

Rare section

HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS
OF THE
M O G U L E M P I R E,
OF THE
P O R T U G E S E S,
AND OF THE ENGLISH CONCERNS
I N I N D O S T A N ;
FROM THE YEAR M.D.C.LIX.

ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH ESTABLISHMENT, AND
OF THE COMPANY'S TRADE,
AT BEOACH AND SURAT;
AND
A GENERAL IDEA OF THE GOVERNMENT
AND PEOPLE OF INDOSTAN.

By ROBERT ORME, Esq. F.A.S.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,
AN ACCOUNT OF THE LIFE AND WRITINGS OF THE AUTHOR.

"Mr. Orme, the historian of India, unites an exquisite taste for every fine art,
with an accurate knowledge of Asiatic manners."

Sir William Jones's Third Discourse.

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TO THE
HONOURABLE THE COURT OF DIRECTORS
OF THE
EAST INDIA COMPANY,
TO WHOSE
FOSTERING PATRONAGE AND LIBERAL ENCOURAGEMENT
OF EVERY BRANCH OF
ORIENTAL LITERATURE
THE WORLD IS INDEBTED FOR THOSE
DISCOVERIES IN THE HISTORY AND SCIENCES OF THE EAST
WHICH HAVE
GIVEN TO THE ENGLISH NAME IN INDIA
A REPUTATION FOR LEARNING
NOT LESS EXALTED THAN ITS
FAME IN ARMS AND LEGISLATION,
THIS
MISCELLANEOUS VOLUME
FROM THE
POSTHUMOUS WORKS
OF THEIR LATE LEARNED, ELEGANT, AND LAMENTED
HISTORIOGRAPHER,
IS MOST RESPECTFULLY
INSCRIBED.

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ERRATA.

- Page 10, line 20, *for Admednagar, read Ahmednagar.*
— 36, — 6, *for in, read on.*
— 56, — 25, *for when, read at which time.*
— 84, — 7, *for western, read eastern.*
— 88, — 11, *dele that.*
— 163, -ult. *for land, read laud.*
— 179, line 4, *for Note III. read Note IV.*
— 223, — 2, *for that saw, read that he saw.*
— 272, — 17, *for D'Abbeville, read D'Alberville.*
— 373, — 1, *for Gehanghire, read Jehangire.*
— 432, — 2, *for empurs, read empire.*

MEMOIRS

M E M O I R S
OF THE
L I F E A N D W R I T I N G S
OF THE
A U T H O R.

AMONG those who have most zealously employed their leisure and learning in the public service, the subject of the following Memoir will ever rank high in the estimation of all who have the ability to appreciate his labours. The vast extent of territory now subjected to the East India company, either by war provoked, or negotiation solicited, by the native sovereigns, has rendered the history and geography of INDOSTAN most highly interesting and necessary to all who are connected, directly or indirectly, with our establishments in that quarter of the globe. Indeed, no Gentleman can be considered as having completed his education, until he has made himself in some degree acquainted with the state of the British interests in the East: neither is it too much to say, that since our first knowledge of India, no man has so amply elucidated either its history, or its polity, as MR. ORME. A few authentic particulars of his life and writings, therefore, cannot but be acceptable to a nation which has derived such eminent advantage from his labours.

Dr. Alex-

Dr. Alexander Orme, the father of our author, went out to India in the Honourable Company's service, as physician and surgeon, and arrived at Bombay about the year 1706. He continued there, and at the dependent settlements, a considerable time, with great reputation, as we find by the following extract from the public records of that period :

“ Callicut, August 30, 1707.

Mr. Alexander Orme, surgeon, of Anjengo Fort, has made his request to us, that he may be entered a Company's servant. We find him a very capable and ingenious person, that would be extraordinarily serviceable to our Masters and us in sickness. If your Excellency and the Council are pleased to enter him a factor, we request that we may have him at this factory, being in great want of assistance as above specified.

“ Robert Adams.

“ John Johnson.”

In a subsequent letter they write,

“ We are heartily sorry that the rains have been so very unhealthy with you, that Dr. Orme could not be spared. We request you would afford us his assistance as soon as you can,” &c.

Robert Adams, Esq. (who signed the foregoing letters as chief of the settlement of Callicut on the coast of Malabar) and Dr. Orme, had married two sisters, of the name of Hill.

After having long distinguished himself at Anjengo, in the Travancore country, Dr. Orme was appointed chief of that settlement, where he had issue of his marriage two sons and two daughters.

ROBERT, the second son, and the subject of our Memoir, was born on Christmas Day in 1728, and was named after his uncle Adams; the mother of Governor Bouchier being one of his sponsors.

With a view at once to his education and his health, for he was of a weak and delicate constitution, the Doctor sent Robert to England when scarcely two years old; and he was placed under the care of his aunt Adams, then residing in Cavendish-square. With this lady he continued between two and three years, and was then committed

committed to the tuition of a clergyman for about a twelvemonth; after which, though only six years of age, he was sent to the justly-celebrated school of Harrow. Here he continued between seven and eight years, studied the classics with delight, and was equally distinguished by quickness of parts, and assiduity of application.

In 1741 he was removed from Harrow; and, being intended for the civil service in India, was placed in the office of the Accountant-general of the African company, that he might be initiated in the theory of commercial transactions. "His progress in this branch of knowledge," observes one who knew him well, "was proportioned to the talents that he had previously displayed in more lively and attractive studies; and, as he could not but have felt considerable regret at being obliged to relinquish those studies, his applying to others so little congenial, if not repulsive, to a youthful mind, evinces uncommon vigour as well as diligence."

Having laid what was considered as a firm foundation for subsequent attainments in commercial business, young ORME embarked for India, and arrived in the year 1742 at Calcutta, where his brother WILLIAM then resided as a writer in the Company's service. William was originally intended for the sea; but, disliking that element, obtained the above-mentioned appointment at Calcutta; where he died at about twenty-five years of age (a): before which time he had lost both his parents.

ROBERT did not return to India in the Company's Service; but on his arrival in Calcutta, engaged himself, for improvement, in the house of Jackson and Wedderburn, at that time the first English mercantile firm in India; Mr. Jackson being one of the council; and Mr. Wedderburn (of the same family as the late earl of Rosslyn) a free merchant. While with them, young ORME made a voyage round the Peninsula to Surat in one of the freight-ships, as they are termed; and it was on his return to Calcutta, in 1743, that he found

(a) See our Author's Verses to the Memory of his Brother, p. liv.

found he was appointed from England to be a writer in the civil service (*b*); in which he continued between nine and ten years; becoming, after the first five, a *factor*, according to the Company's regulations in India.

He applied himself with indefatigable zeal in promoting the interests of his employers; studying at all convenient seasons the institutions, manners, and customs of the native inhabitants, as well as the state of the municipal government of the town; and during this period he collected the materials for many of his subsequent literary undertakings.

In the year 1752, some regulations in the *jamadary*, or government of the town or police of Calcutta, were thought necessary; and it appears from Mr. Orme's papers, that he was desired to state (though then only twenty-four years of age) his opinion on the subject, and to point out such regulations as he should conceive proper to be adopted in that delicate but very important concern.

In his short narrative on this subject, he observes, that the office of *Jamadar* in Calcutta, owing to the little attention that had been paid in England to a situation of that consequence, seemed never to have been rightly understood there. It comprises in itself two distinct offices, each of which is of the utmost importance under any polity; *viz.* the administration and execution of justice; and, the collection
of

(*b*) On this occasion he appears to have resorted to the Almighty in pious supplication to fit him for his future character in the world; as in his memoranda, dated November 1744, we find the following prayer, written in the 16th year of his age:

“ PRAYER, November 1744. ”

“ O GOD, whose infinite power is not more shewn in the works of thy creation, than thine eternal beneficence in the preservation of thy creatures, vouchsafe to hear the humble supplications of one of the meanest among them; who, in all due sense of the lowliness of his condition, presumes on the authority of his Redeemer's command alone, to throw himself, in all his sins, at the throne of thy mercy. Forgive him, O LORD! his manifold breaches of thy ordinances, and endue him with grace to amend his ways before thee. Cast from his heart the rancour of pride, the malignity of envy or malice, and all those tumultuous passions and urgent emotions of which our frail beings are, without thy prevention, so susceptible; endue him with humility; grant him charity to all men.”

of the revenues: After some very profound and forcible reasoning on the subject, he thus concludes:

“ I have very disinterestedly given you an account which it has cost me some years to arrive at a conviction and certainty of; and I dare say you will find few instances, on your return to Calcutta, that do not pretty well tally with it.

“ I promised to suggest the most apparent remedies for this sad train of unparalleled abuses and iniquities: but this you will better do than I. The old rule, of curing distempers by their contraries, will, I believe, hold good here. 1st, Separate the revenues from the judiciary power: 2dly, Divide those revenues into different branches, by farms, and by distinct collectors: then, 3dly, Divide the town into particular districts, each capable of being superintended by one person; and over these districts appoint particular gentlemen; some of the council, some not, as they can be spared. Let an appeal lie to the governor and council. Let the prison and the *cutcherie* be methodized into distinct offices, for regulations and punishments, according to the districts.

“ I wish this information may be of any service to the Company: it must come about by your means alone.”

In the same year, 1752, and during his residence at Calcutta, Mr. Orme composed the first and second books of his “ General Idea of the Government and People of Indostan;” which is now first printed complete from his MSS in the present volume. This little essay, though a juvenile production, shows the great industry with which he had applied himself to Indian concerns, and may be considered as the germ or foundation of his greater work. The first two books he corrected, retrenched in some, and enlarged in other places, on board the ship *Pelham* in September 1753; and the third book he composed on board the same vessel, probably for his amusement, during a voyage that he was then making to England (c), where he arrived at the latter end of that year.

We

(c) This voyage of Mr. Orme's, from India to England, was principally made at the desire of his favourite aunt, Mrs. Adams. With this lady, who had a most affectionate regard for him, he resided during his stay in this country, at her house in Cavendish-square, which came afterwards into the possession of the late lord Gainsborough.

We cannot forbear to transcribe here, the Author's concluding chapter, or reflections, on his work; as furnishing a proof of his zeal in favour of Christianity, and the sense which he entertained of the liberty that we enjoy in this country, as contrasted with that of the inhabitants under oppressive and arbitrary governments:

" Having brought to a conclusion this essay on the government and people of Indostan, I cannot refrain from making the reflections which so obviously arise from the subject.

" Christianity vindicates all its glories, all its honour, and all its reverence, when we behold the most horrid impieties avowed amongst the nations on whom its influence does not shine, as actions necessary in the common conduct of life; I mean poisonings, treachery, and assassinations, in the sons of ambition; rapines, cruelty, and extortions, in the ministers of justice.

" I leave divines to vindicate, by more sanctified reflections, the cause of their Religion and their God.

" The sons of Liberty may here behold the mighty ills to which the slaves of a despotic power must be subject: the spirit darkened and depressed by ignorance and fear; the body tortured and tormented by punishments inflicted without justice and without measure: such a contrast to the blessings of liberty, heightens at once the sense of our happiness, and our zeal for the preservation of it."

It may here be necessary, for the better elucidation of what follows, to revert to that period when commerce was the Company's sole object; the first principle on which their settlements were established having been intirely commercial:

" The Mogul government (Mr. Orme observes) had, during the long and wise administration of Aurengzebe, taken such deep root, that the many nations which formed the empire of Indostan were subjugated to the Mogul in various forms; some of them tributary and hereditary, and others governed by nabobs, or viceroys, under the immediate appointment of the emperors.

" Such

Mrs. Adams left two daughters, Margareta Ann, and Elizabeth: the second, Elizabeth, married the Hon. Bennet Noel, lieutenant-general of his Majesty's forces, and colonel of the 43d regiment of foot, whom she survived; at her decease she left her fortune to her sister Margareta Ann, who died unmarried; this lady, at her decease, left Mr. Orme an annuity of £. 200; and the house in Cavendish-square to lord Gainborough, the nephew of general Noel.

Such was the state of the empire when the English settled in India, and obtained phirmaunds, or royal grants, for establishing themselves in Bengal, Madras, and Surat, with privilege of trading duty-free; and a grant of a certain district of land to settle upon, with liberty to fortify and govern themselves by their own laws. But as the English saw no violence to be apprehended from a people who had a just idea of commerce, and a government at that time well administered, they built with very little view of defence, and carried on their trade free from oppression.

“ The governors of the distant provinces, discovering the weakness to which the power of the Emperor was reduced by the invasion of Nadir Shah, were no longer restrained by fear; each assumed and exercised sovereign authority over his province, and looked on his government as an heritage to his family. Scarce any more of the annual sums, before paid by them to the Mogul, were sent to court; and to maintain themselves in their sovereignty, they levied forces far beyond what the ordinary revenues would maintain: From hence oppressions became necessary, and, in their turn, the Europeans were oppressed, not only in their trade, but large sums extorted from them by violence. Monf. Dupleix, the governor of Pondicherry, was the first who took the alarm, and was the first who discovered the superiority of European discipline, and from hence was led into the idea of acquiring a territorial sovereignty in India.

“ It is probable, he at first extended his views no farther than a district round Pondicherry; but when once engaged in the politics of the country, his successes so far surpassed his expectation, and opened such a scene of power to him, that he disdained the narrow limits he might at first prescribe to himself; and no doubt but they were enlarged, not only to the conquest of the Carnatic, but to the extirpation of all other European nations, and even to the reduction of the whole Mogul empire, and to make it a dependant state on the crown of France.

“ The English beheld his progress with astonishment, but were not roused to action till they found themselves on the point of being swallowed up by the French power. Forced to it, they with reluctance, in 1750, undertook the support of Mahomed Ally against Chunda Saheb, under whose name the French carried on their ambitious projects.

“ It is not our intention to enter into a minute detail of that long war, maintained on our side against a constant superiority of numbers, at the expence of the lives of many thousands of brave men, and at the risque of near a million sterling of the Company's property; we shall only observe, that from our successes, the Nabob's situation was so different at the end of the year 1753, from what it was in 1750, at which time the single city of Trichinopoly was the only part of his dominions that remained unconquered by the French, that in 1753 he had recovered, and was master of, almost the whole Carnatic; and at that time the French resources seemed nearly exhausted.

“ The French company, elated at the success which attended *Monf. Dupleix* in the commencement of the war, at first faintly approved his measures; but the opposition of the other European powers, the unforeseen events of war, and the deviating so widely from their natural object of commerce, rendering the event very uncertain, there was nothing could fix their faith in the rectitude of those measures, but successes that might attend them, and a happy period to the war, which *Monf. Dupleix* promised them in every letter. But, instead of these successes, they saw the countries, of which they expected the revenues would be their reward, in the hands of their enemies, and their stock exhausting in the support of an uncertain war, which ruined their trade, and the manufactories of the country, from which they had before reaped advantages suitable to their establishment.

“ The war appeared in the same light to the English company; and therefore both agreed on a neutrality for the Carnatic, till means should be found to put an end to that and all future wars, by negotiations at home. But as it regarded the Carnatic only, it did not check the progress of the French arms in the Decan, the Soubah of which had ceded to them *Massulipatam*, and four provinces, which yielded them a revenue of 400,000 *l.* sterling a year. Nor did there appear any check to their progress in that country; the French gave law, by their influence over the Soubah, to a country as extensive and populous as France; and by a prudent management of what they had so acquired, or by increase of dominion, it was in their power even then to have laid a foundation on which *M. Dupleix's* great ideas of conquest might have been realized. And although the French company themselves should have chosen to adhere to their commercial interests, *Dupleix's* projects suited too well with that spirit of conquest which prevails in the French court, to be neglected; and upon the breaking out of the war it is reasonable to conclude, from the forces sent out under general *Lally*, that they adopted them in their utmost extent. Our settlements were but a secondary object; their forces were so formidable, that they, with great probability, imagined them a trifling obstacle, (which surmounted) *Cape Comorin* and the *Ganges* might have been the boundaries of their dominions.”

On our Author's arrival in London in the year 1753, he found his Majesty's ministers and the India Company deeply engaged with the affairs of the East; for the directors had in the preceding year made representations to ministers respecting the hostilities in which they were involved on the coast of *Coromandel*, and solicited their aid, either to carry on or terminate the war; which their own resources were little able to continue against the French company, strongly supported by the government of France.

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With a mind so acute and observing as he possessed, Mr. Orme could not have resided ten years in India without acquiring considerable knowledge, not only of the manners, customs, and institutions of its inhabitants, but of the political condition of its different states. Possessing besides a good address, and pleasing manner of communicating information, he was, soon after his arrival in London, much noticed by those who desired to obtain intelligence respecting the affairs of India. Being with this intention introduced to Lord Holderness, then one of his Majesty's secretaries of state, he received the countenance and support of that nobleman; and a long correspondence took place on the subject of our oriental settlements, which is now preserved among Mr. Orme's MSS in the East India House, and which must have imparted great and satisfactory information; for the British ministry soon after perceived the necessity of interfering vigorously to stop the ambitious projects of Mr. Dupleix, and began a negotiation with the French ministers on the subject. Mr. Orme observes:

" In 1753-4 Mr. Duvaler, a director of the French company, together with his brother the count de Lude, who had both of them resided for many years in the East Indies, were deputed from Paris, to treat with the ministry in London, and had frequent conferences with the earl of Holderness, who by much application and frequent enquiries from all persons capable of giving true information, had gained an extensive knowledge of the subject, however intricate and little understood. This minister, finding that the French endeavoured as usual to gain time under the pretence of negotiating, prevailed on the king to order a squadron of men of war to be equipped, on board of which a regiment was to be embarked for the East Indies. This vigorous resolution convinced the French administration, that a perseverance in their schemes of making conquests, and obtaining dominion in Indostan, would soon involve the two nations in a general war, for which France was in no wise prepared: and they consented that the disputes of the two companies should be adjusted by commissaries in India, on a footing of equality; without any regard to the advantages which either the one or the other might be in possession of at the time when the treaty should be concluded. It now remained only to choose such commissaries as would implicitly fulfil these intentions; and the French themselves were so fully convinced that Mr. Dupleix was not a man fit to be trusted with a commission which contradicted so strongly every part of his conduct since the beginning of the war of Coromandel, that they foresaw the English ministry would suspect the good faith of every pacific profession they had lately made, if they should offer

to

to nominate Mr. Dupleix, a commissary to adjust the terms of peace. Having therefore no alternative, they of their own accord, and without any application from the English ministry, took the resolution of removing him from the government of Pondicherry, and appointed Mr. Godeheu, a director of the French company, their commissary to negotiate the peace, and at the same time commander general, with absolute authority over all their settlements in the East Indies. The English company empowered Mr. Saunders, and some other members of the council of Madras, to treat with Mr. Godeheu."

For the conclusion of these important events, we must refer the reader to Mr. Orme's History of the Military Transactions in Indostan.

In the spring of 1754, Mr. Orme returned to India on board the Warren East Indiaman, Capt. Alphonfus Glover, and arrived at Madras on the 14th September of that year. Previous to his leaving England, he had been appointed by the court of directors a member of the council at Fort St. George: where, on his arrival, he took his seat at the board accordingly. Here he soon had an opportunity of displaying that political sagacity and decision with which his strong natural parts, and former experience of the politics and manners of India, had furnished him. The united wisdom and strength of the council and the army, indeed, were necessary, to counteract the ambitious views of the French, supported by the French ministry at home, to effect either the expulsion (*d*), or dependence on them, not only of the English, but of all the other European powers in India.

The British ministry, now become sensible of the value and importance of Indostan to this country, from a careful inquiry into the Company's affairs in that quarter of the globe, assisted in a vigorous manner their efforts both by sea and land (*e*).

That great statesman, Mr. Pitt, in 1757, continued the same attention to the interest of the East Indies; sending powerful squadrons and

(*d*) The expulsion of the English from India appears to have been a favourite object also with other nations. The Portuguese and the Dutch strove to effect it in the earlier periods of the British settlements there; but with no better success than that which has attended the efforts of the French in later times, as appears from many parts of Mr. Orme's history.

(*e*) The following are Extracts from the King's Instructions to Admiral Watson, dated 2d March 1754; from Lord Weymouth's Appeal, 4th 1769.

"The Company having, agreeable to Royal Charter, entered into compacts with some of the Indian princes, for giving them aid and assistance against their enemies, but finding

and troops (*f*), by which the French power in India was totally subdued; and our Author, in his account of the surrender of Pondicherry in April 1761, bears the following strong and ample testimony to the important consequences of this well-timed assistance:

“ This day terminated the long contested hostilities between the two rival European powers in Coromandel, and left not a single ensign of the French nation, avowed by the authority of its government, in any part of India; for the troops which had gone away to Myfore, were hereafter to be regarded as a band of military adventurers seeking fortune and subsistence. In Bengal, they had not a single agent or representative; and their factories at Surat and Callicut were mere trading houses on sufferance. Thus after a war of 15 years, which commenced with the expedition of De la Bourdonnais against Madras in 1746 (*g*), and had continued from that time with scarcely the intermission of one year, was retaliated the same measure of extirpation, which had been intended, and invariably pursued, by the French councils against the English commerce and power: for such, as is avowed in the French memoirs

finding the burthen too heavy, the King, willing and desirous to maintain the Company in all their just rights and privileges, sent a squadron to perform such services as may be most conducive to the interest of the said Company, and of such Indian princes, with whom they have or may contract engagements.”

The Admiral is also directed “ with his best advice to assist the General Council, which the Company have directed a certain number of persons employed in their service, to form themselves into, in order to consider of and resolve upon a proper plan of operation; and when the plan is agreed upon, to make use of the force under his command, in order to put the same in execution in the best manner possible.”

“ That he shall assist, and be a member of all councils of war, wherein any service in which the naval force is to co-operate shall be taken into consideration.” And they declare it the Royal “ will and pleasure, that the Admiral should cautiously avoid whatsoever may be construed an act of hostility against the subjects, &c. of any European potentate, unless the General Council, nominated by the India Company as above mentioned, should think it absolutely necessary for him to make reprisals.”

(*f*) After the declaration of war, the secretary of state, under date 11th January 1757, writes the admiral:

“ The Company, it is hoped, having a perfect knowledge of their own affairs, may form such plans of operation, as may best secure their possessions or annoy the enemy; and it is therefore his Majesty's pleasure, that the commanders of his ships shall concur and assist in the execution thereof.”

(*g*) From this period, says Mr. Orme, it is useful to contemplate the progress made by the English in Indostan, both in the science and spirit of war.

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moirs on the events we have related, was the object of De la Bourdonnais' expedition, of the whole government and ambition of Dupleix, and of the great armament of naval and land forces which accompanied M. Lally to India; who constantly declared, that he had but one point, which was, not to leave an Englishman in the peninsula (*h*). To retard as much as possible the facility of their re-establishment in Coromandel, if restorations should be made at the conclusion of a general peace, Mr. Pigot laid a representation before the council of Madras, which determined them to destroy all the interior buildings, as well as the fortifications of Pondicherry, of which the demolition was by this time nearly completed: and in a few months more, not a roof was left standing in this once fair and flourishing city."

(*h*) The Court of France had instructed M. Lally to destroy the maritime possessions of the English nation in India, which might fall to his arms. These instructions had been intercepted; and in consequence of them, the Court of Directors of the English East India Company had ordered their presidencies to retaliate the same measure on the French settlements, whenever in their power. Mr. Pigot, with the approbation of the council of Madras, resolved to demolish the fortifications of Pondicherry; and as admiral Stevens signified his intention to repair forthwith to Bombay, in order to refit his squadron, the demolition was commenced without delay, lest a French armament should arrive during their absence, and recover the town, while the fortifications remained in a condition to afford any advantage in maintaining it.—Of the intercepted French instructions, we are enabled to lay before the reader the following extracts:

An Extract from the Instructions given to General Lally, by the French East India Company.

"The Sieur de Lally is authorized to destroy the fortifications of maritime settlements which may be taken from the English; it may be proper to except Vizagapatam, by reason of its being so nearly situated to (a Dutch factory) Bembapatnam, which in that case would be enriched by the ruins of Vizagapatam; but as to that, as well as the demolishing all other places whatsoever, the Sieur de Lally is to consult the Governor and Superior Council of Pondicherry, and to have their opinion in writing; but notwithstanding he is to destroy such places as he shall think proper, unless strong and sufficient arguments are made use of to the contrary; such, for example, as the Company's being apprehensive for some of their settlements, and that it would be then thought prudent and necessary to reserve the power of exchange, in case any of them should be lost; nevertheless, if the Sieur de Lally should think it too hazardous to keep a place, or that he thought he could not do it without too much dividing or weakening his army, his Majesty then leaves it in his power to act as he may think proper for the good of the service.

"The Sieur de Lally is to allow of no English settlement being ransomed. In regard to the English troops, to both officers and writers belonging to the English Company, and to the inhabitants of that nation, the Sieur de Lally is to permit none of them to remain

But to return from what may be considered as a digression: When intelligence was brought to Madras, of the capture, in June 1756, of the English settlement at Calcutta by Surajah Dowlah, the Subahdar of Bengal, and of the dreadful sufferings of the captives on that occasion, it scarcely excited more horror and resentment, than consternation and perplexity. The national honour, however, required immediate reparation, and the atrocities of the dungeon cried aloud for exemplary vengeance.

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remain on the Coast of Coromandel. He may, if he pleases, permit the inhabitants to go to England, and order them to be conducted in armed vessels to the Island of St. Helena. But as to the officers and writers belonging to the East India Company, as well as soldiers and sailors, he is to order them to be conducted as soon as possible to the Island of Bourbon, where it will be permitted for the soldiers and sailors to work for the inhabitants of that place, but by a mutual agreement. One should avoid sending them to the French Islands to prevent their being acquainted with the coast, as well as the interior parts of the Islands: It is by no means his Majesty's intention that the English officers, soldiers, and sailors, should be ransomed; as none are to be delivered up but by exchange, man for man, according to their different ranks and stations.

