenant; he may cling for a time to the possession of his fathers, and this attachment may survive the existence of that which created it; but he is in effect no longer a proprietor of land, it is no longer saleable; there is no proprietor's share, the value and the property have ceased together; and there is no longer a question about exclusive dominion, because no person will contend for that to which no value is attached.

Before dismissing this branch of the subject, it is worthy of remark, that according to the Roman lawyers* the power of alienating land was the crite-

* Adams's Antiquities, p. 56. Ayliffe, p. 282. It is true that the Roman lawyers sometimes consider usufruct as "*a species of dominion or property*" (Ayliffe, p. 315.) *Dominium*, according to

tion of property; possession without such power being described as merely the usufruct. The inference appears to be irresistible, that the fact of land being saleable ascertains the existence of property, and that the right to sell identifies the proprietor. The reader is requested to bear in mind the definition which has been offered of property, and of the circumstances which ascertain its existence or extinction in the case of land; because, without aspiring to deliver abstract definitions not liable to objection, these are the meanings which will be uniformly attached to the term whenever it shall be found in the course of this discussion. It is hoped that these preliminary explanations will enable us to enter with

this explanation, is to be considered as a *totum*, or *genus*, containing under it as two *species*, a *nude* property, and an usufruct; the *plenum dominium* being the union of both these species of property. But this mode of considering *usufruct* seems to be scarcely compatible with the broad distinction constantly preserved between *it* and *property* by themselves, and is liable to the serious objection of unnecessarily employing the same word (*viz.* property) to signify two distinct and different things, than which nothing can be more fatal to precision in expressing our thoughts. Thus in the very explanation of this fanciful genus and species, "a nude property (say they) is one thing, and a *plenum dominium* is another; for a nude property is when the proprietor has the property of a thing the usufruct being in another, and thus *usufruct is distinct and separate from the property of a thing.*" (Ayliffe, p. 315.) It is probably this application of the same term to dissimilar things which has given rise to the indistinct notions to be found on the records of Madras of two properties in one thing. Nothing can be more simple and intelligible than the explanation of usufruct given by the Roman lawyers, without reference to this confusion of two things declared to be distinct and separate, *viz.* "the right of using the profits arising from a thing belonging to another person, without any prejudice or diminution to the substance or property thereof." (Ayliffe, p. 313.) I accordingly adhere to this definition of usufruct, in the persuasion that no confusion of ideas can possibly arise from distinguishing in all cases whatever, between the right to the substance of a thing, and the right to its temporary use, or from always employing different words to express these very different things.



some advantage into the nature of landed property in India.

The earliest opinions on this subject received by the western world may chiefly, if not wholly, be traced to the narratives of those persons who accompanied the expedition of Alexander, and of the embassy of Megasthenes, who shortly afterwards penetrated still farther into India as the ambassador of Seleucus; the substance of their information, as well as of all that had been obtained in the intermediate periods, has been collected in the works of Diodorus, a native of Sicily, who flourished at Rome about 44 years before the Christian æra, and of Strabo, an Asiatic Greek, who lived in the subsequent century: both of them authors of deserved celebrity, who are said to have visited most of the countries which they described, with the exception, however, of India, as is evident from their works. Strabo complains that the modern voyagers whom he had consulted, who sailed from the Red Sea to India (some few of them even to the Ganges), were so rude and ignorant as to be incapable of making or communicating useful observations. The companions of Alexander are stated by the same author to have given different and opposite accounts of what they had seen; "and if (adds he) they differ thus regarding what they saw, what opinion shall we form of what they only heard?" The means of communication which were possessed by the philosophers who accompanied Alexander are happily described in the quaint but acute answer of Mandanis the sophist, to Onesicritus, when sent by the conqueror to be instructed in the philosophy of India: "I may well be excused (said Mandanis), if conversing with you through the medium of *three* interpreters, ignorant of every language but that of the vulgar, I should find it impossible to unfold the principles of our philosophy. To form such an expectation would be as unreasonable as to demand that I should transmit water in a

limpid state through a medium of mud." The imposing reputation of antiquity has, however, given great weight to the information derived from these sources. It seems to have been scarcely noticed, that Strabo, on the authority of Nearchus, assures us,* that the husbandman of India carried home just as much of his crop as was sufficient for the subsistence of the year, and burned *all the rest*, in order that he might have an incentive to labour in the succeeding year; that Diodorus affirms famine to be unknown in India; that Arrian and Strabo affirm slavery, which is universal in every part of India, to have no existence there†; and, finally, that Strabo himself stigmatizes as retailers of fables Nearchus, Onesicritus, and Megasthenes, whom in other places he cites as his authorities: while Diodorus and Strabo are carefully quoted to shew that the whole‡ property of the soil was vested in the king, who received as proprietor a fourth part of the produce. With the aid of more direct and perfect modes of interpreting the pompous phraseology of the east, which styles its monarchs the lords, and its priests the gods of the earth, the inference of these authors, whether strictly correct or otherwise, was very fairly deducible from the translations which they would probably receive of these terms; and a stranger who should receive from an English lawyer an explanation of the king's fictitious rights under the feudal system, without enquiry into the substantial fact, would probably receive a similar impression regarding the property of land in England.§ It will be seen hereafter, that in

* Strabo, book 15.

† Vincent's Nearchus, Prel. Dis. page 15.: *ibid.* p. 57.

‡ Diodorus, book ii. Strabo, book xv.—In this, however, they are not consistent with each other, for Strabo affirms that the cultivators pay a fourth of the produce *as rent*, while Diodorus states that they pay a fourth of the produce *besides the rent*.

§ The reader who has not perused the observations of Algernon Sydney on this subject (chap. 3. sect. 29), will be amused and instructed by referring to them, and to the doctrines

conformity to what is stated by Strabo and Diodorus, the king was really entitled to exact one-fourth of the crop in times of public distress. The voyagers* and travellers of later times, without any exception, that has fallen within the scope of my limited reading, and the authors (when they have condescended to notice temporal affairs) of that very strange collection the "Lettres Edifiantes," have all echoed the same doctrine: and† the European travellers who visited the court of Aurungzebe in the latter part of the 17th century are unanimous in denying the existence of private landed property in India. The whole of Asia, indeed, seems to be condemned to the same interdict: and a late‡ author broadly pronounces that in Syria there is no property, real or personal; an assertion which he might at any time have discovered to be erroneous, by the purchase of a farthing's-worth of greens in the bazar. It is thus that men of genius confound the real with the imaginary consequences of despotism; and because there is no efficient and equal protection for property, conclude at once on its absolute extinction.

When the English government became the sovereign of a vast territory in India, the question of landed property was investigated with warmth, and two opposite parties arose, respectively affirming the right of the sovereign and of the Zemindar, to the property of the soil. The reasonings on this subject were not only recorded on the official proceedings of

of his opponents, very similar indeed to the doctrines now held regarding the landed property of India; and he will naturally be led to conjecture what the practical doctrines regarding the property of land in England might have been at this day, if such men as Algernon Sydney had not dared and died for the benefit of posterity.

* I have not been able to procure the work of Cosmas Indicopleustes, who wrote in the age of Justinian.

† Bernier, Thevenot, Chardin, Tavernier, and I believe Manouchi.

‡ Volney, vol. ii. p. 402. I quote the page from Patton.

the company's government, but were submitted to the judgment of the public by men of respectability and talent, personally conversant with the department of Indian revenue: and a decision on the whole case has been pronounced by the high authority of a lawyer, a statesman, and a minister; and generally confirmed in an anonymous work* of merit on the husbandry of Bengal, attributed to an author of still greater authority on subjects of this nature. As this decision appears at present to govern the public opinion, I shall quote it at length.

† "On the subject of rights of the Zemindars the reasonings continued for years in extremes. On one hand it was asserted that the Zemindar had been merely an officer or collector of revenue; on the other, that he had been a feudatory prince of the empire. It has required the most laborious investigation to discover the fact, viz. that the Mogul was the lord superior or proprietor (terms‡ equivalent in their meaning) of the soil; that the Zemindars were officers of revenue, justice and police in their districts, where they also commanded a kind of irregular body of militia; that this office was frequently hereditary, but not necessarily so; that on the failure of payment of the rents, or of fulfilling the other duties of his office, he could be suspended or removed from his situation at the pleasure of the prince; that the rents to be paid to him were not fixed, but assessed, at the will of the sovereign: and that the Ryot or cultivator of the soil, though attached to his possession, and with the right to cultivate it, yet was subjected to payments, varying according to particular

* Husbandry of Bengal, p. 68.

† Plans for British India, p. 470.

‡ This is a notable instance of the employment of feudal terms, which, with due submission, appear to me to be rendered *equivalent* by confounding fiction with substantial fact: and at all events cannot, without begging the whole question, be so applied in India.

agreements and local customs; that, in general, he continued on the spot on which his labours were directed to raise the means for his own subsistence, but that the proportion to be paid to the state was to be judged of by the Zemindar; that the rights of the Ryot had been gradually abridged, and the proportions he paid increased, during the successive revolutions through which his country had to pass before and after the fall of the Mogul empire."

I shall close this formidable list of authorities in favour of the proprietary right of the sovereign, with a reference to a *Digest of Hindoo Law*.^{*} The ingenious author Jagganatha,[†] with a courtesy and consideration for opinions established by authority which is peculiar to the natives of India, has, in his Commentary, pronounced the earth to be the "protective property of powerful conquerors, and not of subjects cultivating the soil:" they are, however, admitted to acquire an *annual property*, on payment of annual revenue, until a greater revenue be offered by another person! The general object of a commentary is supposed to be the elucidation of the text; and as a curious and instructive example of inference, the reader is here presented with the text from which this conclusion is drawn.

"Thrice seven times exterminating the military tribe, *Parasu Rama* gave the earth to *Casyapa* as a gratuity for the sacrifice of a horse." I feel it necessary to assure the reader that this is a serious quotation of the whole text: to which is prefixed a short

^{*} London Edition, vol. i. p. 460.

[†] I am aware that some other commentators have maintained the same doctrine before Jagganatha, influenced, without doubt, by the same courtesy; but they have produced no text that any man of plain understanding would acknowledge as authority. Jagganatha, as will presently be seen, combats the opinion of a large class of commentators, who affirm the husbandman to be the proprietor. It will be seen hereafter that the word *Oshetra-Carta*, translated husbandman, is literally *landlord*.

introduction by the commentator, intimating, not inelegantly, if fable alone were intended, that "this earth, created by God, became the wife of *Prithu* (the Cecrops of India, who first invented agriculture), and by *marriage* and otherwise became the property of several princes." The learned and highly enlightened translator of this work truly informs us, "that* much of the commentary might have been omitted without injury to the context," but that he undertook a verbal translation as a public duty, and could take no freedoms with either: a restriction which probably many readers will regret, when apprized on the same respectable authority that the work is intended to serve "as† a standard for the administration of justice among the Hindoo subjects of Great Britain."

I have endeavoured to marshal, without any disguise, the mighty phalanx of opinion which is concentrated against me, and I shall now proceed to examine the authorities which have led me to a different conclusion.

Every Indian village is, and appears always to have been, in fact, a separate community or republic; and exhibits a living picture of that state of things which theorists have imagined in the earlier stages of civilization, when men have assembled in communities for the purpose of reciprocally administering to each other's wants: 1. the Goud, Potal, Muccuddim, or Mumdil (as he is named in different languages), is the judge and magistrate; 2. the Curnum, Shanboag, or Putwaree, is the register; 3. the Taliary or Sthulwar, and, 4. the Totie, are severally the watchmen of the village and of the crops: 5. the Neergunttee distributes the water of the streams or reservoirs in just proportion to the several fields; 6. the Jotishee, or Joshee, or astrologer, performs the essential service of announcing the seasons of seed time and harvest, and the imaginary benefit of unfolding the

* Preface, p. 24.

† Preface, p. 25. London Edition.

lucky or unlucky days and hours for all the operations of farming: 7. the smith, and 8. carpenter, frame the rude instruments of husbandry, and the ruder dwelling of the farmer; 9. the potter fabricates the only utensils of the village; 10. the washerman keeps clean the few garments which are spun, and sometimes woven, in the family of the farmer, or purchased at the nearest market; 11. the barber contributes to the cleanliness, and assists in the toilet of the villagers; 12. the silversmith,* marking the approach of luxury, manufactures the simple ornaments with which they delight to bedeck their wives and their daughters: and these twelve officers (Barra bullowuttee, or Ayangadee), or requisite members of the community, receive the compensation of their labour, either in allotments of land from the corporate stock, or in fees, consisting of fixed proportions of the crop of every farmer in the village. In some instances the lands of a village are cultivated in common, and the crop divided in the proportions of the labour contributed, but generally each occupant tills his own field; the waste land is a common pasture for the cattle of the village; its external boundaries are as carefully marked as those of the richest field, and they are maintained as a common right of the village, or rather the *township* (a term which more correctly describes the thing in our contemplation), to the exclusion of others, with as much jealousy and rancour as the frontiers of the most potent kingdoms. Such are the primitive component parts of all the kingdoms of India. Their technical combination to compose districts, provinces, or principalities, of from ten to a hundred thousand villages, has been infinitely diversified at different periods by the wisdom or caprice of the chief ruler, or

* In some parts of the country the silversmith is not found included in the enumeration of twelve, his place being occupied by the *poet*, a less expensive member of the community, who frequently fills also the office of schoolmaster.

by the vigour and resistance of those who, in every age, country, and condition, have coveted independence for themselves, and the power to govern the greatest possible number of their fellow creatures. Menu's* arrangement places a lord over one town with its district (which is precisely the township above described); a lord of ten, of twenty, of a hundred, and of a thousand, in a scale of regular subordination, reporting and receiving commands successively from the next in gradation; and fixes with precision the salaries and perquisites of each. His scheme of government recognizes none of those persons who, in these days, are known by the several designations of Wadeyars, Poligars, Zemindars,† Deshayes, &c. (all in their respective jurisdictions assuming, when they dare, the title of Raja or king): all the officers enumerated by Menu have, in their several scales, at different periods simply acted as agents of the sovereign; as farmers of revenue contracting with the sovereign for a certain sum, and levying what they can, as partisans or chiefs of troops, receiving an assignment on revenues managed by another, or the direct management themselves, for the purpose of defraying the pay of the troops. In these several capacities they may have continued obedient to the sovereign who deputed them; they may have obtained from his favour, or from his fears, a remission of a part of the sum to be accounted for; they may have rebelled and usurped the whole government, or have established a small independent principality, or a larger: but

* Chap. 7, p. 115. &c.

† In the work of Tippoo Sultaun, who affected new names for all objects, they are called *Boomeean*, the plural of a Persian word nearly synonymous with Zemindar. He, however, applies it not only to the Indian chief of a district which he is reducing to subjection, but frequently (and with more propriety) to the inhabitants of the district generally; apparently intending to convey the idea of their being the aborigines. *Boom*, country, region, *boomee*, belonging to a region; a person who has never left home.

with regard to the villages or townships of which the principality is composed, they have appeared but in one character, viz. the government, the sovereign: a person exercising the sovereign authority on his own account, or by delegation on account of another. The interior constitution and condition of each separate township remains unchanged; no revolutions affect it; no conquest reaches it. It is not intended to assert that the village in our contemplation may not have produced the Cæsar of his little world; the rights of the inhabitants may have been invaded by the Potail, by the Poligar ruling over twenty, by the Wadeyar ruling over thirty-three, by the collector over two hundred, or by the sovereign of twenty thousand townships: each or either of these persons may have attempted, or have succeeded, or have failed, in persuading or forcing an augmentation of the proportion of money or of grain paid by the township to the state, but conquests, usurpations, or revolutions, considered as such, have absolutely no influence on its condition. The conqueror, or usurper, directly or through his agents, addresses himself as sovereign or representative of the sovereign to the head of the township; its officers, its boundaries, and the whole frame of its interior management remain unalterably the same*; and it is of importance to remember that every state in India is a congeries of these little republics.

* "Every village, with its twelve Ayangadees as they are called, is a kind of little republic, with the Potail at the head of it; and India is a mass of such republics. The inhabitants during war, look chiefly to their own Potail. They give themselves no trouble about the breaking up and division of kingdoms; while the village remains entire, they care not to what power it is transferred: wherever it goes the internal management remains unaltered; the Potail is still the collector and magistrate, and head farmer. From the age of Menu until this day the settlements have been made either with or through the Potails." Report from Anantpoor, 15th of May, 1806, by my friend Lieutenant-Colonel Munro, to whose excellent reports on revenue I am proud to acknowledge the most extensive obligations.

The most ancient and authentic authorities accessible to the English reader are the institutes of Menu translated by Sir W. Jones; and the texts from a great variety of books of sacred law, which are collected and arranged in the digest of Hindoo law already mentioned. The author of that work informs* us in his Commentary, that *Chandeswara and others* explain the word *husbandman* as *owner of the field*, and endeavours to remove the difficulty of reconciling these authorities with his own courtly opinion, already mentioned, by a series of quibbles which I will not attempt to discuss, because I profess myself unable distinctly to comprehend them. This author has not thought proper to quote a text of which he could scarcely be ignorant, viz. “†cultivated land is the property of him who cut away the wood, or who first cleared and tilled it;” a passage which distinctly establishes the existence of private property in land in the days of Menu. It may possibly be objected that this passage occurs not in a disquisition concerning land, but for the purpose of illustrating a question of filiation, by comparing the respective claims of the owner of seed, and the owner of the land in which it is sown: but this apparent objection, as I conceive, materially strengthens the authority: we illustrate facts which are obscure, by reference to facts of general notoriety; and it is manifest that this origin of landed property, so consonant to the dictates of reason, and to the general opinion of mankind, must have been familiarly known and acknowledged as a practical rule of society at the period‡ when the code of Menu was compiled (for it professes to be a compilation), viz. about 880 years before the Christian æra, and 553 before the expedition of Alexander.

The passages from the *Digest itself*, which prove beyond the possibility of cavil the existence of

* Vol. i, p. 463. London Edition.

† Menu, c. 9. v. 44.

‡ Preface to the Translation.

private property in land, crowd upon me in such numbers that I am only at a loss which of them to select ; but in order that we may not be disturbed by the claims of the fabulous husband of the earth, in the form of Raja or Zemindar, it may be proper to commence with shewing that the laws of Menu, and of the Digest, with regard to the sale, the gift, the hereditary descent, and other incidents of land, can by no possibility be forced to apply to either Raja or Zemindar, or any other person than the individual occupant and proprietor. * Six formalities for the conveyance of land are enumerated in the Digest, viz. 1. the assent of townsmen ; 2. of kindred ; 3. of neighbours ; 4. of heirs ; 5. the delivery of gold ; and 6 of water† : to which six formalities the commentator is pleased to add a seventh, not mentioned in the text, the assent of the king, or the officer of the king residing in the town. I shall, however, be satisfied with his own explanation of this very passage in another place, when he had probably suffered his recollection and his courtesy to be off their guard. “ † The assent of townsmen, of heirs, and of kindred, is there required for the publicity of the gift; the assent of neighbours for the sake of preventing disputes concerning the boundaries. Publicity is required that the townsmen and the giver's own kinsmen may be witnesses.” The land which is here given or conveyed as private property is a portion, and apparently a small portion, of one of the townships, which we have described; townsmen, neighbours, and kindred, assemble not only on account of the publicity of the gift, but to ascertain *how much* is given. § Menu prescribes the mode of adjusting disputes concerning boundaries,

* Vol. ii. p. 161.

† The sale of immoveable property cannot be effected without the formalities of donation, vol. iii. p. 432. The delivery of gold and water (which is the usual formality of a gift) is on this account necessary to conveyances of every description.

‡ Vol. iii. p. 432.

§ C. 8. v. 243.

not only between two villages, but between two* fields, and determines that in the latter case the testimony of next neighbours on every side must be considered as the best means of decision. “† Let the owner of a field inclose it with a hedge. Whatever man owns a field, if seed conveyed into it should germinate,” &c. &c. These are but a few of very many texts which might, if necessary, be adduced to prove a fact no longer to be deemed doubtful; namely, that the land intended is neither a province, nor a kingdom, nor an empire; but simply a field, or an estate, a portion of the lands of a township. This fact will be farther illustrated in treating of the restrictions under which the land was possessed; first with regard to hereditary descent, and secondly with regard to taxes or public contributions, or, in other words, to the claims of the king.

A distinction is made between the‡ title to land which a man has acquired himself, and that which has descended to him from an ancestor. A man may give or sell at his pleasure what himself has acquired, even though he should leave his family destitute: “§ A man's own gift is valid, because he has property which is the established cause of validity, but it is not admitted that the religious purpose is attained,” &c. &c. “|| *Property is equally divested by the voluntary act of the owner in sale as in gift, and it occurs a hundred times in practice;*” but what has descended from an ancestor cannot be alienated without the consent of the heir, or heirs (that is, all the sons equally), who have ¶ a lien equally

* C. 8. v. 262. — “The bounds of arable fields.” — “Should the neighbours say any thing untrue when *two men* dispute about a landmark,” &c.

† Ibid, v. 239.

‡ Digest, vol. iii. p. 131.

§ Vol. iii. p. 132.

|| Vol. iii. p. 452. The words quoted are those of the *Commentator*.

¶ Vol. ii. p. 131, text.

in the immoveable heritage, whether they be divided or undivided," i. e. whether they live under the paternal roof, or have removed to other habitations. "Land, or* other immoveable property, and slaves employed in the cultivation of it, a man shall neither give away nor sell, even though he has acquired them himself, unless he convene all his sons." The authorities are not agreed with regard to independent power over what he has acquired himself. "The validity (says Jagganatha) of a gift of land, whether inherited from ancestors, or acquired by the donor himself, being admitted, because the incumbent has ownership, the same would be established in regard even to the whole of a man's state, for the ownership is not different:" and again, "Be it any how in regard to the whole of a man's estate acquired by himself, the gift of what has descended from an ancestor, by a man who has a son living, is void, because he has not independent power over that property.†" Such are the commentaries of a man who has pronounced in another place that subjects have no landed property at all: the reader will, however, unquestionably have observed, that we have here not only every requisite character of hereditary landed property, but the actual recognition of ‡ *entailed* landed property as an universal principle of Hindoo law. Without farther waste of time in accumulating the volume of authorities which remain, we pass to the rights of the king.

The author of the Digest§ cites an authority for the succession to kingdoms in favour of *one* son, who

* Vol. ii. p. 113, text.

† Because the heirs have a lien.

‡ It is not intended to intimate that landed property is rendered more absolute by entail. He who can sell and devise without restriction has the most absolute property in land. In this case the property is more perfect as it regards the individual; in the case of entail it is more perfect as it regards the family.

§ Vol. ii. p. 119.

must be "consecrated to the empire," in opposition to the rule of equal division to all the sons* *as in the case of private landed property*; but he affirms the text to relate to the rule in a particular family. The commentator is of opinion that kingdoms may be divided; because they have not been pronounced indivisible by direct sacred authority. It is of little importance to examine the force of this negative argument, because he admits the king "may† give *the whole to one*, and that this is in conformity with the practice of former kings." This fact alone, which is of too much notoriety to require illustration, as it regards Rajas and Zemindars‡ equally would be sufficient, if others were wanting, to prove that the king, although the "§ regent of the waters, and the lord of the firmament," and "a powerful divinity who appears in a human shape," never was, in the contemplation of Hindoo law, the proprietor, whose land *must* be divided equally among all the sons. In the former case it *may* be given to one, in the latter it *must* descend in equal shares to all.

The taxes of various kinds which may be levied by the king are detailed by Menu|| with great minuteness. Of the produce of land a sixth is the largest share which can be taken in ordinary circumstances, and a¶ fourth in times of urgent

* The gift of a kingdom is valid, as it is of landed property. Commentary, vol. ii. p. 126.

† Vol. ii. p. 118.

‡ We have already taken occasion to remark that it is the character of all Hindoo institutions to render *offices* as well as property the objects of inheritance. The reader has had the opportunity of understanding the nature and origin of the Zemindars of the south. I am entirely satisfied that those of Bengal were not different, and incidental illustrations of this opinion will be found in the sequel.

§ Menu, cap. 7. v. 7 and 8.

|| Cap. 7, v. 127 to 132.

¶ Cap. 10. v. 118.

distress; but the whole tenor* of the institutes and the digest shew that the sixth part of the crop is the king's share, which is constantly in the contemplation of all Hindoo lawyers. This share is confirmed by the elegant Hindoo drama of *Sacotala*† written,‡ probably, two centuries after the expedition of Alexander; it is universally recognized in all writings, and of general notoriety among Hindoos of every description: in one word, I have never met with a Hindoo farmer of ordinary capacity that was ignorant of the fact§; and we shall hereafter find that it was promulgated as the law of the south of India in the sixteenth century.

The public officer who, in a luminous and most able report, has assured us|| that "the lands of Canara have for ages been private property, and that the landed property of that province is both more ancient and more perfect than that of England, has stated with equal confidence that¶ "private property *has never* existed in India, excepting

* Cap. 8. v. 304, 308. Digest, vol. ii. p. 168, passim.

† Act v.

‡ I state this from memory. I think this is the era assigned to it by the learned and accomplished translator. I know that there is reason for placing the age of Calidas considerably later.

§ I dissent absolutely from the opinion of those who describe the Indian husbandman as destitute of knowledge, observation, and understanding. I have uniformly found them the most observant and intelligent of all the classes with whom I have conversed, and fond of discussing the rationale of all the operations of their husbandry. To the question whether the broadcast or the drill husbandry required the greatest proportion of seed, a farmer of Mysoor answered me that he could not state from actual experiment, for that he had never been so slovenly a farmer as to try the broadcast, as some of his more indolent and poorer neighbours had done, but concluded that a large saving must be made by the drill.

|| Lieutenant-Colonel Munro's Report, dated 9th November, 1800.

¶ Ditto, 15th August, 1807.

on the Malabar coast." The reasons applying to ancient authorities on which this opinion is founded appear to be, 1st. that if only a sixth were taken as the share of the government, the property would be so perfect that the fine prescribed by Menu for a proprietor neglecting to cultivate his land would be unnecessary and absurd, and that therefore the sixth was the nominal and not the real share; 2d. that in ancient royal grants of land in Canara and Malabar, the revenue, or king's share, is specified to be the thing given; in other parts of India *the land itself* is given. I am perfectly aware how great an authority I have here to encounter; and the objections which he has urged shall be discussed with every consideration of personal respect and public deference to his eminent talents and extensive knowledge.*

1st. It is necessary to adduce the whole text to which this objection refers.

† "If land be injured by the fault of the farmer himself, *as if he fails to sow it in due time*, he shall be fined ten times as much as the *king's share of the crop that might otherwise have been raised*; but only five times as much if it was the fault of his servants without his knowledge."

The owner of the field, who is enjoined six verses before to enclose it, would appear from the translation to be a distinct person from the *farmer* mentioned in this text. The report admits that Ryots, according to Menu, rented their lands to under-tenants; and I will observe in passing, that this very admission necessarily involves the existence of a proprietor's share, and consequently of private property. I notice this distinction, however, of *owner* and *farmer*

* My valuable friend Colonel Munro has perused in England the manuscript of this and the succeeding chapter; and I have the satisfaction to know that our difference of opinion is now but slight and unimportant.

† Menu, cap. 8. v. 243

more on account of a difficulty which will presently be noticed in comprehending the text, than of any real importance which I ascribe to any interpretation of which it is susceptible.

The words printed in* Italics are the gloss of *Culluca*,¹ a commentator comparatively modern, whose exact æra is unknown; and according to the text (including that gloss), the fine paid to the king for neglecting to sow, is ten times the king's share; or, as the reader will perceive by the most simple calculation, 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. *more than the whole crop* which could have been produced on the field. The text without the gloss merely states that he shall be fined ten times as much as *the share*, without specifying whose or what share, and is absolutely silent with regard to the condition on which the whole objection is founded, namely, that he is fined for "failing to sow it in due time." The naked text, however, merely states, that "if land be injured by the fault of the farmer, he shall pay ten times as much as *the share*:" what this share may be I do not pretend to decide; and will only venture to conclude, that the commentator must necessarily have erred in explaining it to be the *king's* share: for it is manifestly absurd to have recourse to the monstrous supposition of a tenant's being fined for any neglect whatever, 66 $\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. *more than the possible gross produce of his farm*. However this may be, the naked text of the passage does not justify the assertion that a Ryot is fined for neglecting to sow: but admitting the whole gloss and translation, we proceed to examine whether the fact of being so fined disproves the existence of private property in the land.

* Preface to the Institutes, p. 13.

¹ "The most famous commentary on *Menu* is that of Kalluka-bhatta, composed at Benares in the fifteenth century, but it is nothing more than a plagiarism of Govindarāja, a commentator of the twelfth century." A. A. Macdonell: *Sanskrit Literature*.

The existence of private landed property under the government of Rome, from the earliest periods of its history, will scarcely be questioned; and yet * "Numa Pompilius appointed magistrates over the pagi, or villages, whose business it was to inspect the lands, and to take an account of those which were well or ill cultivated, and the king reprimanded and FINED the slothful, and excited them to cultivate their lands."—The lands in question were not the public domains cultivated by captives, in which case we should not have heard of the mild punishment by fine; but are distinctly stated to have been the allotment of land made to the people by tribes and curiæ as private property. From this apparent reluctance to cultivate, and the punishment which it incurred, I perceive no grounds for denying the existence of private property, but abundant ground to conclude that a proportion of the crop was paid to the king as a branch of public revenue; and this fact we shall afterwards find confirmed. This mode of raising a revenue for the service of the state, would most obviously present itself to all nations in the early stages of civilization: in a small and simple society it is apparently the most equitable rule of public contribution: and some progress must have been made in the study of government before its gross injustice, as a tax on industry, should be ascertained and admitted. When the amount of the sovereign's revenue depends on the amount of the lands which shall be cultivated, he will unquestionably exert all the powers which he possesses to compel the extension of culture; but if his revenue is not to be increased by such extension, his fines and punishments are without an object. We shall probably find no one instance in history, of a government punishing or reprimanding husbandmen for neglecting to cultivate, without finding a revenue raised from a share of the crop; nor any instance of a revenue so raised without

* Dionysius Halicarnass. Lib. 2.

finding the husbandman goaded to extend his cultivation. It is not my intention to affirm, that in the age of Menu, under a government uniformly despotic, the proprietor of the land never suffered oppression. Menu himself decides this question in a remarkable injunction.* “Since the servants of the king, whom he has appointed guardians of districts, are generally knaves, who seize what belongs to other men; from such knaves let him defend his people:” and an author† cited in the Digest classes very quaintly together, as objects of a similar nature, the danger to be apprehended from *fire*, from *robbers*, and from the *king*: but I infer on the ground of the authorities which I have quoted, that the sixth part of the crop was the regulated share payable to the sovereign; and that the property expressly implied by the right to the remaining five-sixths is not invalidated by the existence of a fine for neglecting to cultivate, even if the existence of such a fine had been more clearly made out.