If the exchange of prisoners should be by chance settled at home, between the two nations (of which proper notice will be given to the Sieur de Lally), and that the Island of Bourbon should have more prisoners than it would be convenient to provide for, in that case it will be permitted to send a certain number to England, in a vessel armed for that purpose.

No English officers, soldiers, &c. are to be permitted to remain in a place after it is taken, neither are they to be suffered to retire to any other of their settlements, or to any neutral settlements; the Sieur de Lally is not in the least to deviate from the above Instructions and Regulations, unless there should be a capitulation which stipulates the contrary; in which case, the Sieur de Lally is faithfully and honestly to adhere to the Capitulation.

The whole of what has been said before concerns only the natives of England; but as they have in their settlements, Merchants of all Nations, such as Moors, Armenians, Jews, and Pataners, &c. the Sieur de Lally is to treat them with Humanity, and is to endeavour by fair means to engage them to retire to Pondicherry, or any other of the Company's Acquisitions, assuring them that they will be protected, and that the same liberty and privileges which they before possessed among the English will be granted them.

Among the recruits furnished to complete the regiments of Lorraine and Berry's, there are 300 men from Fischer's recruits, lately raised; and as it is feared there will be considerable desertions among those new recruits, the Sieur de Lally may if he pleases leave them on the Isle de France, where they will be safe from desertion, and may replace them from the troops of that Island.

In the course of much deliberation and debate, Mr. Orme, who, having resided nine years in the company's service at Calcutta, well knew the strength and insolence of the Moorish government in Bengal, declared that nothing short of the most vigorous hostilities would induce the Nabob to make peace or reparation. He considered the force that was proposed as quite inadequate even to the recapture of Calcutta; and insisted that it ought to be sufficient to attack the Nabob even in his capital of Muxadavad; that there should be at least a battalion of 800 Europeans, with as many sepoy as could be embarked, but not less than 1500; that the Squadron, if divided, would be of little service any where, and therefore that the whole should proceed to Bengal. Such an armament, he thought, would soon decide the contest; and after a peace should be effected, the Squadron, with a large part of the troops, might return and arrive in the month of April; before which time the nature of the monsoons, rendered it improbable that the French armament, as it had not yet appeared, would be able to make its passage to the coast. Besides, the

Remarks on a Memorial of the French East India Company delivered to the Count D'Aché, Chef d'Escadre, and commanding the Squadron destined to the East Indies towards the latter end of the Year 1756.

Article 7. Remarks, that it is probable the English Squadron may be in Trincumaley Bay, either as a place of security against the French, or to careen. In either case, the Commander of the French Squadron is instructed to declare to the Dutch that it is against the rules of a strict neutrality to receive and protect in their port the Enemies of France. That he has orders to pursue, and take or burn the Enemy's ships, whenever he shall meet them, which order he must obey in spite of their opposition.

Article 8.—Points out the places where it is probable the English Squadron may take shelter, and advises the taking or burning it in any part of India, though belonging to neutral powers, as Trincumaley, Merguy, Achen, or any other port, except in China or Bengal; where, they observe, it may not be prudent to commit any violence, lest their Commerce suffer for infringing the protection which the Government may give to English ships.

It appears from hence, that this restriction proceeded only from an apprehension of hurting their Trade, not out of respect to the Law of Nations.

Article 10.—Points out the operations for 1758; and, supposing Madras or Fort St. George taken in 1757, advises the immediate attack of the remaining settlements, and the total expulsion of the English from the Coromandel Coast; which, in another place, the Company observes, is the first object of their attention, that their future views on that Coast may more readily take place. They also recommend the destruction of

the detachment which had been sent to the relief of M. Buffy, commanding in the Northern provinces, had deprived the government of Pondicherry of the means of making any attempt in the Carnatic which the force, at Madras could not easily frustrate.

This opinion of Mr. Orme's, after repeated objections had been started and removed, became at last the unanimous sense of the council; and the resolution was communicated to admiral Watson, who, after holding a council of war, took measures for carrying it into effect.

Other

Devenotah, Ingeram, Vizagapatam, and the rest of the Factories to the Northward, as well as the infant settlement at the Negrais.

Article 11.—Proposes, that in case they arrive too late at the Islands, to be on the Coromandel Coast time enough to undertake any enterprize before the Monsoon of 1757, to project any other operation which may not interfere with, or delay the operations on the Coast of Coromandel early in 1758. Some ships are particularly recommended to be sent to Bencoolen to take that place, and the other settlements on Sumatra, from whence all the English and slaves are to be carried off to the Island of Bourbon.

Article 13.—Observes, that there is still in India a better understanding between the Dutch and English than there is in Europe, to the prejudice of France; and therefore little regard ought to be paid to their Flag, if any British Subjects or Effects are found with them (i).

In another Instruction for Count D'Aché, sent by De L'Aguille on the 8th December 1757, it is said:

Article 4.—That should the operations on the River Bengal be attended with success, the conquered Places may either be kept, or the Fortifications, Civil Buildings and Warehouses utterly destroyed. Should the latter plan be resolved on, not a Factory ought

(i) This article was, in the execution, carried even beyond the order; for the French seized the Haerlem, a Dutch Indiaman, which made one of their blockading squadron at the siege of Madras; they also took possession of the *Dutch Fort of Sadras* merely as a convenient *Place of Arms*, in the vicinity of *Madras*. The English ladies, after the commencement of the siege, being sent to Sadras, as a neutral settlement, for security, were surprized, on their arrival, to find it in possession of the French. The French loaded the boats that brought the ladies with military stores, and dispatched them to Lally, who was besieging Madras; but the native boatmen, concerting together, on a signal, seized the French guards in the boats, and brought them prisoners to Madras, with the military stores; which Governor Pigot bought for the East India Company, and gave the boatmen the amount, in reward for their fidelity.

Other points, however, of equal moment to the success of the expedition, remained to be decided: Who should command the land-forces? What should be the extent of his authority in military operations, and in negotiations with the Nabob? In what dependence, or relation, ought he to stand with the late governor and council of Calcutta; and how far should their authority be maintained or impaired?

On these important topics much consideration and argument took place; and the difficulty of deciding the last point, that of the authority of the late council of Calcutta, suggested to Mr. Pigot, the governor of Madras, an idea of going himself to Bengal as commander of the army, and with full powers as the company's representative in all other affairs. He, however, wanted military experience; nor had the council authority to give so extensive a commission to any individual. Colonel Adlerson then claimed the military command, offering to go with his whole regiment; but he wanted experience in the irregular warfare of India, and his powers were independent of the company's agents. Mr. Orme strongly urged, that on the success of this expedition, the reputation of the British arms in India, and the consequent stability of the company's possessions, most materially depended. He represented the nature of the country which the expedition was destined to invade; the magnitude of the army which it would have to oppose; the numerous difficulties and dangers

ought to remain, nor an English inhabitant (even those born in the Country) suffered to reside in the province.

This resolution, they observe, is the most effectual means to establish their reputation on the Ganges; but they seem to recommend only the destruction of the new Fort, and the preservation of old Calcutta, on condition of a ransom, and the observance of a strict neutrality in Bengal for the future; this the French seem most desirous of, but insist on ready money for the ransom, and hostages for the performance of agreements. His most Christian Majesty, in a letter of the 23d January 1757 to Count D'Aché, instructed him not to leave an Englishman in any place that shall be taken, but to send away in Cartel Ships to St. Helena, or suffer to pass to England, all Free Merchants and Inhabitants not in the Company's Service; but to keep prisoners, all Civil Servants, Officers, and Soldiers, and not set any at liberty, unless exchanged against those of equal rank. As to the prisoners, they are all to be sent to the Island of Bourbon, and there kept in deposit till it may be thought proper to send them to France.

dangers with which it would infallibly be surrounded; and the necessity, therefore, of vesting the command of it in an officer who should not only be equally intelligent and active, but also accustomed to the peculiarities of Indian warfare, and acquainted with the character of the natives. The success of such an enterprize, he said, would depend not less on the keen discernment and decisive judgment, than on the personal valour and intrepidity, of him to whom it might be entrusted. In this opinion, Mr. Orme was supported by Col. Lawrence (*k*), then a member of the council, and commander in chief of the company's troops.

At length, on the recommendation of our Author, lieut. col. Clive was finally chosen as the person in all respects best qualified for the undertaking. The well-known result was a glorious confirmation of the wisdom and propriety of the choice; and it serves to place in a striking point of view, the penetrating sagacity and sound judgment of Mr. Orme, to whom his country is indebted for this hazardous enterprize having been placed under the guidance of Clive, whose intrepid and adventurous genius could perhaps have alone conducted it to the important conquest which it achieved. The details will be found well related by our author in the second volume of his *Military Transactions in Indostan*.

In all the deliberations of the council of Madras relative to the military operations in the Carnatic between the years 1754 and 1759, Mr. Orme took an active part; and in some of the most critical conjunctures of that war, his abilities, as a politician and a statesman, appeared particularly conspicuous. Indeed, so sensible were the court of directors of the benefit which the public service derived from his advice, and so highly was his general conduct esteemed, that he was appointed the eventual successor to the governor of Madras; but did not continue in India long enough to succeed to that honourable station.

In

(*k*) Col. Lawrence would probably have been himself appointed on this expedition; but the climate of Bengal was well known to be so adverse to an asthmatic disorder, with which he was afflicted, that it was thought he would be disabled from that incessant activity so requisite to the success of an expedition of which the termination must be limited to a certain time.

In consequence of his duty as a member of council, Mr. Orme held the offices of commissary and accountant-general during the years 1757-8; so that almost the whole of his time was occupied in public business: he nevertheless found leisure to cultivate the friendship of those in whom he discovered any estimable qualities. With admiral Watson and sir George Pocock he was in habits of great intimacy; and with capt. Speke, who commanded the flag-ship then on the Indian station (*l*), he contracted a close friendship, which not only contributed to their own gratification, but tended to advance the public service; for by their cordial and united exertions many difficulties and impediments which obstructed the co-operation of the land and naval forces were either surmounted or removed. He entertained also a high esteem for Mr. James Alexander (afterwards earl of Caledon), who was his deputy as accountant-general. About this time too he became acquainted with Mr. Alexander Dalrymple, who has since acquired so much well-deserved reputation by his hydrographical works. Mr. Orme, perceiving that that gentleman had capacity for a distinguished station, was desirous of having him nominated to succeed Mr. Alexander as deputy-accountant; and though his endeavours in this particular were unsuccessful, he continued with a generous attention to cherish and befriend him.

Though Mr. Orme's official avocations prevented him from applying to the study of classical literature, for which he had in his youth imbibed an ardent desire, they afforded him great facilities for collecting those historical materials whereby that literary character which he was ambitious to gain was destined to be established. The delicate state of his health, however, about this time induced him to return to England; for which purpose he embarked, at the latter end of 1758, on board the *Grantham*, capt. Oliver.

In doubling the Cape of Good Hope, on the 4th Jan. 1759, the *Grantham* was taken by the French. As England was at that time at war with France, capt. Oliver had hoisted Dutch colours. On approaching the Cape, the *Grantham* was met by two French line-of-battle ships, who passed her; but just as she was about to enter Table Bay,

(*l*) To whose spirit and abilities Mr. Orme pays an honourable tribute in his "Military Transactions." See vol. ii. p. 142-4.

Bay, some of the French officers remarked to their commodore, that the vessel which they had passed could not be Dutch, she was so well navigated and manœuvred; they therefore bore down, took her, and carried her to the isle of Mauritius; where, from Mr. Orme's papers, we find he continued some time.

It was not possible in any situation for Mr. Orme's mind to be unemployed; and a few extracts from the memoranda that he kept, while detained in this French settlement, may not be useless or unamusing.

"The Dutch (he observes) on the 19th Sept. 1598 discovered the Isle of Maurice, which they called by that name. It was till then called by the Portuguese the Isle of CERNE.

"In the year 1665 (*m*) no Europeans were established in the Isle of Maurice: In 1759 (July) how peopled! how improved!

"I saw in the island of Mauritius two cinnamon trees, procured by Mr. Godeheu from Ceylon, which were planted at the redoubt, and of which great hopes were entertained, as they grew apace; but from the general climate of the island, and the particular state of the part in which they are planted, I am persuaded that they, or at least their sucklings, will degenerate. The mountains of Mauritius are covered with a fat soil, the product of the forests with which they are crowded. It rains on them almost daily; and when it does not, there is a continued mist. Cinnamon, which will not grow in perfection on the continent of India that is parallel to Ceylon, will probably fail elsewhere, unless the same kind of climate and soil as that of Ceylon can be found in other parts; and neither, I believe, are to be met with near the tropic of Capricorn."

From Mr. Orme's memoranda in the Mauritius, we shall only give the following additional passage:

"The Chinese had, long before us in Europe, attempted the philosopher's stone and the elixir of immortality; and they still continue in these delusions. It is remarkable, that they think these secrets are permitted only to those who have acquired the highest degree of virtue: so say their chemical authors. Perhaps some of their ancient moralists may have said, in terms at once simple and metaphorical, that virtue gave gold and immortality. In an age of ignorance, succeeding to times of which so fine a sentiment demonstrates the illumination, some crazy chemist may have thought that gold and life were to be acquired, provided

(*m*) There is probably an error in this date.

provided he made virtue one of the ingredients of his operation. The gods of the latter Egyptians were formed from as gross misapprehensions."

Toward the end of the year 1759, Mr. Orme arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, where he remained some weeks for the benefit of his health. From the Cape he embarked for France (meaning to make a short stay there previous to his return to England), and landed at Nantes in the spring of 1760.

His perfect acquaintance with the language, and his polite address, procured him all those pleasing attentions, and flattering civilities, which at that time so much distinguished the French nation. During his stay in France, he attended the representations of two plays, one called *Les Philosophes*, written by Paliffot de Montenoy; and the other *Le Caffé, ou L'Ecoffaise*, written by Voltaire. On these we find some remarks among the papers of Mr. Orme, which we think not unworthy of transcription.

" On the 2d of May 1760, M. Paliffot de Montenoy, de plusieurs Academies, gave a Comedy at the Theatre of Paris, entitled, *Les Philosophes*. This he afterwards printed, with a preface, in which are several quotations from different metaphysical and moral or immoral works, to prove that the authors were Materialists, and that they established principles destructive of all found morality as well as religion.

It is said, that particular persons, as D'Alembert, Diderot, Du Clos, Helvetius, le Chevalier Jaucourt, and Rousseau of Geneva, all men of most respectable conditions, were designed in the characters of Paliffot's play.

These characters form a conspiracy to obtain in marriage, for one of the set, a rich heiress, through the ascendancy that they have gained over the mother, who is a pretender to philosophy, to wit, and learning; and is even an author.

This alarmed; and the more, as M. Le Franc's discourse to the Academy had represented most of these gentlemen, and at their head Voltaire, as disturbers of society, and incapable of being useful members of it, since they were not Christians.

There were not wanting able pens to defend the most learned men in France against M. Paliffot; nor was M. Paliffot wanting to the defence of his piece.

The Vision of Paliffot, written by M. ———— procured the author the honour of going to the Bastille. It is written in the manner of a chapter of the Bible, with strong wit. Nothing of ill that could be imputed to Paliffot is forgotten.

Political

Political Devotion is the spectre that appears to Paliflot, pressed by Poverty; and orders him to write his Play.

The Quest ce is a string of questions concerning M. Paliflot and his play; in which his Morals, and Abilities as an author, are handled with the utmost wit.

It was said, that M. Voltaire had condemned Paliflot; to confute, which opinion, he publishes the letters that had passed on the subject between him and M. Voltaire. M. Voltaire advises him to acknowledge his errors, in having imputed quotations to persons who were not the authors of them; advises him to be tender of his dear Encyclopædists, and to eat the capon with his neighbour, instead of flinging the kettle at his head.

After this appeared Discours sur la Satyre contre les Philosophes; that is, on Paliflot's play. I heard Paliflot say, that he believed M. D'Alembert was the author of this piece; but that, whoever he was, the piece was well-written. The author inveighs against all personalities on the theatre, and condemns that of Moliere on Catin. He then draws a parallel between the Clouds of Aristophanes and the philosophers of Paliflot; and imputes the death of Socrates to the malicious ridicule with which Aristophanes had presented him on the theatre, although the Clouds were acted twenty-three years before Socrates drank the hemlock: He then goes on with an ingenious enumeration of the subjects of the rest of Aristophanes' comedies, and shews that from step to step, the licentiousness of his imagination found at last nothing so exalted as to be out of the reach of his desperate satire. There runs throughout a certain air of parallel between principal characters in Paris, and what were such at Athens in the time of Socrates, which parallel is wrought with great address. Voltaire is rebuked for having brought Feron on the stage, under the name of Frelon, in the Ecoleuse.

Reponse aux differens Ecrits publicz contre la Comedie des Philosophes; which is likewise entitled,

A parallel of that comedy with the Clouds of Aristophanes, the Merchant of Griffet, and the Femmes Scavantes of Moliere.

This parallel is rendered long by the exposition of four pieces, and is intended to prove that M. Paliflot is nothing indebted, to Aristophanes, Moliere, or Griffet; and, above all, that his comedy is very well written.

It is well written; but the question is, whether it ought to have been written.

The author, particularly directs his answer against the Discours sur la Satyre contre les Philosophes, as this is the Aegis of his adversaries; and here does he answer by describing Socrates as a very great villain, and Aristophanes as the ablest and honestest man in Athens. What would have become of all our ideas of antiquity, and, may we not add, of morality, had he proved this?

Luckily he has not.

His imputations against Socrates are:

That he bribed the Oracle to give him the title of the wisest of men.

That

That he was a bad paymaster, and made use of subtrefuges to disappoint his creditors;

That he declared himself born of a vicious disposition, which he had corrected by philosophy;

That he affected to be the head of a sect, to walk without shoes, to be pale and lean; and,

That whoever attacks the received religious opinions of a country, without proposing better, is either a madman or a rebel.

The force of the first two of these objections depends on verifying the fact. Had the fact ever been verified, is it probable that Socrates would have had a temple dedicated to him by the same Athenians who conspired to put him to death?

It is to be decided, whether a motive of vanity, or the hopes of encouraging his disciples, made Socrates declare himself born of a vicious disposition. He did not declare this till a discerning eye pronounced absolutely on his physiognomy, that it carried marks contrary to his character in life: he then confessed the truth. The world in general are persuaded that there is no conquering nature, no return from vice; and this persuasion is appealed to, to support the Author's defamation of Socrates; but this persuasion is false, and is extremely detrimental to society, being alone sufficient to create in most minds the effect which it so confidently affirms.

If he was pale and lean, contemplative men are generally so; if he was negligent to a great degree in his dress, that likewise is the character of deep thinking men; perhaps he was poor.

Socrates did propose a better system than that of their Mythology to the Athenians, by preaching the adoration of one only God; for which if he was to blame, the first Christians were as mad and as rebellious to the states in which they lived, as Socrates was to that of Athens.

But whatever advantage the doctrine of one may have over that of the other, Socrates and the Christians both are equally blameless as to their intentions; as both were intimately persuaded of the truth, of the goodness, and of the necessity of the systems which they promulgated, and acted alike from different views.

* La Comédie Larmoyante of the French may, perhaps, be translated into English, with some propriety, by the expression of *The Pathetic Comedy*; such is eminently, in our language, *The Conscious Lovers*.

* *Le Café, ou L'Ecolleuse*, par M. de Voltaire, published in 1760, is of this kind, and wonderfully affecting. Voltaire humorously pretends, that he has translated it from a comedy written by Mr. Hume the minister, brother to Mr. Hume si célèbre par son impiété; and, in consequence, in his preface gives an advantageous character of his piece, with the same indifference as if he was not the author

of it; but this character is so just, that no other can be properly given of it. He says,

"This comedy appears to be one of those works which will succeed in all languages, because the author paints nature, which is every where the same. He has the simplicity of the estimable Goldoni, with perhaps more intrigue, more force and interest. The unravelling of the plot, the character of the heroine, and that of Freeport, resemble nothing that we know on the stage; and yet are they nature itself. This piece appears a little in the taste of those English romances which have had so much success. The touches are the same; the same painting of the manners; nothing studied; no attempt to be witty, and miserably to shew the author, when nothing but the characters ought to be shewn. Nothing foreign to the subject; none of those unmeaning strings of sounding words, the constant attempt, and the unfailling reproach of the author who begins to learn to write; none of those trivial maxims which fill up the void of the action."

Mons. de Voltaire, in his own, might have found exceptions to the censure that he passes on the French comedies. He has never deviated from nature, in *Nanine*, *L'Enfant Prodigue*, &c.

He says in another part of his preface:

"What strikes us strongly in this piece, is, that the unities of time, place, and action, are scrupulously observed in it."

So they are; but, in order to obtain the unity of place, he has given a very extensive and a very uncommon construction to his coffee-house. This and one or two expressions of the persons who frequent it for news, are all the defects that I see in it.

M. Voltaire continues:

"It has moreover this merit, rare with the English as with the Italians, that the theatre is never void. Nothing is more common, or more shocking, than to see two actors go off the stage; and two others come in their place, without being called, without being expected. This insupportable defect is not found in the *Ecossoise*.

"As to the species in which this comedy is to be ranked, it is of the higher comedy mixed with the simple. The good man smiles at it with that smile of the soul preferable to the broadest laugh of mirth. There are passages that soften us even to tears, but yet without any person's endeavouring to be pathetic; for as true pleasantry consists in not intending to be pleasant; so he who moves you does not think of giving you emotion: he is no rhetorician; every thing proceeds from the heart. Woe to him who endeavours in any kind whatsoever."

He says in another part:

"What is very important, is, that this comedy is of an excellent moral, and worthy of the gravity of the priesthood with which the author is vested, without losing any thing of what may please the public in general."

And here let it be said, in honour of M. Voltaire's dramatic works, that no

writer for the theatre has rendered virtue more amiable, and the subjection to our passions more dreadful.

If the quotations that I have made from M. Voltaire's preface were represented as a criticism on the *Ecoffaise*, there is nobody but would acquiesce in the impartiality of it; but nobody would suspect, that it was the author giving praises to his own work. Voltaire, who accomplishes every thing, has done this without hurting us.

It remains to speak of Freron: This man, the author of *Literary Journals* at Paris, *Un homme de lourde Mine, qui sur la plume a foudri sa Cuisine*, has vilified Voltaire, as Voltaire says he has heard from those who read his *Journals*; and he retaliates by making him appear on the stage under the name of *Frelon, Wasp*, in the character of a calumniator, an informer, and a dunce. He apologizes for Mr. Hume's bringing such a wretch on the stage; but he justifies him by saying, "that his *Wasp* appears only in those moments when the interest is not yet become lively and touching; imitating those painters, who paint a toad, a lizard, or a viper, in a corner of their pictures, while they preserve to the capital figures, all the nobleness of their characters."

In this happy simile we discover the hand of the great master, while he seems to be only sporting with his pencil.

There is another stroke still more happy; "These subaltern *Aretins* get their bread by speaking and doing evil; under the pretence of being useful to letters; As if the caterpillars, that gnaw the fruits and flowers could be of use to them."

In October 1760, Mr. Orme arrived in London, and soon afterwards purchased a house which was then building in Harley-street, Cavendish-square. Here he began to collect his elegant and valuable library, comprising the most choice editions of the Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and English authors; and also to accumulate materials, regardless of labour or expense, for the completion of his "History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan, from the year 1745," which he had long meditated. These materials, printed and manuscript, he had begun to collect soon after his arrival in India in 1742. In arranging and forming them into an historical composition, he was occupied upwards of two years. (2)

(2) Mr. Orme used frequently to lament the want of an Oriental collection of manuscripts and printed books in this country; for affording that information on Indian affairs, the expense and labour of obtaining which was oppressive in the extreme.

In August 1763, the first volume of the History was published; and the reception that it met with, was well calculated to gratify his expectation of literary fame. This volume contained a particular account of the affairs of India, down to the commencement of the war between the English and French in 1756; and communicated more real information respecting that extensive country, than all the books that had been published prior to its time. The plans of the battles, sieges, &c. taken by the chief engineers, by which the history is illustrated, are highly valuable; but the maps especially, as being improved from the actual marches of the British and French armies. To this volume our author prefixed a concise Historical Dissertation on the Mahomedan Conquests and Establishments in Indostan, comprising a review of the peculiar character and customs of the Hindu people. Having little or no acquaintance with the learned languages of Asia, and being therefore denied access to some important authorities on those complicated subjects, he was led into a few misconceptions; which, however, were very excusable, as there did not exist, at the time when he wrote, any translations from Asiatic writers into the European languages relative to the political history and civil institutions of Indostan. His account of the Hindus appears to have been principally derived from his own actual observations, and is in general so accurate, and written with such clearness and simplicity, that we think it better calculated to convey to European readers a distinct idea of the general character and habits of those people, than almost any of the more recent productions on that subject. With respect to the early Mahomedan conquests, his principal guides were D'Herbelot, and other the most authentic authorities he could meet with; he is therefore for the most part correct, so far as relates to the Ghaznian and Tartar conquerors; but regarding the subsequent establishment of the Mogul dynasty, as well as the history of its progress, and the institutions of its most renowned princes, his account is occasionally erroneous and defective;

when undertaken by private individuals. The establishment of such a library, he observed, would be a national honour, the expense of which would be trivial, in comparison with the advantage that must accrue from it. He used to add, that a ship's cargo of original and valuable MSS. might be collected in the settlements between Delhi and cape Comorin.

festive; of which he seems to have been aware, by the subsequent publication of the "Historical Fragments" in this volume. His history of the wars in the Carnatic, however, has not been more celebrated than it deserves, for the fidelity, impartiality, and accuracy of its details. The critique on this volume in the Annual Register for the year 1764, is very explicit, and deserves to be transcribed:

"The manners and characters of the various people who inhabit the great empire of Indostan, the peculiarities of their religion and their policy, and the astonishing events which have lately happened in that part of the world, have rendered the history of the wars in India an object of general curiosity. The great interest we have still in that empire, always as a trading, lately as a conquering people, will make a proper narration of our former proceedings there a matter of the most useful instruction. The author of this work has gratified this curiosity, and communicated this instruction. No historian seems to have been more perfectly informed of the subject on which he has undertaken to write; and very few have possessed more fully the talent of impressing it, in the clearest and most vivid manner, on the imagination and understanding of his reader. In this work the events are fully prepared; the characters strongly delineated; and the situations well described. It is no uncommon thing to find, in ordinary writers, more of the confusion, than of the life and spirit of the fight, in their descriptions of an engagement. But nothing can be more clear and satisfactory than the whole detail of military transactions which we find in this contest. Whether the march or the retreat, the attack or the defence, the encampment or the battle, every thing is drawn with accuracy and precision, in great detail, but without any thing tedious. In these particulars, Polybius will be scarcely thought to exceed him.