2d. In the royal grants of Canara the revenue is given: in all others *the land itself*.

An examination, more or less close or cursory as the subject attracted my attention, of nearly seven-teen hundred grants of land in the Mackenzie collection, enabled me to observe that their forms differ very materially, in various parts of the country: those in the central parts of the peninsula correspond pretty exactly with those found in Hindostan; probably because both countries were subjected to the same conquerors from the north before the Mohammedan invasion, and at periods antecedent to the conquest of the eastern and western tracts. Throughout Drau-veda, or the eastern country below the Ghauts, now erroneously named the Carnatic, abundance of ancient inscriptions exist, in which revenue is bestowed by the king; and very many, indeed, in which land is

* Menu, cap. vii. v. 123.

† Vol. ii. p. 13.

not been able to trace with any certainty the nature and amount of the contributions which were paid for the service of the state, unless we are to consider the interests of the priesthood and of the sovereign to be united, and a portion of the* tithes in peace, and of the slaves† and cattle taken in war, which was paid to the Levites, as intended to be applied to the public expences of the state‡. The tythe itself is of the exact nature of the Indian contribution; and the inference that this or some separate portion of the crop was payable in kind to the sovereign, appears to be supported by the existence of a special officer for superintending the tribute,§ and another for “the storehouses in the fields,|| in the cities, in the villages, and in the castles;” an enumeration which seems to shew that a portion of the crop was laid up for the sovereign in every field, village, and city.

In Egypt we have the most distinct evidence that one fifth was the land-tax, or the sovereign's share of the crop. ¶Pharaoh took up “the fifth part of the land of Egypt in the seven plenteous years.” The fifth must consequently have been his established share: and after the supposed purchase by Pharaoh of all the lands and all the people of Egypt, in return for food during the famine, the fifth only was the share which he continued to exact. I hope to be pardoned by biblical critics for the presumption of offering a short observation on this transaction. The

* Leviticus, chap. xxvii. v. 30.

† Numbers, chap. xxi. v. 26 to 30.

‡ This supposition is strengthened by observing that Mohammed, who borrowed so much from the Jewish institutions, levied a tenth as head of the church, but applied a large portion of it to the services of the state; and it would also seem that this was the portion exacted from Judea after its conquest by the Romans. See Burman, *De vectigalibus populi Romani*, p. 25 and 26.

§ 1 Kings, chap. iv. v. 6.

|| 1 Chronicles, chap. xxvii. v. 25.

¶ Genesis, chap. xlvii. v. 13 to 27.

learned Blackstone* is of opinion that Pharaoh in this instance, like the feudal sovereigns of later days, acquired the *allodial* rights, and granted back the land as a *beneficium* or *feud*: and the very acute investigator of the principles† of Asiatic monarchies thinks, that by the latter part of the transaction, Joseph had only bound the husbandmen more strongly to the obligation of paying the established tax to the sovereign. If the passage is to be literally interpreted, the people of Egypt were free men and proprietors of the land: by this transaction they divested themselves of their property and became *slaves* to the king. Can any man seriously believe, that so fatal a revolution had taken place in the personal liberty and fixed property of a whole people, and yet that their relation towards the sovereign remained unaltered in all its essential characters? They paid the same taxes as before; and as far as the sacred text informs us, possessed their land virtually on the same conditions as before. Sovereigns do not usually enslave their subjects, and acquire their property, without a more substantial object in view than to restore their liberty and property. The chief difficulty appears to me to be solved, by adverting to the figurative language in which the most familiar, as well as the most important ideas are conveyed in holy writ, and in all the dialects of the eastern world. "You have purchased me as a slave," is the most common form of speech throughout the peninsula of India at this day, to express permanent gratitude for an important favour: "*You have purchased my house, my family, my lands, my flesh,*" is a form of speech which I have recently heard applied with great warmth, and I believe with perfect sincerity, by a man who meant exactly to say, "I am for ever obliged and devoted to you;" and however strong the expressions may appear in the biblical history of this transaction, all

* Com. book 2, chap. 4.

† Patton, p. 29.

bestowed on a temple by the *individual proprietor*. In several remarkable documents, which will hereafter be particularly described, the whole detail is related of the purchase of land at a public auction from a proprietor who is named ; and according to the exact injunction of the institutes and digest, of assembling the whole of the township to recognise the validity of the sale, and the amount of the thing sold. I shall be ready to admit that the royal grants in Hindostan and the centre of the southern peninsula confer the land, whenever the advocates of regal proprietary right shall be prepared to concede that they confer the *sky* also, for both are specially given in a hundred instances ; to one of which, as being open to public reference, I shall confine my observations. * “ I give the earth and the *sky* as long as the sun and the moon shall last : ” but the very same grant, in the preceding part of that paragraph, details the things given to be, as I conceive, the rights which the king derives from the village or township described ; closing the enumeration with the words, and “ *all that has been possessed by the servants of the Raja.* ” In a succeeding paragraph the thing given is placed beyond all doubt. “ Let all his neighbours, and all who till the land, be obedient to my commands. What you have formerly been accustomed to perform and pay, do it unto him in all things. ” The thing alienated was the revenue, or the royalties ; nothing else could be alienated by the king. In the grant which we have noticed, he alienates the revenues of a township ; and I have never seen an ancient royal grant (which are always for religious purposes), excepting of one or more townships, or of a portion of a township, whose limits on every side are exactly described : in short, of land already in culture, and paying revenue. The Bramin grantee would reject as a meager compliment the gift of waste land, destitute of inhabitants to till it, of which abund-

* Asiatic Researches, vol. i. p. 157.

ance may be procured without obligation : he would accept what we see given in this instrument, the right to a revenue already existing, payable by the inhabitants of a township or part of a township ; and indeed, on a close examination of all the possible beginnings of regal proprietary right, we shall find it not only difficult to prove, but equally perplexing distinctly to imagine, the existence of landed property in a king, that had not previously been the landed property of a subject. I shall conclude this branch of the subject with an extract from a Mohammedan law authority, which shall be hereafter quoted at greater length. "Inheritance is annexed to property; and he who has the tribute * from the land has no property in the land: hence it is known that the king has no right to grant the land which pays tribute, but that he may grant the tribute arising from it."

Before proceeding to trace what can yet be discovered of the history of landed property in India from the age of Menu to the present day, in which the invalidity of these two objections will be farther illustrated, it may be useful in a rapid sketch to examine whether any thing exists relative to the condition of the occupants of land, in the early history of other countries, so materially differing from that described in the institutes and the digest, as to justify the conclusions which have been drawn, indicating the nature of landed property in India to be distinct from that of all other regions of the earth.

In the most ancient and authentic of all histories, although we find distinct † records of the sale and purchase of the land of individuals in Judea, and of the ‡ partition of the lands of a conquered people as the private property of the victors, I have

* "Omnia tenes Cæsar imperio sed non dominio," say the Roman lawyers.

† Genesis, chap. xxiii. v. 16 and 17.

‡ Joshua, chap. xix. v. 51.

difficulty vanishes if we may be permitted to suppose that Joseph only inculcates, and the people only admit, in figurative language, the important benefits conferred by Pharaoh, and the consequent gratitude due by his subjects. It must however be admitted that the fact of the fifth having been the previous land-tax, as stated by Blackstone, is only inferred from the context, and not positively asserted in the biblical history. At that period the lands of the priests were alone exempted, but in the time of Herodotus and Diodorus the allotments to the military were also free lands: and many other changes had taken place, which forbid any inference being drawn from their works regarding the actual state of more ancient institutions. Egypt was subjugated by the Romans about the time that their own republican government was finally extinguished; and we find the emperors retaining the direct management of Egypt as one of their own provinces, and restraining the access of their subjects: the former circumstance indicating a prosperous revenue; and the latter, that there was something to conceal. It is certain, that in the other portions of the Roman empire, one tenth of the crop of corn was the usual tax, and that one fifth was absolutely unknown *in any other province*. A tax is seldom lowered under a despotism, and not very often under any government; and all these circumstances combined give some colour to the hypothesis, that the fifth may have been exacted for the first time under the plea of an expected famine, and that Joseph, like a skilful financier, availed himself of the means which afterwards occurred to perpetuate the tax.

In attempting to trace the state of landed property in Greece, a ground to which I return as a stranger, after a long and unbroken absence, I can discover nothing but the features of splendid fable in many of those institutions which historians and philosophers have held up as sober truths to the admiration of posterity. That the lands of Sparta

were equally divided among the citizens, and were free from all public impositions, is the only law of Lycurgus which seems to have a direct relation to the state of landed property in that republic; and it will be necessary, however adventurous the attempt, to offer a few short remarks on the general nature of these institutions, for the purpose of shewing that this representation of the fact is absolutely incredible. The Spartan legislator himself never permitted his laws to be committed to writing: and it cannot be surprising if nothing distinct or certain has descended to posterity regarding that which never had a distinct or fixed existence. Subsequent writers seem to have been chiefly guided by the authority of Xenophon; but whether his treatise on the Lacedæmonian Republic (a work which I have only seen in quotation) ought, like the *Cyropædia*, simply to be considered as an eloquent political romance, is a question which I only venture to suggest on account of the insurmountable contradictions to be found in those authors who appear to have followed its authority.

The state of Sparta had no treasure*; the lands as well as the other property of the Spartans being free from all impositions. One of the means of occasional contribution evinced their extreme poverty; a **general fast of all the citizens saved a small sum**, which the state conferred on an ally in distress: yet the ingenious and learned author who assures us of this fact, and every where cites his authorities, informs us† that the king or general appeared in the army with great splendour: that the state provided for his maintenance, and that of his household, consisting, besides his usual guard,‡ of one hundred select men, of the two pythians or augurs, the polemarchs or principal officers, and three inferior officers who attended on his person (not a very mean staff in

* Travels of Anacharsis, vol. iv. p. 157.

† Ibid. vol. iv. p. 132.

‡ Herodotus, B. 6. C. 56.

those days of simplicity, equality, and poverty). The state, it seems, provided for all these expences, and necessarily for very much more, without taxes, without revenues, and without treasure. *If the land allotted to the king during peace could by any violence of construction be forced to signify the fund provided by the state for the exigencies of war; if the state might be said to have no treasure, although it existed in the hands of their principal officer; and if we should consent to pass, without observation, the express evidence of public revenue involved in the demand of tribute† from *Helos*; and, without comment, the brutal and unmanly conduct of these admired republicans towards its unhappy citizens, and to the slaves who, in after times, were named *Helots* as a term of ignominy; still it will be altogether impossible to reconcile to the supposed prohibition of money, and equal division of land, a few facts incidentally related by Herodotus, who wrote near a century before Xenophon, and was not composing a political romance. In speaking of a female infant of plain and disagreeable features, he simply narrates that it was a source of great affliction to her parents, who were people of great‡ affluence in Sparta. A Milesian deposited a large sum of money with a Spartan, exacting an oath for its restitution when demanded: the Spartan§, it appears, found that the precious metals were more valuable than the iron currency of Lacedemon in a state of perfect equality; and refused to return it, until he should consult the oracle whether he might avail himself of a quibble of the law to cheat the

* The fact of the allotment of land I observe is from Xenophon: the heroes of the *Iliad* had their separate domains, and so must the kings of Sparta: yet animals, meal, and wine, were sent to them periodically by the state: whence did these supplies come?

† Lemprière in vocem.

‡ Book 6. c. 61.

§ Ibid. c. 86.

man who had reposed confidence in him. The king, on a march,* might take for his own use as many sheep as he thought proper. † Notwithstanding the celebrated obligation of dining at the frugal table, to which every citizen subscribed his twelve medimni, private entertainments did exist; and persons were found sufficiently affluent to invite the king to partake of them. ‡ Themistocles paid a visit to Sparta, where he was splendidly entertained; on his departure they gave him the handsomest chariot in Sparta (is it possible that there were handsome chariots in this land of poverty?); and three hundred knights escorted him to the frontier, regarding whose particular quality the annotators seem only to be so far agreed, that none *but those who were wealthy possessed horses*.§ The very fact, indeed, which has been so often adduced to illustrate the perfect equality of the citizens of Sparta; namely, that those who had no chariots or horses were entitled to demand the use of these conveniences from such of their neighbours as possessed them; is in itself an incontrovertible proof of open and distinguished inequality. That Lycurgus, like other enthusiasts, may have indulged in the dream of perfect and permanent equality; that, aided by a faction of armed adherents, he ||accomplished the forcible plunder of his respectable fellow citizens for the purpose of dividing the spoil among the needy; and even that all this may have been honestly intended, is not absolutely incredible; but those who believe in the reality and the permanence of institutions so evidently contrary to the nature of things, and, as I think, to a fair examination of historical facts, must possess either a grasp of comprehension, or an extent of credulity, which I am altogether unable to reach.

* Herodotus, book 6. c. 56.
 † Ibid. c. 57.
 ‡ Book 8. c. 124.
 § Beloe, vol. iv. p. 439.
 || Anacharsis, vol. iv. p. 119.

The unsatisfactory result of our enquiries regarding the state of landed property in Sparta is not much relieved by a superior degree of information with respect to Athens. Solon found it necessary by sundry edicts to force* the people to till and cultivate their lands which lay neglected. For the reasons which have formerly been assigned, it is probable that the state received a proportion of the crop; but the fact is not positively confirmed by any thing which I have been able to discover in the subsequent plan of taxation, which, as Athens became a commercial and maritime state, would chiefly depend upon its duties and excise, and latterly upon a sort of property-tax for the construction of ships of war, levied on the possessors of land and other property indiscriminately. We pass to more distinct information in Italy.

Under the Roman empire, through every change of government, a portion of the produce of the lands was paid in kind. The fines imposed by Numa Pompilius for neglecting to cultivate are the earliest evidence of this fact: by subsequent regulations, whoever neglected to till the ground was liable to the animadversion of the censors†; and the imperial‡ magazines for the reception of a portion of the produce in the various articles of wine or oil, wheat or barley, wood or iron, continued to the latest periods of the empire to be the deposit of this branch of this public taxation.

In the history of a people who rose from the condition of a band of robbers without territory, to be the conquerors of the world, the incidents of landed property must be traced in that branch of the ancient international law of Greece and Italy, by which the vanquished people not only forfeited their territory and personal property, but became the predial or domestic slaves of the conquerors. Under this principle the

* Beloe's Notes on Herodotus, vol. iv. p. 168.

† Adam's Antiquities, 533.

‡ Gibbon, chap. 17.

conquered lands were, of course, disposed of as appeared to be most for the interest of the conquerors. Whilst the territory was very limited, the lands reserved for the state admitted of the same management as the lands of an individual, and would probably be cultivated by public slaves: but as the state extended its bounds, this mode would become extravagant or impracticable. The whole conquered territory was sometimes confiscated, as in the case of *Campania*, which was reserved exclusively for the exigencies of the state, and became the great granary* of the city during a considerable period of its history.

Sometimes the conquered people submitted under a sort of capitulation† to pay an aggregate fixed tribute (*stipendium* or *tributum*); and others, as in the case of Sicily, were confirmed in their ancient privileges, or were fined in a certain‡ portion of their land. As the Roman territory farther enlarged, colonies were frequently sent out, as well to provide for distinguished soldiers, as to form a sort of garrison to keep the vanquished in subjection. The conditions of these establishments necessarily varied with circumstances; but the lands allotted to the *coloni* § generally paid as a tax a certain portion of

* *Pulcherrima populi Romani possessio, subsidium annonæ, horreum belli, sub signo claustrisque reipublicæ, positum vectigal.* —*Cicero.*

† *Inter Siciliam cæterasque provincias hoc interest, quod ceteris aut impositum est vectigal certum, quod stipendiarium dicitur, ut Hispanis et plerisque Pænorum quasi victoriæ premium et pœna belli, aut censoria locatio constituta est, ut Asiæ lege Sempronia: Siciliæ civitates sic in amicitiam fidemque recepimus, ut eodem jure essent, quo fuissent, eadem conditione populo Romano parerent qua suis ante paruissent.* Cic. 5. Verr.

‡ Burman, p. 8.

§ I use the term *colonus* as I find it uniformly employed by Burman, p. 10, 12, 19, &c. &c. *a proprietor cultivating the lands assigned to him in a new establishment: the term coloni conductores and partiarii, apparently stewards and tenants working for a share of the crop, are sufficiently distinguished by those epithets.*

the produce, which never exceeded one tenth* of the crop of grain, and one fifth of the produce of trees. The conquered people were usually admitted to rent the lands rejected by the *coloni*; and the remainder of the land fit for cultivation, which was left unoccupied (probably by the slain and by the slaves carried off to the old territory, or appropriated by the *coloni* on the spot) was either rented for a share of the crop, or converted into public pasture (*scriptura*), which formed a separate branch of revenue. In many cases these lands were sold (redeemable by the state) for a period of one hundred years†; a practice which was supposed to have produced many irregular and corrupt alienations.

The farmers of revenue, generally of the equestrian order, formed a very remarkable corporation, governed by particular laws; and, as far as regarded their influence in the state, may in many respects be compared to the monied interest of England. In the collection of the revenue it must be concluded, that exclusive of the important difference of proprietor and tenant, (which however seems to have been obliterated in Italy when the cities were admitted to the privileges of Roman citizens) a distinction was made between the *coloni* and common husbandmen (*aratores*) in the amount of their payments. One material preference consisted in the selection of the best lands. One tenth of the crop was the tax usually exacted from both‡; a proportion which is obviously a much heavier tax on poor than on rich land. The farmers of revenue (*publicani* or *socii*) divided the business of their department into three branches, corresponding with the three principal heads of Roman revenue; the customs (*portorium*), the public pastures (*scriptura*), and the landed

* Hyginus et Appian, apud Burman, p. 20.

† Hyginus apud Burm. p. 14.

‡ Burman, p. 23.

revenue; and the very name *decumani*,* by which the persons employed in this latter department were universally distinguished (the two others being called portitores and pecuarii), furnishes abundant evidence that one tenth part was the most common portion† of the crop exacted as a tax. Spain paid one twentieth only of corn, and one tenth of the produce of trees; whether by compact or in consideration of its inferior fertility does not‡ seem to be entirely certain. But the distinction between the coloni and aratores, so strongly marked in their first establishment, evidently varied in subsequent periods; and we even find the whole of the public lands of Italy not only confirmed to their actual possessors, as good policy most strongly demanded, but altogether exempted from taxes by the law of the tribune Thorius, so justly reprobated by Cicero. Previously to that period, it seems probable that a distinction existed similar to that of the fixed rent which is noticed by Cicero in his account of the Sicilian revenue, where he attributes to Verres, as an iniquitous innovation, the decree by which he required each farmer to register the number of acres which he annually cultivated; a decree which was obviously no otherwise iniquitous than as it was contrary to the laws of Hiero, the preservation of which constituted the main condition of the compact by which the Sicilians submitted to the government of Rome, and these laws exacted not the actual tenth, but a fixed land-tax estimated to be one tenth; thus we find, that some of the cities which had been disfranchised as the punishment of revolt were subject to other

* The term was also applied to those who *paid* a tenth, and the distinction must be determined by the context.

† A tenth is the *traditional* share paid in India, before the institution of the sixth; it is the portion paid in the little principality of Coorg at this day, and the Dutch found and continued that tax in Ceylon.

‡ Burm. p. 26. and 29. and his authorities. Livy, d. 1. lib. 43. c. 2 and Cicero.

conditions.* The publicani, who rented the revenues of a province by public auction at the spear of the censor for a fixed sum (*merces*), were, in ordinary cases at perfect liberty to make their own bargains with the husbandmen, subject only to the conditions and restrictions previously promulgated in the *tabulæ*,† or *leges censoriæ*, public advertisements of the censor; and the *decumani* made their annual settlements with the husbandmen for a certain quantity of grain, or of money, *on each acre*‡ to be cultivated; calculating in the former case the amount of the produce, and agreeing for the estimated tenth, generally at the rate of one *medimnus* for an acre of good land, which was supposed to produce ten *medimni*. The *coloni*, if this explanation be correct, held their lands at a fixed estimate of the probable tenth, and the *aratores* were subject, like the Ryots of India, to an annual settlement, increasing with the augmentation of their industry. The *coloni* (or *decumani*, from whatever cause,) were the proprietors at a fixed land-tax; the *aratores* were (where the distinction continued) the tenants of lands which were the property of the state, paying in proportion to the quantity of land which was annually tilled. The object of the Agrarian laws, which so much agitated the public mind at different periods of the republic, was not a general division of all the lands, but of those confiscated (*publicati*) which in Italy were afterwards, by the conflicting meanness and ambition of plebeian and imperial demagogues, not only rendered private property, but with the whole

* *Burm.* 141. et *passim* "Qui agros publicos arant, certum est quid ex lege Censoria dare debeant, cur iis quicquam præterea ex alio genere imperavisti." Quid *decumani*? numquid præter singulas decumas ex lege Hieronica debent. *Cic.* 7. *Verr.*

† *Burm.* p. 133. I do not know whether any of the *tabulæ censoriæ* have been preserved; they would probably convey a more intimate knowledge of the details of Roman revenue than can be obtained from any other source.

‡ *Burm.* p. 26.

territory of that country exempted from all taxes whatever; leaving to the unfortunate provinces the whole burden of the requisite expenses of the state, and of an institution* which is entitled to hold a more distinguished place than has usually been assigned to it among the causes of the decline of the Roman empire, namely, the gratuitous distribution, first of corn, and afterwards of pork,† bread, and oil, to the licentious and depraved populace of the city. After the impolitic and unjust exemption which has been noticed, the means of making these distributions were necessarily drawn from the provinces; and the idleness and poverty which so high a premium encouraged and ensured, naturally augmented the evil; until, after the lapse of a century and a half from the period of the exemption, Augustus and his successors were obliged to restore the revenues of Italy, through the medium of a complex system of customs, excise, and income-tax; and to revive neglected agriculture by restricting the culture‡ of the vine.

The history of the details of revenue under the emperors cannot be easily traced. The canon *Fru-mentarius*, which is ascribed to Augustus, seems to have fixed the proportions§ of corn and other supplies in kind to be furnished by the several provinces;

* This institution is rivalled by the English poor laws alone. To the advocates of this system may be recommended the grave consideration of the humorous answer of a Prætorian præfect to the emperor Aurelian (A. D. 275), when he was desirous of adding wine to the other gratuitous distributions: "*Si et vinum populo damus, superest ut et pullos at anseres demus.*" Vopisc. c. 47. *Burm.* p. 53.

† *Burman*, p. 53.

‡ Italy was covered with pleasure grounds and vineyards, and Domitian, in the early and promising part of his reign, was elegantly complimented as the person,

Qui castæ Cereri diu negata

Reddit jugera sobriasque terras.

§ When these were not sufficient for the supply of the city and the army, the provinces were compelled to *sell at rates* fixed

and the mode in which these proportions and other payments were distributed into *capita* is amply and clearly described by Mr. Gibbon, without enabling us to judge by farther detail whether any material changes were introduced in the later periods of the Roman empire with regard to the proportions of the crop paid by the individual husbandman. It is not credible that the payment of so small a portion as one tenth of the crop could have excited the grievous complaints of oppression which were re-echoed from all the provinces : the right of inspection and interference to ascertain the extent of cultivation which the decumanus unquestionably possessed, involved, under the loose government of the Roman provinces, the power to do more ; and the direct interest of the farmer or officer of the revenue to use compulsory means for the extension of culture, is a source of oppression which, exclusively of other exactions,* must every where produce similar effects. The husbandman of Italy or India, whether proprietor or farmer, whether, like the Roman, paying a tenth, or like the Indian, a sixth, would be incessantly goaded to cultivate, so long as the power and the interest were united which we have described to exist. We find the English husbandman, whether proprietor or farmer, frequently declining to raise corn on his tytheable land : he would be compelled to do this if the person intitled to receive the tythe possessed the power and influence of the decumanus. Fines for neglecting to cultivate can only illustrate the ruinous principle of the tax, without furnishing any conclusive inference for or against the existence of private property in the land.

The barbarous principle of international law,

by the fiscal officers, which rates, the exemptions allowed to aged persons and men of large families prove to have been considered as oppressive. Burman, p. 42.

* The *cella*, a tax to furnish provisions for the tables of the prætors and proconsuls, would necessarily involve great abuses.

which has been above described, seems to have continued during every period of the Roman history; and a remarkable example occurs under the eastern empire so late as A. D. 536, when the soldiers of Africa, under Solomon the general of Justinian, having married the wives and daughters of the vanquished Vandals, claimed the lands also which formerly belonged to their new spouses, and mutinied to obtain them. Solomon replied, "that he did not refuse slaves and moveables as spoils to the soldier; but the lands he alleged to belong to the emperor and the state which fed them, and gave them the quality of soldiers; not to conquer for themselves the lands taken by barbarians from the empire, but to recover them for the treasury from which they were paid."*

It may hence be fairly risked, as an apology for the errors of those ancient† authors who affirm all land in India to be the property of the state, that they came to the consideration of the subject with minds familiarized and predisposed to the doctrine, and only found in the supposed institutions of that country an extension of the principle long established in their own. A conjecture may be supported by some traditionary traces, that it was an ancient practice of India to reduce the vanquished to the condition of slaves, and to confiscate their lands; but without discussing the wild chronology of that country, we have abundant evidence that the principle, as well as the practice, if they ever did exist, had ceased many centuries before the expedition of Alexander; that private property in land was then distinctly recognized by law, and that the conqueror was enjoined to respect and maintain the rights and customs of the vanquished. In other respects we find the ancient principle of taxation, namely the payment of a portion of the crop, to have

* Procopius, lib. 2. chap. 10.

† It is quite unnecessary to quote examples in Greece the history of the Helots is all sufficient.

been the same in every country upon earth ; and we may now proceed to examine the few faint traces of its history which exist in India from that period to the present day.

Hindoo conquerors are enjoined* to confirm the established laws and customs of the conquered nation ; but they are too good casuists not to discover that any additional tax,† however recently imposed by the former sovereign, is, relatively to the period of conquest, an established thing ; and consequently to be confirmed. The more northern barbarians, under the designation of Huns,‡ Toorks, Afghans, or Patans, who followed in the same career, were in this single respect certainly more unmerciful than their Hindoo predecessors. In India, as in Europe, the conquerors and the conquered, successively impelling and impelled, rolled forward, wave after wave, in a southern direction ; and whoever will attentively examine the structure and the geography of that portion of India usually called the Southern Peninsula, may infer, a priori, that the countries below the Ghauts, separated by a barrier scarcely penetrable from the central regions, and forbidding approach by a burning climate, always formidable to the natives of the north, will have been the last visited by those invaders, and will have retained a larger portion of their primitive institutions. We shall accordingly find, that in the central regions the existence, and with it the remembrance, of private

* Menu, chap. 7. v. 203.

† The Shasters, however, commend as a meritorious act the reduction to one sixth of the taxes of a conquered country which may have been higher.

‡ Toork is the name by which a Mussulman is known in all the vernacular dialects of the south of India at this time. Hun or Hoon is a term chiefly confined to inscriptions and books. The white Huns of Bochara had extended their conquests to the Punjab, and probably farther, and were expelled by a king of *Gour* in Bengal. Vide Asiatic Researches, vol. 1. p. 136. Europeans are named *Hoons* at this time.

property in land has been nearly obliterated; while throughout the lower countries it can every where be distinctly proved, and in many places in as perfect a state and as fondly cherished as in any part of Europe. I shall confine my observations on this subject to the tract which, commencing near to Madras in the latitude of about thirteen and a half north, comprises the extent between the sea and the hills from thence to Cape Comorin, and round that promontory, extending north to the latitude of nearly fifteen N. a belt of various breadth, of from sixty to an hundred and sixty miles, and in length near nine hundred English miles.

From the causes which have been noticed, and from circumstances which the limits of this discussion do not permit us to examine, the country known in our maps by the name of Canara* has preserved a larger portion of its ancient institutions and historical records than any other region of India. An early event recorded in poetic numbers may in India well be classed as a traditionary tale; and I only advert to the conquest of this country by one of a dynasty of seventy-seven kings who ruled at Banawasseet about 1450 years before Christ, for the purpose of observing, that according to the tradition; he reduced *Hoobasica*, a *Hullia*† or *Pariar* king, and all his subjects, to a state of slavery, in which their descendants continue to this day. The fact is worthy of note from the ground which it affords for a conjecture which many circumstances will support, that these unhappy outcasts were the aborigines of India;

* I derive my information on this subject from the able reports above alluded to, from the Mackenzie manuscripts, and from the personal aid in examining them of a most intelligent and learned native of that country named Ramapa.

† Noted by *Ptolemy*, who has a wonderful proportion of the names of places in the south of India, but, as might be supposed, little information regarding their latitudes and longitudes.

‡ The name by which they are known in Canara and in Mysoor at this time.

and that the establishment of casts was not the effort of a single mind, but the result of successive expedients for retaining in subjection the conquests of the northern Hindoos; for they, also, are confessedly from the north. Among the various lists of dynasties and kings, real or imaginary, which I have examined in the Mackenzie collection, is one which records the names of the monarchs who successively established the distinctions of the priesthood, the military, the agricultural, and servile classes.

Without further noticing events which have no immediate relation to our subject, it is only necessary to state, that one sixth of the crop is the share which is said to have been exacted by the government from time immemorial until A. D. 1252, when a nephew of the Pandian,* taking advantage of a civil war, invaded the country in ships, and conquered it.

* The Pandian race long had their capital at Madura (the Pandionis Mediterraniæ and Madura regia Pandionis of Ptolemy). This invader, from his wonderful success, is fabled to have been attended by an army of demons, *Bootum*, and was thence called *Bootè Pandè Raja*: he was son of the king's sister, and from that circumstance is said to have established the line of hereditary descent in the conquered country in nephews by the sister's side. The Pandian dynasty must have made conquests on that coast at an early period; for at the æra, whatever it may be, of the "Periplus of the Erythrean sea," *Nelcynda* (Nelisuram), was subjected to that dynasty: *Musiris* to *Ceprobotus*, written by Ptolemy *Cerabothus*, perhaps *Cerun* or *Cherun Puttri* or *Chera Puttri*, the Progeny of *Cherun*, the dynasty which long ruled over Malabar. The *Chaldest* to which, according to Mr. Duncan's paper in the fifth volume of the Asiatic Researches, Malabar was afterwards subject, is no doubt *Chol* or *Chola Desh* (as I since find it was written by Mr. Duncan, the present reading being an error of the press); the latter syllable being a termination signifying country or region; the third of the rival dynasties of the lower south. The remains of an ancient fortress close to the temple of Calliarcoil in the woods of Shevagunga, or the lesser Marawar country, as it is sometimes called, still bear the name of Pandian Kota, *Pandian castle*; and a family claiming direct descent from the house of Pandian is still said to exist in the neighbouring country.

Before his time the sixth had been received in the rough grain; but he imposed on his subjects the task of delivering it deprived of its husks * in a state fit for food, thereby increasing the revenue about ten per cent. which is the estimated expense of this operation. This mode of payment continued until the establishment of a new government at Videyanuggur or Vijeyanuggur, founded by fugitives from the subverted government of Warangul when the Pandyan dynasty of Canara, having already reached the period of its decline, readily yielded to the rising state in 1336. The minister and spiritual preceptor *Vediyaranya*,† under whose auspices the new dynasty was erected, composed a work on law and government, which is still extant in many hands, and easily procurable: it was intended as a manual for the officers of state; is founded on the text of *Parasara*, with a copious commentary by *Videyaranya*, assigning as usual to the king one sixth, as the royal share of the crop, and very rudely pronouncing the king who takes more to be infamous in this world, and consigned to (Nareka) the infernal regions in the next. This share he was desirous of converting from a grain to a money payment, and established fixed rules for the conversion, founded on the quantity of land, the requisite seed, the average increase, and the

* The calculation of increase stated in the Shasters is twelve fold; the former rulers of course received as revenue *two measures* for every measure sown. To reduce paddy to rice, it loses exactly one half its bulk; the rate of the Pandian accordingly was one measure of rice for every measure of paddy sown.

† *Forest of Science*, a new title; his former name was *Madava Acharee*, and the title of the work to which I particularly allude is *Parasara Madaveeun*, sometimes also called *Videyaranya Smirti*. He also composed another work, sometimes known by the latter title, but generally called *Videyaranya Sungraham*, which treats exclusively of religious duties. The Pundit of the court of Seringapatam informs me that he considers the text of *Parasara* as the most clear and comprehensive, and the commentary of *Videyaranya* the most ample and satisfactory, of all the authorities which he possesses.

value of grain. The result literally conforms to the law of the Digest; viz. one sixth to the king, one thirtieth to the bramins, one twentieth to the gods, the rest to the proprietor. It is unnecessary to enter farther into this detail, than to state that thirty is the whole number on which the distribution is made: of which it is calculated that fifteen, or one half, is consumed in the expenses of agriculture, and the maintenance of the farmer's family. The distribution of the remaining fifteen stands thus.

To the sovereign one sixth of the gross produce,	5
To the bramins one twentieth,	1½
To the gods one thirtieth,	1
Remains proprietor's share, which is exactly one fourth,	7½
	15

The share payable to the bramins and the gods was received by the sovereign, and by him distributed; so that the sum actually received by the sovereign and by the proprietor were equal. Instead of satisfying himself with leaving things as they were, and taking from this province a smaller revenue on account of its remote situation, as suggested in the report (it is, in fact, not remote compared with many other parts of the dominion), it is evident that Hurryhur Roy called in the aid of the Shasters for the purpose of raising the revenue; and did actually raise it exactly twenty per cent, by his skill in applying that authority to his calculations; the result of the whole detail being that he received one ghetti pagoda for two kauties and a half of land, the same sum only having formerly been paid for three kauties. From 1336 until 1618, when the hereditary governors of the province began to aim at independence, this rate continued unaltered, but soon after this latter period an additional assessment* of fifty per cent.

* The rate established by Seopa Naik is still considered to be the highest fixed rate, and by many of the inhabitants of the neighbouring countries to be the original tax. I was led into the

was levied on the whole revenue, with some exceptions, in which the usurper was opposed by minor usurpations; but even at this period lands were saleable at ten years purchase, and, in some instances, so high as twenty-five and thirty. The hereditary right to landed property in Canara and Malabar was, and continues to be, indefeasible, even by the longest prescriptive occupancy: the heir may at any distance of time reclaim his patrimony, on paying the expence of such permanent improvements as may have been made in the estate. It is unnecessary to go through the detail of the subsequent assessments on the revenue of this province up to the period of its conquest by Hyder in 1763: they were chiefly in the nature of temporary aids, which the exigencies of the times rendered it necessary to continue from year to year: the public contributions were still comparatively moderate, and the condition of the people comfortable and affluent. "The whole course of Hyder's administration was (in the forcible language of the report already alluded to) nothing but a series of experiments for the purpose of discovering the utmost extent to which the land-rent could be carried, or how much it was possible to extort from the farmer without diminishing cultivation. The increase of assessment of Hyder and Tippoo Sultaun has, in some places, annihilated the old proprietors, and it has everywhere diminished the quantity, but not altered the nature, of the property. If, after paying the Sircar rent, and what is due to himself for his labour, there remain the most trifling surplus, he will almost as soon part with his life as with his estate." A subsequent collector informs us, that under Tippoo's government the proprietors had actually begun to disavow their property; but in the very second year of English management, they claimed as their own, what the year before had been held in the names of

latter error, and some others relative to Bednore (which I had not visited) in my report on Mysoor.

their tenants. The demands of the government had, from their excessive amount, in some cases annihilated the property, in others it was on the very verge of extinction: and there can be no question that another century of similar exaction would have extinguished private property in land altogether: and, in conformity to the fact stated by the collector, by being constantly denied, it would soon have been forgotten. The whole system has been revised by the judicious and able hand which has described it: property has been restored by diminishing the exactions of the government, and *leaving a proprietor's share*; and the reporter observes, that "in reforming the revenue system of that province, government has no new rights to private property in land to create; they may augment the value of the property by diminishing the assessment, but the right itself is already as strong as purchase or prescription can make it, and is as well understood as it is in Great Britain." We pass to Malabar.

According to a tradition common to Canara and Malabar, but more anxiously preserved in the latter, the royalties of both countries were formerly vested in the priesthood; but I am disposed to consider the historical conqueror and the fabulous Parasa Rama, who created and gave them to the bramins, as one and the same person. If it might be permitted to risk a conjectural statement of the facts on which these extravagant fables are founded, I should consider Parasa Rama as a mighty conqueror, who, struck with remorse for the injuries which he had inflicted on mankind, endeavoured to expiate his offences by resigning the greater part of his revenues to the priesthood. The* insatiable Bramins thus become possessed of all that he had the power to bestow, began artfully and incessantly to urge the best possible reasons for new conquests, in order that they

* This interpretation of the fable was chiefly suggested to me by the present minister of Mysoor.

might have new grants: and the sovereign, disgusted at their unfeeling rapacity, undertook the conquest of Kerala* and Concan for the express purpose of getting for ever rid of them, prohibiting any Bramin on pain of death from following him into those countries. His new dominions being provided with no separate order of priesthood, Parasa Rama founded the cast of the *Concan* † *Bramins*, who are to this day disclaimed as such by those of the rest of India. They compose a large portion of the ruling characters in the Mahratta state; and in their various predatory incursions into other countries are stated to seek with avidity for the copies of a work containing ‡ the history of their origin, for the purpose of destroying it: and the eastern Bramins affirm that the orders for this purpose given to their illiterate troops have produced a large and indiscriminate destruction of manuscripts. In the decline of life Parasa Rama was visited by renewed compunctions, and again sought for expiation in a complete surrender of his new kingdom to his new priesthood. Under this hierarchy§ the prescribed portion of one-sixth of the produce was allotted for the support of the government. No

* Kerala, as already explained, is the ancient name of the western tract below the ghauts, which comprises the modern countries of Travancore, Malabar, and Canara. Concan, the northern extension of the low country, is well known. The fable relates that, perched on the summit of the hills which were then washed by the sea, he begged a new country from the god of the ocean, who caused that element to recede from the breadth to be measured by the flight of the suppliant's arrow. The country, it seems, was not only created, but peopled with savages, whom Parasarama is made to hunt and domesticate for the service of his future priesthood.

† According to the fable, he created them by restoring to life the putrid bodies of some men drowned in a river; or, according to more general tradition, of ship-wrecked mariners; indicating, apparently, the fact of foreign origin, which their appearance at this day does not much discredit.

‡ Whether real or fabulous I do not know.

§ Asiatic Researches, Vol. V. p. 3.

distinct means appear at present to exist of tracing the* history of this country from this period until the year 970, when a sovereign of the country embraced the Mohammedan faith, and retiring to Mecca, divided his dominions among his officers or subordinate chiefs.

The whole country now distinguished in our maps by the names of Malabar and Travancore was thus subdivided into a number of petty clans, perpetually at war with each other, and paying little or no tax to their respective chieftains, but that of constant military service. The Raja of Travancore was one of these insignificant chiefs, and the ancestor of the Indian hero of Camoens then possessed no inheritance but his sword. With the variations arising from the increase of some little states by the subjugation of others, Malabar was found nearly in the state which has been lightly sketched, when subdued by Hyder. Under that dynasty the efforts of the government were constantly directed to the forcible reduction of these chiefs, and to the introduction of the same system of revenue which prevailed in the rest of the dominions of Hyder. The northern and more inaccessible parts of Malabar continued to oppose a successful resistance; but the more open southern districts, where armies could act with effect, would (in the opinion of a member† of the board of revenue, who has lately visited the province) "in a few years have paid the whole rent to the Circar; they would have lost their property in the land, and have virtually become farmers like the Rayets in the ceded districts; but Cotiote and the northern districts

* The Mackenzie collection is rapidly enlarging in materials for the history of the three ancient dynasties of Cherun, Cholun, and Pandian, which at different periods possessed the greater portion of these countries.

† Mr. Thackray's report on a personal inspection of Malabar, Canara, and the ceded districts in 1806-7; a performance of great force, and full of clear views and just thinking.

of Malabar were never thoroughly subdued by the Mysoor government, and it is only now that we are beginning to establish our authority there. The strength of the country has enabled the people to defend their rent and remain landlords. Perhaps the strength of the country along the ghauts is the true cause of the existence of private property in the soil, which the inhabitants of Bednore, Canara, Malabar, and Travancore, not only claim, but have been generally ready to support by force of arms. It would most likely have existed everywhere, but in other parts of India armies of horse could carry into execution the immediate orders of a despot, who never admitted of private property, because his wants incited, and his power enabled, him to draw the whole landlord's rent."

Private property in Malabar and Travancore is distinguished by the emphatical word *Junnum*,* "a term bearing the express signification of *birthright*." The various gradations of mortgage, temporary transfer, and conditional possession (as †described in the several official reports from Malabar) which are all requisite, before a deed of complete and final sale can be effected, mark a stronger reluctance to alienation, and a more anxious attachment to landed property than can be found in the institutions of any other people ancient or modern: and the high selling price of twenty‡ years purchase, reckoning on the clear rent or proprietor's share, in a country where the legal interest of money is more than double that of Britain, testifies the undiminished preservation of this sentiment to the present day.

* Colonel Macaulay's excellent report on the lands of Travancore.

† A very satisfactory and clear general account of *Junnum* may be found in Mr. Strachey's report, I think in 1800 (for I state from memory), and in those of Major Walker, and the commissioners, a complete detail of the forms adhered to.

‡ Adverting to the respective rates of interest, it will be

The chief of a clan, whose military excursions seldom carry his followers above a day's march from their homes, has little need of revenue; and the landed property which, in arriving at power, by whatever means, he will not fail to have acquired, furnished in Malabar the principal fund for his requisite disbursements. The Raja of Travancore was one of the most successful of these chiefs in the subjugation of his neighbours. “*The forfeiture of the estates of fugitives from the country, and the assumption of the estates of Rajas or principal Nayrs, who were forcibly dispossessed, transferred into his possession extensive lands, of which he became the immediate proprietor.” These circumstances, and the profitable law of confiscation for alleged crimes, have vested in this Raja a large extent of direct† landed property or royal domain. From the previous state of anarchy and intestine war, his own old subjects, as well as those of his successive conquests, had paid but slender taxes beyond military service: serious difficulties would accordingly have arisen in levying any considerable tax on the land; and, without the tradition of an ancient institution of that nature, it would perhaps have been impracticable. It will be difficult to discover in the history of any nation, a more absolute and ample dominion than that which is left to the proprietor by the land tax of Travancore, which, in proportion to the fertility of the soil, amounts at the highest to five per cent. of the gross produce, and at the lowest to one half of that estimate; the proprietor's share of the crop, to a person who superintends his own estate, being estimated so high as

recollected that this is as high as forty years purchase in England.

* Colonel Macaulay's report on Travancore.

† The description which is given of private property, royal domains, predial slavery, and light taxes of Travancore applies, with not very important variations, to the principality of Coorg, where the land-tax is about ten per cent.

forty or forty-five per cent. leaving fifty per cent. at the least for the expences of cultivation,* conformably to the estimate of similar husbandry in Canara.

The favourable condition of the landed proprietors is, however, lamentably contrasted, not only by the predial slavery of the lower orders, which is general in the whole of this western tract, and too common in all parts of India; but by the most impolitic† capitation taxes on inferior casts, by heavy duties on particular articles, and by engrossing the produce of the domain lands, thus merging the features of sovereignty in the more profitable character of farmer, merchant and monopolist.

In passing to the eastern coast we shall commence with the northern part of the tract which has been described; that being the point at which it first sustained the impure contact of the northern invaders. The territories of the three contemporary dynasties of the Chola, the Chara, and the Pandian, which contended with various success for the northern, the south western (including Malabar), and the south eastern portions of this extensive region, under its general name of Drauvada, met near to Caroor, a town situated about thirty miles west of Trichinopoly, which appears to have passed alternately into the possession of each of the opponents: they were all conquered by Narsing Raja and Crishna Raja of

* I omit the calculations on the produce of plantations. The most minute information may be found detailed with clearness and interest in the able report of Colonel Macaulay, from which these statements are derived.

† Anquetil du Perron (Preliminary Discourse to the Zend Avesta) exhibits a grant containing some curious details, *not exactly of capitation*, from Perumal to Thomas "Chretien Paradeshi." It seems strange that his interpreters could not explain the latter term, which signifies a *person from a strange country*, and is familiarly and constantly so applied by travelling mendicants in every part of India.

Vijayanuggur* in the period between† 1490 and 1515. Over the whole extent of this country, as in every other in which the authority of the Shasters was acknowledged, one-sixth was the legitimate share of the crop payable to the sovereign. Before and after the period at which we are arrived, the evidence of private property in land is so abundant, that I will spare the reader the ample detail which might easily be presented to him of public recorded gifts of land from individuals to the temples, and of the constant transfer of lands by sale and mortgage, in spite of all the oppressions which the proprietors had sustained, even after that period when the pestilent doctrine of the sovereign being the actual, instead of the figurative, proprietor of the soil, began to be promulgated by the British government. The historical documents of the Mackenzie collection are not yet so numerous as to afford the means of following with precision the effect of successive revolutions on the state of property in this part of India. Nearly eighty years after the subversion of the Hindoo government at Vijayanuggur, seven years after the grant of territory by the descendant of that house reigning at Chandergherry for the erection of the first English fort at Madras,‡ the dissensions of the

* It was first called *Videya*, and afterwards *Vijayanuggur*, the city of *science*, then of *victory*. This is ascertained by the grants.

† *Cherun* had long before been absorbed in the dominions of the other two, and chiefly of the Chola.

‡ The English founded an establishment at Armagon, about thirty-six miles north of Puliacate, in 1626; and on receiving on the 1st March, 1639, the grant alluded to in the text, they commenced the fortress on the 1st March, 1640, finally removed to it from Armagon on the 24th September, 1641, and finished it in 1643, at the expence of nine thousand two hundred and fifty pagodas, or three thousand five hundred pounds sterling! abandoning altogether the old establishment at Armagon. The grant from Sree Rung Rayeel expressly enjoins, that the town and fort to be erected at Madras shall be called after his own name, *Sree-Runga-Raya-patam*; but the local governor or Naick, *Damerla*

Hindoos had brought down two distinct armies from the Mussulman states of Golconda and Vijeyapoor, which respectively possessed themselves of the strong posts of Chanderghery and Vellore in 1646. Having determined by an amicable convention the lines within which they should respectively limit their incursions, so as not to interfere with each other. Meer-jumla, the general of Golconda, invaded the lower country about ten years afterwards, and retained a precarious hold on some of the nothern districts of Coromandel. In the next year an army from Vijeyapoor, a division of which was commanded by Shahjee, father to Sevajee the founder of the Mahratta empire, extended its conquests as far as Tanjore, and probably farther south, plundering or assessing these countries in several periodical visits, until 1669, when Ginjee fell into their hands, and gave them a more firm possession of the country. This fort was afterwards seized by the wonderful Sevajee, who, encouraged by the establishment of different branches of his own family at Bangalore, and recently at Tanjore, made in the year 1677 his astonishing irruption into the lower country; but the commencement of the first fixed Mohammedan government may be dated about the year 1691, when Zulfecar Khan, the imperial general, entered on a systematic plan for the conquest and fixed

Vencataadree, who first invited Mr. Francis Day, the chief of Armagon, to remove to Madras, and engaged to procure the grant of his sovereign, had previously intimated that he would have the new English establishment founded in the name of his father *Chennapa*, and that name having probably been assigned to it before the execution of the royal grant, was not superseded by that superior authority. It is not even distinguished by the name enjoined by the sovereign in any of the public acts of the government; and the name of *Chennapatam* continues to this day to be universally applied to the town of Madras by the natives of *Drauveda*: while in Mysoor, and other countries, it is still distinguished by its ancient name. These incidents illustrate the facility with which places change their names, and the necessity of attending to this source of confusion in all local investigations.

occupation of the country, and obtained possession of its last strong hold, Ginjee, in 1698. The whole financial plan of a Mohammedan government exercised over infidels is comprised in the following short extract from their most celebrated law tract.* “*The learned in the law* allege, that the utmost extent of tribute is one half of the actual product, nor is it allowable to exact more: but the taking of a half is no more than strict justice, and is not tyrannical, because as it is lawful to take the whole of the persons† and property of infidels, and to distribute them among the Mussulmans, it follows that taking half their incomes is lawful *a fortiori*.”

We are informed on the authority of the same tract, that one half was the share of the crop which the original Mohammedan *proprietors* received from Mohammedan farmers or tenants cultivating their lands, and defraying the expences of agriculture; and if this fifty per cent. remaining to the farmer or tenant for defraying the charges of agriculture and maintaining his family be taken, as I believe it may, as the most general average‡ in these parts of India which have been conquered by strangers, it is obvious, and the first Mussulman invaders must have known it, that the owner of land from whom the remaining fifty

* Hedaya, book 9, chap. 7. I believe, however, that *the learned in the law* did not find their authority in the Koran. The ancient tribute from infidels is certainly one-fifth, or, according to one interpretation, three-tenths. This tract was written in the sixth century of the Hijera, and has undoubtedly been the chief rule of action since that period.

† The same injunction which inculcates war against infidels as a religious duty, condemns the women and children to *slavery*, and the men to *death*. Sale, Prelim. Disc. p. 191.

‡ The amount varies according to climate, soil, and facility of irrigation, from about thirty-five per cent, which I believe is the lowest, to fifty-five, and perhaps in some few cases to sixty per cent. There are certain general charges, from ten to eighteen per cent, which are deducted previously to the division, excepting where lands have been allotted to defray them.

is exacted is at once reduced to the actual condition of a tenant; and that instead of one half, they were taking the whole income of the ancient *proprietors*. Those who contend for the proprietary right of the sovereign will, at this stage of oppression, certainly find him to possess one half of the produce, as a barbarous remuneration for not having murdered the original proprietor: but I will not insult my countrymen by supposing that an individual can be found among them, who, knowing the nature of the right (if right it may be called), would desire to succeed to it. These Mohammedan rulers combining, in a character full of extravagant contradiction, the worst extremes of the savage, with some prominent features of civilized man, did not effect at one blow the extinction of the ancient proprietors; these unfortunate persons resisted, in their way, the successive exactions which were imposed, by flying* to the woods, from whence they were recalled by persuasion, by false promises, by hunger, or by force, to renew the culture of their lands: but the plain and undeviating principle of the government was to extort the utmost sum that could be levied, without the certainty of thereby diminishing the revenue of the succeeding year. These polished barbarians, bringing along with them a compound of the system of revenue established by Tooril Mul† under the emperor Acber,‡

* Some of these scenes have been acted within my own time, and under my personal observation.

† The introduction to the *Asophia Dufter*, or financial register of the Deckan and south, in the Mackenzie collection, which I translated at his request, shews that the system of *Tooril Mul* accompanied the southern conquests of the imperial forces.

‡ Ayeen é Acberi, translated by Mr. Gladwin. It is difficult to discover from this strange and desultory work of Abul Fuzzul the actual intentions of Acber with regard to the character of the government which he meant to establish. In his collection of letters is one of considerable merit and eloquence addressed to the viceroy of Goa, desiring to be furnished with a person capable of unfolding to him the principles of the Christian religion. His

and of that introduced by the independent Moham-
 medan princes of the Deckan, applied the technical
 language of these systems to the actual state of
 Arcot; but they found a sort of occupant who had
 either *been forgotten or purposely passed over* in those
 systems. *Cawney Atchey*, in Tamul, the vernacular

adoration of the sun is at direct variance with the fundamental
 dogmas of the Mohammedan religion; and it would seem, from
 many insinuations of Abul Fuzzul, and particularly by the sort
 of Masonic parole and countersign (Alla Acber; Jil e Jollalehoo),
 of the *new light* (Jillal u Deen was his name before his acces-
 sion), that he had determined to be not only the prophet but the
æity of his new religion. Much has been written of the spirit of
 wisdom and moderation which breathes through these institutes.
 Acber certainly was not a Mussulman; but if general exhortations
 be the criterion of a protecting government, they may be found
 in the orders or regulations of all the Mohammedan tyrants down
 to Tippoo Sultaun. I cannot at present refer to the original of
 the Ayeen è Acberi. Judging from the translation, Abul Fuzzul
 obtained from the public offices all that was necessary for his
 purpose, but either had not a sufficient knowledge of his subject
 to compile a clear abstract of the system of Tooril Mul, or, as is
 more probable, thought proper to misrepresent the facts. In
 vol. i. p. 285, the third of the produce is clearly stated to be the
 proportion for which an equivalent is received by the state; and
 in p. 292, the husbandman has his choice to pay the revenue
 either in ready money (meaning I presume a fixed rent) or
 Kunkoot (an estimate of the produce), or Behawvely (the same
 as Buttai), an actual division of the produce, not in equal
 divisions, but *according to agreement*, as explained in 305. The
 increasing, incredible, and contradictory proportions payable
 from fallow land, amounting in the third and fourth years to
 four-fifths of the *produce*, in p. 290, may be an error of the press
 or of the translator's copyist. But it is difficult to comprehend
 what can be meant by affirming, p. 285, that "what was exacted
 by Shere Khan exceeded the present produce of the lands." Abul
 Fuzzul states in one place, that a third of the produce was the
 highest revenue taken by Acber in any case; and in another, that
 four-fifths was exacted: but the Edinburgh Review, No. 19,
 p. 38, cites two authorities, the *Muntukheb ul Bab* and *Shah*
Navaz Khan, in his biography of Tooril Mul, to shew that the
 system of this minister was *an equal division* of the crop between
 the government and the husbandman, and that this division was
 called *Buttai*: the name and the thing in this precise sense are
 well known in the south of India at this day. Both these

language of the country, is a compound term, each member of which signifies "*independent hereditary property*," according to the genius of the language, which joins two words of similar import to render the meaning more positive and absolute; or *Cawney* may be taken in its other alleged signification of *land*,*

authorities add, that when the dues of government were taken in money, a fourth of the estimated produce was taken. We are not furnished with the technical term describing this money assessment, but the practice, as far as I can determine, has never travelled to the south in the company of *Buttai*; and I venture to add, that the two facts taken together are, *prima facie*, incompatible and incredible. It would therefore appear that we have still to learn the truth regarding the system of *Tooril Mul*. The reign of Acher comprises the period between 1555 and 1600. We know, on the authority of the accurate *Ferishta* (vol. i. p. 291), that in consequence of a reform of government suggested by a council of the nobles in 1300, the *Zemindars* were restricted from taking more than the regulated tax of *one half* the produce, and there is neither evidence nor probable ground of conjecture that this tax had been reduced in the intermediate time, between 1300 and the æra of the work of *Abul Fuzzul*, which is too much a panegyric to be received as an unsuspected authority on any subject.

* I give this etymology because it is stated on record; but I am assured on the first authority (Mr. Ellis), that *Cawny* never means *land*, although it often means a certain measure of land. The following is a short abstract of the etymology with which I am favoured by Mr. Ellis. The Tamul root *â l m* means to rule, to govern, to possess in permanent authority; whence, by the usual adjunct, is formed the abstract term, *â l c chi*, *Atchi*, dominion. *Cânl*, in high Tamul, is property generally, but in low Tamul, is in this sense applied to landed property only: the compound therefore signifies literally, *absolute dominion in landed property*. *Vellalen* is the name of the cast which, throughout the Tamul principalities, were the aboriginal holders of *Câni-yatchi*; and the word is compounded of the superlative or corroborative particle *Vell*, and *âlen* from the root above-mentioned: *He who is fixed in dominion*.

I observe in a report from the collector of the *Jaghire*, dated in 1795, a *russoom* (custom. Pers.) of the *Meerassdar*; i. e., a certain share of the gross produce when cultivated by *Pyacarees* (tenants hereafter to be described) is termed *Câni Seema*, which signifies literally, "property of the country, land, soil, district;" and, by context, proprietor's share or due; which *Câni Mara*,

and the compound word, according to that interpretation, will signify *independent hereditary landed property*: there is no third meaning of which the words are susceptible. This word even these unfeeling barbarians translated in their records of revenue by the Arabic word *Meerass*, *inheritance*; and its possessor by the Persian inflection *Meerassdar*, *hereditary proprietor* (or possessor of inheritance). The terms *Meerass* and *Meerassdar* have since been continued under the British administration, but for the purpose of assimilating every thing to the system of Bengal, where a proprietor, unknown to the history of India, had for some years been created under the modern name of *Zemindar*; these occupants of *absolute dominion in landed property* were declared to possess merely the "hereditary right of cultivation."

The first discussions of importance on this subject that I have been able to trace on the records of Madras, occurred in the year 1795-6,* when the inhabitants of Trimashy, a village in the district of Poonamalee, firmly refused to accede to the terms demanded by the collector; and that officer, considering the refusal to proceed from a refractory disposition incited by the intrigues of the *dubashes* of Madras (viz. native interpreters and agents to gentlemen in

another name for the same thing, literally signifies. But I do not claim a *critical* knowledge of the Tamul or Sanscrit languages, and write this note where I cannot refer to better authority (on the South Atlantic ocean). This share had been reduced by successive exactions so low as two and a half per cent; in some cases even to less than one per cent: among other remaining rights, they still possessed a small *manium* free from all taxes; *tunderwarum*, literally a *warum* (share), composed of scraps (Ellis) and other trifling dues. These were the sad remnants of proprietary right.

* The Indian year of revenue, which begins in July and embraces portions of two of the Julian calendar, is here adverted to. The English have adopted from the Mohammedans the term *fussilee*, for this description of year, viz. the *year of the seasons*, to distinguish it from the lunar, which confounds all seasons.

office who were not conversant with the languages of the country), proposed, that "the *Meerassy* inhabitants of that village should be deprived of their *Meerass*, and that it should be transferred to others who are willing to cultivate on the proposed terms." The Board of Revenue opposed, and the Governor in Council supported, the expediency of this measure, and the discussions on the subject were protracted to a voluminous length. The Board of Revenue defended the rights of the occupants under the varied designations of "*Meerassy right*," "which implies inheritance, property;" "*proprietary right*;" "*Meerassy privileges*;" "rights of inheritance in regard to the soil," &c.: but, misled by supposed historical facts, which had not then been sufficiently examined, they unadvisedly admitted a position which had been assumed "as a fundamental* axiom" by the government, viz. that the actual property in the soil is vested in government, who alone have the power of making an absolute sale† of the land;" and their defence of rights and privileges, incompatible with this admission, sunk before the superior talents of their opponent. It is certain, from the known characters of the men, that each party sincerely believed itself to be defending the cause of justice. Facts appear to have been on the side of the Board of Revenue; mental power and logical skill on the side of the government: and in commenting, among other expressions, on the phrase "certain defined rights and privileges of the *Meerassdars*," they arrive at the following conclusion. "This definition then of the *original right* of a *Meerassdar*, which has been adopted and defended by the Board of Revenue, involves a

* Minutes of Consultation, April 16, 1796.

† They admit, however, the fact of lands having been sold with and without the consent of government; and give to such sale the strange description of "gratuitous recompence for the alienation of arable lands."

contradiction of terms; for it defines it to be an *indefeasible proprietary right* in the cultivation of the soil, the proprietary right of which soil is, a priori, vested in the *Circar** alone: and it is further defined to be a definite right under an indefinite system of law, and an independent right dependent upon the will of an arbitrary sovereign." This (it is added) is the abstract state of the question: but if questions of this nature were to be determined by metaphysical abstraction, it might with equal justice be argued, that law is the child of property and not the parent: that property must exist before laws are invented to protect it: that absolute independence being a creature of the imagination, the words "dependent" and "independent," when employed to describe the qualities of property, can in point of fact be considered no otherwise than merely relative terms: and that it is not the abstract right, but the practical protection, which is wanting under an arbitrary sovereign. We have however shewn the existence not only of a definite right, but of a definite law for its protection, which never had been repealed, excepting by the infamous Mohanmedan precept of seizing property as a remuneration for sparing life. However this may be, the doctrine defended by the government was decided in the affirmative; viz. that the occupants of land in India "can† establish no more right of inheritance in respect to the soil, than tenantry upon an estate in England can establish a right to the land by hereditary residence;" and the *Meerass* of a villager was defined to be "a preference of cultivation derived from hereditary residence."

This decision necessarily became the rule of conduct to all subordinate boards and officers: and in 1799 we find the board of revenue in a report prepa-

* It is necessary to inform the English reader who does not possess any of the glossaries which have been published, that *Circar* here means the government.

† Consultation January 8th, 1796.

ratory to the introduction of the system of Bengal, affirming for the government, and denying to the inhabitants, all property in the soil; and unfolding a slight glance at the difficulties with which they were surrounded in the remarkable phraseology of "proprietary* indefeasible fees of hereditary cultivators."

Early in 1800 orders were issued to the collectors to make the requisite preparatory arrangements for dividing the country into estates, for the purpose of being *sold* to persons to be denominated Zemindars: and some of these officers had the courage to plead anew the cause of the actual proprietors. The collector of Dindegul † observes that the sale will be "generally impracticable from the poverty of the people, who are expected to become the purchasers, as well as from the objection these very people would have to purchase a proprietary right in what prescription had already made their own."

"The Nautumcars," a local name for the same description of persons, "certainly consider the farm they cultivate *as their own property*, and no government, save the Mussulman, appears to have considered the soil as its own. In forming the present benevolent system this solitary precedent surely will not operate as an example to act upon; but where no written document is found, what has been known as usage will be established as law; this would confirm the prescriptive right of many industrious natives to the lands they have long occupied, and be the certain means of making them comprehend whence their advantages are derived."