"It must be observed likewise to his honour, that there reigns through the whole work an air of disinterestedness, and of freedom from all passion and prejudice, public or private. The Frenchman who acts gallantly or wisely, finds as much justice done to his actions and his conduct, as any of the author's countrymen. The same impartiality seems to have been observed with regard to all personal connections. This volume does not carry the war further than 1755. It were to be wished that the author may finish what he has begun in so promising a manner."

Having, by this publication, introduced himself to the world with so much advantage, our author became solicitous to support and advance his literary reputation, by storing his mind with a competent knowledge of the antient classics; which he knew to be essential, not only

only to the cultivation of a pure taste, but to the attainment of eminence in literature. With this view, he applied himself with his usual diligence to the study of the Greek and Latin languages; which he had nearly forgotten, and which in a short time he is said to have completely mastered. The erudition which he thereby acquired strengthened his habits of thinking, in the same proportion as it informed and polished his understanding; and his conversation, which had been always marked by strong sense, received from this source additional vigour and vivacity. His company therefore was much solicited by the learned and intelligent, and almost every day brought him some new friend of literary acquirements; particularly the late Edwin lord Sandys, and James Harris, Esq. whose learning and friendship he highly valued.

Mr. Orme had, in 1750, commenced a very agreeable intercourse and sincere friendship with Mr. Benjamin Robins (o), who had just then arrived at Madras from England, as engineer-general of all the Company's fortifications in India; and who immediately planned those of Fort St. David and Madras, but did not live to finish them, though they were afterwards completed upon his plans. Mr. Robins died with his pen in his hand, July 29, 1751, while in the act of drawing up for the Company some official statements.

It was a little remarkable, that ten years afterwards, Mr. Orme, on his arrival in England, should meet and form an acquaintance with three very intimate and learned friends of Mr. Robins; viz. Dr.

Henry

(o) Termed by Mr. Orme a man of great science, and an honour to his country. Mr. Robins was the real narrator of "Lord Anson's Voyage round the World," which carries in the title-page the name of the Rev. Richard Walter, chaplain of the Centurion. We find also, by the following letter from lord Anson, that had Mr. Robins remained in England, he designed to have added a second volume to that work.

"DEAR SIR, Bath the 22d October, 1749.
 "When I last saw you in town, I forgot to ask you, whether you intended to publish the second volume of my voyage before you leave us, which, I confess, I am very sorry for. If you should have laid aside all thoughts of favouring the world with more of your works, it will be much disappointed; and no one is it more than your very much obliged humble servant,
 ANSON.

"P. S. If you can tell the time of your departure, let me know it."

Henry Pemberton and Dr. James Wilson (*p*), associates of the late Sir Isaac Newton; and Mr. John Nourse, an eminent bookseller, in the Strand, a man of great mathematical science, deeply skilled in the Newtonian philosophy, and who in early life had all the honour and happiness of being known to Sir Isaac (*q*). Mr. Nourse was at that time preparing for the press the learned works of Mr. Robins, under the care of Dr. Wilson, who, in a very critical and learned preface, observes,

“These [Mr. Robins’s abilities as an engineer] I have heard highly praised by many intelligent persons who have been upon the spot; and what is still more, I have been informed [by Mr. Orme] that they were approved of by the brave Colonel Clive, who through the force of genius alone, becoming a self-taught commander, has, with matchless conduct as well as valour, retrieved our sinking affairs in those parts of the world.”

Scarcely a week passed that Dr. Wilson and Mr. Orme did not meet at Mr. Nourse’s house to enjoy a literary conversation. At the same place and time, our author formed an acquaintance with the ingenious and celebrated James Stuart, Esq. (usually called Athenian Stuart, from his long residence in Greece), who was then about to publish the first volume of his “Antiquities of Athens measured and delineated.” With the late Thomas Anson, Esq. (*r*) brother of the Admiral Lord Anson, Mr. Orme also became intimate through the means of Mr. Stuart; and the friendships that he formed (ex-

(*p*) Dr. Pemberton died 9th March 1771, in the 77th year of his age, and Dr. Wilson about a twelvemonth afterwards, nearly 80 years of age.

(*q*) Mr. Nourse was born at Oxford in the year 1705, and received a university education there. He was well versed in the Greek and Latin, as well as the French and Italian languages; and his family had resided in the city and county of Oxford for more than two centuries. He died April 25, 1780.

(*r*) With this gentleman Mr. Orme often passed a summer month at his seat in Staffordshire. At his death Mr. Anson left him a legacy of £900. To perpetuate the memory of his friend, Mr. Orme had a handsome white marble bust of Mr. A. executed by their mutual friend, Nollekens in his best manner, which was conspicuously placed in his library. It was a most admirable likeness; and after Mr. Orme’s death was, by his executor, sent to the representative of Mr. Anson, as the most proper person to preserve such a memento of his ancestor.

cept, perhaps, in one instance alone) terminated but with the lives of the parties. We have excepted one instance, which was that of Lord Clive, who finally returned from India about 1769. Soon after his arrival a coolness arose between him and Mr. Orme, which terminated in the total dissolution of their friendship; of the cause of this irreconcilable disagreement we are not informed; and conjecture, on such an occasion, would be very much misemployed (s).

On the 8th of March 1770, Mr. Orme was elected a fellow of the Society of Antiquaries.

From the time of the publication of his first, he had been assiduously engaged in preparing materials for a second volume of his "History;" which the Court of Directors, with a just sense of the utility of his writings, had now enabled him to amplify and correct, by giving him free access to the Records at the India House: at the same time they appointed him Historiographer to the Company, with a salary of 400 £, a year (t).

In order, however, to obtain all possible information respecting the operations of the French in the Carnatic, he applied to lieut. general Bussy, who had borne so considerable a part in them: and that officer

(s) Mr. Orme was by many supposed to have held the pen for Lord Clive, in 1764, in his admirable "Letter to the Proprietors of the East India Stock;" and from the intimacy which then subsisted between the parties, and the elegance of the composition, the conjecture appears to have been by no means improbable.

(t) On hearing of the peace made with Hyder Ally, Mr. Orme wrote a letter to a friend, under date Harley-street, Dec. 1, 1769, of which the following is an extract:

"Harley Street, Dec. 1, 1769.

"By the Bombay ship, we have received from Anjengo a copy of the peace made with Hyder Ally; it is decried, but it is a good peace; and so necessary, that had the war continued two years longer, the Company would have been nearly ruined by it; and would have been completely undone, had a war with France fallen in with it.

"I wish much to have the geography of our last campaigns well ascertained. Pray get this done and send it me. I am in some measure appointed Historian to the Company, and have, by a resolution of the Court, access to their Records; so you need have no scruple about these kinds of communications to me, as I am, *quasi*, one of their public officers, as well as yourself."

officer thought himself under such obligations to Mr. Orme, for the precision and impartiality with which he had recorded his actions in the first volume, that, upon his going to France in 1773, the general invited him to his country seat, where he treated him with elegant hospitality, and furnished him with several authentic documents; among which were, a curious narrative of his own transactions; and a draft of the route of his various marches about Golcondah, Hyderabad, and in the northern provinces: the latter of which is inserted in the present volume.

In June 1773, Mr. Orme published a second edition of his first volume, with considerable improvements; and the following letter, from the afterwards celebrated Sir William Jones, was sent in acknowledgment of a present of that volume:

“ DEAR SIR,

“ Duke-street, June 26, 1773.

“ I was never less pleased with the study of the law than at this moment, when my attendance in Westminster Hall prevents me from thanking you in person for your most elegant and acceptable present, which shall ever be preserved amongst my literary treasures. Your history is not one of those books which a man reads once in a cursory manner, and then throws aside for ever: there is no end of reading and approving it, nor shall I ever desist giving myself that pleasure to the last year of my life. You may rely on this testimony, as it comes from one who not only was never guilty of flattery, but, like Cæsar's wife, would never suffer himself to be suspected of it.

“ It is much to be regretted, that the historical pieces of Lucceius are not preserved to us: by a letter or two of his which are extant, he seems to have been a man of exquisite parts and taste: Cicero declares himself charmed with his way of writing, which makes me think that his works would have been far preferable to those of Sallust and Tacitus, whom I cannot help considering as the first corruptors of the Roman language and eloquence. As to our language, if yourself and perhaps lord Lyttelton had not restored it to its native simplicity, we should soon have been reduced to talk a new dialect, &c. &c. &c.

* * * * *

“ I have been for the last five weeks at Oxford, where I took the degree of Master of Arts in the regular course. I was much pleased to speak at the ensuing Encænna; but when I had taken the pains to prepare an oration, in which there was nothing that could offend the most obsequious courtier, the persons, who had urged me to write it, were disappointed at not finding it a slavish compliment to the minister, and exhorted me not to deliver it in the theatre without a great deal of softening; which determined me not to speak at all: but as I am pleased

pleased with the composition, which is written wholly in the manner of the Ancients, I shall print a few copies for my friends.

“ See the loquacity of us lawyers; you honour me with three kind and indulgent lines; and I send you in return as many rambling pages: but when friends cannot converse in person, they have no resource but conversing at a distance.

I am, with great truth,

Most sincerely yours,

W. JONES.”

Our Author had previously been requested by Dr. William Robertson, the historian, to favour him with a copy of this volume; as we find by the following Epistle:

“ DEAR SIR,”

“ College of Edinburgh, April 23. 1773.

“ I shall be happy to hear that you still enjoy that more confirmed state of health in which I had last the pleasure of seeing you. What progress do you make? I hope you do not relax your ardour in carrying on your work, and that if the present age may not expect to peruse the history of those extraordinary transactions you have seen, you will not deprive posterity of that satisfaction. I go on as usual, slowly. I have got many useful and uncommon books from Spain, and expect some manuscripts by the interest of lord Grantham. I flatter myself the work will turn out curious and interesting. Allow me to put you in mind of two promises; one, that you would give me some criticisms or structures upon style, in some parts of my history; the other, that you would send me a copy of the last edition of your first volume. I wish for the former, as I shall certainly profit by the ideas of one who has attended so much to the purity and elegance of language; and for the latter, that it may remain as a monument, with my son, of a connection, of which I shall say no more, than that I am solicitous it should be remembered. In the meantime believe me to be, with most sincere respect,

Dear Sir,

Your affectionate and faithful

humble servant,

WILLIAM ROBERTSON.”

In December of the same year, we find Mr. Orme writing to James Alexander, esq. (afterwards earl of Caledon) an account of his tour to France; from which we extract the following passage:

“ MY DEAR ALEXANDER,”

“ Dec. 1773.

“ I have not received a letter from you since the arrival of general Smith—I went with him this year to Spa; we left London the 15th July. We separated

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at Bruxelles; he to return directly to London, where his own affairs called him, and I to go to Paris, where I had many books to buy concerning the French affairs in India, and many questions to ask Monf. Buffon. I succeeded to my wish in both these intentions. My stay at Paris was from the 1st October, to the 1st November; and on the 8th, I saw again my friends in Harley-street, where, as you may naturally imagine, I find a home that I can find no where else. Nevertheless, I am much pleased with having undertaken this journey; and nothing but the excessive expence of travelling, to an invalidish man, should prevent me from making more of these excursions; for the ideas obtained by travelling, of places, manners, customs, &c. cannot be gained by any other means; but my fortune forbids.—We made excursions from Spa to the Rhine, and crossed that famous river," &c. &c.

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The letter from which we transcribe the following passages, bears testimony to Mr. Orme's anxiety for accurate information:

"Hon^{ble} Warren Hastings, Esq.

"SIR;

"Harley Street, Jan. 14, 1775.

"The educated world have received with the greatest satisfaction the portion you have sent of the laws of Bengal, and earnestly wish the continuation and accomplishment of a work which does you so much honour. I always thought that such a work must be the basis of any reasonable government exercised by us; but always despaired of its execution, knowing to what other views and objects the abilities of Europeans have hitherto been directed in Indostan. The silent step of philosophy is gaining ground every day; and your name will not be forgot amongst the foremost of her disciples, for the valuable present you are making to learning and reason. I have read, I may say have extracted, every thing that has come into England concerning the affairs and revolutions of Delhi, from the invasion of *Radis Schah* (u); but all I can make out is patchwork. What a present would you make to me, by procuring for me a full and continued detail of these events, which are always blending themselves with my story.

* * * * *

"I earnestly wish the continuance of your health, and every other facility to carry on the important affairs of the government in which you preside with so much distinction; and am, with the truest esteem,

Sir,

Your most obedient,
and most humble Servant,

R. ORME."

In

(u) Suppose Nadir Shah.

In 1775, our author published a very copious Index; and several considerable additions, to the first volume of his history; and of the eagerness which the public manifested for his second volume, we have a hint in a letter, dated Dec. 30, 1776.

“ To C——F——, Esq.

“ MY DEAR SIR,

“ Harley-street, Dec. 30, 1776.

“ A stone-cutter might copy all the letters that I write in a year; witness my five lines to you by a man of war; witness, I fear, this. But when you consider that no man sees my face, or squeezes my hand, without “ Ah! Mr. Orme, when shall we have your second volume?” you will account for the employment of my pen; and in the small portion of writing my health is able to endure, *

* * * * *

“ I hope your health supports itself, and Mrs. F——’s continues; for the rest, I hope I need make no wishes which are not anticipated by fortune in favour of your merit. I shall write you again and again; but now adieu, my good friend, for a few days.

R. O.”

At length, in October 1778, the second volume was published, in two parts, illustrated like the former with numerous Maps, Views, Plans of Towns, Battles, &c. the latter drawn by the Chief Engineer, Mr. Call. It is written with no less ability than the first volume, and is more interesting and comprehensive. It investigates the rise and progress of the English commerce in Bengal; gives an account of the Mahomedan government from the year 1200, when it was first established there; and carries on the general history from the calamity which befel the English settlements in 1756, to the peace of 1763.

During the fifteen years that elapsed between the publication of his first and that of his second volume, our author gained much additional and more accurate knowledge of the history and institutions of the Mogul government, and the other native states. Colonel Dow’s version of Ferishta’s History of Northern Indostan, published in the course of that time, served perhaps to elucidate his researches; though, being defective as a translation in many parts, it has occasionally mis-

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led him. (x) But, as has been well observed, "for adopting the mistakes of his authorities, he cannot justly be blamed, as there was no reason to suspect, and he possessed not the means to detect them. They do not therefore impeach the general accuracy of his narrative, nor lessen the credit which it has so justly obtained."

In a few days after the publication of his second volume, Mr. Orme received the following letter from Dr. Robertson :

" DEAR SIR,

" College of Edinburgh, Oct 27, 1778.

" During the course of this summer, I have expected from week to week to hear that you had fixed a time for setting out on your excursion to Scotland. I cannot express how much I am mortified to find, that now there remains no hope of enjoying the pleasure of seeing you here for this season. I flatter myself, that this disappointment of our expectations has not been occasioned by ill health. As I know how much attention you pay, to every thing that comes from your hand, the publication of your second volume encourages me to hope that you have been in firm-enough health to superintend it. I long with impatience to peruse this volume. This period will be still more interesting than your former one. The events are greater and more splendid, as well as productive of more important consequences. The subject becomes more worthy of being adorned by your pen. According to your desire, I shall send to you, by the first opportunity, the imperfect copy you gave me of the first volume, and I will accept from you, with great pleasure, a copy of both volumes. I am fond of its being known to my descendants, that you and I lived in friendship, with mutual esteem and love.

" My son, in Lord Macleod's regiment, is still in Jersey; but the corps is under orders for India, and is expected soon at Spithead, in order to sail with the first fleet. If the young man be allowed to visit London, I will direct him to pay his respects to you; but in case he should not have time or permission to make that excursion, I hope you will get ready the recommendatory letters with which you kindly promised to favour him. I am told, that it is most likely the regiment will be stationed at Bombay or Madras; but as its destination must be regulated by the state of the country when it arrives in India, letters for Calcutta may be materially useful. But you can judge with respect to this better than a person so far

(x) On the first publication of Mr. Dow's version of Ferishta's History of the Mahomedan Conquerors in Indostan, its authenticity was doubted by Dr. Johnson, Mr. Burke, and others. Mr. Orme defended it, and in the most effectual way; for, having a fine copy of it in the original Persian, a young gentleman then residing in his house, and well skilled in the Persian language, translated two or three pages of it for their perusal; which removed the scruples that they had before entertained.

far distant from intelligence. When I hear of my son's arrival at Spithead, I will take the liberty of informing you how your letters may be conveyed to him. From the accounts I have got of his behaviour in the regiment, I flatter myself that you may recommend him to your friends as a young man who promises to act like a gentleman. Farewel, my dear sir, and believe me to be, with sincere respect,

Your affectionate and
faithful Servant,
WILLIAM ROBERTSON."

The transmission of the work to the Doctor, we find thus acknowledged in a letter which accompanied a present, in return, of his History of Charles the Fifth :

" College of Edinburgh, February 1st, 1781.

" MY DEAR SIR,

" I do believe that no two persons, who have so much reciprocal good-will as you and I, are less disposed to break in upon each other by expressing it. I wish we both possessed a little more of the spirit of the French *scavans*, and then our letters would be as frequent as now they are rare. To this natural disinclination to writing of letters, I hope you will be kind enough to impute my neglecting to thank you in proper time for the present of your two new volumes. I perused them with great eagerness, and much satisfaction. I can say nothing more expressive of my entire approbation, than that they equal the first. The contest in the second part is between parties not so equally matched; the vicissitudes of fortune are less singular; but wherever the subject admitted of it, your narrative carries your readers along, with all that interesting and unwandering attention, which distinguishes your mode of writing history. I incline to think, that *the war of Bengal*, in Books vi. and vii. is the most choice *morceau* in your works. When I see you, I will venture to mention one or two little criticisms; for where there is so much to praise, you can afford something to be blamed.

" My youngest son will have the honour of presenting this letter to you. It is my fate to be the father of a military family. Of three sons, two have chosen to be soldiers; the second is now in Madras, and carried out your kind recommendations to some of your friends. The youngest goes, as I imagine, to the same place. By the favour of Mr. Jenkinson, and the friendship of col. Fularton, I have got him a lieutenant's commission in the colonel's regiment. Though I am unwilling to load my friends with my children, I cannot allow the young man to go out unrecommended, to a station whither his brother carried out so many warm letters in his favour. If any of your friends in that presidency can be of use to him, I have such experience of your kindness, that I know you will recommend him to their good offices, and will give
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the young adventurer your best advices as to his conduct. I hope he has good sense and virtue enough to profit by them. I make no apology for the liberty I use with you, who have accustomed me to expect what is friendly from your hands.

"I met with an intimate friend of yours, general Richard Smith, at Buxton, and was much pleased with his frank, vigorous, decisive spirit. Be so good as to present my best compliments to him. I remember his kind invitation, and do expect from him a better dinner than any we had at the *Hall*. I am ever, with great truth and attachment,

Your faithful humble Servant,

WILLIAM ROBERTSON."

At this time Mr. Orme lived chiefly in London, and associated much with literary men, among whom he sometimes met Dr. Johnson, of whose wonderful intellectual powers and impressive wit he was struck with a just admiration. Talking one day with Mr. Boswell of Johnson's "*Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*," he thus strongly expressed his opinion of it: "It is," said he, "a most valuable book: besides extensive philosophical views and lively descriptions of society in the country that it describes, it contains thoughts, which, by long revolution in the great mind of Johnson, have been formed and polished like pebbles rolled in the ocean."

In Boswell's *Life of Johnson*, than which it would be difficult to name a work of more rational entertainment, we find it mentioned, that in another conversation relative to Johnson, Mr. Orme said, "I do not care on what subject Johnson talks; but I love better to hear him talk than anybody. He either gives you new thoughts, or a new colouring. It is a shame to the nation, that he has not been more liberally rewarded. Had I been George the Third, and thought as he did about America, I would have given Johnson 300*l.* a year for his *Taxation no Tyranny* alone." I repeated this to Johnson (says Mr. Boswell), who was much pleased "with such praise from such a man as Orme."

Another time our author observed of a certain gentleman, "It is not, perhaps, a bad expression, to say, that A—— has wit enough to fright a man out of his wits."

Having heard that a certain marshal, Villars, or Saxe, or some other, had said, after a battle in which he lost a great number of men,

"Ce n'est plus qu'ayant leurs gorges coupées à Paris;"

he

he remarked, that, "whoever the gentleman was, he deserved that instant to add one more to the number of deaths which he treated with so much contempt—unless he was drunk."

We shall only adduce one more instance of the promptitude of Mr. Orme's mind, and the energy of his colloquial diction. Being engaged in a conversation respecting certain internal fortifications carrying on in England, he observed, that "it was the Eagles leaving their nests, to be defended by Magpies."

A man capable of expressing himself with such force and precision, is naturally fond of company; and if he be of an ingenuous disposition, takes delight in associating with superior minds. While Mr. Orme, therefore, enjoyed a good state of health, much of his time was spent in that agreeable and instructive way: he did not, however, neglect his literary labours.

In 1781, he published a third edition, still further improved, of the first volume of his History, with a very ample Index; perhaps the most perfect thing of the kind that has ever been printed; the history of each person or place mentioned in the work being briefly traced in chronological order, and exhibited at one view. A similar Index was afterwards intended for the second volume: a copy was prepared, and the words selected for the purpose; but his health beginning to decline, he could neither muster courage nor strength enough to complete it.

In 1782, appeared another most laborious work of Mr. Orme's, though comprised within an octavo volume: we mean his "Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, of the Morattoes, and of the English Concerns in Indostan, from the year 1659." That we have not miscalled this a most laborious work, will, we think, be conceded to us, when the reader considers the arduous research into printed books, old records, and personal information, that is implied by the notes historical and geographical; and more particularly by the LIST OF AUTHORITIES appended to the present volume, immediately preceding the Index.

To this work he gave the humble title of "Fragments," with the hope of obtaining farther information respecting that important period in the history of the East. "The degradation," says he, "to which the sovereignty of the Moguls was at this time (1758) reduced;

in every province of their dominion, proceeded from evils which had been increasing ever since the death of Aurengzebe, and cannot be developed without a general view of his reign, as well as the reigns of his successors. This period comprises one hundred years. The events, if we had acquired the knowledge of them in time, would have formed a proper introduction to the later portion of history which we have already published; and the narrative they require is too extensive to find place as an insertion in the continuation of that work. We therefore give it apart, and only in the character of Fragments, which the want of more materials disables us from disposing into a more regular form."—Again; "We are not without hopes, that some of the many in India, who have the means, will supply the portions of information which are deficient in these Fragments, and must otherwise always continue out of our reach. The knowledge is well worth the inquiry; for, besides the magnitude of the events, and the energy of the characters, which arise within this period, there are no States or Powers, on the Continent of India, with whom our nation have either connexion or concern, who do not owe the origin of their present condition to the reign of Aurengzebe, or to its influence on the reigns of his successors." In another part he says, "Besides the publications we have enumerated, we have gained information concerning Sevagi, and of events to a later period concerning the early times of the Morattoes, from cotemporary records belonging to the East India Company. The earliest which mentions Sevagi is of the year 1671. Could we have discovered the whole series with the collateral branches of correspondence, from the year 1650, the Fragments we now publish would have acquired some authentic additions; but the labour would have exceeded the conception of any of our readers, excepting the keeper of the records at the India House."—His account of the famous Sevagi, the founder of the present nation of the Morattoes, is extremely curious and interesting. This man drew his lineage from the Rajahs of Chitore, who boast their descent from Porus, and are esteemed the most ancient establishment of Hindoo princes, and the noblest of the Rajpoot tribes.

Preparatory to the compiling of these "Fragments," Mr. Orme thought it useful to renew his acquaintance with the Portuguese, Spanish,

Spanish, Dutch, and Italian languages; that he might consult in the originals the numerous writers of those nations who have treated of India. His library, indeed, was a strong indication of his extensive acquirements and correct taste in every path of literature; not only as it contained the choicest editions of all the classic authors, ancient and modern, but as having many of them enriched with notes of his own hand-writing in the respective languages of their authors: in fact, he seems scarcely ever to have read a book without making some remarks in the margin, tending either to correct error, give force to argument, or extend information.