The collectors of Tinevelly, ‡ and of Salem and Coimbatore, suggested objections of a similar ten-

* September 3d, 1799.

† Mr. Hurd's, March 1, 1800.

‡ Mr. Lushington of the former; Major Macleod of the latter. I cannot recover the notes which I made from the able and intelligent report of the former, and I state the fact from memory. Salem was the portion of the latter collectorate to be prepared.

dency ; and the very collector* of the jageer, who had formerly proposed the disfranchisement of the *Meerassdars* of Trimashy, appears to have been now satisfied "that the *Meerassdar* is the actual proprietor," and the tenant a very distinct person, the *Pyacaree*, who cultivates the land of another on condition of receiving a portion of the produce. "If" says the collector, "he (*the Meerassdar*) had only a right to cultivate, or only a preference in the cultivation, it would be equally to him as to the *Pyacaree* a thing of no real value ; whereas the *Meerassdar* sells, mortgages, gives away, or leaves his lands to his posterity, which the other cannot." "Meerass then," he adds in another place, "is the ultimate and the largest interest that they can covet or have in their lands ; and if it bears a construction different from that which I have always given it, and which it has in the *acceptation of the natives themselves*, I can only hope to be excused from having mistaken the rights of government by the beneficial effects of the illusion." Under a government certainly of as much purity as ever directed the affairs of any state, it is truly wonderful that no effect whatever should have been produced by these powerful and eloquent appeals. In this latter report, however, and in several others on the condition of the company's jageer, I recognize the state of things which has already been noticed in Canara : the occupants clung to the property as long as any proprietor's share was left ; and at length, strange as it may appear, the *Pyacarees* are stated generally to have received a larger share of the crop

It is known that the local institutions of that district and the Baramahal do not materially differ, and had been entirely assimilated by Colonel Read, who, in spite of a speculative tendency which is too often the associate of genius, and the acknowledged error of over-assessing the lands, may be considered as the *founder* of all correct knowledge of revenue in the south, and perhaps of a more correct and detailed knowledge than had previously existed in any part of India.

* Mr. Place.

in return for their labour than the proprietors who cultivated their own lands. The latter were probably capable of bearing large exactions, rather than desert their patrimony: they discovered the distinction, and began to disavow their *Meerass* or *Canyatchee*, and to enter themselves on the books as *Pyacarees*, who are free to labour where they please. Property, it would seem, had been absorbed in the exactions of the government; and under a continuance of the same order of things, there can be no doubt that the rights which were systematically denied would speedily have been forgotten.

The system however proceeded; the lands were sold* in several districts; and on the first January 1802, laws† and regulations were enacted for protecting the property thus created.

* "The Salem estates originally sold for 19 per cent. on the annual jumma. What kind of an estate is that which sells for 19 per cent. of the land-tax of one year? In England where the rental is 2,000*l.* the land-tax, at four shillings in the pound, is 400*l.* What would be said to a man who sold such an estate for 76*l.* which is 19 per cent. on 400*l.*?"—*Mr. Thackeray's report, already referred to.*

† In order that I may not inadvertently misrepresent this final and solemn decision, the words of the regulations shall be scrupulously quoted.

The proprietary right of the government is affirmed in the following terms.

REGULATION XXXI.

"Whereas the ruling power of the provinces now subject to the government of Fort St. George has, in conformity to the ancient usages of the country, reserved to itself and has exercised the *actual proprietary right of lands of every description*," &c. &c.

The preamble of Reg. xxv, determines "*to grant to Zemindars and other land-holders, their heirs and successors, a permanent property in their land in all time to come*," &c. &c.

And the II. (or first enacting) clause of the same regulation thus proceeds.

"In conformity to these principles an assessment shall be fixed on all lands liable to pay revenue to the government; and in consequence of such assessment the *proprietary right of the*

Suspensions however arose, and began to acquire strength, that there had been some error in these proceedings; and in 1805-6, Lord William Bentinck, then governor of Madras, on whose mind these suspicions had made a deep impression, prepared and circulated a set of queries for the purpose of obtaining farther information for his guidance in the settlement of those districts not yet alienated; the result of this

soil shall become vested in the *Zemindars* or other proprietors of land, and in their heirs and lawful successors for ever."

The condition of the *Meerassdars* or *Canyatchikars* (under farmers or Ryots, as they are named) is determined in the following clauses.

REGULATION xxx.

IX. "Where disputes may arise respecting rates of assessment in money or of division in kind, the rates shall be determined according to the rates prevailing in the cultivated lands, in the year preceding the assessment of the permanent jumma on such lands; or where that may not be ascertainable, according to the rates established for lands of the same description and quality as those respecting which the dispute may arise.

X. Where under farmers or Ryots may refuse to exchange mutual engagements in writing with proprietors or farmers of land, defining the terms on which such under farmers or Ryots are to hold their lands, and may persist in such refusal for the space of one month after the prescribed pottahs may have been offered in presence of witnesses by the proprietors or farmers of land, or may refuse to fulfil those engagements when entered into; such proprietors or farmers of land shall have power to grant the lands of the under farmers or Ryots so refusing to other persons."

The few public officers on the establishment of Fort St. George, who, having the means of examining the question, continue to be the advocates of this system, give to these clauses the distinction of being the *bill of rights* of the Ryots. The modern Arabic term "Ryot," is in these regulations made to be synonymous with "under farmer" or "tenant;" and considering him in that capacity, his rights are respectably protected: but believing, and having, as I think, proved that the *Canyatchikars* are the proprietors of the soil, it is unnecessary to give a name to the act which vests "the proprietary right of that soil" in other persons, and only secures to them the rights incident to the condition of a tenant. An able and respectable member* of the

* Mr. Hodgson, March 28, 1806.

investigation, afterwards recorded on the proceedings of the government, strengthened the opinions which he had previously formed, and induced his lordship to make a journey to Calcutta for the express purpose of obtaining the sanction of the governor general for suspending the farther operation of the Zemindary system. The answers to these queries, and the spontaneous reports of collectors about this period of time, will enable us to discuss the condition of the remaining provinces which we had proposed to examine.

board of revenue in a note on a report of inspection of the southern provinces observes, that "Zemindars, Rajas, Poligars, Jagiredars, are the representatives of the government to whom the collection of the government rent has been transferred, not the absolute property in the land, and right to demand any rent." If this definition be correct, and I object to no one word of it, *rent* alone excepted, it only shews that the government intended to create *hereditary proprietors of the soil*, and have only made *hereditary farmers of revenue*: that a great error has been committed, and that the attributes as well as the ideas of property have been so mistaken, confounded, and dispersed, that it will be a work of no ordinary difficulty to replace them where they ought to be found.

The same gentleman affirms that the *Meerassdars* or *Can-yatchikars* have every where "the right to sell or transfer by deed, gift, or otherwise, the land they occupy, subject always to the condition of paying the *standard rent*," viz. the payment named "assessment" and "revenue," in Reg. xxv. c. ii, above quoted; and in other places "permanent assessment," "moderate assessment of public revenue." "That they exercise the right above stated wherever the standard rent (revenue) has not been encreased so as to absorb all the profit on cultivation, or arable land, is sufficiently scarce to be of value in the acquisition."

It is satisfactory to observe on the same authority, that evidence of private property "not absorbed" exists at the present time in the sale of land in the following districts besides *Canara* and *Malabar*; viz. *North Arcot*, *South Arcot*, *Jageer*, now *Zilla of Chinglepet*, *Tanjore*, *Trichinopoly*, *Dindigul*, *Madura*, *Ramnad*, *Tinnevely*. Paddy lands and wells (he adds) are transferred by sale in *Coimbatore*, and wells (i. e. lands in which wells have been sunk for the purposes of irrigation) in *Salem*. Such lands I believe to be saleable even in the *Deekan*.

Passing south to regions somewhat more remote from the first impressions of the northern conquerors, we arrive at Trichinopoly and Tanjore, sometimes united and sometimes separate : the latter principality containing the town of Combaconum, the ancient capital of the *Chola* race, one of the oldest Hindoo dynasties of which any traces have hitherto been discovered in these lower regions, and from which the whole coast* in later times has taken its name. Tanjore in 1675 fell into the hands of Eccojee, the brother of the celebrated founder of the Mahratta empire. Throughout all its revolutions this country had remained under a Hindoo† government, with the exception of the very short period that it was possessed by Mohammed Aly; and it is of no material importance to our present purpose to trace the ancient history of its private landed proprietors, since the whole province continues at this day to exhibit every character that constitutes a highly respectable proprietary right. I cannot describe the state of landed property in this part of India more forcibly than by adopting the very words of a late report.‡ “Without entering on the question of who is proprietor of the soil, I will content myself with stating that immemorial usage has established both in Tanjore and Trichinopoly, that the occupants, whether distinguished by the names of Meerassdar or Mahajanums,§ have the right of selling, bestowing, devising and bequeathing||

* See the note on p. 10.

† It was tributary, or at least paid occasional contribution to the Mohammedan state of Vijeyapoor, and at an earlier period to the Hindoo Rajas of Vijeyanuggur.

‡ Report, 8th September 1805, by Mr. Wallace.

§ Mahajenum—this is not the appellation usually given by the natives themselves, but a Sanserit term (*Maha magnus*, *Jenam gens*, persons of consequence) introduced probably by the Mahratta Bramins. *Canyatchikar* is unquestionably the name universally known to the proprietors of Tanjore.—*Ellis*.

|| The bequest when a man dies or becomes an *anchoret* must of course be conformable to the restrictions of the Hindoo law,

their lands in the manner which to them is most agreeable. Whether this right was granted originally by the ancient constitution of the country, appears to me not worth considering at the present day. I think it a fortunate circumstance that the right does at present exist, whether it originated in encroachment on the sovereign's right, in a wise and formal abrogation of those rights, or in institutions coeval with the remotest antiquity. It is fortunate that at a moment when we are consulting on the means of establishing the property and welfare of the numerous people of these provinces, we find the lands of the country in the hands of men who feel and understand the full rights and advantages of possession, who have enjoyed them in a degree more or less secure before the British name was known in India, and who, in consequence of them, have rendered populous and fertile the extensive provinces of Tanjore and Trichinopoly.*

The class of proprietors to whom I allude are not to be considered as the actual cultivators of the soil; the far greater mass of them till their lands by the means of hired labourers, or by a class of people termed *Pullers*, who are of the lowest cast, and who may be considered as the slaves of the soil. The landed property of these provinces is divided and subdivided in every possible degree; there are

and can only be requisite in the latter case to announce the fact of divesting the property; in the former, the laws determine, and the testator cannot change the rule of succession. Since writing this note, I have observed in the public papers the report of a decision in the supreme court at Calcutta, which affirms the power of bequest by a Hindoo in unequal portions; I have also been assured on good authority, that this power had been denied in the decision of a learned judge of the supreme court at Madras, in conformity to the explanation of the Hindoo law stated in the first part of this note.

* I conclude that Trichinopoly is indebted for this advantage to its contiguity to Tanjore—the Mussulman rulers of the former could not, without a revolution involving the loss of the whole revenue, place their husbandmen on a footing materially differing from that of their immediate neighbours.

proprietors of four thousand* acres, of four hundred acres, of forty acres, and of one acre.

The occupants and Meerassdars above described are far from being mere nominal proprietors; they have a clear, ample, and unquestioned proprietor's share, amounting, according to the same authority, to the respectable proportion of twenty-seven† per cent. of the gross produce, a larger rent than remained to an English proprietor of land who had tithes and

* The authors of the Zemindary system in Bengal rested much on the expediency of gradations in society. He must be a strenuous disciple of aristocracy who does not recognize in this and the subsequent passages an abundant gradation in property, distinction, privilege, and power.

† One hundred and fifty is the whole produce of a fixed portion of land on which the calculation is made; of which eighteen goes to general charges, and one hundred and thirty-two remains to be divided between the government and the proprietor. The government receives $59\frac{5}{13}$, or forty-five per cent. and the proprietor $72\frac{5}{13}$, or fifty-five per cent: this latter amount is again to be divided between the proprietor and his *Paragoodie*, the same person as the *Pyacaree* of the vicinity of Madras; an independent labourer, who receives a fixed share of the produce, and out of it defrays the expenses of cultivation his share of the above seventy-two is thirty-eight, and the proprietor's thirty-four, the former being twenty-eight per cent. and the latter twenty-seven per cent. upon the whole sum to be divided, viz. one hundred and thirty-two. The difference is remarkable (as it necessarily must from the facility of culture) between the expenses of cultivation and maintenance of the farmer's family in this province and in Canara, viz. twenty-eight per cent. and fifty per cent; but I am not certain of the exact nature of the eighteen for general charges excluded in the first instance in the above calculation. If the greater portion of this sum should be chargeable as expenses of husbandry, and consequently be added to the farmer's share, he would have near thirty-seven per cent. instead of twenty-eight, which is still a wonderfully small proportion. When Anquetil du Perron informs us that the government of Tanjore exacted from sixty to seventy per cent. the nature of this error is explained by supposing that he had conversed with Paragoodies, who informed him of the share, *which they did not receive*; and he, following the prevalent doctrine that no private property existed in the land, concluded that the whole share not received by the farmer must necessarily go to the government.

land-tax to pay, even before the establishment of the income-tax. The report of a most respectable committee on the affairs of Tanjore in 1807, gives a very clear detail of the distribution of property over the whole province, which consists of five thousand eight hundred and seventy-three townships: of this number there are one thousand eight hundred and seven townships, in which one individual holds the whole undivided lands: there are two thousand two hundred and two, of which the property in each is held by several persons having their distinct and separate estates: and one thousand seven hundred and seventy-four, the landed property in which is held in common by all the *Meerassdars* or proprietors of the village, who contribute labour and receive a share of the crop in the proportion of their respective properties. The same report states that the number of *Meerassdars* who are Bramins is computed to be 17,149
 Of Soodras, including native Christians,... 42,442
 Mohammedans 1,457

Total 61,048

The fact of the existence of so considerable a number of Mohammedan* proprietors is a curious and conclusive proof of the unrestrained facility of alienating landed property in Tanjore; but I do not observe the rate or number of years purchase at which land is usually sold, to be stated in any of the reports which I have perused.

Passing south to the provinces of Madura and Tinnevely, portions of the ancient Pandyan region; the collector of the former,† with an able and honest simplicity which is altogether admirable, enumerates

* They are all Lubbiès (Ellis): the descendants of Mohammedans who emigrated from Arabia during the tyrannical rule of Hijaj bèn Yusuf, in the early part of the eighth century.

† Mr. Parish.

among the impediments to the free sale of landed property "the regulations of government declaring the property of the soil to be vested solely in them:" previously to that regulation he intimates that "this was not the case, the inhabitants considering the ground attached to their villages, their own property, and the Circular entitled to receive the tax, should it be brought under cultivation." Land however continues to be sold and mortgaged* in that province, but I cannot extract the number of years purchase from the rates described by the collector, from not being sufficiently acquainted with the local coins and standards of measure which are peculiar to that province.

The report to which I have before adverted, of a respectable member of the Board of Revenue of Madras,† who made a personal inspection of Tinnevely in 1807, informs us, that *Cawnee Autchee* or Meerass (the thing as well as the word), is familiarly known throughout the province: and discusses with great ability the question of the property in uncultivated land, which he determines to be the right of the Meerassdars of the village, or, in other words, the corporate property of the township, to the exclusion of the claim of the newly invented personage named Zemindar or Mootadar, already introduced into some provinces under the government of Fort St. George. With regard to the actual limits of the individual Meerass, "each Meerassdar considers himself proprietor (I here, says the reporter, use the word

* The same forms of sale, mortgage and redemption, and the very same technical terms, are in use in Tanjore and the southern provinces, as are employed in Malabar. The most important of these technical terms are common to Canara also, and to the rest of the eastern and western low country, over the greater part of the tract which I have proposed to examine. "The terms are all of Tamul origin; the few Sanscrit terms to be found in the reports probably have been adopted by the collectors from conversation with their official servants, many of whom are Mahratta Bramins."—*Ellis*.

† Mr. Hodgson.

proprietor in a limited* sense to describe the Meerassee property) of all the land of his Meerass, whether it be cultivated or not." If from misfortune or other circumstances another person cultivates any part of his land, he is entitled to receive a share of the gross produce, amounting to about $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. which in that province is called *Swamy bhogum*,† literally, lord's (landlord's) share. On the banks of the never failing Tumbrapurny river, a former Hindoo prince, in the excess of his piety, dispossessed and expatriated the former proprietors, to make way for a colony of northern Bramins, whose posterity, or that of subsequent purchasers, hold these lands on more favourable terms, but to what extent we are not exactly informed. These lands, as well as the others, are every where throughout the province a transferable and saleable property: the lowest commutation for a proprietor's share, as may be observed, being only about one half the value of similar property in Tanjore, and of course when managed by the proprietor himself it is considerably greater. But Madura and Tinnevely, exclusively of numerous revolutions under the Hindoo government, had been subjected to a scourge which Tanjore had escaped during a tedious tyranny of upwards of sixty years of direct Mohammedan rule; in which it can only be attributed to the plain fact of their never having been completely subdued, that the existence of a landlord's share has survived to the present time.

For the satisfaction of those who may desire to inspect the forms of alienation, an abstract is sub-

* Every where I trace the doubts, or reservations, regarding the existence of landed property in the lower countries, to the limitations on *absolute dominion*, although absolute and unlimited dominion over any kind of property is no where on earth to be found.

† This is the term throughout the whole of the lower country to the east. *Bhogum*, in its primitive signification, is *enjoyment*, and by an easy transition signifies right, share.—*Ellis*.

joined* (preserving the verbal translation of what may be considered as the enacting clauses) of two documents from the Mackenzie collection, one of them dated before, and the other after, the conquest of the lower countries by the Rajas of Vijayanuggur, for the purpose of exhibiting the practice which prevailed in the sale of private landed property north of the Coleroon at those respective periods; and a translation is added of a bill of sale for the alienation of landed property, according to the forms of the present day, to the south of that river. Specimens are not offered of similar instruments in Canara and Malabar, because their existence is notorious and acknowledged.

We have now passed over the tract in which I had proposed to trace, and, as I hope, have proved to the satisfaction of every impartial mind the positive and unquestionable existence of private landed property in India. After proving its distinct recognition in the ancient Sasters or sacred laws of the Hindoos, we have clearly deduced its† derivation from that source, and its present existence in a perfect form in the provinces of Canara and Malabar, and the principalities of Coorg and Travancore, which had longest evaded the sword of the northern barbarians: we have found it preserved in considerable purity under Hindoo dynasties, and comparatively few revolutions in Tanjore‡ until the present day: we have traced its

* See Appendix, No. 2.

† It may be convenient to recapitulate the grounds of this derivation in Canara- 1st. that such is the tradition; 2d. that the people are Hindoos, and such is the Hindoo law; 3d. that the conversion from a grain to a money rent by Hurryhur Ray is professedly founded on the Hindoo law; and continued until, first, indirectly, by the pressure of a Mohammedan attack, and afterwards, directly, from Mohammedan conquest, the property had nearly become extinguished. It is incumbent on those (if such there be) who may still question this derivation, to shew another, or to refute these facts.

‡ Tanjore was under Mohammedan rule (Mohammed Ali)

existence entire, but its value diminished, in Madura and* Tinnevely, which had experienced numerous revolutions, and had long groaned under the Moham-medan yoke. In the provinces adjacent and west of Madras, which had sustained the close and immediate gripe of these invaders, we have shewn by ancient documents its immemorial existence in former times, and even at the present day the right, in quality, clear and distinct, but in value approaching to extinction: and we have observed in the latter years of the dynasty of Hyder, the perfect landed property of Canara approaching the same unhappy state in which the proprietor from fear disowned his property, and a small interval remained before its very existence would be buried in oblivion. The enquiry has led us over a large portion of the provinces subject to the government of Fort St. George, and a necessity has occurred for touching lightly on its territorial policy. Before this branch of the subject be dismissed, it may be useful to take a rapid glance, imperfect from the

no longer than the period necessary for referring the question to England, and receiving an answer. Short, however, as it was, large strides were made towards the extinction of landed property by the removal of considerable numbers of the ancient proprietors. On the restoration of the country: the exigencies of government, and the distresses of the people, caused the introduction of a new order of persons named Puttuckdars, men of wealth, a sort of middle man or contractor between the proprietors and the government, who by authority, influence, and chicanery, contrived to get possession of a large share of the landed property in their respective Puttuckdams, or, as the Tanjoreans emphatically express it, they swallowed up their neighbours as the large fish swallow the lesser ones. The Puttuckdars were abolished in 1801-2; but the English government has introduced and *threatens* to extend a system essentially the same, substituting for the word *Puttuckdar* the word *Zemindar*.—*Chiefly from Mr. Ellis.*

* In the report of the Ceylon commissioners I trace a close resemblance to the Hindoo institutions of the continent at the traditionary period when the share of the sovereign was one-tenth of the produce, as it is (or was in 1795) in Ceylon; and private property (Sahaperveny) unquestioned and unquestionable.

nature of my materials, over the provinces subject to Bengal, whence this policy has been received.

It is to be regretted that the long and uninterrupted subjugation of Hindoostan by Mohammedan princes had so far obliterated the best characters of the ancient Hindoo constitution, as to present to the first English observers nothing but Mohammedan institutions and edicts, as the earliest documents which it was necessary to consider. Institutions derived from the best practices of a code which inculcates war against infidels as a religious duty, condemns the women and children of the vanquished to slavery, and the men* to death, and condescends to accept submission and the highest possible tribute as a merciful commutation† for liberty and life, do not seem to be very proper objects of imitation for an English government.

But the examples already presented to the reader, of the circumstances which have accelerated the decay of landed property in the south, afford sufficient ground to conjecture that the same causes may have effected its entire extinction in many parts of Bengal. The political and official relations of the English government were long and generally confined to intercourse with Mohammedan authorities; the few Hindoos of consequence with whom they communicated were either usurpers or official servants, brought up in the trammels of Mohammedan principles and forms, which had long superseded the ancient constitution of the country. Our first impressions and prejudices were received from these impure sources, and the ancient Hindoo law was

* Sale Prel. Dis. p. 191.

† Tippoo broadly avows this principle in his account of the seizure of 60,000 Christians to be forcibly converted to the Mohammedan religion. Their lives were forfeited: to spare them was mercy, to honour them with Islam a favour. No fault is imputed, excepting their being Christians. *Sultaun u Towareekh*. See also Hedaya, book ix. chap. 7, as quoted in page 56.

concealed by an impenetrable veil which has not yet been entirely removed.

The perplexity (and, without meaning disrespect, it is not of small amount) which pervades the official discussions of those great personages who established what is called the permanent settlement of Bengal, seems chiefly to have arisen from viewing the condition of the people through the medium of Mohammedan institutions. Although the royalties of the very ground on which these eminent men conducted this important controversy* were granted by a Mohammedan prince, on the express condition that the English company should purchase the thirty-eight villages of which the grant was composed, from the *owners*† (not the owner), neither of these personages could perceive any claim to the property of the soil, excepting in the sovereign or the Zemindar; and both were agreed in recognizing the rights of the latter.‡ It is really curious to observe the inextricable puzzle in which they are reciprocally involved by this admission. Sir John Shore§ observes that "it is equally a contradiction in terms to say that the property of the soil is vested in the Zemindar, and that we have a right to regulate the

* The object under discussion was whether the demand of government on the land should then be unalterably fixed; or whether government should postpone this measure until they should be better informed? Lord Cornwallis supported the first, and Sir John Shore the second of these propositions.

† I quote from "Patton's Principles of Asiatic Monarchies," p. 147. I have never seen a Persian copy of the grant.

‡ The fate of this opinion is singular. I imagine there is now not one man in England or in India, who conscientiously believes that the person designated by the modern term Zemindar ever was proprietor: I of course mean the Zemindar in the contemplation of these disputants, for, in the modern technical language of Bengal, the word means equally the descendant of the officer who collected the dues of government from the proprietors, and the proprietor himself where he has been permitted to exist.

§ Now Lord Teignmouth. Minute, Dec. 21, 1789:

terms by which he is to let his lands to the Ryots as it is to connect that avowal with discretionary, and arbitrary claims.”* They had here discovered a proprietor, whom it was found necessary to deprive of the first characteristic of property, the right to manage it in his own way (a ward of chancery, or a proprietor under a statute of lunacy). † Lord Cornwallis had observed that “the numerous prohibitory orders against the levying new taxes, accompanied with threats of fine and imprisonment for the disobedience of them, have proved ineffectual,” but nevertheless thinks that the Zemindars must and can in future be restrained. His lordship, however, comforts himself by reflecting, that if they do levy new impositions, the rents will, in the end, thereby be lowered; because, “when the rent becomes so high as to be oppressive and intolerable to the Ryot (what inference does the reader expect?) he must at length desert the land!” the very land, the rents, taxes, or impositions on which the Zemindar ought to be punished for attempting to raise; and yet in a document selected, strangely enough, as an Appendix to such a minute, ‡ a collector, after giving an account of certain *Baboos* who had obtained by fraud and misrepresentation a grant of some villages, and now, in the expectation of the proprietary right in land being vested in Zemindars, claimed to be considered in that capacity, goes on to state that this property was in the same expectation claimed by the heads of villages as *Malicks*§ or *proprietors*. These unfortunate men are described to have arrived at a state nearly resembling that which has already

* What would the noble lord say to his English tenant who should stigmatize as an arbitrary claim, his lordship's right to get the best rent he can for his land?

† Minute, February 3, 1790.

‡ Of Shawabad, September 29, 1789.

§ Arabic, and adopted in Persian. I find these modern terms exclusively used in the whole of these discussions.

been noticed in Canara and Arcot; they had been compelled to disavow their property, and had placed their villages under the protection of a Zemindar, as being more able to skreen them from the vexatious interference of the provincial officer Hâkim. "These persons (continues the collector) have occasionally disposed of the whole or a part of such villages, and the *purchasers* claim to be *Mâlicks* or *proprietors*. Some of these purchasers of land have sold their land to others, and it is possible that such sales may have been variously multiplied. The *old proprietors* again represent, that the sale was made to answer oppressive exactions, and ought to be declared void." The collector concludes with the following remarkable words; "In truth, gentlemen, these old *Mâlicks* have urged their claims with much anxiety and importunity; they absolutely refused to enter into any engagements but as *Mâlicks* (proprietors), declaring they would rather lose their lives than acquiesce in a relinquishment of their hereditary rights." I have said that the perplexity observable on this controversy is curious; and I will now add that it is astonishing, because the simple recognition of private* property in land, so broadly announced and so unquestionably proved by this contest of the new and the old proprietors, who reciprocally admitted the fact of repeated sale, would have solved every difficulty, and served as a guide through the mighty

* "I am fully persuaded that we had the same authority for considering many classes of the Ryots proprietors of the soil: and the benefits to be looked for from such a measure far exceed those we can derive from that of declaring the Zemindars and a few Talockdars, the only proprietors"—Grant, as quoted in "British India analyzed," vol. ii. p. 428. I regret that I could not procure a copy of the late Mr. Grant's work, which, as I understand, was printed, but not published; and I still more regret that circumstances have prevented my having access to the valuable collection of manuscripts in the possession of his heir, my friend Lieutenant Colonel A. Grant, as it is probable that they would have supported the opinion for which I contend.

maze in which these noble personages continued to involve themselves and their readers to the end of the controversy.

In the appendix to a minute by Sir John Shore, the date of which I cannot recover, two very singular documents are exhibited: one, the extract of a report (apparently from the Board of Revenue), which, after conclusively proving that the Zemindar is a mere official servant, states that "the Utlumgha* Sunnud is all sufficient to establish, beyond controversy, that the property of land in these countries is exclusively vested in the crown:" and the other, a Mohammedan law authority which establishes, beyond controversy, that the fact is not so. The distinction has already been noticed between the practice of Mohammedan rulers towards conquered infidels, and a country inhabited by the faithful: and the document which I now submit to the reader is a curious and important refutation of the doctrine of European travellers already alluded to, which denies the existence of private property in land, in the Mohammedan countries of the east. It is entitled, Extract from the Mohammedan Law on Landed Property. Verbal translation from the Arabic.

"In the book *Khazanatul Rewayah* it is written, †Tributary land is held in full property by its

* The name proving the thing to be of Mohammedan origin.

† The word translated *tribute* I suppose to be *Kheraj*, and the decimated land *Asheree*. Abul Fuzzul has an elaborate and, as I think, unsatisfactory discussion regarding the tribute and taxes of Mohammedans in vol. i. of the *Ayeen e Acherie*. I understand the *Asheree*, or tenth, to be the *Zecat* or *Alms* first levied by *Mohammed*, ostensibly for charitable purposes, and afterwards much modified for political objects by himself, and more by his successors; and *Kheraj* to have been originally the larger tribute, or fifth, exacted from a conquered country (the exaction of one-half being a more modern invention, see p. 180). The former was the distinction of the faithful, and the latter of the infidels, inhabiting one and the same country. Many of the countries now entirely inhabited by Mohammedans submitted on condition of paying

owner ; and so is tithed (or decimated) land : a sale, a gift, or a charitable devise of it is lawful, and it will be inherited like other property. Thus in the *Book Mohodeyah*, in a passage quoted from *Almohit* (a work of the lawyer Mohammed), lands are held in full property by them, they shall inherit those lands, and shall pay the tribute out of them ;" and in the book *Alkhanujah* it is written, "The sovereign has a right of property in the tribute or rent ;" so in the book *Modena Sharhi Baaz* it is written, "A town and the district* annexed to it shall not be sold by the sovereign, if it pay tribute or rent to the crown, nor shall it be given nor inherited, nor shall it belong to the royal domains ; for inheritance is annexed to property, and he who has the tribute from the land has no property in the land : hence it is known that *the king† has no right to grant the land which pays tribute, but that he may grant the tribute arising from it.*"

the *Kheraj* : which imposition on the infidel has continued to be levied on his Mohammedan successor, although, on embracing the faith, he was strictly entitled to exemption on paying *Zecat* ; but as this latter was properly an *apostolical*, and *Kheraj* a royal right, the conqueror, who had no claim to direct divine mission, found it more profitable to exercise the rights of royalty. Persia originally paid *Kheraj*, but there are some lands (perhaps occupied at first by the faithful) which continue to pay but a tenth of the produce. While on the subject of Persia I will add, that unless all the intelligent natives of that country with whom I have conversed have, without communication with each other, accidentally united to deceive me, private hereditary property in land now exists, and always has existed, in Persia. The *Asheree* I understand to be the fixed *land-tax* of the Ottoman government at this time.

* The township which we have so often had occasion to notice.

† Sir William Jones, in his preface to the Translation of *Alsirajeyyah*, has the following passages.—"Nothing can be more certain than that *land, rents, and goods* are, in the language of all Mohammedan lawyers, *property alike alienable and inheritable* ;" and again, "The old Hindoos most assuredly were *absolute proprietors of their land*, although they called their sovereigns Lords of the Earth," &c.: the passage is quoted by the anonymous

Under the only doctrine which was recognized in this discussion, the proof, and it is abundantly satisfactory, that the land is not the king's, leaves no alternative but to consign it to the Zemindar. The author of "The Principles of Asiatic Monarchies," argues with great force, that the claim of the Zemindar being limited to one tenth of the sum collected for the king, it is absurd to distinguish as proprietor the person entitled to one tenth, *while the remaining nine tenths are called a duty, a tax, a quit rent. The argument is conclusive: but the ingenious author has not unfolded the whole of the absurdity. Under the utmost limit of exaction recorded in the modern history of India, the sovereign has received one half of the crop. The real share of the crop, which, even under such exaction, would go to this redoubtable proprietor, would be one twentieth, or five per cent.; according to the laws of Menu and the other Sasters, his share would be one sixtieth, or one and two-thirds per cent.; and this is the thing which a British govern-

author of a work called *British India analyzed*, who proceeds to express his chagrin, "to find, on Sir W. Jones's authority, that reference to additional Mohammedan authority is yet necessary to decide whether any species of property was compatible with the Koran." Where has the author found the necessity on the authority of Sir William Jones, or on any other authority? And has the Koran in establishing minute and distinct rules for the descent and partition of estates, and the alienation by sale, mortgage, or gift, of moveable and immoveable property, only decided the incidents of a nonentity? The author of the present work may well despair of being heard where the authority of Sir William Jones has been condemned to neglect and oblivion. Sir William, however, had apparently gone no farther than to ascertain that there was a proprietor distinct from the sovereign, and *seems* to have taken the authority of the rulers of the day in supposing this proprietor to be the Zemindar.

* The technical name of this proportion in the Mohammedan Records is Nankar. I do not know the ancient Hindoo term in the north: this I suppose to be modern, and an irregular compound from the Persian word *Nan*, bread, and signifying subsistence, provision, or salary; but I have only seen the word in the *English* records of Bengal; it is not in use in the south.

ment has named *proprietor of the land*. In the controversy to determine whether the sovereign or the Zemindar were the proprietor, each party appears to me to have reciprocally refuted the proposition of his adversary, without establishing his own: they have severally proved that neither the king nor the Zemindar is the proprietor.

At a very early period of the company's government in Bengal, Mr. Verelst, when charged with the collections of the province of Chittagong, looking at the condition of the people, with that sound plain common sense which distinguished his character, and not through the medium of Mohammedan institutions, confirmed the rights which he found the people actually to possess, of transmitting and alienating their landed property by inheritance, mortgage, sale, or gift. * The recognition of that right (in the words of the judge and magistrate of that province in 1801) "has fixed a value on real property here which is not attached to it in other parts of Bengal, and has given existence to a numerous body of landholders unknown elsewhere," who are afterwards stated to consider themselves, and to be recognized by the court, as "*the actual proprietors of the soil*." In a subsequent passage we find these remarkable words: "If comfortable habitations and a numerous and healthy progeny be proofs of a happy condition, the Ryots in this province enjoy it in a high degree; and the small estates in this division have contributed to increase population, and to rear a temperate and robust species of man fit for every sort of labour." The opinions received on the same occasion from other provinces are uniform in stating that the condition of the cultivators has been meliorated (slender melioration if they ought to be the proprietors :) by the establishment of courts to which they can apply for redress against great oppres-

* Answers to questions circulated in 1801.



sions: but I find nothing from the Zemindaries resembling or approaching the delightful picture which has been drawn of the condition of these *rightful proprietors* confirmed in the possession of their estates.

About the same time that Mr. Verelst confirmed in Chittagong the rights which he found established, Bulwunt Sing, the Zemindar of Benares, then subject to the Vizier of Oude, found the same rights in that province; but instead of confirming, he invaded and usurped them: forcibly subverting the rights of the landholders, he reduced them from the condition of proprietors to that of mere tenants. This usurpation continued until the system of considering the Zemindar as the proprietor of the soil had been for some time established, and the courts of the English government had been erected at Benares. The usurpation had not been of sufficient standing to obliterate the knowledge and the remembrance of the ancient proprietary rights; and, after due investigation, the present Zemindar was prevailed on by the British government formally to recognize these rights, and they have accordingly been restored.*

I observe that a similar question was depending

* I am indebted for this fact to verbal information from a gentleman now holding a very high office in India, and officially conversant with the whole history of revenue in Bengal. The restoration occurred during the period that Mr. Duncan, now governor of Bombay, presided over the affairs of that province; and I have also the obliging permission of that gentleman to state that he considers the account here given to be generally correct: but I do not know the exact extent to which Bulwunt Sing had proceeded in his exactions. The present settlement is made with the actual occupants (whether individually or collectively by villages is virtually the same;) and according to the nomenclature of Bengal as applied to Chittagong; we have here the *great* Zemindar of Benares, and a multitude of *small* Zemindars paying ten or twenty rupees of revenue through the medium or on account of the *great* Zemindar, who retains one rupee in ten of the nett collections as his commission. It will scarcely be denied that the Zemindars of Benares and Burdwan, when we first became acquainted with them, were considered to be the same

before the provincial court in 1801, between the Zemindars and Muckuddums (heads of villages), in *Bhaugulpore; but I am not informed whether

description of persons, and to bear the same relation to the inhabitants of their respective provinces. Yet in one the occupants of the lands have been made proprietors, in the other they are tenants.

I have observed in the Minutes of Sir John Shore an account of two descriptions of Ryots in Bengal, which seem to correspond with the *Canyatchikar* and *Payacaree* of the south; and, I have no doubt, were originally possessed of the same rights, namely, *Khodkasht* and *Paykasht*, modern Persian terms translated from Hindoo appellations, which it would be satisfactory to ascertain. In the copy which I first saw, the words were written without the letter *h* in the last syllable; and I had no conjecture what they were until a few days before I left Madras. I found them on looking over a Persian copy of the local regulation for Benares; which, however, savours more of the general system of Bengal than I had been induced to expect from what is above stated. It is not always safe to interpret technical terms according to their strict grammatical import; and these Persian compounds are too equivocally composed to have any positive import. The following is a verbal translation of the written explanation procured for me by a judge of the Sudder Adaulet at Madras from one of the muftees of that court.

"*Paykasht* is a compound word from *pai* and *kasht*. The meaning of *pai* (foot, or footstep) is obvious, and *kasht* is the preterite of the verb *kashten* (to cultivate), that is to say *he travels to another village and cultivates there*. *Khodkasht* is also a compound from *khod* (himself, his own, &c.), that is to say, *he himself cultivates his own land*:" and I am satisfied with this definition, for if any person should contend that *khodkasht* merely means a person who himself cultivates, *i. e.* with his own hands, he must give up all difference between him and the *Paykasht*, who certainly does the same, and deny the important distinction which is established in that regulation, namely, that the latter may, and the former cannot, be ejected at pleasure from his farm at the expiration of his potta or lease.

For reasons which it would be tedious to discuss, some of the details of management in this province appear to me to be still objectionable.

* It may not, perhaps, be altogether unconnected with the Zemindary system, that the revenues of this province should, in little more than thirty years, have dwindled from rupees 319,911 to rupees 141,255! Answers to Circular Questions in 1801.

any other attempts have been made by the inhabitants of Bengal for the recovery of their ancient rights. The reader will probably be of opinion that enough has been adduced to establish the existence in that country of the same rights, and the traces of a gradation similar to that of the south, by which they have been partially obliterated, or entirely destroyed. Happily, in a large portion of the territory subject to the government of Fort St. George, the question is still open to consideration: the rights which still exist are ripe for confirmation; and those which have been partially or wholly usurped or destroyed may yet be restored. Instead of creating, by the most absurd of all misnomers, a few nominal *proprietors, who, without farther usurpation, can by no possible exertion of power be rendered either more or less than farmers or contractors of revenue†; the British gov-

* I had the satisfaction to learn, before my departure from Madras, that a disposition prevails in the government to suspend for the present the progress of this system: and that a suggestion from the Board of Revenue for the formation of a village settlement has been approved and ordered to be carried into execution in the ensuing year in those districts which have escaped the Zemindary system. I had not the opportunity of perusing the details, but have reason to believe that they are well adapted to serve as a sound basis for a better order of things.

† At one time I was disposed to think that, besides the name of contractors of revenue, they might also claim the title of *Lords of the Waste*: but even this right is indisputably shewn by the able report above quoted to be the corporate property of the township. In other countries escheats in land fall to the king, according to the first principles of government, by which that which ceases to be individual property becomes the general property of the community of which it formed a part. According to the genuine principles of Hindoo law it appears to me that, although personal property may, landed property cannot, escheat to the king, but to the township; because all within its limits that is not individual property is the corporate property of the township: to this principle there is, however, an exception. When, as we have seen to be the case in Tanjore, a whole township belongs to an individual, the escheat will fall to the sovereign.



ernment may still restore property and its concomitant blessings to the great mass of its subjects. In this portion of India its ancient constitution may yet be revived. A company of merchants may confer a more solid benefit than was announced in the splendid proclamation of the Roman consul to the cities of Greece: freedom, in its most rational, safe, and acceptable form, may be proclaimed to the little republics of India, by declaring the fixed and moderate revenue that each shall pay, and leaving the interior distribution to themselves, interfering only on appeal from their own little magistrate, either in matters of revenue, or of landed, or of personal property. Under such a system, varying only from their ancient constitution in substituting for the tax on industry, involved in the exaction of a proportion of the crop, a fixed money payment, which is also of great antiquity in India; the waste would quickly be covered with luxuriant crops, because every extension of culture would be a clear profit to the proprietor; and without running into the wild fancies of a golden age, the mass of the people would be interested in the permanency of a government which had essentially improved their condition, and, with the religion and laws* of their fathers, had revived their long forgotten proprietary rights. But the British government will only deceive itself, and harass the people, in the vain attempt to improve their condition by mere theories and innovations, while they continue to exact the whole landlord's rent, as is done in some districts, and the greater part of it as in others: they must not expect to create property in land by a certain number of magical words inscribed on paper or parchment: the only operation by which property in land can be restored is simply to leave to the farmer that which constitutes property, a rent, a proprietor's share; and this may be effected without

* See Appendix, No. 3.

any material diminution of that revenue which the exigencies of the time so imperiously demand, by conceding to the proprietor the abatement which has, in all cases, been made to the newly invented Zemindar.

In adverting, however, to a *fixed* revenue, I bend to received opinions, without absolutely acquiescing in them. With the most unfeigned deference for the superior talents and knowledge of some of those great men who applaud the *permanent* and *unalterable landed assessment* of Bengal, I must still be permitted to doubt the expediency of the irrevocable pledge which has been given. It is not intended here to examine whether those provinces have flourished in consequence of the present system, or in spite of it. I admit, without reserve, that almost any thing was better than the incessant fluctuation of our former plans; but there is an infinite distance between condemning capricious innovation, and approving that political nullity, an irrevocable law. To terminate abuses by shutting out improvement; to render it impossible for the land tax to increase, and probable, nay certain, that it will diminish; is the system of revenue which has succeeded to our former errors. An English chancellor of the exchequer who should propose to pledge the national faith to an unalterable tax, might captivate the multitude, but would be smiled at by the financiers of Europe: and yet principles do not alter in traversing the ocean. If the facility so confidently alleged by the authors of this plan, of raising in India the requisite revenue from other sources, had any real foundation, we should not now hear of the deficit of Indian revenue: and it may be permitted more than to doubt whether we should not at this day have witnessed lighter taxes and more ample revenue, if a less rash and ambitious haste for unattainable perfection had left improvement to be the offspring of knowledge, and the landlord's rent to have enriched the real proprietor of the soil, instead of pampering the hereditary farmer of revenue.

CHAPTER VI.

From 1672 to 1704.

Changes introduced by Chick Deo Raj into the condition of the landholders—pliability of his religious principles—The land tax authorized by the Hindoo law not yet exceeded—comparison of past and present amount—Comparative value of the precious metals—curious facts shewing that the value has not changed—Vexatious taxes intended to be commuted for an increase of the land tax—consequent insurrection—treacherous murder of the Jungum priests—insurrection suppressed—Present state of property in Mysoor—Buttai—home fields exempted—average assessment—land not saleable—inference—exceptions—home fields descend as inheritance—in the later conquests and northern tracts property absolutely extinguished—Death of Chick Deo Raj—conquests—State of Deckan and the South—Siege and capture of Ginjee by Daood Khan, and its consequences—Aurungzebe's distribution of command—Kasim Khan—Foujidar—Dewan—Nabob—Revolution of words and things—Carnatic Hyderabad—Vijeyapoor—Balaghaut—Payeen Ghaut—their respective limits—necessity for explaining these technical divisions to render intelligible the future narrative—names of countries lost or changed—Pretensions of the natives absorbed in the contests of foreigners—Regularity and order confined to the pages of the imperial register—Anarchy of the country ably described by a contemporary author.

WE return to the changes introduced by Chick Deo Raj Wadeyar into the condition of the landholders of Mysoor. The religious principles of the Raja seem to have been sufficiently flexible to adapt themselves without difficulty to the circumstances of the times. There is little doubt that he was educated in the principles of the Jungum*; but he openly conformed to the ceremonial of the Vishnoo, which was the ruling religion. His early and long intimacy with Visha Lacsha,† the Jain Pundit,‡ whom on his elevation he had appointed his first minister, created a general belief that he was secretly converted to that persuasion, and an expectation that he would openly profess it; and this circumstance was supposed chiefly to have influenced the Jungum to assassinate that minister. When Tremalayangar, a Vishnavite, became afterwards the confidential minister, the Raja evinced as strong an attachment to that persuasion: but political considerations alone would have rendered him the decided enemy of the religion in which he was supposed to have been educated. The contempt and abhorrence in which the Jungum hold the bramins (whom they stigmatize with the opprobrious appellation of *dogs*) is adverse to despotism in a country where any considerable portion of the people is subject to the braminal code, by its tendency to subvert the subordination which arises from the artificial distinction of casts or ranks in society, and to shake the obedience which the Raja usually secures, by enlisting the priesthood on the side of the throne; and the hostility and hatred of the Raja was farther increased by the opposition which the Jungum incited against his financial measures.

As far as the most scrupulous enquiry has enabled me to judge, there is no reason to think that

* For the tenets of the Jungum, see Appendix, No. 4.

† He was usually called by no other name than the Yellandoor Pundit, from the place of his birth.

‡ Jain. See Appendix, No. 5.

any Raja of Mysoor had hitherto professedly deviated from the Hindoo laws on the assessment of land, as taught in all the (Mula Smirtis) Sasters or text books, and particularly inculcated in the treatise* locally in use, which condemns the Raja who shall augment the assessment to "infamy in this world, and the pains of hell in the next." The ancient *Candaiaim*¹ or money rent of the land, probably established in this part of the country at a period antecedent to the government of Vijayanuggur, is well known at this day, and in some of the districts continues to be distinguished in the village accounts; although, from the incessant convulsions of the country, the record of the details of the original settlement is perhaps irrecoverably lost. It is certain that the total amount of the *new* impositions is considered, at this time, generally to equal the ancient *Candaiaim*; and although in all general imposts glaring irregularities will be found to prevail, the average assessment of lands paying a fixed money rent is now reckoned one-third† of the produce, and the ancient *Candaiaim* one-sixth‡.

Although general opinion may be considered, in

* Parasara Madaveeum.

¹ *Candaiaim*.—Kandāyam, Telugu word. Fixed proportion of tax payable at a certain time. So rent paid in money as distinguished from rent paid in kind. (*Madras Manual of Administration*, 1893.)

† Of the accuracy of this proposition the following fact appears to be conclusive. The Dewan is at this time engaged in a survey of the lands, for the purpose of detecting frauds on the revenue by false entries of the quantity of land. To persons who may be dissatisfied with the *measurement of the land*, the option will be given of *measuring the crop* and paying one-third as the fixed assessment, at the liberal conversion of seventy-five seers of rasee for a rupee.

[Diwan Purnaiya, 1799-1810. *Seer*, measure of weight, 2 lbs. avoird.]

‡ I have in numerous instances calculated the proportion of the old *Candaiaim* to the present value of the crop, and uniformly found it about a sixth.



this case, to constitute as good evidence as any that can be obtained from calculations depending on elements in their nature so fluctuating and uncertain as the money price of grain, the varying expences of agriculture, and the average increase on the seed, I am aware that political economists will expect some attempt to discover what allowance should be made for the supposed decrease in the value of the precious metals. I have attempted to obtain from the records of temples (to which I had free access), and by every other research which has occurred to me, a table of the selling prices of grain for a long series of years: but I dare not place reliance on the few authentic facts which have been procured, because, in the place where I am now writing,* I know that within the last eight years the price of grain has fluctuated to the astonishing amount of two hundred per cent. between its extremes, and I should incur the same risk of error in arguing on the insulated facts to which I have adverted, as in taking one of these extremes as the money price of the nineteenth century. We have, however, within our reach two curious facts of unquestionable authenticity, namely, the rates at which grain was converted into money in the payment of revenue in Canara, before and after the year 1336. The rate of conversion which Hurryhur Roy found established at that period was thirty seers for a rupee; and there is no reason to suppose that this rate had been altered from its reputed establishment by Boctè Pandè Roy, in 1252, until 1336, at which latter period the existence of this rate is perfectly authenticated. We have before observed that Hurryhur called in the aid of the Sasters to increase his revenue; and, for the purpose of qualifying the increased demand by a rate of conversion more favourable to the husbandman, calculated its price at 33½ for the rupee. The settlement of Hurryhur Roy provided for his being paid always in money, and

* The town of Mysoor.

never in grain. In the ancient settlement, the government reserved the option of being paid in money or in kind. The rate of conversion established by the government therefore could not have materially varied from the real average; but we may be tolerably certain that it was rather dearer; and this circumstance, joined to Hurryhur Roy's having adopted a more popular rate of conversion, affords evidence as convincing as can reasonably be required, that the average price of rice in 1336 was not far removed from thirty-five seers the rupee, which we know to be pretty nearly the average rate in those countries at the present time*: and, by analogy, we are justified in concluding that the difference of the money price in Mysoor at the present period, and about one century ago, could not be material. The sixth was accordingly the lawful share of the crop for which the Raja received his equivalent in money; and, from previous reasoning and subsequent fact, we have every cause to believe that he was unwilling to risk the odium of increasing this proportion in a direct manner. He therefore had recourse to the law of the Sasters, which authorized him, by no very forced construction, to attack the husbandman by a variety of vexatious taxes, which should compel him to seek

* I leave this fact to be accounted for by more skilful political economists, observing only, that the money price of grain may be permanently affected in two ways: 1st. It is supposed to be rendered really dearer, by the natural increase of population being very much greater than the natural increase of food; and 2d. it is rendered apparently dearer, by the increased amount of the precious metals in circulation. The quantities of the precious metals which in India are secreted under ground, and by unexpected deaths are for ever removed from circulation, may in some degree explain why the money prices of food do not increase so rapidly in India as in Europe; and a decrease of population may, plausibly enough, be added to this cause: but the proof of this decrease is far from satisfactory, or rather, there is strong reason to distrust the fact altogether; and the proportion which the increase of population really bears to the increase of food in India is a subject which well merits a separate and ample discussion.

relief by desiring to compound for their abolition by a voluntary increase of the landed assessment: and this is the arrangement which generally ensued; although, from the great discontent excited by the taxes, the compromise was generally made on the condition of excepting some one or more of the most offensive, and proportionally increasing those which remained: but the Raja, with that profound knowledge of human nature which distinguished all his measures, exempted from these new imposts all the lands which were allotted to the provincial soldiery in lieu of pay, according to the ordinary practice of the smaller Hindoo states, and thus neutralised, in some degree, the opposition to the measure, and ensured the means of eventual compulsion. Those who may be desirous of comparing the ingenuity of an eastern and a western financier, may examine the subjoined detail of these taxes.* The whole system

* 1. *Menne Terege* [*Mane Terige*], or house-tax. 2. *Hul Henna* [*Hul Hana*], (Hanna, Fanam; Hul, grass), a tax upon the straw produced on the ground which already paid *Kundaia*, [*Kandāya*] or the land tax, on the pretence that a share of the straw, as well as of the grain, belonged to government. 3. *Deo Rai Wutta* [*Deva Ray utta*]. *Wutta* [*utta*], is literally loss, the difference of exchange on a defective coin. *Deo Raj* [*Deva Raj*], on the pretence of receiving many such defective coins, exacted this tax as a reimbursement: this was now permanently added to the Ryots payments. It was different according to the coins in use in the several districts, and averaged about two per cent. 4. *Beargee* [*Bergi*]. A potail (for example) farmed his village, or engaged for the payment of a fixed sum to the government; his actual receipts from the Ryots fell short of the amount, and he induced them to make it up by a proportional contribution. The name of such a contribution is *beargee*, and the largest that had ever been so collected was now added under the same name to the *Kundaia* of each Ryot. 5. *Yeare Soonca* [*Yeru Sunka*]. *Soonca* is properly a duty of transit on goods or grain. *Yeare*, a plough. The Ryot, instead of carrying his grain to where a transit duty is payable, sells it in his own village. The *Yeare Soonca* was a tax of one to two gold fanams on each plough, as an equivalent for the tax which would have been paid if the grain had been exported. 6. *Jatee Munnia* [*Jati Mānya*],

is stated to have been at once unfolded, with intimation that it would be gradually introduced according to circumstances; but the commotions which it produced by leading to measures of extreme severity, precipitated its total and abrupt introduction.

One of the earliest measures of this Raja's reign had been to compel the dependant Wadeyars and Poligars, who, like his own ancestors, had commenced the career of ambition by affecting in their respective districts to be addressed by the title

a tax upon the heads of those casts (Jogee Jungum, &c.) who do not come within the general scope of Hindoo establishments, and form separate communities which occasionally oppose the brahminical rule. On every occasion of marriage, birth, or law suit, or quarrel, a certain fine was levied on each house concerned as parties or judges, and a chief of each cast was made responsible for the collection. 7. *Mugga Candaia* [*Magga Kanddya*], or loom tax. 8. *Cootki teregee* [*Kutike Terige*], a tax on fornication. 9. *Mudeve terege* [*Madive Terige*], a tax upon marriage. 10. *Angudee Puttedè* [*Angadi Pattadi*], or shop tax. 11. *Angeree Pessera* [*Angadi Passera*], a tax upon the moveable booths which are set up daily in the middle of the Bazar streets. 12. *Cowdee Teergee* [*Kavadi Terige*] (Cowdee is the name of a bullock-saddle), or a tax upon bullocks kept for hire. 13. *Mareké* [*Mariké*] (selling), a tax upon the purchase and sale of cattle. 14. *Oopin Mulle* [*Uppin Māla*], a tax upon the manufacture of the inland salt, produced by lixiviating saline earths. 15. *Oobè Caunka* [*Ubbe Kānike*]. Oobè is the kettle or vessel made use of by washermen to boil and bleach their cloths; this was a tax on each kettle. 16. *Cooree teergee* [*Kuri Terige*], a tax of a certain sum per cent. on flocks of sheep. 17. *Pashwara*. Pasha is a fisherman's net. This is a tax not on each net, but on the privilege of fishing with nets in certain lakes. 18. *Girgavul* [*Gida Gāval*], a tax upon wood for building, or fuel brought in from the forests. 19. *Gulven Pummoo*, [*Gulavina Pommu*]. Gulla is the name of a plough-share. This is a separate tax on that instrument, exclusively of the plough tax, No. 5, which is professed to be a tax on the alienation of grain. 20. *Teared Baguloo* [*Terad Bāgalu*] (opening a door). In a country and a state of society where window-glass is unknown, this is a most ingenious substitute for the window tax. The husbandman paid it, as expressed by the name, for the permission to open his door. It was, however, levied only on those made of planks, and not on the common bamboo door of the poorer villagers.

of Raja, publicly to renounce that assumption of independence, to disclaim the local prerogatives of punishment and confiscation without previous authority from the Raja, and to revert to their original character of obedient officers of the government. This object was aided by first inviting, and then compelling them to fix their residence at Seringapatam; by assigning to them offices of honour about the Raja's person, and gradually converting them from rebellious chieftains to obsequious courtiers. The insurgents in the districts were left, in consequence, destitute of the direction of their accustomed leaders, and the Jungum priests, deprived of their local importance, and much of their pecuniary receipts, by the removal of these mock courts from the provinces, were foremost in expressing their detestation of this new and unheard-of measure of finance, and in exhorting their disciples to resistance. Every where the inverted plough, suspended from the tree at the gate of the village, whose shade forms the coffee-house or the exchange of its inhabitants, announced a state of insurrection. Having determined not to till the land, the husbandmen deserted their villages, and assembled in some places like fugitives seeking a distant settlement; in others, as rebels breathing revenge. Chick Deo Raj, however, was too prompt in his measures to admit of any very formidable combination. Before proceeding to measures of open violence, he adopted a plan of perfidy and horror, yielding in infamy to nothing which we find recorded in the annals of the most sanguinary people. An invitation was sent to all the priests of the Jungum to meet the Raja at the great temple of Nunjendgode, about fourteen miles south of Mysoor, ostensibly to converse with him on the subject of the refractory conduct of their followers. Treachery was apprehended, and the number which assembled was estimated at about four hundred only. A large pit had been previously

prepared in a walled inclosure, connected by a series of squares composed of tent walls, with the canopy of audience, at which they were successively received one at a time, and after making their obeisance were desired to retire to a place, where, according to custom, they expected to find refreshments prepared at the expence of the Raja. Expert executioners were in waiting in the square, and every individual in succession was so skilfully beheaded, and tumbled into the pit, as to give no alarm to those who followed, and the business of the public audience went on without interruption or suspicion. Circular orders had been sent for the destruction, on the same day, of all the Jungum *mut*s (places of residence and worship) in his dominions; and the number reported to have been in consequence destroyed was upwards of seven hundred. The disappearance of the four hundred Jungum priests was the only intimation of their fate received by their mournful disciples; but the traditionary account which I have above delivered has been traced through several channels to sources of the most respectable information, and I profess my entire belief in the reality of the fact. This notable achievement was followed by the operations of the troops, which had also been previously combined. Wherever a mob had assembled, a detachment of troops, chiefly cavalry, was collected in the neighbourhood, and prepared to act on one and the same day. The orders were distinct and simple; to charge without parley into the midst of the mob; to cut down in the first selection every man wearing an orange-coloured robe (the peculiar garb of the Jungum priests); and not to cease acting until the crowds had every where dispersed. It may be concluded that the effects of this system of terror left no material difficulties to the final establishment of the new system of revenue; and there is a tradition which I have not been able to authenticate, that the Raja exacted from every village a written renuncia-

tion, ostensibly voluntary, of private property in the land, and an acknowledgment that it was the right of the state. If such documents ever existed, they were probably destroyed in 1786, as noticed in the preface.

It remains to sketch the present state of property in Mysoor, connected with the view which has been taken of its condition in the surrounding countries. I cannot trace the period at which the system of *Buttai*,* or an equal division of the crop, was introduced into Mysoor. Its authors probably found it most expedient and profitable to leave untouched the ancient money-rent of what may be called the home fields, and to levy the *buttai* on the rice irrigated from artificial reservoirs, and on the less expensive and more slovenly farming of the distant lands; compelling the possessor of the former to cultivate a fixed proportion of the two latter, and thereby raising the aggregate proportion of the crop paid to the government to about 40 per cent. as I have stated in another place,† but perhaps exceeding that average from one to three per cent. Following the prevalent doctrines, I at that time considered the husbandman of Mysoor simply as the tenant: and to that situation he has certainly been reduced, with the exception before explained, of Bednore, which follows the system of Canara; and of planta-

* For the uncertain history of this term the reader is referred to page 182.

[*Buttai*.—*Batayi*: lands held direct from Government, but the share of government is paid in grain. The proportion generally claimed by government is one-half, but it is probable that in reality only one-third is received, two-thirds being shared between the ryots and village servants.]

† This is the *hulcandaya* [*halkandaya*] (old assessment) land mentioned in Tippoo's regulations, Art. 4, and in other places *ijara* (rented). The English reader may consult Mr. Crisp's translation.

‡ *Report on Mysoor*, printed for official circulation in 1804 by order of the Governor-General in council, and published (with whose permission the author does not know) in the Asiatic Annual Register for 1805.

tions of cocoa-nut, areca, and other perennial trees, which in every part of Mysoor are a transferable and saleable property. From 57 to 60 per cent. of the amount of the crop appears to be a large proportion in India for replacing the charges of agriculture and the maintenance and profit of the farmer: the proportions, however, will not seem so enormous on considering the details of culture sketched in the subjoined note,* and I rest the conclusion of these proportions being necessary on the broad fact of the

* The whole world does not, perhaps, exhibit a cleaner system of husbandry than that of the cultivation of Ragee (*Cynosurus Corocanus* of Linnæus) in the home fields of Mysoor. On the first shower of rain after harvest the home fields are again turned up with the plough, and this operation, as showers occur, is repeated six successive times during the dry season, at once destroying the weeds and opening the ground to the influence of the sun, the decomposition of water and air, and the formation of new compounds. The manure of the village, which is carefully and skilfully prepared, is then spread out on the land, and incorporated with it by a seventh ploughing, and a harrowing with an instrument nearly resembling a large rake, drawn by oxen and guided by a boy: when the field is completely pulverized, a drill plough, of admirable and simple contrivance, performs the operation of sowing twelve rows at once by means of twelve hollow bamboos (reeds) at the lower end, piercing a transverse beam at equal intervals, and united at the top in a wooden bowl, which receives the seed and feeds the twelve drills: a pole at right angles with this beam (introduced between two oxen) is connected with the yoke; the bamboos project below about three inches beyond the transverse beam, being jointed at their insertion for the purpose of giving a true direction to the projecting parts, which being cut diagonally at the end, serve, when the machine is put in motion, at once to make the little furrow and introduce the seed: a flat board, placed edgewise and annexed to the machine, closes the process; levelling the furrows and covering the seed. If the crop threatens to be too early or too luxuriant, it is fed down with sheep. Two operations of a weeding plough of very simple construction, at proper intervals of time, loosens the earth about the roots and destroys the weeds; and afterwards, during the growth of the crop, at least three hand weedings are applied. This laborious process rewards the husbandman in good seasons with a crop of eighty fold from the best land. The period between seed-time and harvest is five months.

land not being saleable. That a liberal tenant's share generally remains, is, however, rendered probable by the fact that the home fields have continued to descend as heritage to all the sons equally, according to the Hindoo law. I have observed several gradations in the affection and attachment with which the husbandmen in different districts adhere to their patrimony; and in some few places they appear to consider it with an indifference which seems to indicate an unfavourable tenant's share. With sufficient leisure and health for the investigation, these variations might probably be traced to the state of the public assessments at the period of their conquest by the several Rajas of Mysoor. It is not intended here to advert to the later conquests, in which the Mussulman rule had long been established. They, with some gradations also, and several exceptions, arising from imperfect conquest, may be included in the general sketch of the condition of the countries north of the present territory of Mysoor, and chiefly those south of the Toombudra, now usually termed the Ceded Districts, long, very long, the seat of incessant revolutions. The condition of these countries with regard to proprietary or hereditary right in the land shall be given in the words of the final report on those provinces, delivered in August, 1807, by Lieutenant-Colonel Munro. "In the ceded districts and throughout the Deckan, the Ryot has little or no property in land; he has no possessory right; he does not even claim it. He is so far from asserting either a proprietary or a possessory right, that he is always ready to relinquish his land, and take some other which he supposes is lighter assessed.*" The

There is another kind of ragee, which requires but three months. It is sown at a different season in worse ground, and requires different treatment.