But to an author of Mr. Orme's accuracy in matters of historical detail, this was not sufficient. It would naturally occur to him, that the subordinate sphere in which Europeans were placed, who visited Asiatic countries in the course of the 17th century, either as merchants, or travellers, or adventurers for employment in the service of the native Princes, could but ill qualify them to obtain correct information with regard to the courts where they arrived; and he seriously felt the deficiency of his materials, arising from his want of access to the more authentic source of Eastern writers. This deficiency, however, was in a great measure supplied by the frequent intercourse which he had about that period with his friend Mr. Boughton Rouse, of Rouse Leitch in Worcestershire, M. P. now Sir Charles Rouse Boughton, Bart. (*y*), who, to a high reputation for Oriental learning, and knowledge of the financial and political concerns of India, united a readiness of communication, which is in various parts of the "Fragments" acknowledged by our Author in the highest terms of compliment. From this gentleman he received many extensive translations out of the Ayeen, Acbair, the General and Provincial Histories of Ferishta, the particular histories of the Reigns of several of the Mogul Emperors, and other Persian Manuscripts, of which he possessed a large collection; with some, more particularly curious, from a compendium of Hindoo and Mahomedan History, under the title of Meezân Dânesh, or balance of knowledge, presented to him when at the Court of the Emperor Shah Allum, by the Author,

who

(*y*) Many years Chief Secretary of the Board of Controul for Indian Affairs, and now one of the Commissioners for auditing the Public Accounts of the Kingdom.

who was a very intelligent Bramin, deputed thither in a public capacity by Rajah Janogī Bhonsleh. Mr. Orme availed himself of some of these materials in his "Historical Fragments:" and such as he obtained subsequent to that publication, he arranged in his own interleaved copy, so as to contribute to the improvement of the edition which we now present the public.

This was the last work which Mr. Orme committed to the press. But his search after information was unremitting; and he pursued it under circumstances of languid health, so as to deprive him of the advantages of air and exercise. At length, his constitution, naturally weak, became so much impaired by his continual application to study, and the sedentary life which he consequently led, that he was obliged to confine himself at home, and observe very regular habits: such, however, was his love of literary society, that he seldom denied himself to any one who called on him.

When the dreadful news arrived of the loss of the Grosvenor Indiaman, in which his nephew and his family were passengers, it so extremely affected Mr. Orme, that it was a long time before even his superior mind could be reconciled to the event. In a letter to a friend, he says, "My wretched health has been more impaired by this shock; which for many days left me almost in a state of stupidity!" He also notices the misfortune in the following letter to Sir William Jones, then at Calcutta:

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Harley-street, March 12, 1784.

"You will have no doubt that I heard with great pleasure of your safe arrival at Madras; nor that my wishes equally accompany you to Bengal, where I hope and trust that you and lady Jones are established entirely to your satisfaction.

* * * * *

"I make no doubt but all your vacations are employed in Oriental researches. As to the living manners of the people you are among, no one ever went with more just ideas previously acquired.—Nevertheless, every opening day will present new circumstances and qualities to your attention, and the same will happen in the natural appearance of the country; and these contemplations will, I am persuaded, for a while afford you more grateful amusements in the hour of relaxation, than all the magnificent repasts of Calcutta. When you have an hour's leisure you will think of me, and give me some account of the literature you may discover.

discover. I sadly want a history of Bahadar Schah (z); and Kerr, in his account of the Morattoes, says there is such a history.

"I must now ask your pardon, and permission to speak on a matter which affects me to the very heart. The sad fate of the ship Grosvenor will have reached India long before this letter. My nephew, Mr. Hosea (aa), his wife and child [a daughter], were among those who got ashore; and I have heard of them to the 10th day after the wreck; but beyond, to this hour, nothing. Capt. D'Auvergne, who arrived about two months ago from the Cape, says, there were accounts of more white people inland when he came away; but two ships, a Dane and a Frenchman, had been lost on the same coast, and nearly on the same part of it, since the Grosvenor; so that I am almost without hope of his safety. I am one of his attorneys in England; and he has three children under our care, a boy and two girls, the eldest ten years old (bb). Nobody knows any thing of any will of Mr. Hosea, being deposited in England; but it is scarcely possible that he should have left Bengal without making one, and leaving at least a duplicate of it in India.

* * * * *

"I request my respects, although unknown, to lady Jones. Pardon the hand of an amanuensis; my own troubles and my head pain me; for it is only a few days since I came down to my working-parlour, after a confinement of thirty in my bedchamber; and I am still very infirm. May health and every other good always attend you, is the sincerest wish of,

Dear Sir; Your faithful and affectionate friend,

R. ORME."

In 1792 Mr. Orme left London, and retired to Ealing for the benefit of his health; where he resided during the remainder of his life; continuing, nevertheless, to take a warm and lively interest not only in the concerns of his friends, but also in public affairs.

In the year 1793, we find the two following letters from Mr. Orme to general Richard Smith:

"Great Ealing, Saturday, Aug. 10, 1793.

"I was yesterday prevented, by various calls to which I was obliged to pay attention, from having the quiet hour, I always wish to have when I am writing to you.

"The

(z) See p. 308, and Military Transactions in Indostan, vol. 1. p. 19, 20.

(aa) Mr. William Hosea, nephew, and nearest relative to Mr. Orme.

(bb) The son, William, died a few years ago at Bengal, in the service of the Hon. the East India Company. One daughter is now married to lieutenant-col. Sharp, of his Majesty's service; and the other to John Betsworth Trevelyan, Esq.

"The French Histories I have read, exclusive of Memoires, are, Daniel, Mezeray, and Henault.

"Mezeray wrote first; it is in three huge folios. The second edition in folio has left out many passages which were in the first, which makes the first edition rare, and valued by book-fancyers. His style is strong, and often sharp. When he published his first volume (the 1st edition) it was said, *Il n'y a pas un mot de trop, ni de trop peu.*

"Next comes Daniel, who was a Jesuit, and a man labouring in more than one vineyard. In his history his style is dull, often prolix; a great bigot in his relation of the Religious Wars; but a genuine royalist, saving his reverence for the Pope. Daniel likewise wrote the *Milice Françoise*, which is an account of the French Military Array and Equipments from the earliest times. This work is done with much diligence and intelligence, therefore very curious; and it must have served them much, whenever he gives an account of a campaign, to see clearly how things went on. The *History* is 14 or perhaps 16 volumes, in quarto. The *Milice* is only 2 volumes, and has cuts.

"Next comes the President Henault, which I think I once sent you, and consequently you have read; but lest perchance I be mistaken, I shall just mention him: It is an Abridgment by years of the History of France, from Pharamond (if there ever was such a man) to the reign of Louis Quatorze. Henault was President of one of the Parliaments of France; a man who united labour to genius. Voltaire, writing to him while drinking some of the mineral waters in Germany during a time of war, advised him to come back immediately to Paris, to avoid the *Hussars*, "qui ne font boire que les eaux de Styx," and then, invoking the Muse says,

" Ramene à ses amis charmans,
Ramene à ses belles demeures,
Ce bel esprit de tous les temps,
Cet homme de toutes les heures."

"His style, although by the nature of his plan always concise, is always elegant, and the best French that I know; his knowledge of the history of France the result of immense inquiry. Not to you, for you know too much to require such a process, but I would advise any young gentleman, who had too much money to require any employment, and too much sense to wish to live without some, to get the voluminous historians, read Henault, and refer to the others as he wished for farther information or elucidation.

"What you wrote to me on the 6th, concerning your situation in regard to health, shocked me most extremely. However, it was some relief to hear that you looked much better, and more cheerful than before; and I have just now
9 received

received the further pleasure of hearing that you had sent for some books; which flatters me with the hopes that you think your spirits likely to be equal to them."

" Great Ealing, Aug. 13, 1793.

" I thank you kindly for the plan of Seringapatam, and shall preserve it charily for the sake of the author, to whom I tender my best respects. Miss * * * * * need not be afraid of its being in other hands, as it is a sketch which shews she will draw very well.

" I have read major Dirom's book; it was lent me by Mr. Dalrymple; and I was much pleased with it, as containing curious, new, and authentic information. He gives the best reasons that *can* be pleaded, why the siege of Seringapatam was not continued to the catastrophe of its capture. Nevertheless, from the beginning; and *still*, I persevere in the opinion, that the siege once begun, it ought to have been taken. *Delenda est Carthago*; and we shall soon, perhaps, see that his [Tippoo's] restless and wicked character will reduce us to the necessity of doing all we have done, and have left undone, again, and with more trouble. Another reason with me for his extermination was, Tippoo's cruelty and perfidy to his English captives. Surajah Dowlah was destroyed, and Coffim Ally exterminated. The vengeance in such cases ought always to fall on the tyrant, as the first cause. Not but that I told lord Clive, that had I been of his council when he entered Muxadavad, I should have moved to look out for and punish the *Jemautdars*, who held up their lights to mock the wretched sufferers in the Black Hole. You see, therefore, that I agree with you in the support you gave administration on the subject of our war with Tippoo.

" You are a much better judge than I can be of our war on the Continent, as knowing the art, and being acquainted with the scenes of operation, and its defences. Dunkirk certainly should be taken, to serve as a marine place d'armes; but still Calais, with a very strong garrison, would be the same to Dunkirk, as Dunkirk is now to Ostend. I never knew, before you told me, that Calais could be *suicid*. It must therefore remain, I am sorry to think, impregnable. Pray do the sluices to Calais depend on inlets under its command from the sea? Lord Stairs used to say, that they who attacked France by Flanders took the bull by the horns. By Dumourier's account, the frontier of Lorraine and Champagne is as strong by nature as the other has been made by art. How much do the present Convention owe to the magnificent ambition and prodigality, as some called it, of Louis the 14th, who left them such a line of barrier as runs along Flanders. Lille cost the duke of Marlborough three months; yet Lille must be taken; otherwise, on advancing into France, the allies might be inclosed behind by a net. So I see no end of the war, and am wearied with conjectures.

" I have been much surprized at the spirit with which the French have fought since

since the Revolution. What would old Lawrence (*cc*) say, were he alive? Nevertheless, their original character returned at the storm of the Horn-work of Valenciennes. Under the shade of night, when no man could observe well the behaviour of another, they all agreed in quitting their posts; or, in other words, running away: which shews a want of that real firmness, of which on all occasions they are so fond of boasting.

“ When not employed on the necessary duties to myself and friends, much of my time is employed in contemplating the present Revolution in France, of which no events in the preceding history of that country could have suggested. Still less the extraordinary change, or apparent change, in the national character, from such frivolity to atrocious barbarity. It is a great misfortune, that they are now civilized savages.

“ In future time, this Commotion will produce the most curious and eventful history the world ever saw. You may judge, then, that I shall with great pleasure read Mirabeau’s letters.

“ I thank you for the kind offer of Gibbon’s second and third Volumes, and will with great pleasure keep them as a memorandum from you.

“ God send you a continuance of amendment. The weather here is delicious, and I regret every hour that you cannot breathe it with me. I was on horseback yesterday evening, two hours and a half, and earnestly wish you could do so too.”

The following letter to an intimate friend, toward the close of the year 1794, will shew the sentiments that Mr. Orme entertained respecting the political situation of Great Britain at that period:

“ I owe you an account of the reasons of my long silence since I received your letter of the 26th of last month, and why I have not come to town, although, when I wrote you last, I seemed so near it; of this I shall speak first, as of the less importance.

“ With

(c c) Major-general Stringer Lawrence; to whose Memory an elegant Monument is placed in Westminster Abbey, with the following Inscription written by Mr. Orme:

Erected by
The East India Company,
To the Memory of
Major-general Stringer Lawrence;
In Testimony of their Gratitude
For his Eminent Services
In the Command of their Forces
On the Coast of Coromandel,
From the Year MDCCXLVI. to the Year MDCCLXVI.

“ With my fever, all the distressful circumstances which accompanied it were almost removed; yet the fever left me much weakened; but fortunately came on, I know not from what cause, a succession of better sleep for fifteen nights, than I have known these ten years. I could not bring myself to break through this best of medical relief by coming into the rumble of Harley-street; and to this was added the opportunities I have had of riding, which have generally happened every other day; for the by-roads about this place are better than any near London, although the high road is perhaps the very worst. My good sleep was interrupted four or five nights, but it has returned for the last week; therefore I am not to be blamed for continuing here; such neighbours as I am willing to be known to, are very civil to me; but as I am never out in the night air, (a caution most necessary to all invalids in the months of November and December,) I cannot be much with them. I find very pleasant companions in my study, (my books,) to whom I can communicate my ideas with as much confidence as I do to you.

“ Your letter of the 26th of November, combined with what little I picked up from papers and talk, gave me much matter of reflection; of which every result was ominous, none favourable: and I will confess to you, that my mind was gradually getting into a gloominess, irksome and unpleasant to the last degree; and therefore I determined to break through it, by applying myself to a literary pursuit, which should keep me from being absorbed in the politics of the day, of which every aspect is dismal. I knew, if I wrote my thoughts to you, you would have taken the trouble to have given me your's, which, from your situation, would have comprehended many points unknown to me; and I should have laid a burden on you, which, however willingly taken up by you, I felt myself almost ashamed to expect, as it would be a return of ten for one.

“ The approaching session of parliament will be more important than any this country ever knew. The question is, whether we shall make peace or continue the war? and each of these propositions branch out into others that immediately spring from them: With whom shall we treat? the Convention! Can they be trusted? Will they make peace with any other view than to gain two or three years to raise a navy stronger than ours, and then begin with us again? What guarantees either of local powers or sovereign states will be granted to them, or undertaken by their neighbours? What are we to give to induce them (who certainly have the advantage ground at present) to make peace with us? They have got all Flanders, &c. and we have only their West India islands, which it is most likely they think themselves able to re-conquer from us.

“ Supposing then that we are obliged to continue the war, in what mode and in what points are we to continue it? Is Flanders to be attacked again? I think our strength quite insufficient. The emperor must join us with at least 120,000 men; Will, or can he? The other princes of the empire, will they do more than

hire out their men to us?—and then will they not do as the king of Prussia has done this year?

“ If Holland will accept our support, instead of fraternizing with the French, she must by all means be supported by us. The alliance of Holland with France will be a great increase of naval force to the enemy.

“ Should the French obtain Holland, they may probably attempt to invade us; but all that they can do, whilst we can meet them at sea in full strength, will be to make descents on our remotest coasts;—but even these will greatly affect our stocks.

“ These and many more points you will have to think on at the meeting of parliament. I am confident that *you* will judge right on all.

“ I hope your health continues undisturbed; my respects I wish to be acceptable to ———.

“ Monday, 8th Dec. 1794.”

In his retirement at Ealing, Mr. Orme was often visited by his friends, who appear to have entertained a very warm affection for him; particularly Sir George Baker, Alexander Dalrymple, esq. general Richard Smith, John Roberts, esq. Mark Beaufoy, esq. &c. &c. But, as he says himself in the letter last quoted, his books were his chief companions; and such was the activity of his mind, that at the age of 70 he found in them a constant source of amusement. A great many of his books bore interesting evidence of the strict attention with which he perused them; their margins, as we have before observed, being filled with observations in his own hand-writing.

In April 1796, having resolved not to return to London, except in occasional visits, he disposed of his house in Harley-street, and sent the principal part of his library (having no convenient place for it in the country) to the hammer of Leigh and Sotheby, who found ample employment for a ten days' sale. He had, however, previously made a selection of his books, which were removed to Ealing, and occupied his mind, whenever his health would permit, till the time of his death; for he retained all his faculties to the last moment of his existence.

In the beginning of January 1801, he fell into a state of weakness and languor that prognosticated a speedy dissolution; and on the 13th of that month he expired, in the 73d year of his age. His remains were interred in a vault prepared for that purpose in the church-yard
of

of Ealing; and soon after a neat marble cenotaph to his memory was erected in the church by his friend and executor, Mr. Roberts (late Chairman of the East India Company), with a suitable inscription written by general Richard Smith (*dd*).

Mr. Orme was somewhat above the middle stature, and his countenance expressed much shrewdness and intelligence. In his personal habits he seems not to have had any striking peculiarities. His general manner was sensible, easy, and polite. Of the qualities of his heart, those who knew him long and intimately speak very highly. He was zealous in the service of those whom he really loved; but, as it was not his custom to make professions of friendship, his acts sometimes surpassed expectation. His powers of conversation, as we have already shewn, were very considerable; and such was the extent of his knowledge, the readiness of his perceptions, and the facility of his expression, that he generally illustrated in a pleasing, often in a forcible manner, whatever subject he undertook. Ancient literature was one of his favourite topics; and he conversed on it with no common degree of learning and critical exactness, without any sort of pedantry or affectation.

With respect to his intellectual character, it would appear, from his life as well as his writings, that the principal features were good sense, sagacity, and judgment. These qualities were assisted in their operation by an active spirit, a solicitous curiosity, and a cultivated taste. A mind thus constituted, readily acquired that power of combining circumstances in lucid order, and of relating them with compressive force, which distinguishes the writings of Mr. Orme. Few historians have connected the events of their story with more perspicuity, or related them with more conciseness. If he be sometimes minute, he is never redundant, and never tedious. Every incident is so distinctly stated and clearly arranged; every new nation, or individual, is introduced with so compendious an explanation; all the observations arise from the facts with so much propriety, and are in themselves so forcible and just; and the general style has so much simplicity and terseness, that every reader of discernment and taste must feel a strong interest in perusing his history. It is not indeed

illuminated with philosophical views of society, or manners, or civil institutions, or arts, or commerce; nor is it adorned with any fine delineations of character; but it is nevertheless a work of great merit, and must continue to hold a high place in the class of historical compositions.

How much the geography of the Peninsula of India is indebted to Mr. Orme's indefatigable zeal in the improvement of it, a reference to his maps will abundantly testify. Many hundred places are there laid down, which are not to be found in any other work printed so early as 1782, the date of his last publication, which will be a durable monument of his industrious cultivation of the science; though it is true, that from the marches of the various English armies in the Decan since that period, the situations of some places have been more accurately ascertained. If his health had permitted, he would, from the records of the Company, the British Museum, and other sources, have greatly enlarged his "Historical Fragments," which he intended to have divided into three sections; and made an invaluable work of the History of India, from the time of Aurengzebe to the commencement of his Military Transactions in the year 1744. It is to be hoped, however, that some one will enter with the same zeal and spirit on the subject, upon his plan and method; toward the accomplishment of which Mr. Orme's MSS. and other Oriental documents collecting in the India house, will furnish them with abundant information.

Most of the places laid down in Mr. Orme's various maps were from original MSS. drawn from the marches of the different armies; he being intimately acquainted with the generals, not only in the English, but in the French interests, when the peace rendered such an intimacy with the latter desirable and proper. In 1773, as we have before observed, he made a journey to Paris, expressly for the purpose of gaining information of this kind; but especially to ascertain the situations of places in the northern parts of the Decan, wherein the French armies had long served under the celebrated count Bussy. Mr. Orme's reception by that able commander, was worthy of so great a general, and of so enlightened a writer. The map of the various marches of M. Bussy in the northern provinces, about Golcondah,
Aurengabad,

Aurengabad, &c. inserted at page 3 of this volume, was made from a copy communicated to our author by M. Bussy, with the particulars of other military and political transactions during his command in India.

Mr. Orme also took particular pains to ascertain the situations of the different inland Marts of the early traffic of the British factors dependant on Surat, which are mostly laid down from the records of the Company; as Carwar, Hubely, Gocuck, Calberga, Malkar, Guduck, Huttary, Drongom, Chupra, Panwell, and many others.

At the time of the publication of his "Fragments," Mr. Orme had projected an Atlas of the Peninsula of India, to consist of about ten or twelve sheets, of which the two maps inserted in this volume were to have formed a part; but the great improvements then resulting from major Rennel's Survey of Bengal, and the marches of the British armies in India, prevented his proceeding in so arduous an undertaking.

Mr. Orme possessed a very correct taste for Painting and Sculpture; an admirable picture in his possession, of the dreadful storm off Pondicherry, during colonel Coote's (*ee*) celebrated blockade of that fortress in the year 1761, so pathetically described by our author in the

the

(*ee*) On the death of this gallant Commander a Monument was erected to his Memory in Westminster Abbey, on which is the following Inscription, composed by Mr. Orme:

This Monument is Erected by
The East India Company,
as a Memorial of the Military Talents of
Lieutenant General Sir Eyre Coote, K. B.
Commander in Chief of the British Forces in India
who
By the success of his Arms, in the years M,DCC,LX and M,DCC,LXI,
Expelled the French from the Coast of Coromandel
In M,DCC,LXXXI and M,DCC,LXXXII
He again took the Field in the Carnatic;
In opposition to the united Strength of the French and Hyder Ally;
And, in several Engagements, defeated the numerous Forces of the latter.
But Death interrupted his career of glory
On the xxviiith day of April M,DCC,LXXXIII,
In the Fifty-eighth year of his Age.

the second volume of his History, was principally designed by himself and the celebrated Athenian Stuart, and painted by Wilkins, from a small sketch made on the spot by major Rennel, and is considered by artists as an excellent production (*ff*). It is well known, that Sir Joshua Reynolds condescended to receive hints from Mr. Orme of some of his most delicate and beautiful touches, both in figures and drapery. For many years after the establishment of the Royal Academy, he was a regular attendant on the exhibitions, and often expressed the gratification of his feelings on contemplating the progress of the fine arts in England.

He was also exceedingly fond of Music, of which he was an excellent judge; this led him to be a frequent attendant at the Opera; but he was more especially attached to the sublime compositions of the immortal Handel.

That he was a Poet also of some talent, the few following specimens may attest; being hasty effusions, made without effort, and never designed by their author to face the public eye; except, perhaps, the *Address to the Moon* (p. lxi.) which was set to Music, and greatly admired.

March 1745-6.

O D E.

The Hint taken from HÖRACE, B. 1. O. 8. *Lydia, dic per Omnes.*

I.

WHY quits the sanguine Youth the jovial chace?
 Why thunders not his chariot at the race?
 Why is no more the nervous wrestler crown'd?
 Why tempts he not the sprightly courser's bound?

II.

Once the fond plain none his superior knew,
 To dart the lance or bend the twanging yew;
 None in the course outfripp'd his headlong speed,
 None urg'd with bolder art the rapid steed.

The

(JJ) This picture was given by Mr. Orme to the publisher of the present volume.

III.

The taste of every manly sport is o'er ;
 And every wonted joy, is joy no more ;
 The change his comrades see with sad surprize ;—
 His comrades never saw the heaven of ———'s eyes.

Verses to the Memory of my BROTHER.

THE emblem of his soul, a pleasing form,
 Of manners mild, as of affections warm :
 A bolder spirit and a gentler mind,
 To frame the happiest temper, ne'er were join'd.
 Grave without pride, sedate but not austere,
 Whose word was always to his thought sincere ;
 Whose nice ideas vice could ne'er deprave,
 Whose wisdom, virtue, honour, morals gave :
 Who knew, with ease, the gen'rous choice of friend
 With the fond brother's nativé tie to blend.
 The silent gaze, the big tear-fulled eye,
 The bosom burting to suppress it's sigh,
 Or sadder signs of melancholy woe,
 To meaner sorrows may relief bestow :
 Mine on the dear remembrance ever lives,
 The cause alone the consolation gives.
 Let me in ravish'd fancy still enjoy
 The fond ideas of my vanish'd joy.
 Tir'd of the busy bustle of the day,
 And those pursuits which snatch the man away ;
 In you alone a calm my cares could find ;
 You sooth'd each ruffling tumult of the mind,
 Lull'd vain ambition dawning in my soul,
 Or taught its meanest motions to controul ;
 Deaf to my call if Fortune turn'd away,
 Or smil'd returning with more gladfome ray,
 Your steady mind, which no extremes could move,
 Each strain'd emotion fail'd not to reprove ;
 'Twas you first bid me dare to think with ease,
 And taught reflection's glare the means to please ;
 You gave at once a labour'd life's whole bent,
 And show'd that all its bliss was but content ;

Or if you gaily wore the cheerful brow,
 And bid Imagination warmly glow,
 With liveliest beam while bright'ning Fancy shone,
 Undazzled Judgment full prefer'd her throne,
 No partial scandal sooth'd ill-natur'd pride,
 Nor envy scoff'd the bliss she not enjoy'd.

At rising follies Wit unerring flew,
 The world supplied us follies ever new,
 Thought, stop thy wing, nor trace the dismal hour
 That bid such virtues be on earth no more,
 Long-ling'ring Death his arm suspended held,
 And thy indifference with amaze beheld,
 Each horror wore that cou'd inspire a dread,
 You smil'd and gently bow'd the willing head,
 Sunk like a lily drooping to the main,
 With brighter beauties to revive again.
 So when amidst a herd of youthful steers,
 One proudly tow'ring o'er the rest appears,
 His awful front with sacred fillets bound,
 By virgins fair with flowing honours crown'd,
 He stalks majestic thro' his native field,
 His humbler fellows the precedence yield;
 Ah! what avails to know he far exceeds
 Each sullen rival in the neighbouring meads?
 For him alone the burning altars wait,
 His hapless beauties but insure his fate,
 His hapless beauties doom him, from the crowd,
 Alone a victim worthy of a god,
 If spirits pure may cast their eyes below,
 And bliss eternal can a respite know,
 Vouchsafe to hear a suppliant brother's prayer:
 Make him in heaven, as once on earth, thy care;
 Oh! let thy influence brighten all his way,
 On every virtue beam th' enlight'ning ray;
 With gentle hand sustain his fault'ring soul,
 Teach when its powers to urge, and when controul;
 Of every passion lull the impetuous gale,
 Let moderation softly swell the sail,
 While steady reason holds the certain helm:
 Storms may tumultuous rise, but let them not o'erwhelm;
 Then give me, landed from life's varied sea,
 T' enjoy at once thy God, thy Heaven, and Thee.