* This enlightened and excellent public servant estimates the average assessment paid to government in that district at

connexion of this fact with those which have been noticed in the preceding chapter, requires no farther comment. It is apparently the extreme limit of descent in a lapse from long-forgotten proprietary right, and completes the last step of the gradation which I had proposed to describe.

Chick Deo Raj died on the 12th December, 1704, 1704. after a reign of thirty-one years and twenty days, and his conquests conclude, in our accustomed order, the narrative of his reign.

Chickadavaroydroog¹ from Narasapa Wadeyar. 1675.

Honovelly² from Ismaul Cawn, an officer of Rand 1676. Dhoola Khan.

Bondasamoodrum, belonging to the Hobly of Chickadavaroydroog, from Hussein Khan.

Cadanaud, from Boojangia, son of the Wadeyar of Voomatoor.³

Aundoor from Patadomodelare.

Mudgerry,⁴ Mergasee, and ten other forts and

about 45 per cent. of the crop, and states an opinion in which I most cordially concur, that private property in land can never be established in those countries until it is reduced to one-third. I will not deny myself the pleasure of stating an incident related to me by a respectable public servant of the government of Mysoor, who was sent in 1807 to assist in the adjustment of a disputed boundary between that territory and the district in charge of this collector. A violent dispute occurred in his presence between some villagers, and the party aggrieved threatened to go to Anantpoor and complain to their *father*. He perceived that Colonel Munro was meant, and found upon inquiry that he was generally distinguished throughout the district by that appellation.

¹ *Chickadavaroydroog*.—A village 9 miles east of Tumkur, now called Devartiyadurga. The hill behind the village is nearly 4,000 feet above the sea. It was captured from a chief named Jadakanadurga in 1696.

² *Honovelly*.—Honnavalli, a town in the west of Tumkur District. Randulha Khan commanded the Bijapur army in 1637. He was a friend of Shahji.

³ *Voomatoor*.—Ummattur was formerly an important chiefdom under the Vijayanagar kings. The Mysore Rajas subdued the State. Kadanad was, no doubt, a village belonging to it.

⁴ *Mudgerry*.—Maddagiri, a town 24 miles north of Tumkur

districts depending on them, captured from this year to 1678.

1687. Toomcoor.¹
Chickanaikhully² from the house of Eccojee.
Condecara³ from the same.
1687. Tamagondala,⁴ by the treaty of Causim Khan, from Eccojee.

Bangalore was captured in the year Prabava on the 11th Aushadum,⁵ by Causim Khan from the house of Eccojee,⁶ and on the 15th of the same month it was occupied by the people of the Raja. (The original date is here inserted for the purpose of affording the means of examining the note to which it refers.)

1688. Auvamparoor, Auraseraumany, and Oscotta.⁷

It contains a fort, taken after a long siege in 1678. The town of Midagesi was also taken, but handed back to the chiefs Rama Gauda and Timma Gauda. In 1761 it was taken by Haidar.

¹ *Toomcoor*.—Tumkur, the capital town of the District of Tumkur.

² *Chickanaikhully*.—The Chiknayakahalli country in the Tumkur District changed hands several times, being held alternately by the Muhammadans and the Mahrattas, until it was reduced by the Mysore army in the time of Chikka Deva Raya.

³ *Condecara*.—Kandikere, a village about ten miles north of Chiknayakahalli.

⁴ *Tamagondala*.—Tyamagondala, a town close to the railway north-west of Bangalore.

⁵ *Aushadum*.—Ashadyam (?). Month from 15th July to 14th August (?).

⁶ *Eccojee*.—Eccojee, or Venkoji when Sivaji died was in possession of Tanjore. He found it difficult to maintain his possession of Bangalore, and sold it to Chikka Deva Raya, who sent a detachment to occupy the fort. The Mahratta Harji Raja, at Jinji and Aurangzeb at Golkonda each sent troops to attempt to anticipate Chikka Deva Raya. Khasim Khan, Aurangzeb's general, arrived first and the place fell into his hands. He, wanting money, resolved to accept the money offered by the Mysore Raja and handed over the town to him.

⁷ *Oscotta*.—Hoskote, a town 16 miles east-north-east of Bangalore. In 1756 Hoskote was taken by the Mysore army, but retaken in the following year by the Mahrattas. It changed hands several times until finally ceded to Haidar Ali and annexed to Mysore in 1761.

- Darmapoory¹ from the people of Aura.
 Manoogonda from the same.
 Ponara Goodai from Sauliyada.
 Waumaloor² from the people of Aura.
 Parametty³ from the same. 1689.
 Kauvarypatam,⁴ by treaty with Coyamatoor.
 Coontoordroog.
 Aununtagerry; these three by the treaty concluded by Lingurajayah with the Aurachee.
 Baugadee⁵ by capitulation. 1690.
 Hauranhully⁶ by ditto.
 Baunavaram⁷ by assault in the night.
 Caaloor⁸ by capitulation.
 Sakarapatam⁹ by ditto.
 Baloor¹⁰ by ditto.
 Waustaura¹¹ by assault.
 Chicka Mogooloor¹² by capitulation.

¹ *Darmapoory*.—Dharmapuri, a taluq in the Salem District Madras Presidency.

² *Waumaloor*.—Omalur, 10 miles from Salem, Madras Presidency.

³ *Parametty*.—Paramathi, a town about 12 miles south-west of Namakal in Salem District, Madras Presidency.

⁴ *Kauvarypatam*.—Kaveripatnam, about 7 miles from Krishnagiri in Salem District, Madras Presidency.

⁵ *Baugadee*.—Bagadi, a range of hills in the north of the Hassan District, Mysore.

⁶ *Hauranhully*.—Haranhalli, a village in the Arsikere Taluq, Hassan District, Mysore.

⁷ *Baunavaram*.—Banavar, a town in Arsikere Taluq, in the north of Hassan District, Mysore.

⁸ *Caaloor*.—Kadur (?), chief town of the District of Kadur, Mysore.

⁹ *Sakarapatam*.—Sakkarepatna, a village 11 miles south-west of Kadur, in the Kadur District, Mysore.

¹⁰ *Baloor*.—Belur, a town 24 miles north-west of Hassan, Mysore.

¹¹ *Waustaura*.—Vastara, a village 6 miles south-west of Chikmagalur, Kadur District, Mysore.

¹² *Chicka Mogooloor*.—Chikmagalur, the head-quarters of the Kadur District, Mysore.

Maharajdroog¹ by ditto.
 Ausana² (Hassan) by ditto.
 Grauma³ by ditto.
 Aurkalagodoo⁴ by siege.
 Igoor⁵ by capitulation.
 Salaswerpoora⁶ by ditto.
 Codalepata.⁷

1694.

Of fifteen districts conquered by the Mysoreans from the state of Ekaree⁸ or Bednore, two, namely Igoor and Wastara, were returned by treaty, and the remaining 13 districts were retained.

We have had occasion to trace in the progress of this reign some of the leading circumstances which enabled the Raja of Mysore not only to secure the calm and tranquil establishment of his little state, but to enlarge its boundaries in every direction, during political convulsions which shook the whole of Deckan in its largest acceptance, and exposed it to calamities which are felt at this day in their direct consequences. But before we proceed in our narrative, it may be useful once more to look around us, for the purpose of endeavouring to understand the actual situation of those unhappy countries at the period of the death of Chick Deo Raj.

¹ *Maharajdroog*.—Maharajandurga, a village about 10 miles south of Hassan.

² *Ausana*.—Hassan, the chief town of the District of the same name in Mysore.

³ *Grauma*.—Grama, a village 7 miles east of Hassan on the Bangalore road.

⁴ *Aurkalagodoo*.—Arkalgud, a town 17 miles south of Hassan.

⁵ *Igoor*.—Aigur, in the Manjarabad Taluq, Hassan District. The Balam Palegars had their capital here.

⁶ *Salaswerpoora*.—Saklespur (?), a town 24 miles west of Hassan.

⁷ *Codalepata*.—Kodlipet, a village in the north of Coorg, close to the Hemavati River which forms the northern boundary of Coorg.

⁸ *Ekaree*.—Ikkeri, a village in Sagar Taluq, Shimoga District, Mysore. It was the capital of the Keladi chiefs, afterwards removed to Bednur about 1640.

The capture of Ginjee had been a special object of the emperor's vigilance and attention, from the expectation that in its fall the last hope of the Mahratta nation would be crushed, and an impregnable seat of provincial government be obtained, which should insure the future tranquillity of the most southern possessions of the empire. The tedious and ill-conducted siege of this eastern Troy was prolonged for many years, by the treachery, cabals, and intrigues of the chiefs, and by a secret struggle between a prince¹ of the blood and Zulfecar-Khan, the commander in chief, for the independent sovereignty, which each of them had designed to establish in his own person in the future capital of Ginjee. The attack and defence were equally a theatrical exhibition, in which the chief actors performed their concerted parts; but the stage effect was occasionally marred by a drunken manager or ill-instructed performer. The prince, apprised of the secrets of the scene, wrote an explanatory letter to his father, the emperor Aurungzebe: Zulfecar Khan, duly informed by his spies, seized the prince before the letter was dispatched, and sent him in silver fetters to his father, with a letter full of regret at having discovered the base and undutiful design of the prince, to throw off his allegiance and to subvert the emperor's authority. It was the chief object of the general in protracting the siege to keep the army together, in order that he might profit by events on the death of Aurungzebe, which was daily expected. But to preserve appearances, it was necessary to report frequent attacks and repulses. Rama, the son of Sevajee, who commanded at Ginjee, was constantly intoxicated by

¹ "The prince of the blood" was Kām Baksh, son of Aurangzeb. Zulfikar Khan, the general at Jinji, was offended at his supersession by Kām Baksh, and protracted the siege of Jinji. In the end Zulfikar Khan, learning that if he was to avoid disgrace he must reduce Jinji, communicated with Raja Ram, who escaped from the fort and reached Vellore.

the habitual use of ganja (hemp leaves) and opium ; and his officers, finding his arrangements insufficient to guard against the danger even of a sham attack, held consultations to deliberate regarding his deposition ; but on reflection, their perfect understanding with Zulfecar Khan, and a new distribution of the subordinate commands, seemed to afford an adequate security. On the other side, Daood Khan,¹ second in command of the Mogul army, drank largely of the best European liquors, and when full of the god would perpetually volunteer the extirpation of the infidels. Zulfecar Khan necessarily assented to these enterprizes, but always gave secret intelligence to the enemy of the time and place of attack ; and the troops of Daood Khan were as often repulsed with slaughter. The prince at length arrived at court : his tale, which unfolded the truth, but not the whole truth, was believed ; and Zulfecar Khan received secret intimation from his friends, that nothing but the immediate capture of Ginjee could save him from disgrace and dishonour. Rama, apprized of this necessity, retired to Vellore, which was still in the possession of the Mahrattas, and Zulfecar was adjusting with him a double negociation for the capture of Ginjee, and the release of Rama's wives and family, who had been surprized at an early period of the siege, when one of Daood Khan's drunken frolics actually carried the place early in 1698, and Rama proceeded in haste to the western coast. But the capture of this post, which was of more reputation than real importance, disappointed the expectations of the Moguls ; for the name of Sevajee, and the ties of common interest, rallied around Rama and his son the whole resources of the Mahratta people ; and Ginjee was found to be so extremely unhealthy, that some years afterwards the Mogul armies were obliged

¹ *Daood Khan*.—Daud Khan, was the ancestor of the Nawabs of Karnul, Madras Presidency. The last Nawab was deposed in 1842.

to canton on the plains of Arcot, which led to the establishment of that capital of the lower province (in 1716).

One of the first measures of Aurungzebe, after the conquest of the Mohammedan states of Vijayapoor and Golconda in 1690, was the appointment of Kasim Khan as Foujdar over the provinces of Carnatic, lately dependant upon those two kingdoms. We shall presently have occasion to describe the provinces into which this extensive command were afterwards divided; and, as they did not materially vary from those adopted in the first arrangement under Kasim Khan, it will only be necessary in this place to observe, that the province of Carnatic Vijeyapoor consisted chiefly of the settled districts of Sera and Bangalore; and the forced tribute exacted from the chiefs of Harponelly, Conderpee, Anagoondy,* Bednore, Chittleedroog, and Mysoor, and some others of smaller importance. The reader has had some opportunity of understanding the nature and origin of these smaller powers; and he is requested to remember, as an illustration of the manner in which the term Zemindar was understood by the Moguls† themselves, that these chiefs (and all others of a similar description) are entered in the imperial records as the *Zemindars* of these respective places. In this, as in the subsequent arrangement, the administration of each of the divisions to which we have adverted was committed to an officer possessed of civil and military powers, under the designation of *Foujdar*¹ and *Dewan*, offices which were sometimes

* A supposed descendant of the former Rayeels, who had now settled at this suburb of the former capital.

[A descendant of this chief was still living in Anagundi a few years ago.]

† They are also uniformly so named by the Hindoo author of the transactions of Aurungzebe in the Deekan. See Scott's Deekan, passim; and particularly the journal of the Bondela officer.

¹ *Foujdar*.—Properly a military commander (Persian *fauj*, a military force, *fouj-dār*, one holding such a force at his

divided, but more frequently united, in the south; sometimes subordinate to a provincial governor, and sometimes holding their appointments direct from the Soubadar of the Deckan; or the provincial government was exercised by the officer above adverted to, under the designation of *Nawaub*, or *Nabob*,* a term conveying the direct recognition of dependance, which, in the revolution of words and things, afterwards became the title under which these officers maintained their right to independent sovereign authority.

Kasim Khan was surprised in 1698 by the Mahrattas, aided by the chief of Chittledroog, at *Dodairee*,¹ about thirty miles east of the latter place, where he either put an end to his own existence, or was secretly assassinated. He was succeeded by Zulfecar Khan, whose command in the Carnatic Payeen Ghaut, some years before the death of Kasim Khan, being ostensibly directed by the presence of a prince of the blood (and the advice of his father Assud Khan), must be considered to have been then separated from the general command of the Carnatics. He was employed in a course of incessant and destructive warfare, for nearly nineteen years, until the death of the emperor in 1707. The express statement of nineteen actions fought, and three

disposal); but in India, an officer of the Moghul Government who was invested with the charge of the police, and jurisdiction in criminal matters.

Dewan.—"The head financial minister, whether of the state or province—charged, in the latter, with the collection of the revenue, the remittance of it to the imperial treasury, and invested with extensive judicial powers in all civil and financial causes." (*Wilson*.)

* The plural of *Naiib* (a deputy), to render the term more courteous.

[*Nabob*.—*Nawāb*, (the Arabic plural of singular *Nāyab*) a deputy or delegate of the supreme chief. (See Yule and Burnell: *Hobson Jobson*, 1903.)]

¹ *Dodairee*.—*Dodderi*, a village in Chitaldroog District.

thousand coss marched, by this officer in the course of six months only, may afford some faint idea of the wretchedness in which the unfortunate inhabitants were involved during that period; and these miseries of war, in the ordinary course of human calamity, were necessarily followed by a long and destructive famine* and pestilence. Within the period which has been thus briefly discussed, Zoolfecar Khan appears to have made three different expeditions to the south of the Caveri, levying heavy contributions on Tanjore and Trichinopoly.

The subsequent division of the Deckan (now extended over the whole south) into six soubas or viceroyalties, is no farther connected with our purpose than as it relates to the two last in the official enumeration; viz.

1. Candeish (capital) Burhanpoor.
2. Aurungabad, lately the capital of the Nizam Shahee dynasty.
3. Beder, the ancient capital of the Bahmine Sultauns.
4. Berar.
5. Hyderabad, capital of the late Golconda, or Kootub Shahee dynasty.
6. Vijeyapoor, capital of the Adil Shahee dynasty.

Of the fifth and sixth in this enumeration, we shall only have occasion to advert to the portions designated in the public records as *Carnatic*, named from the capitals to which they formerly belonged, or were now assigned; viz. *Carnatic Hyderabad*, and *Carnatic Vijeyapoor*; subdivided again into *Balaghaut* and *Payeen Ghaut*, to distinguish the countries situated above and below the passes of the mountains. *The Carnatic Hyderabad Balaghaut* comprehended

* The horrors of a famine, which commenced in 1687, and its consequences for a long period of years, are affectingly described in many of the memoirs in the Mackenzie collection, and may be traced in several passages of Scott's Deckan.

the provinces forming, under a later arrangement, the five circars of, 1. Sidhout. 2. Gunjeecota. 3. Gooty. 4. Goorumcunda. 5. Cummmum. The first, second, fourth, and fifth, of these provinces, afterwards formed the petty state of the Patan Nabobs of Kurpa, who established themselves there about this period, and within a few years extended their possessions along the back of the eastern Ghauts, nearly to the Cavery, including most of the Baramahal, which now belonged to Mysoor. The third of these, namely Gooti, fell afterwards into the possession of the Mahratta house of Gorepora,¹ which was distinguished in the wars of the south under Morari Row. *The Carnatic Hyderabad Payeen Ghaut* was composed of the whole country extending from Guntoor to the Coleroon, along the sea-coast of Coromandel; afterwards better known as the province of Arcot. *Carnatic Vijeyapoor* seems to have been all considered as Balaghaut; for its Payeen Ghaut, including Vellore, Ginjee, Tanjour, still held by the descendant of one of its officers, and Trichinopoly, so far as it might be deemed a dependency, seems to have been included in the Hyderabad Carnatic Payeen Ghaut. In other respects its Balaghaut did not materially differ from the former distribution, namely, the whole of the conquered provinces, and the forced tribute from the *Zemindars* of the Balaghaut south of the Toombuddra, and west of *Carnatic Hyderabad* as above described. The two circars of Adoni and Ghazipoor, or Nundial, situated south of the Toombuddra, were excluded from the Carnatics in this arrangement; the first certainly, and the second probably, because they had been so excluded by the Mussulman powers after the battle of Tellicota in 1564. They were now rated as distinct Circars in the Souba of Vijeyapoor (not Carnatic), and this

¹ *Gorepora*.—Ghodpade is also the family name of the Maratha Rajas of Sandur (Madras). The iguana (Ghodpad) figures in Indian folklore, its flesh being held to be very invigorating.

separation continued seventy-three years afterwards, when the Carnatic Balaghaut fell under the dominion of Hyder. The important frontier province of Savanoor Buncapoor,¹ which had been conquered by Vijeyapoor shortly after the battle of Tellicota, was also excluded from this arrangement, although distinctly a part of the ancient Carnatic. It was now possessed by one of the Patan officers of Vijeyapoor, who opportunely embracing the party of the conquerors, was continued in its command as a military dependant, defraying the expences of his quota of troops from the revenues of the province, and remitting a stipulated sum to the imperial treasury.

The two Patan families of Savanoor and Kurpa, and a third at Kurnool, began about this time to rally around them the remains of the genuine Patans, or ferocious bands of the same tribe, who were perpetually descending from the Indian Caucasus to improve their fortunes in the south. The power of these petty states was yet in embryo, but was destined to make a considerable figure in events connected with Mysoor.

These enumerations, however apparently tedious, will save to the reader the trouble of frequently returning to unravel the same dry intricacies, and were indispensable for enabling us to travel together, with any tolerable precision, over the narrative of future events. A general recollection of these territorial divisions will enable us to understand, without much farther reference, the subsequent political contests of the south, in which the Carnatic itself lost its original designation, and by a strange misnomer, that appellation was in European instruments of high importance applied exclusively to a portion of *Drauveda*; a name which is not to be found in the European geography of Asia. These recollections will also enable us to comprehend how the rights of

¹ *Savanoor Buncapoor*.—Savanur, Bankapur, towns in the south of Dharwar District, Bombay.

the unhappy natives of those countries were consigned to the same general oblivion; absorbed in the conflicting pretensions of foreigners, regarding the respective ranges of military command of the deputies of a deputy; or of persons who, in the disturbed state of the times, had purchased or seized their titles and authorities.

The reader will scarcely have inferred, from the technical division and subdivision of these extensive territories, on which his patience has been exercised, that they were organized and governed with the same regularity and order which they exhibit on the pages of the imperial register: the state of this fact is so ably and faithfully described by a contemporary author, that I shall anticipate the approbation of his learned translator, in transcribing, without alteration, the English translation of this very interesting sketch, as the most unaffected and intelligent picture of the times that can be offered to the public.

"The government of provinces was now held by new nobles of inferior rank, poor and rapacious, who neglected to maintain proper troops, and at the same time oppressed the people. The Zemindars would not obey Foujedaurs without troops, and became rebellious and remiss in their payments. As the Foujedaurs could not force them, they were glad to content themselves with what they could get; and in order to lead a quiet life, entered into secret agreements with them, and winked at their disobedience, which made them still more insolent.

"In the countries dependant on Hyderabad and Beejapore, which, before their conquest, maintained above two hundred thousand horse, there were not now stationed above thirty-four thousand. The Jaghiredars could not get possession of their Jaghires for want of troops; and if they did, their holding them for any time was so uncertain, that they did not consider the ease of the farmers, but oppressed them for money by every mode avarice could devise;



so that they entered into combinations with the enemy. While the newly conquered countries were thus unsettled, the ancient territories of Deckan were not less troubled by the tyranny of governors, and the frequent changes of them and the Jaghiredars; who were obliged not only to supply their own necessities, but furnish large bribes to the civil officers about the court. It was represented to the emperor, that the Zemindars were in confederacy with the enemy; upon which he ordered all their weapons of defence to be seized; and this left them an easy prey to invaders, whom at last they joined for self-security. Contributions were then collected in lieu of regular revenues, and the parties sent every where to collect supplies for the grand camp, were guilty of every sort of excess. Added to this, the collectors of the *odious religious capitation* forced millions from the farmers, and accounted but for small sums with the royal treasury. *Whenever the emperor appointed a Jaghire-dar, the Mahrattas appointed another to the same district, and both collected as they found opportunity; so that, in fact, every place had two masters.* The farmers, thus oppressed, left off cultivating more ground than would barely subsist them, and in their turns became plunderers for want of employment.

"The emperor having taken most of the Mahratta fortresses, they were left without any resource but plunder, out of which they paid a share to their chief, the son of Rama. Many of the powerful disaffected Zemindars joined them, so that they amounted to above one hundred thousand horse. The imperial amras, deprived of their revenues from the Jaghires, had recourse to false musters, and did not keep up above half their complements of men; so that detachments could not be sent every where to punish the invaders, and the grand army was always employed in sieges, which left the Mahrattas at liberty to plunder almost without molestation. But particularly during the siege of Khalneh their excesses



were unbounded; they stopped every communication of supply to the imperial camp, where numbers perished by famine; and their insolence grew to such a pitch, that they once a week offered up mock prayers for the long life of Aurungzebe, whose mode of making war was so favourable to their invasions and depredations.”¹

¹ The quotation is from Ferishta's *History of Dekkan* translated by J. Scott, Persian Secretary to Warren Hastings.

CHAPTER VII.

From 1704 to 1751.

Canty Reva Raj son of the late Raja born deaf and dumb—succeeds to the throne—military operations—Daood Khan called from the two Carnatics—leaves Saadut Oolla Khan as his Foujedar and Dewan—his campaign in Mysoor—Death of the dumb Raja—and succession of his son Dud Kishen Raj—Saadut Oolla succeeds to the government of the two Carnatics, which he retains four years—division of this command—Sera—Arcot—Kurpa—Kurnool—Savanoor Gooti—Contest for the spoils of Mysoor—its result—Mahratta invasion of Mysoor—conquest of Maagree and Savendroog—extinction of a dynasty which had ruled two hundred years—character of this reign belongs to the ministers—contemptible conduct of the Raja—his death—state of the administration—conditional nomination of Cham Raj as pageant king—his emancipation—new ministry—their absurd conduct—concerted revolution—and murder of the Raja—departure from all pretext to hereditary succession in the choice of the next pageant, the infant Chick Kishen Raj—Ministry—singular preparation and death of the minister Nunjeraj—unfortunate choice of a successor of the same name—Doast Aly Khan Nabob of Arcot invades Mysoor—defeat of his army—Campaign of Nunjeraj in Coimbetoor—Nasir Jung sent by his father to levy a contribution on Mysoor—"Lake of pearls"—Marriage of the pageant Raja—suspicious motives—Siege of Deonhully—first scene of Hyder's achievements—

history of his family—Mohammed Bhelole—his sons Mohammed Ali and Wellee—remove to Sera and thence to Colar—Futte Mohammed, son of the former—left destitute and protected by a stranger—early distinction as a soldier—his first marriage and its issue—circumstances of his second marriage—he removes to Arcot—declines the service on a point of etiquette—goes to Chittoor—death of his second wife and marriage with her sister—returns to Sera—appointed Foujedar of Colar—birth of Shabaz and Hyder—their father slain at Sera—plunder and destitute condition of the family—seek the protection of their uncle Ibrahim at Bangalore—Shabaz enters the service of the Raja of Mysoor, and is promoted—early habits of Hyder—performs his first service at Deonhully—is distinguished and promoted—Nasir Jung marches to Arcot accompanied by the troops of Mysoor—circumstances leading to this event—Saadut Oolla—Doast Aly—Sufder Ali—treacherous seizure of Trichinopoly—dangerous nomination of Chunda Saheb to be governor—desperate intrigue for his removal—Mahratta invasion—Doast Aly slain in battle—Farther intrigues of Sufder Ali—Conquest of Trichinopoly and capture of Chunda Saheb by the Mahrattas—Assassination of Sufder Ali—temporary appointment of Anwar u Deen—murder of his reputed successor the son of Sufder Ali—Release of Chunda Saheb—Remarkable battle of Myconda and its consequences—Chunda Saheb and Muzzuffer Jung with a French corps invade Arcot—battle of Amboor—death of Anwar u Deen, and escape of Mohammed Ali to Trichinopoly—approach of Nasir Jung—review of the pretensions of the four rival candidates—English and French support opposite parties—Nasir Jung arrives—dispersion of his opponents and surrender of Muzzuffer Jung—fresh exertions

of the French—defeat of Mohammed Ali—conspiracy of the Patan Nabobs—attack and death of Nasir Jung—reflections on that event—Desperate fortunes of Mohammed Ali—relieved by another revolution—State of the English and French interests in India—character of their respective governors—Chunda Saheb besieges Trichinopoly—Extraordinary talents and achievements of Mr. Clive.

CANTY RAVA RAJ.

THE son of the late Raja was born deaf and dumb (and thence called Mook Arsoo, the dumb sovereign) an incapacity which under a less settled government would have excluded him from the throne; but he succeeded without opposition through the influence of the minister Tremalayengar, who survived his old master no more than a year and a half. The vigour and regularity of the late long reign continued for several years to be perceptible in the administration. The Dulwoy (commander in chief), Canty Raj, attempted the reduction of little Balapoor,¹ the possession of a warlike Poligar close to the hill of Nundydroog,² and was killed before the place; but his son *Busoo Raj*,³ a man of talent and enterprize, continued the siege and reduced the Poligar to become a tributary of Mysoor: and the state of the Mohammedan government being favourable to his views, he still farther attempted to extend his exactions westward towards Mergazee⁴ and great Balipoor. During the short civil war between the competitors

¹ *Balapoor*.—Chik-Ballapur, about 32 miles north of Bangalore.

² *Nundydroog*.—Nandidroog, a fortified hill in Kolar District, Mysore, 31 miles north of Bangalore. The summit is 4,851 feet above the sea level.

³ *Busoo Raj*.—Basava Raja.

⁴ *Mergazee*.—Midagesi, a town about 30 miles north of Tumkur, Mysore.

for the imperial crown after the death* of Aurungzebe,

* Of Daood Khan I find the following brief, homely, and very intelligible account in the Records of Madras 1709. "Very precarious in his temper when sober, free and generous when supplied with the liquors he asks, which we always take care to supply him with;" "a great favourite with the late and present king as a soldier fit for rough work." In the Records of 1701 a curious account is inserted of a dinner given to this Nabob in the council chamber: the number of dishes is detailed, and the toasts drank accompanied by the discharge of cannon: the Nabob pledges the governor largely in cordial waters and French brandy, and afterwards mounts his horse very steadily and returns home. A few mornings afterwards a message is brought to the governor that the Nabob *at the head of his army, to enhance the compliment*, is on his way to pay him a visit at his country house. The best possible preparations are made with great bustle, as well for the reception of the great man, as to guard against treachery; but before they are concluded, intelligence is brought that the Nabob has reeled dead drunk into a Portugese chapel, where he has fallen asleep. His own army on the spot, and the governor and council at the house of the former, continue to wait his pleasure until four o'clock, when he awakes; and without apology or explanation marches his army about eight miles in a westerly direction, and there encamps.

[In April 1699, Nawab Zulfikar Khan wrote to Madras that his deputy Daud Khan proposed visiting Madras. Pitt, the Governor, was mistrustful of the intention of the visit, and while placing Mr. Styleman's garden house at the Khan's disposal, gave orders that the town should be put in a state of defence. Daud Khan arrived on the 28th April, and stayed two days at the house provided, where he was visited by Messrs. Styleman and Fraser, representing the Governor. He spent a week at San Thomé.

In the following year the Emperor appointed Daud Khan 'Nabob of the Carnatta and Chingee countrys.' The new Nawab came down to Arcot at the beginning of 1701, and sent to Fort St. George for 'sundry sorts of liquors.' The Council considered the occasion favourable for obtaining a confirmation of privileges, and selected 'Senhor Nichola Manuch, a Venitian and an inhabitant of ours for many years, who has the reputation of an honest man; besides, he has liv'd at the King's Court upwards of thirty years, and was a servant to one of the Princes, and speaks the Persian Language excellent well,' to accompany the Chief Dubash Rāmappa in charge of presents, consisting of 'two brass guns and carriages, 1 pr, Looking Glasses English velvet, Blunder busses, Fowling pieces five, Pistolls,

Daood Khan, the conqueror of Ginjee, already

Sword blades, Prospective glass, Concave glasses, Broad cloth, 37½ gallons of cordialls, 50 bottles French Brandy, &c.' The Nawab's reception of the embassy was disappointing. He regarded the present as inadequate, and sent Manucci back with threats of appointing a governor for Black Town, and developing San Thomé at the expense of Madras.

In July Daud Khan appeared at San Thomé with 10,000 troops, horse and foot. Messrs. Ellis and Davenport were sent to wait on him with a further present which was rejected. Pitt regarded the Nawab's attitude as tantamount to a declaration of hostilities, and took immediate steps to resist attack, landing sailors from three ships in the roads to form a company of marines, summoning the Train Bands, with Captain George Heron as Captain and Mr. John Barlu Lieutenant, raising a Portuguese company under Captain Emmanuel de Silva, and engaging a hundred additional Peons as Scouts and out posts. He wrote as follows to the Nawab:—

GOVERNOR PITT TO NAWAB DAUD KHAN.

'I received letters from the great Assed Cawn and Cawn Badre, (Khān Bahadur, i.e., Zulfikar Khan) and one for Your Excellency which I here send.

'I wrote Your Excellency yesterday morning that some of your forces had plundr'd our Towns, notwithstanding yourself appointed people to preserve them. This has been twice done, much to our prejudice, so that wee must now resolve to provide for our security, finding that wee are neither to share in Your Excellency's favour nor Justice, which is our great misfortune.' Thomas Pitt (P. C., Vol. XXX, 5th July 1701).

Seeing that Pitt was prepared to fight, the Nawab changed his attitude. On the 8th he consented to receive the present which he had previously refused, and on the 11th announced that he would next day honour the Governor with his company at dinner.

FORT ST. GEORGE DIARY.

'About 12 this noon the Nabob, the king's Duan and Buxie was conducted into Town by Messrs. Marshall and Meyorell, the streets being loin'd with soldiers from St. Thama Gate up to the Fort, and the works that way man'd with the Marrein Company handsomely clothed with red coats and caps, and the curtains of the inner Fort with our Train bands, all which made a very handsome appearance. The Governour, attended with the Councill, the Mayor, the comandars of the Europe Ships, and some

noticed, and now the successor of Zulfecar Khan

of the principal freemen, received him a little way out of the Gate of the Fort, and after embracing each other, the Governor presented him with a small ball of amber Greece cas'd with Gold, and a Gold chain to it, and then conducted him into the Fort; and carried him up to his Lodgings; when, after sitting some time, the Nabob was pleas'd to pass very great complements upon Us, commending the place as to what hee had seen of it, and gave us all assurance of his friendship. After which the Governour sett by him two cases of rich cordiall waters, and call'd for wine, biding him wellcome by firing 21 pieces ordnance Soon after, the Dinner being ready (which was dres'd and managed by a Persian Inhabitant), the Governour conducted the Nabob, &c., into the Consultation room which was very handsomely sett out in all respects, the Dinner consisting of about Six hundred Dishes small and great, of which the Nabob, Duan, and Buxie, and all that came with him eat very heartily, and very much commended their entertainment. After Dinner they were diverted with the Dancing wenches About 6 in the evening they return'd to St. Thoma (P. C., Vol. XXX, 13 to 15th July 1701.)

The Nawab next expressed a wish to inspect one of the ships in the roads, and arrangements were made for an embarkation from Triplicane; 'but he, having been very Drunk over night, was not in a condition to go, and deferred it till tomorrow morning. The Brakefast wee intended aboard ship for the Nabob was sent to St. Thoma, which he accepted very kindly.' He finally gave up the marine expedition, but 'desired to see the Company's garden, which wee us'd all means to divert him from by reason in going to it he must have had a View of all the weakest part of the Town.' Nārāyan, the political agent, was sent to dissuade him, but without avail:—

FORT ST. GEORGE DIARY.

'So Narrain, coming about 12 at noon, sent to the governour to acquaint that the Nabob was comeing with a great detachment of horse and foot with all his Elephants, and what he meant by it he could not imagine; so the Governour order'd immediately to beat up for the Train bands and the marrein company, and drew out a Detachment of one hundred men under the command of Capt. Seaton to attend him and those Gentlemen of the Councill, &c. who went to the Garden to receive the Nabob. But Narrain, seeing the Nabob coming in such a manner, told him 'twould create a jealousy in the Governour,

in the government of the two Carnatics, was called

and doubted whether he would have such a reception as he expected, and desired him to halt some where till he sent the Governour word and receive his answer. Upon which the Governour sent Narrain word hee was ready to receive the Nabob at the Garden; but before the answer came to him the Nabob was got into a Portuguey Chappell very drunk, and fell a Sleep; and so soon as waked (which was about 4 a clock in the afternoon), he ordered his camp to march towards the Little Mount where he pitch'd his tents, and sent to the Governour to excuse his not coming to the Garden, and desired him to send a Dozen bottles of Cordiall waters; which were sent him.' (P. C., Vol. XXX, 15th July 1701.)

On the 17th the Nawab marched his army to Poona-mallee, and the trying visit was at an end. On the 24th a messenger brought in 'Perwanas for our Affairs to go on according to Salabad.'

Six months later Daud Khan again appeared at San Thomé with his army. Pitt caused the Train bands and Portuguese militia to be embodied and posted, and engaged two hundred Rajputs. A native representative, 'Our Braminy Paupa,' was sent out to San Thomé. He reported that the Nawab expected a visit from Englishmen and a present. The Council refused to accede to either demand. On the 6th February 1702, a strict blockade was established. The Nawab stopped all provisions destined for Madras, and all goods passing in or out. In support of his action, he forwarded an imperial order dated the 16th November, 1701, interdicting trade with Europeans on the ground that they had failed to prevent piracies committed on ships sailing under the Moslem flag. Pitt sent a spirited reply which concluded with the words: 'your Hosbulhookum says wee are not to be close confin'd, and Your Excellency said to the Mulla that you care not to fight Us, but are resolv'd if possible to Starve Us by stopping all Provisions. Wee can put no other construction on this than declaring a Warr with all Europe Nations, and accordingly wee shall Act.' The next day there was some plundering in Egmore, Pursewaukum, and Triplicane, and several thousand of the inhabitants fled through fear. On the 12th the Nawab demanded possession of Black Town and of the Mint, but Pitt vouchsafed no response. The English applied to the Dutch and Danes for assistance. The former excused themselves, but the latter sent a vessel from Tranquebar with provisions. The blockade was not confined to Madras, but extended to Fort St. David, Masulipatam, the Bay and Surat. About the middle of March Daud Khan

to take the command of the army, which ultimately

intimated that matters might be arranged by a payment of 30,000 rupees. Negotiations ensued, and it was ultimately agreed that the English should pay 25,000 rupees, the Nabob returning plundered property and making good all damage. The Blockade was raised on the 5th May, 1702, and the terms of the agreement were subsequently carried out.

It is clear that the convivial Nawab was not primarily responsible for the blockade of Madras, though he possessed large discretionary power in its application and removal.

Daud Khan's next visit was made in November 1706. As he was accompanied from Arcot by a force of only 600 men, hostile measures were not anticipated, but Pitt made military preparations nevertheless. A 'Garden house a little to the southward of the Town,' probably the same that the Nawab occupied in 1699, was placed at his disposal, and the Mullah and Braminy were sent to compliment him at San Thomé. They reported that he 'Shewed an earnest inclination to come and dine with the Governour, and spoake many kind things of the English, which they usually doe of all People when they are carrying on the worst Designs against them.' Messrs. Raworth, Frederick and Davenport then paid a complimentary visit. They were well received, and charged with a jewel for the Governor, and presented with an 'Emerald Ring' apiece. Mr. Coningsby and Dr. Bulkley, who accompanied them, received a ring of less value. Ultimately an invitation to dinner was reluctantly issued by the governor, with the request that the Nawab would limit the number of his guard to twenty men. Daud Khan, however, set forth from San Thomé with an escort of two hundred. A halt was made at the garden house, allotted to him, and Nārāyan was sent on to acquaint the Governor that if the Nawab 'could not be received with all his Company, it should be the same thing to him if we sent the Dinner to him where he was at the Garden The Governour possitively refused to receive him with more than twenty men; so ordered the dinner immediately to be carried to him to the Garden.' Messrs. Raworth, Frederick and Davenport accompanied it carrying a present. (Love: *Vestiges of Old Madras*, 1913.)

FORT ST. GEORGE DIARY.

'About five this evening Messrs. Raworth &c. returned from the Garden, and gave the Governour the following Accompt.

'That the Nabob at first seemed out of humour at the answere that was sent him, when it was believed he would not

placed Shah Alum, or Behauder Shah, on the throne. He left Saadut * Oolla Khan (afterwards Nabob) as his Foujedar and Dewan to manage those possessions during his absence. Saadut Oolla having ascended to the upper country in the prosecution of what, in the English records of those days, was not improperly called a "contribution war," was opposed 1712. by the Mysoor army in a skirmishing campaign of various success in the tract of country between Bangalore and Sera, and the service terminated in the partial accomplishment of its object, namely, a very moderate contribution.†

dine there; but, after some pausing, he dissembled his resentment, and sett down to Dinner, and eat heartily, and tasted Liquors sent him, which he liked very well. After dinner the Present was sett before him, which at first he seemingly refused, but afterwards accepted of it; and soon after rose up and returned to St. Thoma and took Narrain with him, by whom he sent a Horse, value about One hundred Pagodas.' (P. C., Vol. XXXVI, 4th November 1706.)

In January 1708, Daud Khan was once more at San Thomé, this time at the head of 2,500 troops. 'The Nabob this morning (4th February) went from St. Thoma towards his Camp at Arcot; who during his stay here has drank very hard, and selldome in humour, grumbling very much at the small Amount of our Present.' In August he joined the Emperor at Golkonda, but his passage through San Thomé was marked by nothing but friendliness. That his final letter to Pitt related to strong waters will occasion no surprise. In a consultation of February 1709, we find 'Nabob Dowed Cawn having wrott a Letter to the Governour from the King's Court desireing one thousand Bottles of Liquor; agreed that we now send him 250. And the Governour sends him two large Mastys (mastiffs) that he got out of the Europe Ships.' Daud Khan was killed fighting in the Deccan in 1715.]

* His original name was Mohammed Saeed, and his subsequent title *Saadut Oolla Khan*.

[Saadatullah Khan was confirmed as Nawab of the Carnatic in 1713.]

† The amount is not mentioned. The *Saadut Nama*, a manuscript history of Saadut Oolla Khan, states that while encamped at Deonhully waiting for the payment of the contribution agreed upon, he received the appointment of Nabob of the two Carnatics

DUD KISHEN RAJ

1714. succeeded on the death of his father the dumb Raja in 1714. We have formerly noticed in some detail the extent of the different commands in the Carnatics, above and below the Ghauts, in which, according to the last distribution which we discussed, Carnatic Vijeyapoor was all Balaghaut, and Carnatic Hyderabad both Balaghaut and Payeen Ghaut. At the period at which we are now arrived, only six years from the death of *Aurungzebe*, the whole of Carnatic Hyderabad Balaghaut enlarged to the south was possessed by the Patan chief of Kurpa,¹ and by Siddojee Gorepora² the Mahratta: the latter, from the convulsions which have been described, establishing a Mahratta power at Gooti, far beyond the bounds of Maharashtra. The command of the two Carnatics therefore now consisted of Vijeyapoor Balaghaut and Hyderabad Payeen Ghaut, together with the territory of the Patan of Kurpa, who was properly subject to the authority of the officer holding this joint command, but sometimes referred directly to Hyderabad, according as the interests or influence of the several parties determined the degrees of their connexion. The three Patans of Savanore, Kurnool and Kurpa, being about this time designated *Nabobs*,* the latter might be considered as the subordinate Nabob (or deputy of a

from Nizam ul Mulk, immediately after the succession of Furruckseer, viz. 1713: the Records of Madras fix this event in the same year. Mr. Orme places it in 1710.

¹ *Kurpa*.—Cuddapah, chief town in the District of the same name, Madras.

² *Siddojee Gorepora*.—Sidoji Ghodpadi, nephew of Santaji Ghodpadi, established himself at Gooti, a hill fortress in Anantapur District, Madras.

* In the *Saadut Nama*, a Persian history of the house of Saadut Oolla Khan, they are not so designated. In relating the confederacy against Mysoor (not exactly as stated in the text), they are called the *Foujedars and Dewans* of Kurpa Sera and Arcot.

deputy's deputy) of the *Carnatic Hyderabad Bala-ghaut*, of which he possessed the whole excepting Gooti, and had acquired to the south more than an equivalent for that possession. Saadut Oolla Khan* retained for four years the united governments of the two Carnatics as thus described, when it was deemed expedient to appoint a separate officer, namely, *Ameen Khan*, to the government of Carnatic Vijeyapoor, and thenceforward it became more usual to designate those several officers as the Nabobs of Sera, Arcot, and Kurpa from the names of their capitals. Saadut Oolla, aware of the riches possessed by the Raja of Mysoor, and jealous of the dismemberment of his own command, entered into a secret combination with the Patan Nabobs of Curpa, Kurnool and Savanore, and Siddojee Gorepora the Mahratta chief of Gooti, to wrest this rich prey from Ameen Khan of Sera, to whom the tribute or plunder of Mysoor, according to the distribution of their respective commands, regularly belonged. Ameen Khan, being apprized of the design, resolved to anticipate their project ; and marched with a small but select force, with which he had just attacked the army of Mysoor and sustained a light check, when the forces of the confederates appeared. Ameen Khan, a rough and impetuous soldier, exasperated at 1724. this illiberal interference, drew out to offer them battle with about a tenth part of their numbers ; but

* This part of the detail, and that which relates to the fraud in the division of the spoil, is given to me by Budder ü Zeman Khan, aged eighty-two, a connexion of the family. The appointment of Tahir Khan (a dependant of Saadut Oolla) many years afterwards, was the tardy result of his incessant endeavours directly or indirectly to recover the government of Sera. The march of the confederates, stated in the text, is related in the Saadut Nama, with no other reference to date than the third year of the king. The Mysoor manuscript of Poornia places an invasion of Saadut Oolla Khan in 1723-4, which being the third year of Behader Sha, fixes the date and identifies the events.

[*Behader Sha*.—Muhammad Shah acceded 1719, died 1748.]

he was ultimately reconciled to the plan of a joint operation by the address of Saadut Oolla Khan, who was also nominated by the confederates to conduct the negotiation, the forces of Mysoor not daring to move from the protection of the Fort of Seringapatam before so superior a force. The amount ostensibly levied was twelve lacs of rupees for each, amounting to seventy-two lacs; a crore was the sum secretly stipulated, and afterwards discovered by the confederates: the remaining twenty-eight lacs being a simple fraud of Saadut Oolla Khan, with the secret consent of the Patan Nabobs, in return for past and expected alienations of the imperial revenue. The other confederates being deterred from attempting forcible means to exact their just proportions, Saadut Oolla with his forty lacs, and his five associates with twelve each, returned to their respective homes.

1726. The success of this predatory expedition was but an invitation to other freebooters; and the Peshwa¹ (the designation of a Mahratta officer or minister, who in the reign of the second only in lineal descent from Sevajee had already in a great degree usurped the powers of the government) in two years afterwards levied a contribution, the amount of which is not stated, at the gates of Seringapatam.

These drains on the treasury were in part replenished by the conquest of Maagree,² under the

¹ The Peshwa was Baji Rao, son of Balaji Vishvanath Bhat. "In 1726 the Peishwa was with a very large army under Futih Sing Bhonslay, which proceeded into the Carnatic, plundered the districts, and levied a contribution from Seringapatam. No particulars of this campaign have been discovered; but it appears by a letter written twelve or thirteen years afterwards by Bajee Rao to his brother that they lost a number of men without gaining advantages which had been anticipated." (Edwards: *Grant Duff's History of the Mahrattas*. 1921. Vol. I., p. 367.)

² *Maagree*.—Magadi, a town 29 miles west of Bangalore. Kempe Gauda, the chief who held Magadi, allowed himself to be surrounded and was forced to surrender. He was taken to Seringapatam, where he died, the last of his line.

conduct of Deo Raj, recently appointed Dulwoy.*
 Kempè Goud, the chief, having been so imprudent as
 to suffer himself to be surrounded in this weak 1728.
 fortress, the blockade and siege were pressed with
 such vigour as to compel him to surrender at discre-
 tion. The rock of Saven Droog, then justly deemed
 impregnable, containing the accumulated plunder of
 near two hundred years, fell also by this event into
 the hands of the victor ; and the power of this
 formidable chief was finally extinguished in the state
 prison of Seringapatam.

Whatever portion of vigour or of wisdom
 appeared in the conduct of this reign, belonged
 exclusively to the ministers, who secured their own
 authority by appearing with affected humility to
 study in all things the inclinations and wishes of the
 Raja. Weak and capricious in his temper, he com-
 mitted the most cruel excesses on the persons and
 property of those who approached him, and as quickly
 restored them to his favour. While no opposition
 was made to an establishment of almost incredible
 absurdity, amounting to a lac of rupees annually, for
 the maintenance of an alm's house to feed beasts of
 prey, reptiles, and insects, he believed himself to be
 an unlimited despot ; and while amply supplied with
 the means of sensual pleasure, to which he devoted
 the largest portion of his time, he thought himself the
 greatest and happiest of monarchs, without under-
 standing, or caring to understand, during a reign of
 nineteen years, the troublesome details through
 which he was supplied with all that is necessary for
 animal gratification.

CHAM RAJ.

It is scarcely necessary to repeat, that during the 1731.
 twenty-seven years which comprized the reigns of
 such persons as the two last Rajas, the whole power

* For the origin of this family, see p. 68.

and influence of the state must necessarily have fallen into the hands of the ministers: and that they would be disposed to regulate the succession in such a manner as should secure to themselves the continuance of unlimited authority. The division of public business was distributed in the offices of Dulwoy,¹ Serv Adikar,² and Perdhan;³ the first of these, as the name imports, was commander in chief of the forces, and director of all departments connected with military operations; the second presided over revenue and finance; and the third was a sort of privy councillor placed near the person of the Raja for the general purposes of the government; but the two latter offices appear to have been frequently united, and at this period were possessed by Nunjeraj,* a man of vigour, superior talents, and experience. The Dulwoy, his cousin german, Deo Raj, was of a bold and ambitious, but cool and deliberate character. He had recently succeeded to his relation Cheleviea, of the house of the Wodeyar of Cullella,⁴ in which family the office of Dulwoy had become hereditary; by ancient compact, as is affirmed in the manuscripts of that house, but probably by the genius and tendency of all Hindoo institutions to render offices as well as property the objects of inheritance. In point of fact, however, the whole power of the state in all its departments was already possessed by the various branches of this family. It cannot be positively ascertained, although there is probable ground to conclude, that a nearer claimant to the throne than

¹ *Dulwoy*.—Dalavayi, Commander-in-Chief.

² *Serv Adikar*.—Sarvadhikari, head of finance.

³ *Perdhan*.—Pradhana, Privy Councillor.

* The uncle of Nunjeraj who undertook the expedition to Trichinopoly in 1751.

⁴ *Cullella*.—Kalale, a village in Nanjangud, Mysore District, close to the Mysore and Ootacamund road. The Wodeyars of Mysore and of Kalale agreed to unite their power. The Kalale family supplied the Dalavayi and the Mysore Wodeyars occupied the throne at Seringapatam.

Cham Raj was then in existence; but it is perfectly certain that he* was nominated as a person supposed to be every way qualified for the office of pageant king, to which he was destined; and the usurpation of the ministers was farther secured by a previous compact, exacted before he was admitted to cross the bridge at Pechum† Wahinee, to undergo the requisite ceremony of adoption by the widow of the late Raja, binding himself to conform in all things to their counsel, and that of his adoptive mother.

The contempt of the ministers for the intellectual powers of their nominal master, who had scarcely attained his eighteenth year, rendered them careless and unsuspecting in the arrangements of the palace; and Cham Raj, little disposed to observe the compulsory conditions of his elevation, had, in three months, secretly completed all the arrangements for a new‡ administration, which were contrived with such skill and address, as suddenly to displace the former ministers without opposition or difficulty.

The new administration began the exercise of their authority with the unsettled mixture of rigour and moderation which usually marks a feeble character. While the former ministers were, after a short period, incautiously released, and imprudently left at large

* He was of the elder branch of Hemanhully, but, as far as I can judge from a comparison of authorities, which now become exceedingly defective, more direct lineal descendants must have existed: he lived at the time in Karoogully.

† The bridge over the little Caveri, now called the second Periapatam bridge: *Pechum Wahinee* flowing to the west. The river at that place makes a sweep towards the west, and wherever a stream is found to run opposite to the general direction of the river, it is considered holy by the Hindoos.

[*Pechum-Wahinee*.—Paschimavahini, a sacred spot on the Kaveri, near Seringapatam. The river here makes a bend to the west, whence the name, the western stream; the royal bathing ghat of the Mysore Rajas is here together with many other bathing ghats.]

‡ Devaia (a bramin) Dulwoy; *Veer Settee* Serv Adikaar; Gopeanaud, Perdhan.

1731.

at the seat of government, the most rigid and ill-concerted economy in every department, from the measure of disbanding a large portion of the troops, and reducing the allowances of the remainder down to an inquisition into the kitchen of the dowager, created a gradual disgust, and a general disposition to regret the former liberal administration. The dowager and Deo Raj found means of communicating to each other their sentiments and views, and after the lapse of two years and a half, the plan of a counter revolution, more fatal in its consequences than that by which they had been displaced, was completely organized.

The Jemmadars of two thousand horse, and the chiefs or Naicks* of six thousand peons,¹ affecting to be disgusted with the service, demanded and received their discharge; and encamping at the distance of three miles from the fort, seemed to be making arrangements for their final departure to seek for service elsewhere; and passed without observation in small parties backwards and forwards from the camp to the town: the loose habits of the time not requiring that they should deposit their arms at the gates.

It was the custom of those days for the Dulwoy on every Friday to make a march of six or seven miles, accompanied by the forces which were present at the capital, as a sort of military exercise, but frequently as a mere ostentatious procession; and so complete was the extinction, not only of all suspicion, but of ordinary precaution and common prudence, that the personal guard of the Raja accompanied the Dulwoy on this occasion for the purpose of swelling a slender train reduced by the late improvident economy. Deo Raj had now obtained the long

* Among these I find the name of *Hyder Naik*; he was a distant relation of the celebrated person of the same name, afterwards so well known as Hyder Ally.

¹ *Peon*.—Portuguese word *peao*; from pé 'foot,' a foot-soldier.

expected opportunity : the small parties which had passed as usual into the town, at an appointed signal reunited within the gate ; while the main body from without, headed by Deo Raj, rushed through without opposition, disarming the guards, and proceeding direct to the palace. In the first impulse of astonishment and surprise, the unhappy Raja sent an humble message acknowledging his breach of compact, and promising a better observance if his servant and conqueror would forget the past, and accept the office of Dulwoy. Deo Raj was not to be ensnared a second time : but in the bitter remembrance of his former credulity, passed to the opposite extreme ; and, after securing the signet and sword of state, seized the Raja and his wife, and despatched them to the well known hill of *Cabal Droog*¹ (an imprisonment at all times equivalent to sentence of death), where the dreadful insalubrity of the climate was mercifully aided by unwholesome food to shorten the sufferings of the victims. 1734.

A younger brother* of the deposed Raja was passed over in the next succession, because possessed of promising talents ; and the son of a younger and more distant branch, a child of five years old, was selected as a more safe and convenient instrument.

We may consider the lineal succession of the Rajas of Mysoor to have ceased at this period, if not in 1731 ; for whatever slender ground may be conjectured to exist for acceding to the regularity of the succession in the person of Cham Raj ; the murder of that prince, the rejection of his lineal heir, and the election of an infant of a younger branch, extinguishes all imaginable pretext to hereditary claim in the

¹ *Cabal Droog*.—Kabbal-durga, a fortified hill in Mysore District to the east of Seringapatam, 3,507 feet above the sea.

* His name was *Vencat Ers*. Dhermia the old Jain Pundit knew him well at Karoogully many years afterwards, when he was an old man, and Dhermia just rising to manhood.

[*Vencat Ers*.—*Arasu*, a Canarese word meaning "king." It is the caste title of the relatives of the Rajas of Mysore.]



person now elected to the rank of pageant Raja, from which he never emerged: and from this period forward, the mock successions to a faulty title determined by Hindoo and Mohammedan usurpers, will not be entitled to occupy any considerable share of our attention. The name of the infant now elevated to this dangerous and humiliating station was

* CHICK KISHEN RAJ.

The administration was replaced on its former footing, with the addition of Vencataputty of Caniambaddy as nominal Perdhan, on condition of being in all things subservient to the will of the Serv Adikaar Nunjeraj. This intelligent minister conducted the civil departments of the government with his usual ability during the six years which succeeded this event. He was still in the vigour of middle life, but having been reduced by a fit of sickness, and being sensible of the approach of his dissolution, he determined to adjust his worldly affairs, and, as far as he was able, the concerns of his conscience, before his departure to render a final account. He deposited in the treasury the sum which he supposed himself to have improperly acquired in the public service, amounting to about eighty thousand pounds: he had no issue, and to his wife he presented twenty thousand, the remainder of his property being distributed in rewards to his domestics, and in charitable and religious donations, with the hope of expiating his former crimes, he quietly expired at the very moment that he had finished the adjustment of his temporal concerns; his last words conveying a testamentary warning against the employment of the person who became his actual successor.

This person was his cousin-german of the same name, the younger brother of Deo Raj, and sur-

* *Chick, little, junior*; the former Raja of the same name being distinguished by the prefix, *Dud, great, or senior*.

named Kerachoor,* a brave, but violent, presumptuous, and improvident man of about thirty years of age. His elder brother Deo Raj being upwards of fifty, vainly expected, that in conferring upon this person an equal share of the government, he should be able to regulate his public conduct with the same facility that, in the days of childhood, he had controuled his private education. The internal quarrels or external wars of all the neighbouring powers rendered this a period of comparative tranquillity to Mysoor: and the profligacy of Nunjeraj made a shameless job of the revenue; appointing his own menial servants to the nominal office of Aumildar,¹ and still retaining them about his person; leaving to themselves, or to the Perdhan, to provide deputies, but prodigal at once and rapacious, exacting a certain proportion of the public plunder as a joint fund for himself and his brother. The Perdhan appears to have been equally attentive to his own interests; for in ten years after the revolution we find him imprisoned in the fort of Ossoor,² after refunding three lacs of pagodas of which he had defrauded the treasury, and succeeded by a superannuated and incompetent person named Chinnapeia. It was a few years before this change in the general administration that an attack of serious and threatening aspect was rendered abortive by the skill and energy of the elder brother.

The reputed riches of the treasury of Seringapatam continued to attract the attention of the Nabobs of Arcot; and the prodigal conduct of Tahir Khan, the Nabob of Sera, to whose government the tribute (when he could obtain it) of Mysoor was considered

* *Kera*, the *hand*, *Choory*, a *dagger*, or, according to the English proverbial idiom, a word and a blow.

¹ *Aumildar*.—Amildar, a native collector of revenue in charge of a taluq, a division of a district.

² *Ossoor*.—Hosur, a town about 24 miles south of Bangalore in the Salem District, Madras.

1737.

to belong, left the field open for this irregular object of ambition and cupidity. Doast Aly Khan¹ prepared a powerful and well appointed army, and selected for the posts of first and second in command two brothers, officers of courage and experience, named Kasim Khan and *Morād Khan, who marched with the confidence of certain victory to exact the largest contribution that had ever been received from this supposed deposit of inexhaustible wealth. Deo Raj, although no longer young, possessed a vigorous constitution, mental faculties in full energy, and the perfect attachment and confidence of his army. He advanced without dismay to meet this formidable host about forty miles to the N. E. of Seringapatam. At a village named Keilenchee² near Chennapatam, the light troops of the Mussulman army reported the approach of a body of the enemy towards the encampment, and the two chiefs proceeded with the usual detail of troops on duty to reconnoitre. Deo Raj had come forward for a similar purpose with a select

¹ Saadatullah Khan had been confirmed as Nawab of the Carnatic in 1713. In 1715 he headed an expedition to Gingee, slew Sarup Singh in battle, and reconquered his territory. He then reduced Tanjore to the condition of a tributary state. From the period of the Kutb Shahs of Golconda, the rulers of the Carnatic had invariably obtained office by selection: Saadatullah aimed at the retention of the Government in his own family. Having no children, he adopted a nephew named Dost Ali whom he nominated his successor, obtaining the private consent of the Mogul, but omitting to secure the approval of his immediate superior Nizam-ul-Mulk. Saadatullah ruled with moderation and success, and his death in 1732 was generally lamented.

Dost Ali, who succeeded as Nawab, though without the sanction of the Nizam, had two sons Safdar Ali and Hasan Ali and several daughters. (Love: *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. II, p. 277.)

* This was the father of Budder u Zeman Khan. The Madras Records mention this defeat, and say that the army was commanded by the Nabob's sons, which B. Z. Khan considers to be a mistake.

² *Keilenchee*.—Kailancha on the Arkavati river near Chennapatna in the Bangalore District, Mysore.

body of horse, leaving the rest of his army prepared to follow or to encamp. A small body only was shewn by Deo Raj of the strength of an ordinary reconnoitring party, and the Mussulman chiefs being induced to push forward for the purpose of examining the main body, were suddenly attacked by superior numbers, and, after a brave resistance, were both slain; the advanced troops of Deo Raj, supported by his whole army, followed up the blow; the Mussulman camp was completely surprised and overthrown; the remains of this mighty expedition fled in dismay and confusion to the lower country, and Deo Raj returned in triumph to Seringapatam.

The year 1746 was distinguished by the first 1746. military command of Nunjeraj in an expedition against the Poligars of Darapoor, in the tract now better known by the general name of the district of Coimbetore: the *Dulwoy*, his brother Deo Raj, being so far advanced in years as to yield without reluctance to his younger brother the fatigue and distinction of military operations, and to undertake, during his absence, the more sedentary occupation of the temporary direction of the revenue and finances; an arrangement which produced the confusion of authority during the quarrel and separation of these brothers, which we shall hereafter have occasion to observe. During the absence of the army in the district of Coimbetore, Nasir* Jung was detached by his father

* *Serv è Azád*, a work composed by *Meu Gholam Ali Azád*, a philosopher, a fakir, and a poet, the confidential friend and companion of Nasir Jung, himself a poet. The work consists in historical and biographical sketches and anecdotes of kings or rulers who were also poets, with specimens of their performances. Nizam ul Moolk, the father of Nasir Jung, has also a niche in this elegant little temple of fame. The author relates that Nizam ul Moolk at an early period of his political life retired in disgust, and assumed the *kharka*, or habit of a dervish who has renounced the world; and that afterwards when he became reconciled to public station, he was constantly scoffed at by that fraternity, who ever afterwards continued to decline his bounty. The author may in this

Nizam ul Moolk, now Soubadar of the whole Deckan and the south, to levy a contribution on the Raja of Mysoor. He advanced to the vicinity of the capital without opposition, and was met by a deputation tendering allegiance and tribute, but to what amount I have not discovered. During the period which passed in the adjustment of payment, this military expedition was converted into a party of pleasure. Nasir Jung encamped in the vicinity of the lake of Tonoor, amused himself with sailing on that clear and beautiful water, and gave it the fanciful name of Motee Talab,¹ the "lake of pearls," which it still retains.