A CHARACTER.

An Angel's face, a killing form,
 Sure, without will, each heart to warm;
 A sense, that softness seldom knows;
 A wit, that unaffected glows:
 Say, is not this a finish'd piece,
 Or can such charms still want a grace?

Fond Nature, striving not to err,
 Gave every stroke too fierce a glare;
 Perfection asks a softer touch,
 And had been hit, if not so much;
 Amaz'd the world'rous draught we see,
 The soul is from emotion free.

Then, hapless Strephon, let me mourn
 Thy love, that never can return;
 Ah! what avails thy sprightly sense,
 Thy wit, thy easy eloquence;
 Thy happy mind, thy gentle form,
 The generous soul, as just as warm?

In vain her passion thou would'st move,
 For Chloe's soul can but approve;
 And gives with reason's juster eye
 Esteem, which envy can't deny.
 The wax which now thy billet seals,
 Infinite thy fate reveals:

That ne'er impressive softness knows,
 But when in ardent flame it glows;
 The stamp which then you fail to use,
 The hard'ning substance will refuse.

L I N E S, written August 1749.

THE Muse no more with rapture smiles,
 Nor gives the transport that each care beguiles;
 She sees averse her vot'ry prove
 The wretched subject of all-pow'rful love.

h

" Adore,

" Adore, with cruel zest, she cries,
 " Thy wanton god of tortures, pangs, and sighs ;
 " But ever lose the hour of ease,
 " Which I alone could ever teach to please."

Vain is advice, experience vain,
 The willing slave is curs'd without his chain.
 Almost two twelvemonths now are past,
 Since Lydia rul'd, the tyrant of my breast.
 The joke of friends, the sneer of foes,
 Perplex'd, not cur'd, my fondly nourish'd woes.
 The silent gaze, the languid eye,
 Fetch'd from my inmost heart the heaving sigh,
 Betray'd dissimulation's mien,
 And all the lover, all the wretch was seen ;
 But when the heart-expanding bowl
 Pour'd forth each cautious secret of my soul,
 To you my best and best-lov'd friend,
 Fond my sick heart as well as health to mend,
 I wept the melancholy tale,
 Nor blush'd unmanly sorrows to reveal ;
 This tyrant passion lords alone,
 And bears no rival near his cruel throne ;
 Else rage for undeserv'd disdain,
 For all the study'd triumphs o'er my pain,
 Or scorn to see unequal worth,
 The affluent dulness of some son of earth,
 Preferr'd to spirit, parts, and sense,
 If riches fail to gild the fair pretence,
 Long since had made me quit the field,
 And to my meaner rivals proudly yield.
 While thus I talk'd with brow severe,
 You fondly, anxious to retrieve each care,
 Advis'd long absence for my cure,
 And urg'd the means its anguish to endure
 But all that reason could suggest
 Was lost amidst the tumults of my breast :
 I still dragg'd on th' alternate chain
 Of Love, Dislike, of Passion, and Disdain.
 Now Chloe reigns without controul,
 The charming mistress of my soul,

Gentler than all her sex her air,
 But not more gentle than divinely fair:
 Away Advice with serious brow,
 And Ridicule with self-conceited glow;
 In vain you check my Chloe's fway,
 She's form'd to reign, as I am to obey.

September 1749.

HINT taken from HORACE. Bk ii. Od. 8.

Ulla si Juris tibi pejerati.

If for the perjur'd faith and broken vow,
 Thy blooming cheek had lost its lovely glow;
 If for the gods, so oft invoc'd and scorn'd,
 Thy sick'ning eye its lively lustre mourn'd;
 I might perhaps believe the guileful tale,
 And each false tear might to thy wish prevail.

But while the partial gods protect that form,
 In spite of all their wrongs, from ev'ry harm;
 Nay, bid thy guilty beauties brighter shine,
 And each offending charm be more divine;
 Amaz'd, the awful hand of Heav'n I see,
 And own its worst of pefts confirm'd in Thee.

“ Venus, you say, and Cupid, are your friends,
 'Tis they direct, and you but work their ends.”
 True; for I see the boy, with cruel smile,
 Urge all thy arts and temper every wile,
 His angry heart beats for th' expected hour
 Of destin'd vengeance for his injur'd pow'r,
 Tho' now each anxious mother sadly fear,
 Her only hopes shou'd catch th' infectious air,
 Tho' now the weeping bride in silence mourn,
 The sigh unable to oblige return;
 Whilst, by thy wiles allur'd, the headlong youth
 Quits for thy charms the charms of worth and truth;
 Yet e'er those charms to wrinkled age shall bend,
 Thy every pleasure in disease shall end;
 Whate'er they feel who sacred love profane
 Shall heighten'd rage in every guilty vein.

This vengeance injur'd Venus shall prepare,
 To show that love, not lust, can claim her care ;
 Then from thy cheek shall fade the lively bloom,
 Nor more thy eye its sparkling life assume ;
 In vain thy wiles shall plot the happy hour,
 While loathing lovers shun thy dang'rous doer ;
 No simple youth shall heed the guleful tale,
 And each increas'ing with no more avail.

THE TRAIN OF VENUS.

GODDESS of Paphos and the Lesbian Isle,
 Queen of the blooming cheek and dimpled smile,
 Oh ! deign for once to let thy Cyprius mourn,
 While thousand altars blaze for thy return ;
 'Tis Lydia calls, Oh ! hear her raptur'd vow,
 And bid her incense with thy influence glow.

She comes, and smiling leads the fervent boy,
 Who gives to gods and mortals all their joy ;
 With zonés unloos'd the Graces next appear,
 Their blooming forms ne'er breath'd so soft an air ;
 The Nymphs around in decent measures move,
 But move regardful of the Queen of Love.

See sprightly Youth, of blooming years too vain,
 Exulting step the foremost of the train ;
 She leads a Nymph known by the sister's mien,
 Health, conscious favourite of the gentle Queen ;
 The smiles of Venus all their movements crown,
 She gives the grace, the beauty all her own.

But see aloof a Youth of form divine,
 Lively his look, but threat'ning fly design ;
 Thro' all th' affected caution of his brow,
 Assur'd success betrays its conscious glow ;
 Him shun, ye Nymphs, beware his gentle smiles,
 His wreathed arts, insinuating wiles,
 His soft address, his too persuasive sense,
 Confess the dang'rous god of Eloquence.

ADDRESS

ADDRESS TO THE MOON.

Written on the Terrace at Madras, 1757.

STAY, silver Moon, nor hasten down the skies,
 I seek the bow'r where lovely Chloe lies;
 No midnight felon asks thy trembling ray;
 To guide his footsteps to the dang'rous prey;
 No murderer, lurking for his hated foe,
 Asks thy pale light to guide the vengeful blow:
 The breast with love possest no furies move,
 No violence arms the gentle hand of love;
 I meditate no theft; the willing fair
 Shall yield her beauties to my well-learn'd prayer:
 Stay, silver Moon, nor hasten down the skies,
 I seek the bow'r where lovely Chloe lies.

* * A collection of manuscript poems, written by our Author; and corrected on a subsequent revision, is known to exist; which, probably, he may have lent to some friend. If the possessor of it would have the goodness to send it to the publisher of this volume, that copies may be taken for the use of any future edition, it would be esteemed a great favour.—It is a small volume in octavo, bound in Morocco leather.

Mr. Orme likewise wrote, at Madras, a poem on the death of his friend Admiral Watson, 15th August 1757. It was penned on a blank leaf in one of his printed books, which, probably, was sold when his library was disposed of, in 1796. If the purchaser of such volume would permit a copy to be taken, the publisher would be greatly obliged to him.

Among

Among Mr. Orme's papers was found the commencement of a prose translation of Homer's Iliad; but whether he ever had it in contemplation to complete such a version, we do not learn. He records, that he began to read Poetry in the year 1742; that it was his chief amusement; and that he remembered more of that, than of any other kind of reading, till the year 1754. Even the dates of his course of reading, he was attentive enough to register; thus:

- Pope's Homer, Iliad, and Odyſſey. 1742.
 Dryden's Virgil. 1742.
 Horace in Lat. with the Notes of D'Acier and Sanadoa. This with attention. 1743.
 Petronius in Lat. with the Translation of Nodot. These two books, I remember, fixed what knowledge I have of the Latin Tongue; and at the same time applied me to the French.
 Virgil. Lat. with attention; and repeated since. 1743. 1753.
 Livy. Lat. 1745. attentively.
 Catullus. Lat. 1746.
 Rhetoric, to Herrenius. Lat. 1751. with attention.
 Suetonius. Lat. 1751.
 Congreve's Plays
 Prior. }
 Shakespear's Plays } from 1742 to 1756.
 Vanburgh's ditto }
 Farquhar's ditto }
 Milton's Paradise Lost: (never the Regain'd.) 1749.
 Tatler, Spectator, Guardian, by piece-meal; and not completed to this day.
 The Agonistes of Milton, three-times. 1749, 1750, 1751.
 Gordon's Tacitus; which I have mostly forgotten, except the hardness of the style. 1744.
 Rapin's History of England, 1743; of which I do not remember a word.
 Pope's Works, 1752.
 Swift's Works, 1752.
 Patriot King, twice. 1750, 1752.
 Orery's Life of Swift. 1752. in one day.
 Clarendon's History. 1745. of which I remember little.
 Esprit des Loix. Fr. attentively. 1752.
 Persian Letters. Fr. 1747. attentively.

Wharton's True Briton. 1753.
 Revolutions of Rome. Vertot. 1745. forgotten.
 Middleton's Life of Cicero. 1746. forgotten.
 Grandeur des Romains. 1747. Fr. Montesquieu.
 Rollin's Roman History, continued by Crevier; which I have forgotten,
 1753.
 Daniel's History of France, abridged: in haste, and forgotten. 1753.
 Juvenal. Lat. 1748.
 Turkish Spy. 1750. as nonsense.
 Cæsar's Commentaries. Lat. 1748.

I arrived at Madras (says he) September 14, 1754; from which
 time, to the 31st December 1756, I have read:

Quintilian. Lat.
 Herodotus. Eng. — Littlebury.
 Thucydides. Eng. — Smith.
 Xenophon's Greek History. Fr. Ablancourt.
 ——— Cyropædia. Fr. Charpentier.
 ——— Hero. Fr. De Coste.
 ——— Retreat of the Ten Thousand. Fr. Ablancourt.
 ——— Memorabilia. Fr. Charpentier.
 ——— Life. Fr. Charpentier.
 Diodorus Siculus. Fr. Terraffon.
 Justin. Lat.
 Quintus Curtius. Lat.
 Arrian's History of Alexander. Eng. Rooker.
 Theatre des Grecs. Fr. Brumoy.
 Aristotle's Rostic. Fr. Dacier.
 Orations of Demosthenes. Fr. Tourrel, with the preface. A useful work.
 Polybius, translated by Thuiller; and the Commentary of the Chevalier
 Folard. Fr.
 Nouvelles Decouvertes sur la Guerre. Fr. Chevalier Folard; with the
 Criticism of his System in the Septimens d'un Homme de Guerre, &c. and
 the Defence, by Folard.
 Histoire Universelle; the two first volumes corrupted; the third, acknowledged
 by Voltaire. Fr.
 Guerre, de. 1741. Fr. imputed to Voltaire.
 Orphelin de La Chine, Tragedy. Fr. Voltaire.
 Pucelle d'Orleans. Fr. a whimsical Poem.

Plutarch's

- Plutarch's Greek Lives, only. Fr. D'Acier.
- Theorie de Sentimens Agreeables. Fr. Anonyme.
- Mahomet's Life. Eng. Pideaux: with a foolish Dissertation.
- Diogenes Laertius. Lat. Longolius.
- Memóires de Guay Trouenne. Fr.
- Memoires de Puysegur. Fr. but not his Reflections sur la Guerre, a Father to the Marshal.
- Reflections on Learning. Eng. Baker; in one day.
- Cornelius Nepos. Lat.
- Vindication of Bolingbroke and the Diatribe, in one pamphlet; two excellent pieces; supposed by Voltaire.
- Life of Genghiscan. Eng. from the French.
- History of the Tartars. Eng. from the French; a jumbled piece of work; I only read the first volume.
- Micromegas. Fr. Voltaire.
- Reflections on the History of England. Bolingbroke; with the attention that so noble a work deserves.

All of the beforementioned Books that merited it, I have read with attention, having had regard to Geography, Chronology, and Diction.

He does not seem to have continued the record of his course of reading beyond the year 1756; or, if he did, the memoranda have been lost.

Our Author was singularly happy in the composition of monumental Inscriptions; of which he wrote very many, for his friends, on various occasions.

Mr. Ome, at the time of his death, held the office of Historiographer to the East India Company; and that he was not an idle or unprofitable servant, his very numerous MSS. sufficiently testify. (gg)

Many

(gg) These he committed to the care of his friend and executor John Roberts, Esq. late Chairman of the Court of Directors, with several maps, a part of his printed books, and a variety of other valuable historical materials, to be by him presented to the Honourable East India Company. This trust was faithfully executed, and they are now deposited in the library at the India House.—They consist of one hundred and ninety tracts printed in FIFTY-ONE VOLUMES, on the subject of India, and the Honourable Company's affairs, from about the year 1753 down to the year 1788.

Many of these were of recent composition; in fact, he continued to make extracts from very interesting materials till within a short period of his death; and the Company, as well as the Public at large, will hereafter be greatly benefited by them, if any of Mr. Orme's successors in office shall with spirit pursue the path that has been pointed out by him, who has frequently been denominated the British Thucydides, and certainly may with great truth be called the Father of Oriental History.

His small work here reprinted, called "Historical Fragments," on which he prided himself even more than on his voluminous writings, cost him infinite labour. It is well known, that he read over many huge volumes of the Company's records to collect a very few facts, and sometimes merely to ascertain a date, or fix the situation of a place; it need scarcely be remarked, therefore, that its contents, so elaborately collected, are of great value. A reference to his Authorities, printed at the end of this volume, will give the reader some idea of the laboriousness of the task, when it is considered that he found all those references necessary to the accurate compilation of only 410 small pages in octavo.

We may therefore, with strict propriety, consider him as having been an old and faithful servant, as well as a liberal benefactor, to the honourable East India Company; and we venture to predict, that the resistless scythe of Time will have cut deep into posterity, before an Historiographer will be found to employ more industry, perseverance, and

TWO HUNDRED and THIRTY-ONE VOLUMES, in manuscript of various sizes, chiefly bound in vellum, containing a vast body of information upon the subject of India, with many useful **INDEXES**.

Several **BUNDLES of LETTERS**, chiefly from Madras and Bombay, upon the subject of the Company's transactions in India.

THIRTY-FIVE LARGE VOLUMES in folio and quarto, containing maps, plans, and views in the Peninsula of India, principally by the Chief Engineer, and given to Mr. Orme by the several English Commanders in India.

FOUR large PORT FOLIOS, containing maps, plans, views, &c.

TWENTY ROLLS, containing sundry maps, plans, &c.

A BUST of Mr. ORME, executed by Mr. **NOLLEKENS**.

SIX FIGURES in brass, representing some of the principal emblems of the divine attributes, according to the mythology of the Hindus.

and learning, to illustrate the History and Commerce of the East, than we have shown to have been employed by our Author. The circumstances that he has recorded will serve as examples to future ages; but, more especially, the noble acts of humanity which the British conquerors have exercised among the poor and oppressed Indians, will ever shine with the brightest lustre.

Our liberality in victorious war, and the mild principles of conduct which are dictated by our equal system of laws, have exhibited a striking contrast to the arbitrary and imperious proceedings of Asiatic despots; and this object is still more effectually promoted by the establishment of independent Courts of Judicature, now introduced into the different parts of the British dominions in India, for the purpose of restricting all unauthorized acts of power in the servants and dependants of the Government, without infringing the inoffensive customs, religious or domestic, of the natives; by which justice is administered to all ranks of people in a manner that will tend to raise that numerous, though feeble and submissive race, to a rank in human existence worthy of the British name.

It may safely be asserted, that the natives of India now enjoy a protection for their lives, property, and industry, which had heretofore been either unknown or precarious among them, as numerous examples in our Author's writings affectingly evince. Nor is this all; for the extension of the British dominion in India opens to the learned world an amazing fund of knowledge, which had lain buried in oblivion on the banks of the Ganges from the earliest times.

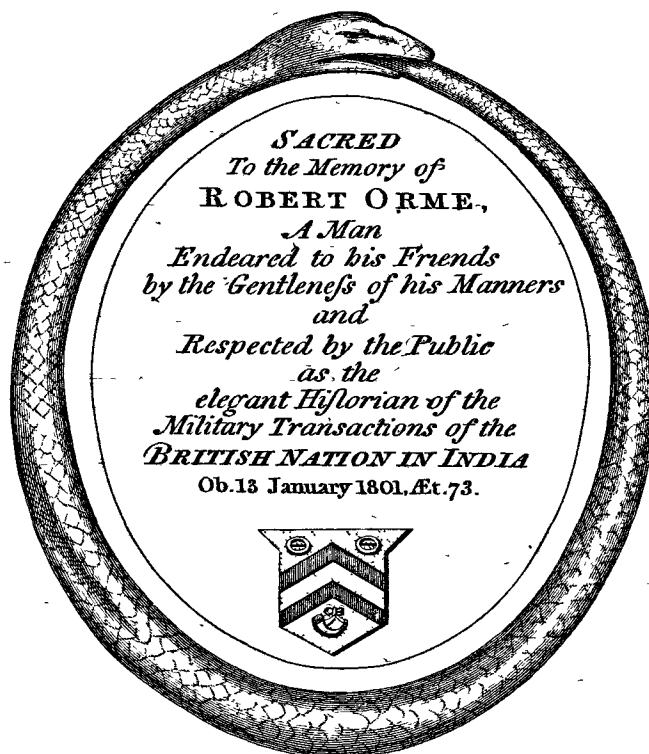
The successful industry of a few gentlemen, in the most difficult and laborious parts of Eastern learning, particularly in the study of the Sanscrit language; the establishment of an Oriental Library and Museum at the East India House; the formation of the Asiatic Society at Calcutta for the promotion of researches into the history, languages, and antiquities of Eastern nations; and, finally, the institution of a College in this country for the instruction of young gentlemen intended for the Civil Service of the East India Company abroad, promise to be of important service to mankind in general, but to this country in particular, and will mark the commencement of the 19th century as a grand epocha in the republic of letters.

Though

Though our Author was not profoundly versed in the learned languages of the country ; yet his active spirit of inquiry, and sagacious observation, had no small share in recommending establishments of such singular national benefit.

To conclude:—Never had liberal and honourable Masters a more zealous, faithful, or disinterested servant, nor the Country a more firm friend, than the late ingenious and amiable ROBERT ORME.

London,
July 10, 1805.



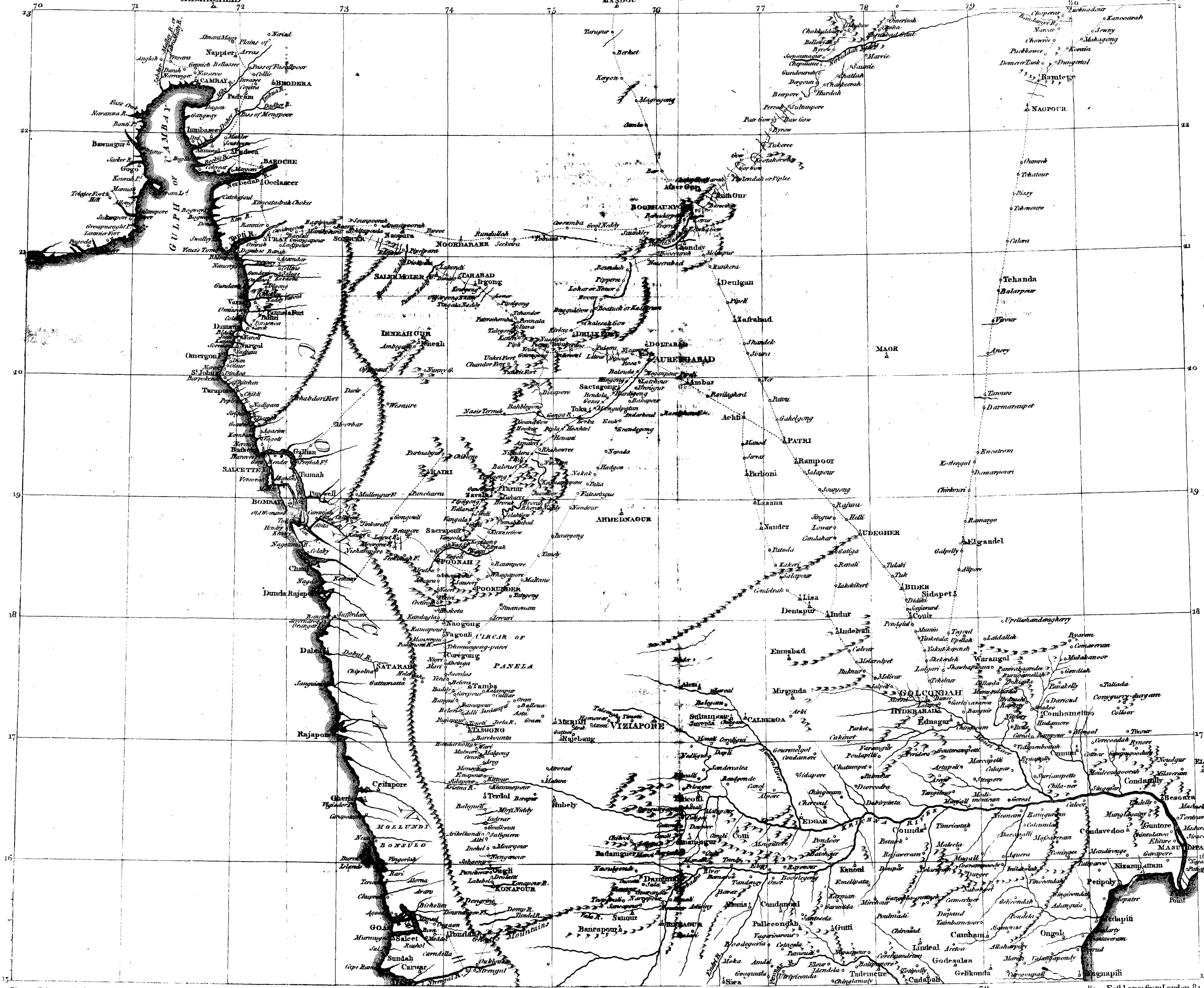
HISTORICAL

HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS
OF THE
MOGUL EMPIRE,
OF THE
MORATTOES,
AND OF THE
ENGLISH CONCERNS
IN INDOSTAN,
FROM THE YEAR M,DC,LIX.

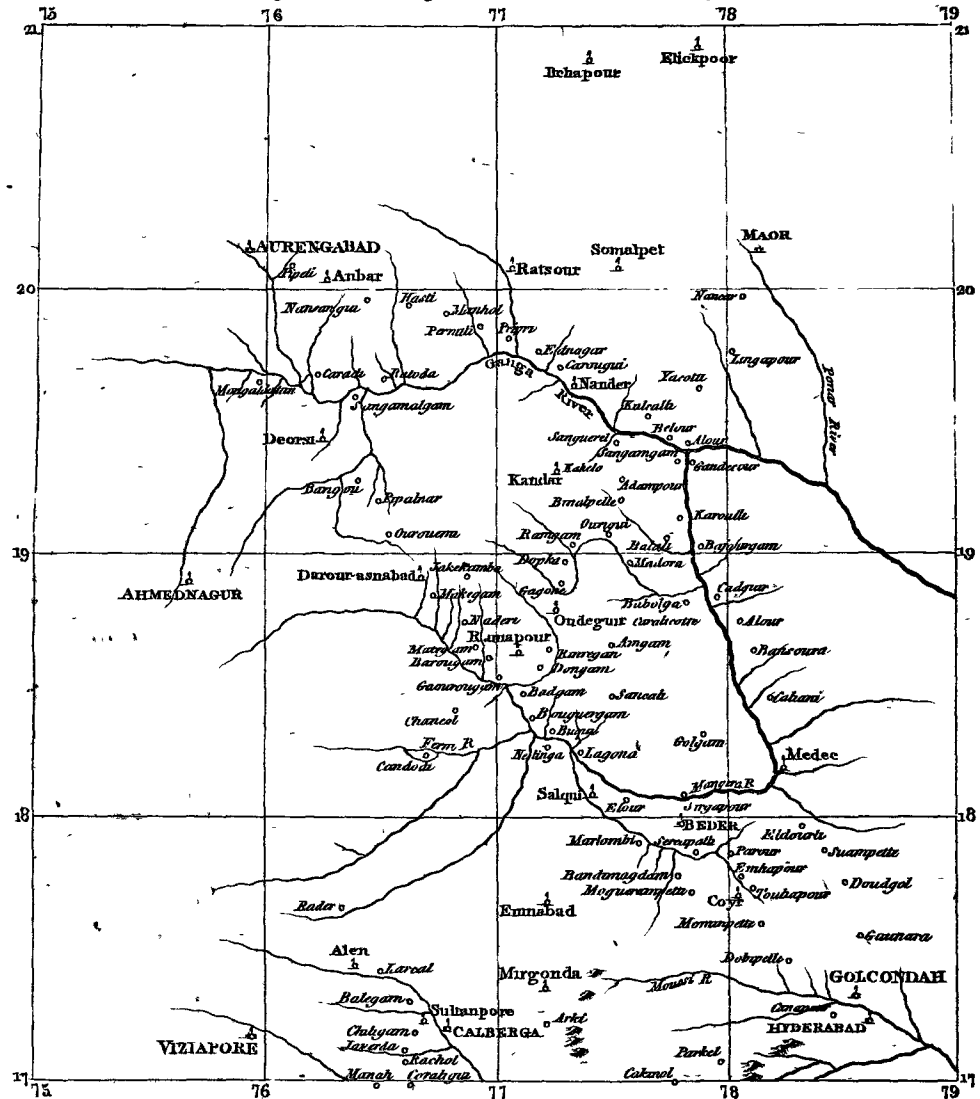
First published in the Year 1782.