1746.

The service under Nunjeraj was successfully conducted, and on his return, the brothers, with the view of more effectually securing in their own family the usurpation of the throne, married the nominal Raja, who had now attained his seventeenth year, to the daughter of Nunjeraj; a connection, according to Indian habits, not altogether usual; Nunjeraj being one of the most zealous sectaries of Siva, and the family of the Raja (ostensibly at least) of the most inveterate subdivision of the followers of Vishnoo: the marriage, besides, was so late* as in itself to furnish suspicion regarding the previous views of the brothers: and the eventual use to be made of this connection will be hereafter unfolded.

case be excused for a little exaggeration; he was himself a dervish, although not of the particular order which his hero had forsaken; for he acknowledges that he had personally benefited by the munificence of Nizam ul Moolk.

[Chin Kilick Khan was a general of Aurangzeb in 1713; he was appointed Subahdar of the Deccan by the Emperor Farrukhsiyar, with the title of Nizam-ul-Mulk. He established himself as an independent ruler at Hyderabad in 1724. Nasir Jung was his son.]

¹ *Motee Talab*.—Moti Talab is a large tank at Tonnur in Seringapatam Taluq, Mysore District. It is formed by an embankment carried across a gap between two rocky hills. The bank was breached and the water drained off by Tipu Sultan in 1798, to prevent its being used by an enemy besieging Seringapatam. It has since been repaired.

* According to Indian habits.



In the year 1749, the ardor of Nunjeraj in his 1749. new profession required fresh employment; and he undertook the siege of Deonhully,¹ twenty-four miles north-east from Bangalore, then considered a place of some strength, and held by a Poligar, who, partly by vigorous resistance, and partly by address, had rendered himself for many years in a great degree independent of the powers around him, and had at no period been subordinate to the house of Mysoor.

An unknown volunteer in this obscure service was destined in after times to become the head of a mighty empire; to establish a reputation in arms, which, fairly viewing the scene on which he moved, and the instruments he was able to employ, has seldom been exceeded, and to threaten with no ideal terrors the extinction of the British power in India. As no statement of tolerable accuracy has yet been presented to the public of the origin and rise of this mighty adventurer, a short account may be acceptable of the genealogy and history of the house of Hyder.*

The first of the family of whom any tradition is preserved was Mohammed Bbelole, a religious person,

¹ *Deonhully*.—Devanhalli, a town on the old Bangalore-Bellary road. It was held by Chikkappa Gauda, and had been in his family since 1501. The site of Hyder Ali's house is still pointed out, to the west of the fort. Hyder's son, Tipu, was born at Devanhalli. The place was invested in 1791 by the army under Lord Cornwallis to whom it easily submitted. The fort had been rebuilt by Hyder.

* This account is chiefly extracted from a written memoir, prepared by the religious officers at the mosque and tomb of Futti Mohammed, the father of Hyder, at Colar, and checked, by a variety of records and oral information. According to another statement, the father of Futtè Mohammed, here named Mohammed Ali, is called Sheikh Ali (names frequently used indifferently by the same person), and is said to have had four other sons, a descendant of one of whom was married to Tippoo Sultaun: this statement I believe to be correct; but the authors of the manuscript scrupulously confine themselves to the facts which are authenticated by the history of the mausoleum: and it is foreign to our purpose to trace the other branches.

who came from the *Penjab* to the south, accompanied by two sons, Mohammed Ali, and Mohammed Wellee, and settled at the town of Alund in the district of Calburga, about one hundred and ten miles west, and by north, from Hyderabad. He is said to have founded a small mosque, and fakir's moka,* by charitable contributions, and to have accumulated some property by this religious speculation. He married his son Mohammed Ali to the daughter of one of the servants of the celebrated mausoleum at Calburga, and Mohammed Wellee into another family in the same neighbourhood. After some time, the expences of this augmented family being greater than the saint was able to defray, the two sons proceeded to the south in search of any service by which they could procure a subsistence and were engaged at Sera, in the capacity of revenue Peons, in the department of the collection of the town customs. Futtè Mohammed, the son of Mohammed Ali, and the father of Hyder, was born at Sera.

In the course of duty, or for some cause not explained, the two brothers came to Colar, where Mohammed Ali died,† and Mohammed Wellee, seizing on all the domestic property, turned Futtè Mohammed and his mother out of doors.

A Naick‡ of Peons in Colar, commiserating their destitute condition, received them into his house,

* Mohammedan travellers, in moderate circumstances, generally put up at such places: the fakir and his family assist them in procuring what provisions they require, of which a portion is usually allotted to the fakir, together with a small present on the departure of his guest.

† His grave is shewn by the religious attendants, as the oldest of the family buried at the mausoleum.

‡ Naick, the former designation of a provincial governor, was now degraded to signify the commander of from twenty to two hundred or more Peons, or irregular soldiers, armed with matchlocks, pikes, or swords and targets; such infantry are by the Mohammedans usually named Carnatics. I have not been able to recover the name of this Naick, or the extent of his command.

brought up Futtè Mohammed, and at a proper age enrolled him as a Peon in his own command.

While Derga* Kooli Khan was Soubadar† of 1720. Sera, or affected to be so named, Futtè Mohammed had an opportunity of attracting his attention. The service was the siege of Ganjecottah, near to Bali-poor,¹ then the strong hold of a refractory Poligar. The troops were repulsed in a general assault, when Futtè Mohammed seized a standard, and planted it once more on the breach: the assailants rallied, and the place was taken; and the young man, who had so gallantly restored the fortune of the day, was brought before the Soubadar, and rewarded with the command of twenty Peons as a Naick.

Futtè Mohammed, now Futtè Naick, continued to distinguish himself in the service of the Soubadar, and was gradually advanced in rank and consequence. His first wife was Seydane Saheba, the daughter of Burra Saheb, a religious person at Colar, who bore him three sons, Wellee Saheb, Ali Saheb, and Behelole Saheb. It was on the death of this lady at an early age that he began the mausoleum, mosque, tank, and gardens, at which the authors of the manuscript, which is chiefly followed in this statement, now officiate: the buildings are said to have been finished several years afterwards, when he was appointed Foujedar of the district; but in whatever manner these dates may be arranged, the buildings themselves, although far removed from architectural grandeur,

* He was appointed in 1729.

[Durga Khuli Khan was the son of Ali Khuli Khan, who was a general under Khasim Khan.]

† We have formerly seen the designation of Souba to be an officer of extensive command, having Nabobs under him. Now that every deputy was meditating independence, every Nabob became Soubadar as the next step in the scale of usurpation.

¹ *Balipoor*.—Dod-Ballapur, was attached to the Government of Sira, until it was seized by the Nizam and given as a jagir to Abbas Khuli Khan. In 1761 it was taken by Hajdar Ali and has since been subjected to Mysore. (*Gazetteer of Mysore*, 1897.)

exhibit unquestionable evidence, that the founder, at the time of their erection, had attained a very respectable degree of rank, property, and consideration. Of the second marriage of Futtè Naick the following account has been communicated to me by several authorities, and confirmed by the written narrative of Budr ù Zeman Khan, for one of whose relations the lady was intended. A Nevayet* of respectable

* *Nevayet*, generally supposed to be a corruption of the Hindoostanee and Mahratta terms for *new comer*. The following account of their origin is taken from the *Saadut Nama*, and from conversations with many intelligent individuals of the two classes into which they are now found to be divided.

About the end of the first century of the Hejira, or the early part of the eighth century of the Christian æra, *Hejaj Bin Yusuf*, governor of *Irak* on the part of the Khalif *Abd, al, Melik bin Merwan*, a monster abhorred for his cruelties even among Mussulmans, drove some respectable and opulent persons of the house of Hâshem to the desperate resolution of abandoning for ever their native country. Aided by the good offices of the inhabitants of Kufa, a town of celebrity in those days, situated near to the tomb of Ali, west of the Euphrates, they departed with their families, dependants, and effects, and embarked on ships prepared for their reception in the Persian Gulph. Some of these landed on that part of the western coast of India called the Concan; the others to the eastward of Cape Comorin: the descendants of the former are the Nevayets; of the latter the *Lubbè*; a name probably given to them by the natives from that Arabic particle (a modification of *Lubbeik*) corresponding with the English *here I am*, indicating attention on being spoken to. The *Lubbè* pretend to one common origin with the Nevayets, and attribute their black complexion to intermarriage with the natives; but the Nevayets affirm that the *Lubbè* are the descendants of their domestic slaves; and there is certainly, in the physiognomy of this very numerous class, and in their stature and form, a strong resemblance to the natives of Abyssinia. The Nevayets of the western coast preserved the purity of their original blood by systematically avoiding intermarriage with the Indians, and even with the highest Mohammedan families, for many centuries after the establishment of the Mussulman dynasties of the Deccan. Even at this time there are some Nevayets whose complexions approach the European freshness. Their adherence to each other as members of the same family preserved their respectability; and they were famed at the Mohammedan courts of the Deccan for

family, from the Concan, was travelling across the peninsula with his wife, one son (Ibrahim Saheb), and

uniting the rare qualities of the soldier, the scholar, and the gentleman. I have seen nothing in India to approach the dignified manners, the graceful, and almost affectionate politeness, of an old gentleman of this family, who resided at Avilcunda, about thirty miles north of Arcot. I became accidentally known to him at an early period of my residence in India, from having lost my way in a dark night, and wandered into a village about a mile from his habitation, whence I received an immediate invitation, conveyed by two of his sons, and a reception which might grace a castle of romance.

[Grant Duff, (*History of the Mahrattas*, 1921, Vol. I. p. 435) says "The Newayetah Nabobs is the appellation by which Sadut Oollah Khan, Dost Ally, and Sufdur Ali are known in the Deccan. The Newayetahs are a distinct race of Mahommedans, and said to have been driven from Arabia to seek refuge on the western shores of India in the eighth century." The editor, Mr. S. M. Edwards, adds the following note: "The name by which this mixed race is known on the Bombay coast is Navāit, Nāata, or Nāitia, and they correspond closely in origin to the Mōplas of Malabar and the Labbais of the Coromandel coast. According to a tradition current among the Konkani Mohammadans, who are the modern representatives of the Navāits in Bombay, they are descended from Arabs who fled to India in A.D. 699 to escape the persecution of Hajjāj-itu-Yūsuf, Governor of Irāk, and settling on the western coast from Cambay to Goa, intermarried with Hindu women, whom they converted to Islam. Those who went further south to the Malabar coast claim to have proselytised one of the Zamorins of Calicut. Between the ninth and sixteenth centuries they intermingled with the other Persian and Arab immigrants and absorbed fresh bands of Arab refugees who escaped from the fury of the Karmatians (A.D. 923-6) and from the tyranny of Halaku the Tartar (A.D. 1258). Garcia da Orta (A.D. 1530) speaks of them as trading at Bassein and describes them as foreign Moors who had married Hindu women of the coast. The name is variously derived from the Sanskrit *Nava*, 'new,' meaning, 'new convert' and from *Nait*, the name of an Arab clan." The *Bombay Gazetteer*, however, gives the meaning of the name as 'shipmen' or 'sailors' (B. G. 'Gujarat Musalmans' 14-15.) The name is now hardly used in Madras, but the descendants and adherents of the former Carnatic dynasty which ended with Nawab Safdar Ali in 1744 were commonly known as Navayats. In a letter from Charles Bouchier, Governor of Madras, to Robert Palk d. June 29, 1769, he says of the treaty with Hyder Ali "Besides which, the Nabob was obliged to submit to consent

two daughters, to Arcot. At Tarrikera, near the borders of Bednore, he was robbed and murdered; and his family, in the greatest misery, begged their way to the eastward, until their arrival at Colar, where their distresses induced the widow to listen to the proposal of Futtè Naick to be united to one of her daughters. After this marriage, the rest of the family, relieved from their difficulties, proceeded to Arcot.

1721. Derga Kooli Khan of Sera soon afterwards died, and was succeeded by his son Abdul Russool Khan. The new Soubadar or Nabob, and Futtè Naick, for some reason not mentioned, were unfavourably disposed to each other; and the Naick accordingly prepared to seek another master, the Nabob Saadut Oolla Khan, at Arcot.¹ The terms of his service, with fifty horse and fourteen hundred Peons, by whom he was accompanied, were nearly adjusted, when a difficulty arose with regard to his being received with the *tazeem*, or the compliment of other officers rising to salute him when he approached them in the Durbar: a mark of deference which is usual towards persons of rank, but at that period was reserved for officers of horse, who, like the ancient cavaliers of Europe, looked down on the pretensions of an officer of infantry. The Naick could not procure the *tazeem*, and being resolved not to serve without it, departed

that all of the Novoyt cast, who were in the Carnateek should be permitted to leave it if such was their choice. As this article, the Nabob thought, affected his honours, it was agreed to be left out of the written treaty." (*Report on the Palk Manuscripts*, 1922. Historical MSS. Commission.)]

¹ "Early in 1719 'Ducknaroy' (Dakkan Rāy), the minister of Nawab Saadatullah Khan, appeared at San Thomé with a force of 1,400 men to perform a religious ceremony. His friendship being desired, he was invited to visit Fort St. George. Accompanied by the Nawab's General Tahir Khan, Dakkan Rāy was admitted to the White Town on the morning of the 12th February under a salute of 51 guns." (Love: *Vestiges of Old Madras*, 1913; P.C., Vol. I, 11th February 1718-19.)

to Chittoor, where he was better received by the Foudjedar, or provincial commander, Tahir Khan.

The mother-in-law of Futtè Naick had been ill received at Arcot, on account of her connection with the Naick; and the family into which she expected to marry her other daughter declined the alliance for the same cause. She therefore joined her son-in-law at Chittoor, and he having in the mean time lost his second wife without issue, took to himself* her younger sister as a third.

Tahir Mohammed Khan was soon afterwards recalled to court at Arcot; but the Naick, still remembering the tazeem, declined to accompany him. He negotiated for the service which he had formerly rejected, and was received by Abdul Russool Khan of Sera as Foudjedar or provincial commandant of Colar, with Boodicota¹ as his Jageer, and the title of Futtè 1721. Mohammed Khan.

His two sons by the Nevayet lady, the younger of the sisters, were both born at Boodicota; viz. 1. Shabaz Saheb†; 2. Hyder Saheb.

When Nizam ul Moolk formed the design of establishing a separate and independent empire in the south, the removal from subordinate commands of all persons who either retained any principle of fidelity to the house of Timour, or had indulged in views of independent authority for themselves, was essential to his success. The money and influence of Saadut Oolla Khan had long been employed to obtain the office of Soubadar of Sera for a dependant of his own; and it was chiefly through his interest that Tahir Khan was appointed to that office, and aided by

* This is not contrary to the Mohammedan law, and many similar examples have fallen under my own observation.

¹ Boodicota.—Budicote, a large village in the Bowringpet Taluq, Kolar District, Mysore, west of the Gold Mines of Mysore; the birth-place of Haider Ali.

† It may be proper to state for the information of the English reader, that *Saheb* annexed to a Mohammedan name has nearly the same meaning as *Mr.* prefixed to an English one.

1728.

Saadut Oolla to fight for its possession. He found the standard of his former Naick marshalled on the side of his opponent Abdul Russool, who was slain in a well contested battle, with most of his officers of rank. Futtè Mohammed, and his son Wellee* Saheb, fell on this sanguinary field; and the bodies being removed by the pious care of their attendants, their tombs are now shewn in the mausoleum of the family at Colar.

Great Balipoor was the Jageer of the deceased Abdul Russool, and previously to the battle, the families of all his principal officers, and among the rest that of Futtè Mohammed, were, according to the routine of suspicion customary in similar cases, thrown into that fort.

Abbas Kooli Khan, the son of the deceased, was not disturbed in the personal Jageer of his father: maternal feeling, combined with good sense, suggested to his mother, who in a few short years had seen the mangled corpses of her husband and father-in-law, the expedient of securing the Jageer on the condition of a formal renunciation of the office of Soubadar or Nabob, and a solemn promise to exert the influence of the family at court for the confirmation of Tahir Mohammed: and Saadut Oolla Khan, who directed in all things the proceedings of Sera, readily perceived the policy of acceding to this moderate proposition.

Abbas Kooli Khan, however, did not neglect to avail himself of the circumstances in which he was placed, to plunder to the extent that he durst the families deposited in the fort; and that of Futtè Mohammed was not among those which escaped. The pretext was a balance due from the deceased while Foujedar of Colar. The sons, Shabaz Saheb, and Hyder Saheb, the former about nine, the latter seven years of age, were called upon for payment.

* He died without issue, as did his brothers Ali and Bhelole.

The usual methods were resorted to and succeeded; but not before the torture, in its most cruel and ignominious forms, had been applied to both the boys, and probably to their mother. This inhuman conduct was not forgotten; and it will be seen in the sequel that Hyder, in his prosperous fortune, sought his revenge after the lapse of thirty-two years, with all the virulence belonging to the memory of a recent injury.

The family, plundered of its property, was permitted to depart, and *the mother,* after the loss of every thing but her children and her honour*, proceeded to Bangalore to seek the protection of her brother Ibrahim Saheb,† who was in the service of the Killadar of that place, with a small command of Peons. When the elder brother Shabaz Saheb had attained a sufficient age, his uncle procured for him a recommendation to a Hindoo officer of rank at Seringapatam, and he was received into the service as a subordinate officer of Peons, in which situation he distinguished himself, and gradually rose to the command of two hundred horse and one thousand Peons, which he now held in the army before Deonhully. Hyder, although twenty-seven years of age, was not in the service; and as he remained through life unacquainted with the first elements of reading or writing, it may be inferred that the misfortunes of his family prevented an attention to this object during his early age, and that his subsequent temper was not found fitted to bear the controul of a pedagogue. When approaching maturity of age, he had shewn a greater disposition to the pursuit of pleasure and the sports of the chace than to the restraints of a military life; and would frequently absent himself for weeks together, secretly immersed in voluptuous riot, or

* The exact phrase of the original, *Suttaun u Towareekh* by Tippoo Sultan.

† The youth formerly mentioned, who was the companion of her unfortunate journey across the peninsula.

passing with facility, as was the habit of his whole life, to the opposite extreme of abstinence and excessive exertion; wandering in the woods while pursuing, not without danger, his favourite amusements. In the siege of Deonhully he began to pay attention to the profession of arms, first appearing as a volunteer horseman in his brother's corps, and afterwards occasionally entrusted with the command of parties of infantry in the trenches. He was observed on every service of danger to lead the way, and to conduct himself with a coolness and self-possession seldom found in a young soldier. This bungling and unskilful siege, directed by a man who had neither seen nor studied the profession of arms, and possessed no quality of a soldier but headlong courage, was protracted for nine months, when the Poligar consented to evacuate the place on the condition of being permitted to retire unmolested with his family to his relation the Poligar of little Balipoor. In the course of this service Hyder was distinguished by the particular favour of Nunjeraj; and, at its close, was raised at once to the command of fifty horse and two hundred infantry, with orders to recruit and augment his corps, and to the charge of one of the gates of this frontier fortress.

The army had scarcely returned from this siege to the capital, when a mandate was received from Nasir Jung, as Soubadar of the Deckan, demanding the attendance of the troops of Mysoor. The arrangements for this purpose were quickly adjusted, and a body of the forces of Mysoor, consisting of five thousand horse and ten thousand Peons, in which were included the commands of Shabaz and Hyder, under the command of Berki Vencat Row, joining the army at Mudgery, accompanied the numerous host of Nasir Jung for the prosecution of his designs in the province of Arcot. For some years after the period at which we are now arrived, the transactions of the government of Mysoor are so much interwoven with

the important operations of the war of Coromandel, that the narrative can scarcely be rendered intelligible without attempting a short retrospect of the circumstances which led to those events.

Saadut Oolla Khan, of the respectable race of the Nevayets, who has already been introduced to the passing notice of the reader as the Foujidar and Dewan of Daood Khan, and the successor of that officer as Nabob of Arcot, died in 1732, and was succeeded by his nephew Doast Ali Khan, according to the previous dispositions of his uncle, but without the sanction of Nizam ul Moolk, who was then the nominal Soubadar or viceroy of the south, but actually independent of the throne of Delhi, from which he affected to derive his authority. 1732.

Doast Ali had given one of his daughters in marriage to a distant relation, named Hussein Doast Khan better known by the name of Chunda Saheb, a man of talents and military ardour, whose daughter, by a former marriage, was the wife of Gholam Hussein, the Dewan or minister assigned to Doast Ali by the dispositions of his uncle. This double connection offered to the enterprising spirit of Chunda Saheb all the opportunities and allurements that can be presented to an ambitious mind. Under the cloak of aiding his son-in-law in the duties of a laborious office, he gradually obtained the chief direction of the civil affairs of the government, and at length the formal appointment of Dewan; and by mixing in every military expedition with the spirit of a volunteer, and the liberality of a prince, the hearts of the soldiers were entirely his own.

The Naick, or Raja, of Trichinopoly and Madura died without issue in 1732; his second and third wives burned with the body, but in conformity to the alleged desire of the deceased, communicated to his confidential minister, his first wife succeeded to the government. Vencatraya Acharee, the commander-in-chief of the forces, supported the pretensions of a 1732.

1736.

collateral male heir: he succeeded in forcibly entering the fortress, and was near destroying the Ranee (queen), when the opposite party collected their forces and expelled him. The death of Saadut Oolla Khan, and the arrangements of the succession which happened in the same year with this event, prevented the Mussulman power from taking advantage of these confusions. The seeming submission of the late commander-in-chief produced a reconciliation, and the authority of the Ranee appeared to be fully established; but this officer, with the concealed aid of the Mahratta Raja of Tanjore, had gradually organized so powerful a party, that this unhappy lady was driven to the desperate resource of soliciting the aid of the Nabob of Arcot. An army under the command of *Sufder Ali*, the eldest son and heir apparent of the Nabob, with Chunda Saheb as his civil Dewan and military second in command, moved over the province, ostensibly for the ordinary purpose of enforcing the collections of the revenue, and approached Trichinopoly to afford the promised aid. The negotiations were of course conducted by Chunda Saheb; and the daring preparations of the opposite party within the fort of Trichinopoly rendering the secret introduction of a body of auxiliary troops a measure of seeming urgency, the Ranee was induced to give her consent to this fatal proceeding, on receiving the solemn assurance of Chunda Saheb, confirmed by a false oath on a false Koran,* that the troops should be employed for no other purpose than the confirmation of her authority, after which they should be faithfully withdrawn. The arrangements thus rendered necessary for the establishment of the Ranee's authority placed the actual power in the hands of the Mohammedan troops, not only at Trichinopoly, but at the principal provincial stations; and these measures being effected, Chunda Saheb threw

* It was actually a *brick* wrapped round with the same splendid covering in which a Koran is usually enveloped.



off the mask, imprisoned the Ranee, and hoisted in the fortress the flag of Islam.

Sufder Ali soon afterwards returned to the capital, leaving under the government of Chunda Saheb this important conquest, which extended, with the single exception of Tanjore, over all the provinces south of the river Cavery and east of Caroor. The office of Dewan was in consequence of this arrangement conferred on Meer Assud,¹ the preceptor of the heir apparent, who quickly perceived the error which had been committed by his pupil, and represented to the Nabob the certain dismemberment of provinces formerly tributary, as the least dangerous consequence which could ensue from leaving a man of Chunda Saheb's principles and talents in the possession of such resources.

The Nabob, however, who at this period is represented by the government of Madras² as "negligent of affairs, despised by his subjects, and suffering robbery, exaction, and oppression on the part of his officers in all quarters," could not be prevailed upon to risk the consequences of recalling Chunda Saheb, or to believe in the reality of his treasonable views. The new Dewan and heir apparent, who clearly 1737 perceived their danger, and the impossibility of moving the Nabob to vigorous measures, determined on averting the impending peril by a measure of dangerous policy; namely, a negociation, to be concealed from the Nabob, for the purpose of introducing a body of Mahratta* troops, ostensibly to invade the

¹ *Meer Assud*.—Mir Asad.

² In 1736 the rains failed in Madras, and famine prevailed. The Nawab was then living near Pondicherry, "very negligent and inattentive to all Affairs, and of Course little regarded." "The Army has been at so great a Distance, and the Nabob absent from his Capital, (that) it has given rise to many disorders in the Province."—(*P. to Eng.*, Vol. XII, 29th January 1736-7).

* This invasion is stated by Mr. Orme to have been incited by Nizam ul Moolk. I have given the relation of facts as they are stated to me by the Nevayets, and as seems consistent with

province, but actually to unite with Sudder Ali in destroying Chunda Saheb, who was of course expected to take the field in the general cause of Islam. The great body of the army under Sudder Ali was placed with this view to the southward, in the expectation that the aged Nabob would, on the approach of the Mahrattas, finding himself without sufficient force to oppose them in the field, shut himself up in Arcot or Vellore, when the Mahrattas would pass, according to previous compact, to the pretended attack of Sudder Ali and Chunda Saheb, and leave the former free to regulate his concerted plan. But the old man, roused by this imminent danger from the lethargy in which he had long reposed, resolved not to survive the disgrace of suffering the infidels to ravage without resistance the very precincts of his capital; and took the field with the handful of men which he could collect, sending orders to Chunda Saheb, and to his son, to join him without delay. Chunda Saheb obeyed the order with alacrity, and Sudder Ali, finding one part of his project defeated, had no alternative but to proceed by forced marches to join his father. Before the arrival of either, Doast Ali, who had taken a position in the

probability. Nizam ul Moolk was at this time at Delhi, too deeply engaged in the intrigues which led to the invasion of Nadir Shah to be able to give attention to those affairs, if the fact were otherwise probable. But wherever I dissent, with or without a specific notice of this nature, from the statements of Mr. Orme, I desire to be understood as doing so with the utmost deference for his authority.

[Orme says that Nizam-ul-Mulk "obliged to keep his arms turned towards Delhi, where he was equally dreaded and detested" "at length determined to give the Morattoes permission to attack it" (Carnatic). (*History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan*. Fourth edition. MDCCCIII). M. G. Ranade considers the expedition was the outcome of the policy of some of the leading Mahrattas, who preferred the consolidation of Maratha power in Southern India to the policy, favoured by the Peshwas, of undermining Mughal power in Northern India.—(M. G. Ranade : *Rise of the Mahratta Power*. Bombay, 1900.)]

gorge of the pass of Damalcherri,¹ expecting, in the prevalent but erroneous opinion that this was the only pass through that part of the range of mountains, that he should be enabled there to arrest the progress of the Mahrattas, was surrounded and 1740. defeated, himself being slain in the action, and the Dewan, Meer Assud, being made prisoner. Sudfer Ali, who had advanced as far as Arcot, when he heard this intelligence, fearing with reason that the change of circumstances might alter the measures of the Mahrattas, placed his army under the protection of the fort of Vellore, negotiating with them through the medium of their prisoner Meer Assud; and Chunda Saheb returned to the care of his own interests at Trichinopoly.²

The Mahrattas, as Sudfer Ali foresaw, had completely changed their tone, and converted a mock invasion into that system of desolation which every where marks the course of these cool and insatiable robbers.* They perceived that any price might be

¹ *Damalcherri*.—Damalcheruvu, a village in Chandragiri Taluq, Chittoor District, Madras, 19 miles north of Chittoor. By this pass through the hills Sivaji made his first descent on the Carnatic in 1676. During Hyder's invasion of the Carnatic in 1780-81, it formed the main route for the supplies for his troops. An earthen embankment crosses the road and continues over the hills, on either side, extending from Tripathi to the Yelagiri hills said to have been built by the Chola kings to mark their boundary.

² Much information, upon the state of the country at this time, will be gained from *The Private Diary of A. Ranga Pillai*, Dubash to Dupleix, translated by order of the Government of Madras, Vol. I, 1904, Government Press, Madras. On the 26th May 1740, the wife of Dost Ali Khan arrived in Pondicherry, followed in July by the wife of Safdar Ali Khan and his three sisters, the sister of Dost Ali, Safdar Ali's son, an infant; they fled from Vellore. With them came a letter from Safdar Ali Khan, informing Dupleix that Dost Ali had died fighting against the Mahrattas, and that Nasir Jang had effected a peace.

* They are well characterized by the Persian compound *Muft-Khoor*, eating at other people's expence. A modern Mahratta is utterly destitute of the generosity and point of honour

exacted from Sudder Ali by the simple threat of selling themselves to Chunda Saheb; and the treaty was soon concluded by which they evacuated the province, on the secret condition of hereafter receiving a large portion of the provinces in the possession of Chunda Saheb as the price of his effectual removal. The Mahrattas quitted the province, the rivals were apparently reconciled, and Chunda Saheb, completely deceived by these demonstrations, sold off the provisions with which he had stored his fortress on the alarm of invasion. In December the Mahratta army, which on various pretences had proceeded no farther than Sevagunga, about 250 miles N.W. from Trichinopoly, suddenly returned and invested the place. After a gallant resistance of three months, Chunda Saheb, reduced by famine alone, surrendered at discretion; and, with his eldest son, was sent a prisoner to *Sittara*,¹ now the declared capital of the Mahratta empire, and the prison of its prince, whose authority his minister had usurped. Morari Row²

which belongs to a bold robber. If we should attempt to describe him by English terms, we must draw a character combined of the plausible and gentle manners of a swindler, the dexterity of a pickpocket, and the meanness of a pedlar: equally destitute of mercy and of shame, he will higgie in selling the rags of a beggar whom he has plundered or overreached: and is versatile, as occasion offers, to swagger as a bully, or to cringe as a mendicant when he dares not rob. Of his acknowledged and unblushing treachery, the reader may take the following anecdote. A Vakeel of the Mahratta chief Gockla, conversing with me on the events of the late war, stated among other topics, as an example at once of Lord Wellington's contempt of danger and confidence in his master, "that he had driven Gockla in an open carriage from his own to the Mahratta camp without a single attendant." I affected not entirely to comprehend him, and asked what the general had to fear on that occasion. "*You know what he had to fear,*" replied the Vakeel, "*for after all we are but Mahrattas.*"

¹ *Sittara*.—Satara, the headquarters of the district of the same name in Bombay, about 60 miles south of Poona.

² A force of 30,000 Mahrattas remained at Trichinopoly under Morari Rau. Their expenses were paid by Sivaji II (Shāhū or Shao) who was on the Mahratta throne.

1740.

1741.