AHMEDABAD

MASDOU



According to M^r BUSSYS Marches.



London, Published as the Act directs, Nov. 11. 1762, by C. Nourse in the Strand.

HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS,

&c.

The NOTES are placed at the end of the Volumes

WE have already published some portion of the military transactions of the British Nation in INDOSTAN, from the year 1744. In that publication the affairs of BENGAL are brought down to the month of September 1758, when the presidency of Calcutta detached a considerable part of their force to attack the French possessions in the Northern provinces of Coromandel. Very soon after the departure of this armament, the province of BEHAR dependent on Bengal was invaded by the SHAH ZADA, which title may be interpreted, the acknowledged heir of the Mogul Empire: who some months before had made his escape from Delhi, where his father had been dethroned, and was kept in close confinement by the Vizir. After a variety of distresses, the prince had collected a body of troops, which, with his own name, and supposed

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I.

HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS

4
SECT. posed averfions againft the government of Jaffier, he thought
I: fufficient to reduce the city of Patna. From this poffeffion he
expected to acquire the means of re-eftablifhing his father's,
or at leaft his own authority, at Delhi.

The degradation to which the fovereignty of the Moguls was at this time reduced, in every province of their dominion, proceeded from evils which had been increafing ever fince the death of AURENGZEBE, and cannot be developed without a general view of his reign, as well as the reign of his fucceffors. This period comprizes one hundred years. The events, if we had acquired the knowledge of them in time, would have formed a proper introduction to the later portion of hiftory, which we have already publifhed: and the narrative they require is too extenfive to find place as an infertion in the continuation of that work. We therefore give it apart, and only

Note 1. in the character of FRAGMENTS, which the want of more materials difables us from difpofing into a more regular form.

AURENGZEBE dated the commencement of his reign from 1659. the 12th of May 1659. His father, Shah Jehan, died after feven years confinement in the caftle of Agra, on the 21ft of
n. 2. January 1666. The enquiries of Europeans have not hitherto procured any hiftory of Aurengzebe compofed by a native of Indoftan, which extends beyond the 13th year of his reign,
n. 3. anfwering to 1671 of our æra. Mr. Frazer, who was at Surat
n. 4. in 1740, fays that he forbade his life to be written; Catroux fays quite the contrary; but that he prefcribed the mode,
Accordingly,

Accordingly, the **ALUNGVIENAMA**, which comprizes the first ten years of his reign, was composed under his immediate inspection, and is a shameless apology for the depofal and imprisonment of his father, and the destruction of his three brothers, with fix of their fons; whose removal cleared his way to the throne. But should there be no consecutive history of the subsequent part of his reign, different portions of it will probably be found in the annals of the provinces he ravaged, and of the princes he subdued.

SECT.

I.

n. 5.

The empire, at the death of Shah Jehan, extended from **CABUL** to the **NERBEDDAH**, westward of this river to the **INDUS**, and to the eastward comprehended **BENGAL** and **ORIXA**. And to the south of the Nerbeddah which bounds the Decan, the Moguls had reduced the countries dependent on **BRAMPORE**, **AURENGABAD**, **AHMEDNAGUR**, and **BEDER**, which had been connected into one government; this territory was bounded on the east by **BERAR**, westward by the hills towards **CONCAN**; and by the dominions of **GOLCONDAH** and **VIZIAPORE** to the south.

Aurengzebe held this government of the Decan under his father, and acquired in it the means of dethroning him. Even at that time, his capacious mind had determined to annex all the unconquered countries of the peninsula to the empire; and it is probable that he would have prosecuted this enterprize in person, as soon as released from the anxiety of his father's life, whose death is imputed to him, if wars and insurrections had not demanded his presence in the northern parts of his dominions. In the meantime a power was rising

SECT. I. in the Decan to resist the onset, and, after various vicissitudes, to retaliate on his successors the injuries of his sword.

n. 7. SEVAGI was the founder of the present nation of Morattoes.
n. 8. He drew his lineage from the Rajahs of Chitore, who boast their descent from Porus, and are esteemed the most ancient establishment of Hindoo princes, and the noblest of the Rajpoot tribes*.

The father of Sevagi, with his three sons, had employment under the King of Viziapore. Sevagi, assuming on the merit of several military successes, and on the consciousness of his talents, gave suspicions to the ministers, of which he prevented the effects by retiring with the troops of his own command to the mountains of the sea coast, in which he got possession, without resistance, of several strong forts. The security of these retreats, and the connections he contrived to maintain in the army of Viziapore, brought several bodies of troops to his service; and the reputation of his lineage, and abilities, induced many of the Rajpoots of his own tribe, to devote themselves to his fortunes; and the more, because he was in hostility with a Mahomedan power, against whom they are always fond of fighting. The plunder of the champaign country was the means of subsistence. The king of Viziapore sent a considerable

* The descent of the Chitore Rajahs from Porus, although asserted by European travellers, does not seem to be established by Indian writers. In the history described in p. xliii of the LIFE, and compiled by a Hindoo, they are stated to have been established from 30 generations, and to have possessed a revenue of 16 millions sterling. But even that, at the ordinary computation, would not bring them within 800 years of the age of Alexander (350 years A. C.). Porus, who was conquered by Alexander, is by the same historian styled Rajah P'hoor, Sovereign of Canoge, and is called Phoor in the historical poem of the Shâh-nâmeh. We draw the substance of this note from a paper communicated to Mr. Orme by Sir Charles Rouse Boughton, bart.



Sharp Sculp -

SEVAGI.

force against him, of which he seduced the commander Abdul to a conference, by professions of submission, and stabbed him with his own hand; it is said, by a device, which, if practicable, could not be suspected; on which an ambuscade cut down all the retinue, except the general's son, who escaped back to the camp, which immediately broke up and dispersed.

SECT.

I.

n. 9.

Aurengzebe commanded at this time in the Decan, and was meditating his ambitious return to Delhi; he had broken the force of Golcondah, but Viziapore still remained formidable, and would become much more so after the departure of the best troops and generals, whom he intended to take with him. His sagacity saw a substitute in the enterprising spirit of Sevagi; whom he congratulated on his victory over Abdul, exhorted him to persevere, gave him two or three forts, which opened into Viziapore: but not foreseeing the extent of the concession, or confident of retrieving it, promised that he should hold, exempt from tribute to the Mogul, whatsoever territories he might conquer belonging to that kingdom.

✓ Pannela was one of the strongest fortresses in the Concan, towards the capital of Viziapore, and Sevagi got possession of it by a stratagem. Seven or eight hundred of his best troops were led off by their officers, who had suffered themselves, some to be affronted, others to be chastised by him: they took service in Pannela, which Sevagi some time after invested, and the officers on a set night, at a part where trees were growing

n. 10.

as

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I.

as high as the walls, received as many of his men from without, as, with those within, were sufficient to overpower the garrison; and then opened the gates. Sevagi acquiring more troops with the increase of his reputation, extended his ravages still farther into the dominions of Viziapore. The king sent his whole force against him, under the command of the son of Abdul. Sevagi kept the field, but out of reach, until he had bought one of the generals, who commanded a considerable part of the cavalry; and then stood the shock. The tainted general kept aloof, which spreading suspicions of more treasons, the efforts of personal valour in Abdul's son were not seconded, and he retired, although with much greater numbers, little less than discomfited from the field. Many of the suborned cavalry, although not the general, joined Sevagi; who soon after appeared plundering, in the mode of the Morattoes of this day, within sight of the walls of Viziapore: on which the king's army marched against Pannela, which called back Sevagi to its defence. The siege was conducted by Siddee Jore, an officer of long standing and reputation, who held the government of the port of Dunda Rajapore, with the adjacent country; and was admiral of the fleet, which the king maintained on the coast, to protect his trading ships against the Portuguese, and the government of Surat. Siddee Jore invested Pannela closely, and a long while, but to no effect. At length Sevagi negotiated, and having made it publicly believed that he was on the point of giving it up on certain terms, went
secretly

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1.

secretly out of the fort, and arriving suddenly with troops from his other stations at Dunda Rajapore, produced an order, as from Siddee Jore, for the delivery of this place, as the condition of the surrender of Pannela. His appearance gave credit to the forgery; for it was not supposed that he could have got out of Pannela without the permission of Siddee Jore; and he was admitted into the town on the land; but the commander of the fortified island, called Gingerah, which is the valid bulwark of the harbour, entertained suspicions, and would not deliver it up.

On the loss of Rajahpore, the siege of Pannela was raised, and Siddee Jore went to exculpate himself to the king, who dissimbled his resentment; which the Siddee nevertheless discovered, and left Viziapore, intending to retire to his own domain. He was accompanied by the troops of his command, who were a strong body; a larger was sent in pursuit of whom he defeated; on which the king himself took the field; but as a surer method, bought some of the officers nearest to the Siddee, who assassinated him on the night before he intended to give battle. Meanwhile Sevagi at Rajahpore was trying all means to get possession of the fortified island; but the governor was the heir of Siddee Jore, and from desire to revenge his death, as well as for the more splendid establishment of his own fortune, treated with the generals of Aurengzebe in Guzerat and the Decan, proffering his service with the fort of Gingerah, and the whole fleet of Viziapore: his terms

SECT. were accepted, and he was appointed the Mogul's admiral, with a large stipend on the revenues of Surat, from whence he afterwards continually received succours against Sevagi. These events happened in the years 1660, and 1661; and such was the origin of the power of the SIDDEES under the Mogul.

1660. Sevagi had scarcely thrown this confusion into the kingdom of Viziapore, when it was increased by the death of the king, leaving his son a minor, and the nobles disputing the regency.

1661. Taking advantage of these circumstances, Sevagi sent detachments to reduce the domains of Viziapore along the sea-coast of the Concan. Some places they ravaged, and levied contribution in others; of others they kept possession, and scarcely met resistance in any: for the dissensions in the administration prevented succours. In the seaports which he intended to maintain, he encouraged, instead of suppressing, their ancient practices of piracy.

At the same time Sevagi himself, from his forts in the northern hills, issued into the plain, and on opposition from the troops of the Mogul, contrary, as he pretended, to treaty, directed his ravages against his territory, between Admednagar and Aurengabad. Aurengzebe was at this time in quiet possession of the throne, having destroyed his three brothers, and reconciled the people to the imprisonment of his father: he heard with indignation these insults of the adventurer he had encouraged; such as the powers of Viziapore and Golcondah had long been deterred from attempting: and peremptory orders

orders were sent to Chæst Khân, the Subah of the conquered territories in the Decan, and uncle to the emperor by marriage, to extirpate Sevagi, and his adherents. The Subah marched with a multitude of troops, to the foot of the hills, and reduced most of Sevagi's out-posts without much resistance, but was stopped much longer before Chagnah, which, although on the edge of the campaign country, was a rock inaccessible to assault, and he is said to have taken it by flying a paper-kite with a lighted match at the tail, which blew up the magazine of powder; and the explosion destroyed the garrison. The season of the rains and storms in these hills and the coast below them, permits no operations abroad from the beginning of May to the latter end of August. In the next campaign, the forces of the Decan were joined by those of Guzerat, under the command of the Maha Rajah Jeffwont Sing, of Joudpore, on whom Aurengzebe had conferred the government of that province. Religion, power, birth, and pride, concurred to set the two Subahs at variance, not unknown to Sevagi, who tendered his services to the Mahah Rajah to assassinate Chæst Khan; which was accepted. The event is related different ways; in one, that Sevagi acted in person: it is certain he provided the assassins.

They got into the tent of Chæst Khan after midnight, who escaped with a severe wound in his hand, defending his head; but his son, rushing in to his assistance, was slain. The con-

SECT.

I.

n. 11.

n. 12.

1663.

SECT. I. fusion and suspicion produced by this event, and the incapacity to which Chæst Khan was reduced by his wound, put an end to offensive operations during the rest of this campaign; and Chæst Khan returning to Delhi, the next was not opened with the return of the fair season, which gave Sevagi room to appear again abroad from his inward retreats in the hills. Nor did he lose the opportunity.

1664. The blow he meditated was against Surat. It is said he went into the city in disguise, and remained in it three days, picking up intelligence, and marking the opulent houses. To conceal his intentions, he formed two camps; one before Chau, the other before Bassein, as if his designs were in those quarters. He then took 4000 horse from his camp at Bassein, ordering the rest to continue the same watches, and music, as if their numbers were not diminished, and himself not absent. He led his party through unfrequented tracts, which he had himself examined; and appeared in sight of Surat before his approach was known. The city at this time had only one wall, and that of earth; nor were the gates of any strength. The governor of the town took refuge with him of the castle, and his example was followed by all who could gain admittance. From this terror no resistance was made in the town, but the castle fired continually after Sevagi had entered, which he disregarded; but, apprehensive of troops from Ahmedabad, remained only three days in the town. The booty he collected in treasure, jewels, and precious

cious commodities, was estimated at a million sterling; which is not improbable, for he knew where to seek and demand them; and the annual importations of gold and silver from the gulphs of Arabia and Persia, besides what came directly from Europe, amounted at this time to 50,00,000 rupees, and two families in the town were the richest mercantile houses in the world; there were many others of great wealth. The English and Dutch factories stood on their defence, but Sevagi gave them no molestation. This happened in January 1664.

SECT.

I.

1664.

Besides the abundance of its commerce, Surat was in high renown, as being the port through which the Mogul's subjects made the pilgrimage to Mecca, of which, in the archives of the empire, it was called the port. Aurengzebe felt the disgrace, as well as the detriment, of the insult; and foresaw it might be repeated, until the city were better fortified, which required time; unless Sevagi were coerced by the strongest necessity of self-defence. The whole army of the Decan invaded his territory; the conduct of the war was committed to Jysing, the Rajah of Abnir, who had a secret instruction to entice Sevagi to Delhi, but preferred the nobler exercise of the sword, until the active and obstinate resistance of Sevagi produced a solemn assurance of safety from Aurengzebe himself; on which he set out for Delhi, accompanied by a decent retinue, and his eldest son. He had formed several excellent officers, worthy of trust, and ordered them to keep up his whole force, under the usual strictness,

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2. 13.

strictness, and ready to move at his call; but forbade them to trust any letters from himself, unless confirmed by the verbal messages of particular persons whom he took with him, in appearance as menial servants. He was received by Aurengzebe with much courtesy; which continued, until the ladies of the Seraglio, incited by the wife of Chaest Khan, in revenge for the death of her son, and the disgrace of her husband, solicited Aurengzebe, not unwilling, to destroy him. But the high Omrahs said they had no other security for their own lives, than the word of the king, and that the Hindoo Rajahs would revolt at such a breach of faith to one of their own condition. Sevagi, at the public audience, upbraided Aurengzebe with the intention, and said that he thought Chaest Khan and Surat had taught him better the value of such a servant; then drew his dagger to stab himself, but his arm was stopt. Aurengzebe condescended to sooth him, repeated his first assurance of safety, and requested his service in the expedition he was preparing against Candahar. Sevagi replied, he could command no troops but his own, and was permitted to send for them. Nevertheless his dwelling and all his doings were narrowly watched. He sent his letters by his trusty messengers, who carried orders very different from the letters. His army moved into Guzerat, on the road to Delhi, and small parties, too small to create suspicion, were sent forward, one beyond another, with the fleetest horses. When the foremost reached its station, Sevagi and his son were carried out of their dwelling

ling at night in covered baskets, such as fruit and repasts are sent in from persons of distinction to one another; and a boat, as for common passengers, was waiting at the extremity of the city. They passed the river unsuspected, when Sevagi giving the boat-man money, bid him go and tell Aurengzebe, that he had carried Sevagi and his son across the Jumna; then mounting with the first party, they set off at speed, and recrossed the river at a ford lower down; after which their track and stations were through an unfrequented circuit to the west of the great cities, and amongst the mountains. The son, who had not yet reached his growth, emulating his father, sunk, and died in the way, of fatigue; and the father, leaving attendants to perform the obsequies of his funeral pile, pushed on until he joined his army in Guzerat; which he turned with burning vengeance against the Mogul's lands, wheresoever they were not appeased by money, or opposed by strong situations. Surat, as the most scornful defiance, Sevagi reserved to himself. A new wall was begun, but far from finished; and the inhabitants, to prevent his troops from entering the city, as well as to remove them from the manufacturing villages around, capitulated with him in his camp, for a ransom, which he did not raise to excess, as he intended to come again for more. The Rajah Jyving was again employed to oppose him, and, as before, with instructions to persuade his return to Delhi; to which Sevagi replied, that he did not think Aurengzebe such a fool, as to think him such a one, to trust himself a second time to the man who had once deceived him.

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I.

All accommodations being at an end, the Mogul troops belonging to the governments of Aurengabad and Ahmednagar, moved again to the hills of Concan, and passed the campaign at the foot of them, watchful to prevent the incursions of Sevagi into the plain country; but made few attempts on his strong holds within the mountains; nor were they solicitous to give protection to the territories on either side of them, belonging to the king of Viziapore, with whom they were at continual variance, on the account of disputed districts, or defaulting tributes. Their principal station was at the city of Jerneah, which lies under the impregnable fortress of the same name. Sevagi, who never preferred the fame to the utility of his exploits, determined to avoid all encounter with the Mogul troops, without certain advantage; to plunder in Viziapore, when most convenient or necessary; but to persevere without ceasing in reducing the country between the hills and the sea.

Every success, howsoever extraneous, which increased his strength, was now considered by Aurengzebe, as effectual obstacles to his own schemes of conquest in the Decan: nor was he affected with less resentment by the spoil of his own territory, in which the bands of Sevagi, descending suddenly from the mountains, committed ravage, as it were at will; eluding both resistance and pursuit. To reduce him by the sword was out of the question; nor was the dagger more likely to succeed against a man, who had used it with so much subtlety and expertness; and Aurengzebe concluding that he could only be

be taken in the toils of ambition, formed a plan, which, even if failing in the main end, would, like many others of his profound sagacity, operate to other intentions of his policy.

In 1667,* he appointed his son, Mahomed Mauzum (now become the eldest by the death of his brother in imprisonment) to the viceroyalty of the Decan, and gave him in secret conference, the instruction of his conduct. The prince marched from Delhi with a numerous and chosen army; and amongst the officers were several of whom Aurengzebe entertained suspicions. It is said that Sevagi, disguised like a peasant, waited his passage through a village near Brampore, and presented a plate of cream, which, from its appearance, Mauzum ordered to be served at his meal; within was a note inclosed in wax, written by Sevagi, declaring, that curiosity had led him to view the mighty prince, who now condescended to become his antagonist in the lists of fame; expecting to acquire more from this contest than from all his former achievements. The gallantry of the defiance, if true, must have warned the prince (had there not been proofs before) of the dangerous resources of his intricate intrepidity.

The Mogul army spread along the foot of the hills to the north and south of Jenneah-gur, but with such careless watch, that the bands of Sevagi made excursions through them, even to the gates of Viziapore, and returned with rich booties and impunity: much less were they interrupted in

* This date appears in Mr. Gentil.

SECT. reducing the sea coast of the Concan. The Mogul soldiery murmured through envy, and criminated the indolence of their generals, who cast the blame on their prince. Aurengzebe received accounts from many hands, of the state of the army, and answered them by suspicions of his son; whom he nevertheless ordered the accusers to obey at all events, that he might discover his real intentions, which, if sinister, he reserved to himself to punish; at the same time he instructed his son, to make the vindictive displeasure of his father the plea of the revolt, which had been concerted between them before he left Delhi. And so many evidences of the Emperor's mistrust were in the camp, that few suspected the dissimulation. Jyasing of Abnir commanded the auxiliary forces of the Rajahs, and Delire Khan the Mogul troops, under Sultan Mauzum. Jyasing was attached to the prince, from respect to his birth; for his mother was the daughter of a Rajah of high antiquity. He concurred in the revolt, and giving his own, not only procured the signature of all the other Rajahs in the army, but likewise induced Jessyont Sing, of Joudpore, to promise that he would join the standards of Sultan Mauzum, when advanced as far as his country. Services which Delire Khan had rendered Aurengzebe in his wars for the throne, had only left suspicions, instead of gratitude; which had not escaped his penetration, and now in turn led him to suspect some machination of Aurengzebe in the revolt of his son; in consequence of which, he marched away with the

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the troops of his command to Delhi, as a proof of his fidelity; which only disappointed Aurengzebe, without changing his opinion; who nevertheless ordered him to halt in Malva, as an advanced guard against the approach of Sultan Mauzum, and made preparations to march himself towards Agra.

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I.

Things being in this apparent state of commotion, Sultan Mauzum applied to Sevagi for assistance, representing the motives of his revolt, and the adherents he had gained; all which Sevagi knew before by his spies; but suspected: and in order to obtain certitude from time, promised troops with his own service in person, in the day of conflict. To remove his doubts, Mauzum moved with his army from Aurengabad, towards the north; nevertheless not Sevagi from home; but waited intelligence from his emissaries at Delhi, who could discover nothing: for Aurengzebe had revealed the collusion to no one. But he appeared without anxiety in his countenance, nor were the military preparations urged with his usual activity; which decided the judgment of Sevagi. Sultan Mauzum, marching onward, remonstrated to Sevagi the evil consequences of his delay to join the army; and to convince him of the reality of the revolt, formally distributed all the great employments in the empire. Sevagi answered, that the Sultan's force alone was more than sufficient to discomfit the languid efforts of his father; but promised to guard the Decan in his absence, and, in the case of his defeat, assured him of refuge in his own territory. The Sultan now began to think

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I.

that Sevagi might suspect his scheme, and, as a last trial, reproached him with the hazardous venture he had made, from reliance on his assistance in the hour of decision, which was now become inevitable; and offered him the post of captain-general of his army and future empire. Sevagi advised him not to wait for his troops, but give battle without hesitation; if defeated, to fall back into the Decan, where he would join in maintaining the war against Aurengzebe, until the last extremity; which it is probable he would have done.

By this time the army was arrived at the river Schambal, in Malva, and Sultan Mauzum was convinced that Sevagi had discovered the snare. On which he changed his secret correspondence with his father to an open negotiation of apology, and by his order returned to Aurengabad, and continued in the government of the Decan. Jysing died of poison; imputed to Aurengzebe, on his arrival at Brampore; several officers, who had been the most zealous in the revolt, were seized, and imprisoned for life; and all the others were made known to Aurengzebe; who moreover by this complicated stratagem, fixed, as he had foreseen such general distrust on his son, as was likely to prevent him from gaining support in any future intention of real rebellion. Sultan Mauzum returned to Delhi, and arrived there on the succeeding January, a few days after the death of his grandfather Shah Jehan. These events closed with the year 1665, during which the empire was threatened with invasion from Persia, at this time ruled by Shah Abbas the second,

1665.

n. 15.

second, whose troops were continually repairing to Kandahar; and both sovereigns intended to command their armies in person: but before either were ready, Shah Abbas died at Tauris in September 1666, and the infancy of his successor changed the councils of Persia to peace: nevertheless their intrigues had sown the seeds of future commotions in the Mogul's empire; for several of the Pitan tribes of Pishavir and Cabul had confederated to join the Persians; and being left by the death of the Sophy to the mercy of Aurengzebe, were punished with vindictive severity. Tumults ensued, which were quelled and revived, until time and despair united all the tribes in steadfast rebellion.

SECT.

I:

n. 16.

1666.

Sultan Mauzum was recalled to Delhi in 1667, when the command of the Decan devolved on Bahadar Khan, an Omrah of high birth, and little enterprise, which Aurengzebe endeavoured to supply by sending back Delire Khan to act as his second, whom he thus removed with the appearance of favour from the hope of employment against his own countrymen the Pitans, amongst whom he could not be trusted. Both the generals were enjoined to exert their utmost efforts in repressing Sevagi, who was continually gaining ground.

1667.

The Concan is that region, which extends along the western coast of India from the territory of Goa to Damian, in length two hundred and forty miles. The vast range of hills which accompanies the sea coast, and always in sight of it from Cape Comerin to Damian, is called the GAUTS, an Indian word, which signifies.

n. 17.

SECT. I. signifies passages. This chain, never more than fifty, or less than thirty miles from the sea, has in its whole extent very few passes which open into the inland country by windings amongst the mountains which diminish the abruptness of the ascent. In all other parts, and especially in the Concan, the whole chain seems one connected wall, to the summit of which every path has been hewn by the hand of man, and nevertheless is not to be ascended even by the single foot of the traveller without the fatigue of hours. The eastern side of the ridge is not so steep, neither is it so high; because the level of the coast lies much lower than the level of the inland country, which nevertheless continues breaking for many miles from the foot of the Gauts into separate mountains, of which several nearly vie in height with the Gauts themselves. The sea coast is intersected by many rivers, all of which descend from the Gauts.

Sevagi was at this time in possession of all the ridge in the extent from Rajapore to Daman; besides which he had several detached fortresses of great strength to the eastward: Pannela, between Pondah and Viziapore, Saler Moler on the Tapti east of Surat, Rairi thirty miles to the south of Jenneah-gur, and like it, an extensive fortification on the table of a very high rock. At this place he fixed his treasury, and the residence of his court. Excepting Chaul, which continued to the Portuguese, he was in possession of the sea coast from the river of Rajapore to the river Penn, which flows into the harbour of BOMBAY.

This island had been ceded to the crown of England in 1662, as the dowry of Katharine, princess of Portugal, on her marriage with CHARLES the second, who sent a squadron with a regiment to take possession, accompanied by a new Viceroy of Goa to effect the surrender; but the Portuguese gentry, amongst whom the lands of the island were divided, pretended that the terms of cession were contrary to their rights, and being abetted in their cavils by their connexions at Bassein and Goa, refused to acknowledge the Viceroy, if he persisted. On this the armament went to the road of Swally, where the troops landed, and alarmed the governor of Surat so much, that he threatened to destroy the English factory in the city, which at this time was the presidency of all their settlements in India. The armament therefore sailed away to the island of Anchidiva, near Goa, where they continued negotiating until one half of the troops and seamen died through the inclemency of the climate; and amongst them Sir Andrew Shipman, who had been appointed to govern Bombay. His secretary Cook, presuming on some delegation of powers, concluded a treaty with the council of Goa, very derogatory from the rights granted by the crown of Portugal. This treaty was executed on the 14th of January 1665, and soon after the remains of the armament sailed to Bombay, and were permitted to take possession. However the treaty was disavowed in England, and Sir Samuel Lucas was appointed governor, still for the crown; but King Charles soon
tired

SECT. I. tired of the expence, and granted the island to the East India company, with extraordinary privileges, by a charter dated 1668. the 27th of March 1668; when the company appointed commissioners to govern it under the controul of the presidency of Surat.

n. 18. The tract of land on the main, which extends from Tull, the south point of the harbour, to the river Penn, which lies deep within the bay, is extremely fertile, and was called the CORLAHS, meaning districts; from which Sevagi permitted the new settlers to draw provisions, and treated them as welcome customers whilst they continued defenceless: Neither side seem to have had any competent notion of the value, of what the one had acquired, and the other had neglected to get possession.

n. 19. It was near thirteen years since Sevagi had gained the town of Dunda Rajapore, from whence he had every year opened batteries against the fortified island of Gingerah, which stands within half a mile of the shore: but the Siddee kept Gallivats under the walls, and ships in the harbour, which Sevagi had not vessels to withstand, and therefore could never venture to transport his troops to the assault.

The Mogul's generals established their principal incampment at Jenneah-gur, which, since Sevagi had fixed his residence at Rairi, became still more the proper situation to watch his excursions either towards Surat or Aurengabad; but he continued to elude their vigilance, and at the end of

1669 appeared suddenly at the head of his army before Surat: a part of the wall still remained unfinished, at which his troops entered with little resistance; and the governor of the town pretending surprise retired into the castle. Every house which did not pay competent ransom was plundered, but the English and Dutch factories were exempted, as in 1664, from either molestation or demand. The booty was regularly collected, and carried to Raicea. The governor was suspected of connivance, and soon after died suddenly of poison, administered, it is said, by the order of Aurengzebe, who could scarcely have recurred to such means of removing one of his own officers, but from the apprehension of his escape, if apprized by usual warning.

SECT.

I.

1669.

n. 20.

The insult exasperated Aurengzebe as much as the former sack of 1664: he renewed his injunctions of exertion to his generals, and reinforcements were ordered to join them even from the province of Behar; probably because none nearer to the person of the emperor could be spared, from his reserves for the war of the Pitans. But as a surer means of confining Sevagi to his own defence, he ordered vessels to be built in the ports of Surat and Cambay, which were to carry troops, and make descents on the shores of the Concan, in conjunction with the fleet commanded by the Siddee.

n. 21.

n. 22.

These preparations only increased the exertions of Sevagi to extend his conquests along the coast. In 1670 he sent a large detachment to attack the town of Rajapore; which is

1670.

n. 23.

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situated

SECT. ¹⁻ situated on a fine river, forty miles to the north of Gheriah, and had long been, as at this time, a very frequented port, immediately belonging to the king of Viziapore. Resistance was made even in the field; but the town was carried, and all kind of property, although much belonged to the trade of states with whom Sevagi had no quarrel, was plundered without remission or distinction. The English at this time had a factory in the town; and estimated their loss at 10,000 pagodas.

1671. In the beginning of 1671, he appeared again before Surat, n. 24. ravaging and plundering until the city paid him a large contribution in money. We find him at Rairee in December, and his agent at the same time at Bombay treating about a compensation for the loss, which the company had sustained at Rajapore.

1672. In the beginning of the ensuing year 1672, Delhire Khan took a strong fort called Pinna Chaukna, in Sevagi's upper or northern country, and put all the males above nine years of age to the sword. Sevagi immediately called troops from all his garrisons; giving out that he intended to offer Delhire Khan battle, who although he had 60,000 horse, was deceived by invented reports, and waited in expectation of the encounter at Jenneah, until he heard that Sevagi had marched round forty miles to the north with a large convoy of provisions, and had effected his real purpose of victualling Saler Moler; from whence he returned, again out of the reach of Delhire

Delhire Khan, to Rairee, where he arrived in February; and immediately came down the Gauts to Decir; when it was believed, that he designed to proceed to Surat; but as he never did the thing he seemed to mean, went back to Rairee. Soon after the rains and stormy season set in, during which operations in the field are generally precluded until the end of September; but in the month of July Sevagi came down the Gauts again with his army, and advancing from Decir along the lower mountains, sent forward his general Morah Pundit with 10,000 horse to Surat, intending to burn the fleet which had been built by the Mogul's order, and was assembled in the river ready to sail with the Siddee's, as soon as the season would permit. It would have saved a double march if he had made the attempt on Surat immediately after he had victualled Saler Moler; but the city, as well as the camp at Jenneah, had taken the alarm; and by desisting at that time, and again, when he came down the Gauts before the rains, he prevented all suspicion of his intention at this adverse season.

Whilst waiting the result of Morah Pundit's expedition, Sevagi himself continued with the rest of his force in the territory of Ghour and Ramnagur, which bordered on the districts of the Portuguese at Daman, and belonged to two petty Rajahs, who had allowed and concealed his march when he surprized Surat in 1664, and afterwards whensoever required. These services had been requited with money and attentions: and now as a compliment, Sevagi tendered a visit

SECT.
I.
1672.

SECT. I. 1672. to the Rajah of Ramnagur in his fort; and being admitted, seized, and kept possession of it; saying that it was inconvenient to trust him any longer with the key of his treasury; for such he was wont to call Surat. The stations in the mountains were the only value of the territory belonging to the Rajah's; to whom the low land of the Portuguese paid tribute for refraining from the plunder of its harvests. Sevagi sent a body of troops, who having sufficiently displayed themselves, halted quietly at the barrier of Daman, where their appearance, as it was intended to try, raised the utmost consternation; for although a regular fortification, nothing was in readiness for defence. After some guns had been hauled up from the ditches to the bastions, an officer was sent to inquire the intention of Sevagi's, who answered that he was an embassador come to establish the same tribute, which used to be paid to the Rajahs.

At this time Sultan Mauzum had returned to Aurengabad, entrusted again with the supreme command of the Decan, although immediately after his release from a confinement of two years, inflicted for causes not mentioned; but probably from discoveries, which left doubts whether he would not have revolted in earnest, if Sevagi, when invited, had joined him in 1666. The continuance of Delhire Khan in his command after the return of Sultan Mauzum, seems to authorize the notion: which the restoration of Sultan Mauzum does not contradict; since it was consonant with the deep and undaunted policy of Aurengzebe,

Aurengzebe, to trust whom he suspected, with means which might tempt the venture; and a persuasion prevailed in the country that the Sultan was in intelligence with Sevagi on his arrival.

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I.
1672.

Morah Pundit failed in the intention of burning the king's vessels, which rode under the protection of the Siddee's ships, and of the castle; but he closely beset the town, and stopped all access, whether of trade or provisions. The new governor was a dependant on Sultan Mauzum; for in Indostan the connexion between the patron and client last through life, unless dissolved by permission, or treachery. Morah Pundit demanded an exorbitant ransom from the town, it was supposed by the governor's advice, who used the pretence to levy extravagant sums, even by violence; which with the continuance of the distresses from the enemy without, were intended, it was thought with the approbation of Sultan Mauzum, to drive the inhabitants in despair to open their gates to Sevagi. However as soon as the season permitted the fleets to put to sea, Morah Pundit compromised for the retreat of his army, at much less than his first demands: but the sum was still great, and the governor reserved more of what he had collected, for himself.

Sevagi* in the mean time was looking out another way. England and France were at this period united in war against

* We have taken this excursion of Sevagi to Golconda, in 1672, from Carre-

SECT. I. 1672. the States of Holland. In the beginning of the year 1672 the fleet which Mr. De La Haye brought from France, sailed from Surát to make an establishment in the bay of Trincomalee, where they were opposed by a larger fleet of the Dutch, commanded by Rickloff Van Goen, the governor of Ceylon. Mr. De La Haye leaving a part of his troops to maintain the works he had raised in the bay, sailed to the coast of Coromandel, and receiving some insulting answers from the Moorish governor of San Thomé, landed and carried the town by assault, which at that time belonged to the king of Golcondah, whose forces had taken it thirteen years before from the Portuguese; and the conquest, as from Europeans, had been proudly rated. All the stationed forces of the province from Nelore to Sadras assembled to retake it, advanced awkwardly, and the king prepared to send a better army, as soon as the season should permit in December. Sevagi received intelligence of these events and intentions from his emissaries at Golcondah and in the Carnatic; and in the month of November went off from Rairee with 10,000 horse. No one knew whither the storm was directed; it was expected at Viziapore, Ahmédnagur, and even at Aurengabad, when he appeared almost as soon as the news of his approach at Golcondah. The adjacent city of Hyderabad was at this time open, but very populous, and the resort of much opulence; he threatened to lay it in ashes, if he were not immediately paid two millions of pagodas; it is said that the demand

demand was complied with, but we cannot believe to the extent. With the collection he returned to Rairce as rapidly as he had come; and without interruption, although Sultan Mauzum was at this time advancing from Aurengabad, on a visitation to the king of Golcondah, from whom he intended to draw an offering to the Mogul. Still to add to the boldness of Sevagi's excursion, he left his coasts, at this time threatened by the fleets from Surat, which anchored off the island of Bombay, at the end of October, and asked permission to come into the harbour, intending to lay waste the Corlahs of Sevagi, but were refused admittance by the president Angier, who had lately come from Surat to regulate the doubtful state of the island: On which the fleets sailed to Dunda Rajapore, routed the attack on Gingerah, which continued from the shore, and destroyed several of Sevagi's vessels in the harbour; from whence they proceeded down the coast, landing in several creeks and rivers, in which they burnt the towns and vessels; but all this ruin was, at least in pecuniary value, more than compensated, by the money which Sevagi got at Golcondah. The Siddees returning haughty from this expedition, now came into the harbour of Bombay, without asking leave, on the twenty-fourth of December; and were received with constrained civility. The Siddee urged an alliance against Sevagi, whose agent on the island threatened an invasion as the consequence. The Siddee seemed to acquiesce to the dilemma; which left the English no choice but strict neutrality; and

+ after

SECT.

I.

1672.

SECT. after a month stay departed for Surat so well satisfied with
 I. his reception, that he promised by his faith on the Alcoran,
 1672. never to commit hostilities on the Corlahs of Sevagi; if he
 should at any time hereafter be admitted into the harbour.
 But his people, with the habitual insolence of the Moors,
 especially in the service of the Mogul, burnt, as they went
 away, several of the houses in the town of Mazagong, which
 had been allotted for their resort during their stay. We find
 nothing more concerning Sevagi and his state in the course of
 the year 1672.

1673. The Dutch commodore Rickloff Van Goen, who had op-
 n. 25. posed Mr. De la Haye at Trincomalee, came in the begin-
 ning of the next year, from Ceylon to the coast of Malabar,
 with twenty-two ships, having on board 1000 regular troops.
 They proceeded to the northward, but advanced slowly, in
 order to display their force to the ports and princes of the
 coast. The intention of the armament was to attack Bombay,
 and Rickloff sent forward a negotiation with Sevagi for the
 assistance of 3000 of his men from the main: offering in re-
 turn the assistance of his fleet in the reduction of Gingerah;
 but Sevagi had concerted another enterprize which precluded
 this, although solicitous to him; and Rickloff having waited
 some time for his answer, sailed on towards Bombay, without
 the assurances he expected.

n. 26. These delays gave warning equal to the alarm. Five French
 ships had come into the harbour from Persia on the 28th of
 December

December, and two days after failed to Surat, where four of them were lying, when the certainty of Rickloff's approach was known, and immediately returned to Bombay, under the command of Mr. Baron, the French director, seeking and bringing protection. There were in the harbour a Dutch prize and two frigates with three sloops lately built by the company to protect their trade from the Malabar pirates, who ranged at this time from Calicut to Surat. The English president, Mr. Angier, exerted himself with the calmness of a philosopher, and the courage of a centurion. He assembled, and as far as the time allowed, disciplined the militia, which, Christian and Pagan, were 1500 men, all equally black: the genuine European military were 400. Of these troops he took the immediate command, as well as of the whole defence. The French ships and the company's vessels were stationed close to the shore, leaving proper openings for the cannon of the fort.

Rickloff stood into the harbour in the night of the 20th of February, but kept at the bottom of the bay. The next day he came near enough to examine the dispositions of the defence, and then stood out to the western side of the island, off which his fleet kept plying and sounding for two days, and at length threatened a descent in the channel of Mahim, which separates the north side of the island from Salcette. Mr. Angier marched thither with the troops, and displayed them in defiance along the shore; and Rickloff was discour-
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raged,

SECT.

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1673,

SECT. 1.
1673. raged, although he had 6000 Europeans on board his fleet. He sailed for Surat, from whence four ships belonging to the English company, and richly laden, had been dispatched for England before his arrival.

Sevagi, who had been as it were a spectator from his shores, of the contest amongst the three European nations, commenced soon after the expedition he had in contemplation. The king of Viziapore died in December, and the general Bullal Khan gave the diadem to a prince, who although of the family, was not the heir of the throne. The election discontented several governors of provinces, who were abetted by Sevagi, and not unwilling to see the aversion against the administration increased by the detriments of his hostilities; who accordingly sent off an army to the country on the eastern side of the mountains at the back of Carwar and Goa, which abounded in manufacturing villages under many towns of mart, which traded with the capital and the sea. Sevagi's troops destroyed every thing they did not carry away. Their n. 27. booty was great, but in no one place so valuable, as at Hubely, where they found a great store of cloth for exportation, and all kinds of imported commodities, of which Hubely was the deposite. The country resounded with the caravans of plunder, which were continually coming, and discharged at Rairee.

Sevagi himself soon after returned thither to make the most of his booty, and to appropriate the produce to his treasury; but

but he brought back with him farther schemes against Viziapore, and left behind clandestine means of accomplishing them.

SECT.
I.
1673.

Excepting the territory belonging to the Portuguese at Goa, the sea coast with the country west of the mountains, from Rajapore to Mirzeou south of Carwar, still belonged to the king of Viziapore; some parts in immediate sovereignty, others through the hereditary vassalage of several Rajahs, and more chiefs of lesser note, called Desoys. The most considerable of these Indian principalities was the territory of Sundah; and of the immediate governments, Carwar. Sevagi, during his late incursion on the other side the mountains, sent letters, emissaries, and money, to all these dependants on Viziapore, or to their officers, inciting them to rebel, and promising his assistance.

The English company, as before, at the taking of Rajapore, had lost effects to a considerable value in the sack of Hubely. They had long been negotiating for compensation of the former damage. It happened in May, about the time Sevagi returned to Rairee, that the Moguls and Siddee's fleet from Surat, anchored off Bombay, and required permission to pass the impending monsoon in the harbour. This opportunity was taken to send an Englishman again to renew the Rajapore demand, adding to it the new damage of Hubely. Sevagi promised immediate satisfaction, and every advantage, which his dominions could afford, if they would treat the Siddee as

n. 28.

SECT. I. 1673. an enemy, and assist in reducing Gingerah. But nothing at this time acquirable in India, could have compensated the company's trade at Surat, which placed their fortune in the power of the Mogul; and in deference to this danger the president Angier, permitted the four principal frigates of the Mogul's fleet, to be hauled in shore under the care and protection of the garrison; but suffered none of the crews to stay with them, and utterly refused any of the rest, or of the Siddee's fleet, either vessels or men, to remain in the harbour, or island, who accordingly went away in much discontent, to get much less convenient shelter at Gingerah. Sevagi approved this conduct, and promised a speedy adjustment of the Rajapore claim; but said he knew of nothing taken at Hubely, beyond the list produced by his officers, which consisted of a parcel of furniture and trumpery valued at two hundred pagodas, whereas the real loss exceeded eight thousand. He however pressed the English to settle again at Rajapore, with which they soon after complied; and to sell him a great many cannon for the equipment of his fleet, which they evaded.

The seas were left to the storms and tempests of the season, and the mountains to their thunders, and Sevagi, who impatiently waited other signals than the elements, to appear abroad, which happened in the beginning of July, by the open revolt of the Phousdar or governor of Carwar, who seized all the subordinate officers of his jurisdiction, whom he suspected

pected of loyalty to his sovereign of Viziapore, then attacked such of the Desoys as refused to join him, and admitting no neutrality, took what stragglers or property he found unprotected belonging to the Portuguese at Goa; and even besieged the English factory at Carwar, because they refused to supply him with arms and money. Eight thousand horse set off from Viziapore, (the fear of the Mogul's army prevented more) and waited at the foot of the mountains, to pass against the rebel. Sevagi, whose intelligence was as quick as his views, was prepared to take advantage of this confusion, and directed his force from various quarters, where they had been stationed with this intention, and invested the strong and important fortrefs of Satarah, which stands on the western side of the ridge, but itself on a mountain, surrounded by many others, which with the weather secured his circumvallation. No assistance came from Viziapore, and the placè surrendered towards the end of August, it was the depository and refuge of much opulence and treasure. The silver, gold, jewels, and all the other plunder of value, were brought with ostentation to Rairee. Immediately after this expedition much bustle ensued by the motion and change of troops from one station to another, and twenty thousand wallets were prepared at Rairee, as if to bring away the plunder of some city. The report of the wallets turned the attention of the Mogul's army to the protection of Surat; and quieted the apprehensions of Viziapore, concerning Sevagi's intention to succour the rebels

SECT.
I.
1673.

of

1579. ^{I.} **SECRET** of Carwar. But both were deceived, for in the beginning of
 October 25,000 men, marching over different passes of the
 Gaults, and by various routs within them, suddenly appeared, and
 invested the fortress of Pondah, which was situated 300 miles
 from Raïree, and forty s. w. of Goa. It stood on the plain
 near the foot of the Gaults, and commanded the approach to
 the most frequented pass leading from the coast of Sundah and
 Goa, to the inland of Viziapore, whose troops, engaged against
 the rebels of Carwar, immediately retired over the Gaults by
 other passes, leaving nothing to interrupt the siege of Pondah;
 which from its situation alone was capable of long defence
 against such modes of attack as were in those days of usage
 in India, and which even the genius of Sevagi had but little
 improved. He had previously purchased eighty pieces of
 cannon, and lead sufficient for all his matchlocks, from the
 French director at Surat, who had sent them to Rajapore,
 and they were brought as requisite to the camp at Pondah.
 The Siddee's fleet, which had wintered under Gingerah, and
 the Mogul's frigates, which had been hauled on shore at Bom-
 bay, put to sea on the return of the fair season, and cruising
 down the coast took many vessels of trade, and some of war
 belonging to Sevagi, and his country; and others, by wilful
 mistake, which as neutrals, the Siddee was bound to protect.
 On the 10th of October the fleets, without message or warning,
 came again into the harbour of Bombay, and keeping at the
 bottom of the bay, landed at the rivers Penn and Negotan, in
 the

the Corlahs of Sevagi, which they laid waste, with much unnecessary bloodshed, and brought away many of the inhabitants, men, women, and children, to be sold for slaves. Bombay at this time drew all its provisions from these Corlahs; for the Portuguese, who had ever, since the surrender of the island regarded the English establishment with malice, had lately, upon some disputes about duties, stoppt all supplies from Salcette. Mr. Angier remonstrated to the governor of Surat, as well as to the Siddee, against the violation of the harbour, of the Mogul's protection, and of the Siddee's oath; and represented the risques to which the island was exposed from the resentment of Sevagi in return for their deference to the Mogul, by giving shelter to his fleets. But no arguments availed, and Mr. Angier restrained his indignation, from sinking the Siddee's ships when they insolently anchored before the fort. On which the Siddee renewed his depredations in the Corlahs: but after some days, troops arrived from Rairée, who surpris'd one hundred of the Siddee's, and cut every one of them to pièces without mercy. Soon after came down more, which completed 3000, who acted in conjunction, with council and vigilance. The Siddee landed the best part of his force, to try their strength, of which he was not well informed, and his troops were defeated with considerable loss. On this he recalled his smaller vessels from the mouths of the rivers, to the shores of Bombay, where, making a merit of fear, he promised to desist from farther hostilities in the harbour; and in De-

STATE
I
1673

ember

SECT. cember went away with the whole fleet to cruise at sea: where
 I. meeting with little success, he returned to Surat, and de-
 1673. manded money of the governor for the great expence of his
 exploits; which set them a quarrelling.

1674. The opening of the ensuing year found Sevagi still lying
 before the castle of Pondah, on which his artillery had made
 so little impression, that he compounded with the governor,
 to leave him unmolested in the castle with its district, on condi-
 tion that he should give no interruption to Sevagi's troops in
 maintaining the adjoining pass over the mountains, against the
 troops of Viziapore. Sevagi, in this invasion, reduced all the
 coast, from Rajapore to the island of Bardez, which belonged
 to the Portuguese, and was separated only by the harbour
 from the city and island of Goa. The city was not a little
 alarmed by the neighbourhood of Sevagi's operations, which
 greatly distressed their trade and markets; nevertheless, not
 attacked, they refrained from acting offensively; for the sword
 of their ancient valour had long cankered in its spoils.

Sevagi, leaving sufficient force to maintain these new acqui-
 sitions, returned to Rairee in the beginning of April, so well
 satisfied with his success, that he ordered preparations for his
 enthronement as a Rajah or Hindoo sovereign: He had long
 been entirely independent of any other power; but the cere-
 mony sanctified by the bramins, was intended not only to
 insult the Mogul, and the two other mahomedan kings with
 whom he was at war; but especially to authenticate to his own
 5 people

people his title, and the succession, as king of the Morattoe nation: of whose ancient territory, long divided into many portions of foreign yoke, he had now gathered the greatest part into one state, under his own authority; for the Morattoe language extends along the coast from the island of Bardez, to the river Tapti, of which Chaul, Bassein, and Damaun belonging to the Portuguese, and Surat to the Moors, were the only districts under other jurisdiction, and even to these he asserted right: on the other side of the mountains he had likewise conquered much of the ancient Morattoe country, and intended to comprise the whole under his dominion.

SECT.

I.

1674.

n. 29.

Although incensed by the late devastations of the Siddee, Sevagi was satisfied with Mr. Angier's endeavours to prevent them, and repeating his former request for cannon, invited an embassador to settle former differences; but unluckily at this juncture, letters and messengers were continually coming from the governor of Surat, requesting that the Siddee's fleet might pass the approaching monsoon in the harbour: on which Sevagi threatened the effectual vengeance of assisting the Dutch fleet with 10,000 men to attack the island.

This fleet had returned from Surat to the coast of Coromandel, where in August they met, near Metchlepatam, a fleet of ten East Indiamen just arrived from England; which notwithstanding the superiority of Rickloff's, which were twenty-two ships, would not, as they might, avoid the encounter; which was, nevertheless, maintained with obstinacy by only

n. 30.

SECT. I. 1674. three of them; of which, two dismasted were taken, and the other ran ashore, rather than strike. Rickloffé soon after sailed to Ceylon, and in the beginning of this year came again on the coast of Malabar; and was advancing to the northward, sending forward reports of his intention to reduce Bombay, in which he had failed the year before.

This perplexity was increased by the appearance of the Siddeé's fleet, which anchored off the entrance of the harbour, on the 24th of April. The same evening arose a violent gale of wind, which (had they not intended) would have forced them to seek shelter under the Island. As soon as the weather abated, they were requested to depart; instead of which, a great number of boats rowed up in the channel which divides the island from the main; and landed at the north-east point in the town of Sion, out of which they drove the inhabitants, and took possession of their houses, intending to establish their quarters here, during the monsoon; but were driven out, by a frigate and part of the garrison. Soon after boats with 500 men in armed array, endeavoured to land at Mazagong, the former station of their residence; but were beaten back by the fire of cannon from the shore. These exertions had been encouraged by news that the Dutch fleet with Rickloffé had separated at Vingorlah, some going to Surat, others to Persia, others back to Ceylon. It was then agreed, that only 300 men of the Siddeé's should continue on shore at a time, without other arms than their swords, and under the watch of guards.

guards from the garrison; and that this permission should cease if they infested the Corlahs. The agent of Sevagi was at this time on the island negotiating a treaty, and representing what he had seen with integrity, Sevagi agreed to receive the embassy:

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1674.

Mr. Henry Oxenden was deputed, and Sevagi received his visit of compliment with politeness, but referred him to his ministers for the completion of the treaty, and afterwards employed himself for a month in purifications and other religious ceremonies dictated by his bramins, as necessary preparations for his enthronement; previous to which, he was publicly weighed against gold, and the sum amounting to 16,000 pagodas, was given to the bramins. The ceremony of the enthronement was magnificent, and imitated the Moguls. At the conclusion of the festivals 100,000 pagodas more were distributed amongst the bramins, and to the same amount in rewards to officers. Soon after the ministers concluded the treaty with Mr. Oxenden, admitting eighteen of twenty articles proposed. Of the two rejected, one was the currency of Bombay money in Sevagi's dominions, which was made inconsiderately, because implying at least a partial controul of his treasury: Sevagi nevertheless dismissed it mildly, saying that he could not compel his subjects to take foreign money, but according to their own judgment. The other, was the exemption of English wrecks on his coast, which he said had been the property of the sovereigns from time immemorial,

n. 31

n. 32.

n. 33.

SECT. I. 1674. and if yielded to the English would be demanded by the other European nations. In the articles admitted, were comprised sufficient terms of amity and commerce, but no alliance; by a separate article Sevagi allowed 10,000 pagodas for the damages sustained seven years before at Rajapore, one half to be paid in ready money, the other in beetle and cocoa nuts, to be delivered there; but agreed to nothing for the loss at Hubely.

Mr. Oxenden tendered the mediation of Bombay, to make peace between him and the Siddees, which, it should seem, neither Bombay could guarantee, nor the Siddee accept, without utter offence to the Mogul: Sevagi said that Gingerah had cost him too dear to relinquish the intention of reducing it, and at this time a body of his troops were renewing batteries against it from the shore; in which mode they had for fifteen years been endeavouring, without success, what three ships of war would have accomplished in three hours. Embassadors from Viziapore had likewise followed Sevagi from Pondah, proposing an alliance against the Mogul, who threatened Viziapore as conniving at the successes of Sevagi, even in their own territory. The embassadors were detained until the season of action approached, when Sevagi dismissed them, saying he was sufficient to his own defence.

2. 34. In the beginning of August, his general Morah Pundit came down the Gauts with 10,000 men, and quartered in the ruined town of Gallian, opposite to the island of Salcette, from hence,

whilst report terrified Surat, and awed the Siddee's fleet in the harbour of Bombay, messengers were sent to Bassein, demanding the chout of all the Portuguese territory in these parts. The chout means the fourth part of the revenue, and this is the earliest mention we find of the claim, of which we have not hitherto been able to discover either the right or origin, but suppose it, wheresoever demanded, to arise from some pretension that the territory in ancient times belonged to a Rajpoot or Morattoe sovereignty. But enmity was the cause of the demand at present; for the Portuguese had lately inflicted great severities on many families of the Morattoe religion within their districts, because they refused to become Christians, and this time of retaliation, by requiring them to become tributaries, seems to have been expressly chosen; the Portuguese having lately endured, with little resistance, a much greater insult from a much inferior force.

SECT.
I.
1674.

The armada which used to cruise every year from Goa, to assert the sovereignty of the Indian seas, had the year before crossed over to the gulph of Persia, where they plundered several ships which had not taken their passes, and then proceeded to the port of Muscat, with which they had long been at continual war: but not chusing to risque their ships against the castles that defend the entrance of the harbour, they landed without, and ravaged to the walls. They sailed away on their return to Goa, in the middle of October; and the Imaum, or prince, as soon as they were gone, equipped ten the stoutest
of

n. 36.

SECT. I. 1674. of the merchant ships of his port, which in December, near Diu, fell in with a fleet of grain vessels escorted by several Portuguese grabs and gallivats, of which they took and destroyed the greatest part, and then sailed down to Bassein, where in the beginning of February they landed 600 Arabs, who spread themselves, and plundered all the churches and country seats around, refraining from no cruelty or violation. The garrison of Bassein exceeded the number of Arabs, who had landed, but continued panic struck within their walls, until they were gone. And this pusillanimity exposed them to the contempt of all their neighbours. We do not find what submission the governor of Bassein made to the demand of Morah Pundit, who, waiting the farther intentions of Sevagi, lived on the Portuguese country, but avoided outrage in the exaction of provisions.

The continuance of Morah Pundit's force at Gallian hastened the departure of the Siddeé's fleet, for fear of being burnt in the harbour with the connivance of the government of Bombay, towards which they carried themselves with more respect than in their former sojournments. They sailed in the beginning of September. More troops were continually coming down the Gaut, and on the 5th of October, Sevagi came himself to review them, amounting in equal numbers of horse and foot to 25,000 men, which a few days after went up the hill, towards Jenneah, with no other artillery than iron crows and pickaxes.

It

It was soon evident that Sevagi in person was in the field: he fell upon the Mogul's camp, although consisting of 40,000 horse, and effected tenfold more rout than his own loss; his parties spread to unexpected distances, and committed every kind of ravage, burning the villages, destroying the productions of the soil, and carrying off the affluent commerce of the high roads, by which seven cities resort to Surat, which barricaded its gates: one detachment pushed to the walls of Brampore, plundering all the opulent marts of cloth between this city and Aurengabad. Sevagi in the mean time hovered about the rock of Jenneah, and formed a scheme to surprize it. Two men of the party got to the summit, and were discovered, when the usual defence of rolling down the stones piled for the purpose dispersed the rest. The sudden junction and separation of the different parties abroad, bewildered and intimidated the pursuit of the Mogul's troops, from uncertainty of their routs and numbers; so that little of the spoil was abandoned in the retreat. As soon as all had rejoined the standard, Sevagi returned with the whole to Rairee, where he arrived in the month of February 1675, and immediately entered upon another expedition, for which preparations had been making during his absence.

SECT.

I.

1674.

1675.

Bombay was at this time relieved from the apprehension of farther attempts from the Dutch, by the peace concluded with Holland in February of the preceding year, of which the advices had arrived in October; but in this interval

Madras.

SECT. I. Madrafs had been threatened by Rickloff Van Goen, who had joined the forces of Golcondah with 1000 Europeans, against St. Thomé; which they reduced M. de la Haye to surrender in September 1674*, after a defence of two years and three months, maintained through continual loss with unabated vigour. The king of Golcondah refused to give the place to Rickloff, who equally disappointed by the peace in his intentions against Madrafs, had only removed its most dangerous rival. Soon after the Dutch revenged, in some measure, the injuries which the European commerce had lately sustained from the avaricious governor of Surat; where, in the beginning of the year 1675 †, whilst Sevagi's troops were at the gates, arrived in the road seven Dutch ships of war, which seized all the ships of the port, and detained them from their voyages, until the government submitted to the compensation required. The Siddee's fleet which sailed from Bombay in September, had proceeded to Surat, but left it in fear before the Dutch arrived there; after which they continued cruising along Sevagi's coasts, with little success: for his fighting vessels were hauled ashore, waiting until reinforced to a more equal match, by such as were building, and all traders had been warned to keep in port. Nor had the Siddee's been more successful in quelling the cannonade against Gingerah; from whence they

* Chardin also speaks of this surrender of St. Thomé.

† The whole of this quarrel between the Dutch and the government of Surat is circumstantially related by Chardin. During the dispute, the Dutch sent two yatches to ask leave to establish a factory at Cambay.

came

came to Bombay in February, distressed with every want, and soon after proceeded to Surat, where they continued through the ensuing monsoon.

SECT.

I.

1675.

By this time the rebellion of the Pitans of Pishavir and Cabul had become the most solicitous concern of the empire. Some successes obtained over detached parties in the year 1673, induced the Mogul's Governor of Pishavir to pass the Indus with all his army, intending to force their strong holds in the mountains; but the Pitans inclosed the army amongst the defiles, and destroyed the whole, with their commander. Not having despaired of the chance of such a success, they had prepared a king, whom they proclaimed, not only as sovereign of their own tribes, but of the whole empire.

It is well known that in the contention of Aurengzebe for the throne, his brother, the Sultan Sujah, who as well as Darah had the priority of birth, was defeated and driven out of Bengal by the general Emir Jumlah. According to the prevalent report of the time, he was murdered with his family and followers by a Rajah, on the confines of Arracan; but as his head had never been produced, nor the fact vouched by any persons who knew him before his flight, some credit was given to other reports, that he had escaped; which is believed, as we are informed, in the island of Sooloo, far from Arracan and Bengal, where his tomb is shewn at this day. This uncertainty of his fate, furnished credulity and intrigue with pretensions to assert, that he continued alive in Indoffan, con-

n. 36.

n. 37.

.SECT. cealed now here, now there; but, ready to appear on any

I. favourable opportunity of asserting his right to the throne.

.1675. Aurengzebe was convinced of his death, but was very attentive to the use which might be made of the reports of his being alive.

A Pitau soldier had served in the army of Sultan Sujah, and bore such resemblance to him in countenance and figure, that they might, under similar ornaments, have been mistaken for one another. It is said, that he had acquired the imitation of his manners and deportment, and with less probability that he had apprised himself of many minute particulars of his life; it is not unlikely that glimpses of this apparition had given rise to the reports that Sujah himself was still alive. The Pitans produced this adventurer with ostentatious respect as king of Indostan, and all the tribes were summoned to march with him to Delhi.

The whole nation could bring 150,000 fighting men into the field, and had they been united, could never have been reduced by the Moguls, to whom they always paid malignant submission; and the general character of the people (who, as by nature, craving, arrogant, and cruel, are by principle treacherous, revengeful, and void of gratitude) rendered it unsafe to conciliate their leaders by high appointments; of which the denial increased the national antipathy. The news of such an enemy supporting a pretender to the throne, agitated the very palace of the monarch, and the ambition,

ambition of distant conquest yielded to the vital danger of rebellion.

SECT.
I.
1675.

Aurèngzebe* pitched his tent, and displayed the standard of the empire, to which all his banners repaired with the indispensable alacrity of which he set the example. The whole under his own immediate conduct, marched from Delhi, as near as we can combine in April 1674, and crossed the Indus at the end of the year. On his departure, Sultan Mauzum was recalled to preside in the capital, and had performed nothing remarkable during this his second administration of the Decan, excepting the levy of a large sum of money from the king of Golcondah, in 1672, immediately after Sevagi had exacted a more excessive contribution.

The governor of Pondah kept no regard to his terms, as soon as Sevagi was engaged in distant hostilities; but renewed his dependance on Viziapore; which Sevagi determined to revenge; and as soon as he returned from ravaging the Mogul's territory, gave the general Bahadar Khan, who ought to have protected it better, a large bribe out of the plunder, for a cessation of hostilities until Pondah should be reduced. Troops had marched and invested the place before Sevagi's return, but although active, their numbers were insufficient; twenty thousand more were sent, and Sevagi himself followed in the month of March, visiting Rajapore in the way, where

n. 38.

* Chardin seems to imply, that Aurèngzebe was at Lahor in 1674 and 1675.

SECT. I. 1673. he kept his magazines of war for his southern territories in the
 Concan: great loss was sustained in the siege, which we find
 spoken of famously; the place was taken at the end of April,
 but we are uncertain whether by treachery, assault, or surrender.
 He then attacked the neighbouring territory of Sundah, in
 which were several strong forts, whose garrisons resisted with no
 other effect than to increase the miseries of the country, and
 their own. The town of Carwar was burnt, because the castle
 did not surrender on the first summons: Sevagi in person
 gave the order; but received the English factors with civility,
 and exempted the factory from violence. The whole country
 was reduced as far as to the river Mirzeon, which is the
 northern limit of the kingdom of Canara. The queen of this
 country sent gifts, and solicited the assistance of Sevagi, against
 some of her ministers and relations. The Portuguese at Goa
 were hemmed within their own districts, and as before, not
 suffered to get provisions from the adjacent country. The
 operations continued through the rains, and detained Sevagi
 himself from Rairee until the end of August. SECT. II. 1673.
 Aurengzebe was at this time returned from the Indus to
 Delhi, and assailed as it were by the clamours of the Decan,
 made severe reproaches to his general Bahadar Khan, urging
 the utmost exertions, which Sevagi expected and defied, rein-
 forcing his batteries against Gingerah, and sending parties to
 scour the country about Surat, where the governor had re-
 ceived the same injunctions as Bahadar, and strengthened the
 Siddee's

Siddee's fleet with two large ships, two frigates, and two thousand men: nevertheless, with the usual dilatoriness, even when in earnest, it was the middle of November before either the fleet or the army were in motion to purpose, when a large detachment forced through the passes in the ridge, and encamped at Gallian; and at the same time the fleet arrived in the harbour of Bombay, from whence they sent a reinforcement to the camp, and then sailed down the coast.

SECT.
I.
1675.

Gallian, with the country below the hills, as far to the north as Daman, excepting the districts of the Portuguese, had been reduced by Sevagi, and, with his fertile Corlahs to the southward, lay exposed to the devastation of the Mogul's army; from which they were nevertheless preserved by a bargain of redemption; and Bahadar Khan, on receiving 10,000 pagodas from Rairee, went up the hill again, without having committed any ravage. The terms were so publicly known, that we suppose the sum was accounted for to the king's treasury, as a homage. But the operations of the Siddee were not restricted by this agreement; they landed and plundered in several parts, as they proceeded down Sevagi's coast, and at length burnt the fair town of Vingorlah, near Goa, where the Dutch had a factory, which defended itself. The fleet of Sevagi had by this time been increased to fifty-seven sail, of which fifteen were grabs, the rest gallivats, all crowded with men; they put to sea from Gheriah and Rajapore, but missed the Siddee's fleet, which, on their return, went to the relief of Gingerah.

SECT. I.
 1675. n. 39. Gingerah. Gallian being clear, Sevagi's troops at the end of the year began to fortify opposite to a fort called Sibon, belonging to the Portuguese, in the neighbourhood of Bassein, which produced some slender hostilities; but the work continued.

1676. In the beginning of the next year, 1676, it was reported and believed that Sevagi was ill, dead, and poisoned by his son Sambagi, at Rairee: this young man possessed all the courage and activity of his father, but little of his discretion or forecast: he was intemperately addicted to women, and had debauched the wife of a bramin, whose dwelling was on the side of the rock, to which Sambagi used to descend at night: Sevagi ordered the guards to fling him headlong down the precipice, the first time he should attempt to get out of the fort after the watch was set. This menace gave rise to the report of Sambagi's revenge; but the certainty of Sevagi's illness was confirmed by his long continuance at Rairee, whilst the season was fair for the operations of the field.

Early in April, Siddee Sambole, who had hitherto commanded both fleets, came from Gingerah to Bombay, with the Mogul's, but with few of the Siddee's; having quarrelled with some of the principal commanders, as well as with the governor of Gingerah, who had concerted to seize him; which had hastened his departure sooner than he intended. The cause of the quarrel seems to have been the embezzlement of money to which the community were entitled; and the same dishonesty

neſty in his accounts with the Mogul had ſet the governor of Surat at much variance with him; dreading which he preſſed hard to winter at Bombay; but the prudence of Mr. Angier, who had lately returned to Surat, foreſeeing trouble to the iſland, either by reſuſal or admittance procured an invitation from the governor of Surat, with aſſurance of oblivion: on which Sambole ſailed thither with all the veſſels he had brought, leaving the harbour on the 8th of April.

SECT.
I.
1676.

At the end of this month, Sevagi's general, Morah Pundit, came down to Gallian with 10,000 horſe, of which a detachment with a great number of labourers, proceeded to the northward, and took poſſeſſion of a ruined fort called Pannela, which ſtands on a hill, ten miles inland of Daman, and commands the frequented road to Surat. Sevagi himſelf ſoon after came to ſuperintend the work, which continued until the fort, ſuch as it is now ſeen, was raiſed above the danger of aſſault, Sevagi, on his return to Rairee, ſent all his troops, excepting what he left at Pannela, to their winter quarters. In July all the Siddee's veſſels, which had continued at Gingerah, came to Bombay, in order to ſpare the proviſions of their own garriſon: they were commanded by Siddee Coffim, who had ſuperſeded the influence and command of Siddee Sambole.

If it were permitted to adopt conjecture, deduced from a variety of circumſtances and events, we ſhould give the following account of this community.

The appellation, of which the literal meaning is not aſcertained,

SECT. I. 1676. tained, was applied in the Decan to natives of Abyffinia, of whom feveral, either as slaves or adventurers, in former times gained ascendance over a king of Viziapore, and were exalted by him to the higheft employments in the ftate. They gathered all of their own country they could procure either by purchafe or invitation, and even the Coffrees of other parts of Africa. The natural courage of thefe people, not unmixed with ferocity, and always foremoft in battle, awed the envy of their rivals, howfoever indignant from the pride of ancient Mahomedan defcent, although the Siddees had likewise taken this religion.

Their firft marriages were with natives of India, and afterwards among their own families; which preferving the nationality, in time formed a numerous community, diftinct in figure, colour, and character from all the other races of Mahomedans; which neverthelefs could not have fubfifted, if the body of the people amongft whom they had intruded, had been, as themfelves, Mahomedans, inftead of Hindoos, indifferent to the diftinctions of extraneous defpots, they equally abhorred. At the time of Sevagi's revolt from Viziapore, three of the principal provinces of the kingdom were governed by Siddees, of whom the admiral of the fleet was one, and had under his jurifdiction a confiderable extent of the fea coaft to the north and fouth of Gingerah, when Sevagi got poffeffion of Dunda Rajapore; when, as we have faid before, the Siddees of the fleet and Gingerah, with fuch as efaped to them off the

the main, offered their vessels and service to Aurengzebe; but reserved the property of Gingerah, and the right to whatsoever they might recover of their former fiefs, now lost to Viziapore. Besides their vessels of war, they had ships and other embarkations employed in trade, which contributed as much to their subsistence as the stipends of Aurengzebe. Reverence to the higher family, and to the Mogul's choice, had given the pre-eminence of command to Siddee Sambole: but the other captains preserved the distinct command over their own crews and dependants, and an aristocratical council determined the general welfare of this singular republic; in which the lowest orders, from their skill and utility, maintained some influence; and proud of their importance, merited it, by the alacrity of their service, insomuch, that they excelled all the navigators of India, and even rated themselves equal to Europeans; and indeed the onset of their sword was formidable in boarding, and on shore.

Siddee Cossim was received with respect by the English government at Bombay; and took his abode at Mazagong, where the larger vessels rode, and the smaller were hauled on shore. They continued here until the middle of August, when Morah Pundit came down the Gaults with 10,000 men to renew the attack of Gingerah; where they felled all the wood around to make floating platforms with breast-works, from which the walls were to be assaulted. On which Siddee Cossim went away with three hundred of his best men, to rein-

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SECT. force and maintain the defence, and all the others followed as soon as the vessels could safely put to sea.

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1676. Sevagi himself continued at Raireè; as we compute, until the end of June, when the rains had ceased; and this was the longest repose of his life, that he had withheld himself from personal exertions in the field, ever since he had first drawn his sword, for it lasted eight months. He then set out on an expedition, of which no one knew the object, and in July appeared in sight of Golcondah, with twelve thousand horsemen, but twice that number of horses; for every rider had two: whose march had been so rapid, and conducted with so much obscurity, that the government had not been apprised of it in time to collect a body of troops capable of opposing them, nor even to barricade the inlets into the opulent city of Hyderabad; neither had the rich inhabitants sufficient warning to remove their families and wealth. Even the king was precluded from taking refuge in the fortrefs of Golcondah, but continued in his palace in the city, which Sevagi having sufficiently terrified with his marauders, encamped at some distance, but nearer to the fortrefs, and sent his demands to the ministers, of a vast ransom for refraining from burning the whole city to the ground, besides a daily sum for the maintenance of his troops, until the ransom should be paid. Here likewise, as formerly at Gallian and Surat, he knew every wealthy house, and he let them know that they could rely on no security except by taking his safeguards, which,

which, instead of papers, were a few trusty men from the camp; and so great was the dismay, that this protection was sought with avidity, and paid for to his treasury at excessive rates by every family of distinction. In the mean time a negotiation was going on with the ministers, who sent every day five thousand rupees as an allowance for provisions to his troops; who bought none, but lived on what they levied by contributions or got by plunder from the country. At length Sevagi agreed to visit the king; but as he would not admit of any superiority in the ceremonial, it was settled that both should enter at opposite doors of the hall, advance, accost, and sit down, at the same time, after which the conference was to begin. It lasted a while, during which more of Sevagi's troops were continually coming into the city and assembled round the palace, until the number of horsemen amounted to six thousand, all of whom drew up, and kept their order, as exactly as if under review; and whensoever Sevagi came to the windows, which he did several times to shew them that he was alive, all in sight looked up immediately, and fixing their eyes only on him, preserved the most profound silence, expecting his word. By this example, Sevagi meant to shew the king the affection as well as obedience of his troops. The purport of their conference was never known; but it doubtless turned on their equal detestation of the Mogul. Some days after (it was in August) Sevagi was satisfied, and broke up his camp; to which the

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1676. stipulated allowance of five thousand rupees had been regularly sent, but on the last day this sum was doubled. What more he received from the king's treasury as the general ransom, was not divulged; amongst other presents of courtesy, the king gave him a palankin covered with plates of gold, in which he rode out of his camp, not without political ostentation, on the day of his departure. His army plundering as it went, arrived at Rajree with a vast train of booty in the beginning of September, and he immediately made preparations for another expedition; which became by far the most important operation of his life, but which our lights are very insufficient to explain.

2. 40. Towards the end of September, he marched from Rajree with thirty thousand horse, the greatest number he had hitherto brought together into the field; giving out that he intended to invade the kingdom of Canara, from his new acquisitions to the south of Goa. The army kept awhile to the west of the hills, but suddenly ascended the ridge, and fell unexpectedly upon the northern region of Viziapore, where, besides ravaging the open towns and country, they laid siege at the same time to two strong forts, one called Billigong, near Bancapore, the other at five days journey from this, and called Rayim.

The Mogul's general Bahadar Khan had lately entered Viziapore. The motive assigned for the quarrel is improbable, that the king had refused to join the Mogul's forces with

with 15,000 horse against Sevagi. Bahadar Khan was defeated in two severe encounters near the city of Viziapore, and in revenge listened to proposals from Sevagi, who offered, it is said, 400,000 pagodas with his homage of fealty to the Mogul, on condition that permission were obtained for his passage through the territory of Golcondah, to attack that part of the Carnatic which was subject to Viziapore; and a truce of all hostilities between the Mogul and Sevagi was to continue during his absence on this expedition.

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At the close of the last century, the Carnatic was under the dominion of a gentoo king, who resided at Chandergherri, forty miles to the north of Arcot, and twelve to the west of Tripetti: the present ruins of Chandergherri denote it to have been, as it was then described, a very spacious city. But the king is styled king of Bifnagar; for what reason we do not find, unless from the ancient title of a lost possession; for the city of Bifnagar is situated on the other side of the Carnatic mountains, two hundred miles to the north-west of Chandergherri, and was at this time part of the dominion of the Mahomedan king of Viziapore. Two Portuguese Jesuits from St. Thomé went to Chandergherri in the year 1599, and were received with attentions by the Gentoos king; whose sovereignty they describe as extending over the countries of Tanjore and Madura; and other Jesuits who travelled at the same time into these countries confirm this assertion.

n. 42.

n. 43.

About

SECT. I. About the year 1645, a descendant of this Gentoo-king* of
 1677. Chandergherri permitted the English to purchase the ground
 n. 44. of Chinapatam, on which they raised Fort St. George, and the
 town of Madrafs. Seven years after, the Carnatic was in-
 vaded by the armies of Viziapore and Golcondah, acting
 separately; but agreed, it is supposed, in the objects and divi-
 sion of their conquests, which were accomplished in the year
 n. 45. 1656. The forces of Viziapore reduced Velore, which pro-
 bably was their first acquisition, with all the forts in the valley
 of Vaniambady and on the hills on each hand, as far to the
 south as Darmapuram; from hence eastward to Volcondah,
 and along the river Valaru, on which it stands, to Porto Novo
 on the sea; from hence along the coast to the North as far as
 Conimeer, to the south as far as the Coleroon; with all the
 forts and districts, a few excepted, within the diagonal line
 returning to the north-west from Conimeer to Arcôt, and
 n. 45*. Velore; it is said the kingdom of Tanjore was likewise reduced
 by Viziapore, but we have met with no documents to confirm
 n. 46. this position. The army of Golcondah, led by the famous
 Emir Jumlah, reduced Cudapah and all the hilly country
 which stretcheth north of Velore, from Gandicotah towards

* We find the name of this king to be Seringa Rajah. Havart describing the
 way from Pullicatte to Masulipatam says; "Manfgewaka; first stage, Dutch
 Company's Village; given to them in the year 1640, by *Seringa Rajah*, last king
 of Carnatica. Observe, this village was given the same year we compute the
 English settled at Madrafs."—See note 44.

the sea, with all the open country and the sea coast between the rivers Penar, and Paliar, which disembogue at Nelore and Sadras. Soon after this conquest Emir Jumlah revolted, and joining Aurengzebe, at that time his father's Viceroy in the Decan, they besieged the king of Golcondah in his capital, who, to preserve his diadem, submitted his government to the controul of the Mogul; which had continued until this time, and enabled Bahadar Khan to procure the humiliating permission which Sevagi requested,

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The want of cotemporary record has disabled us from acquiring any regular account of Sevagi's expedition into the Carnatic, although on ground in which the arms and interests of our nation have of late years taken so much concern; he returned not to Rairee, as had hitherto been his usage, at the setting in of the rains, but rendezvoused in May of the year 1667, in a fortress belonging to the king of Golcondah; from whom he had perhaps obtained the permission, in their conference the year before; from hence he set off with his whole force, passed by Tripetti, and afterwards within fifteen miles of Madras, but seems to have made his main push directly against Gingee, of which with Volcondah and several other forts we find him in possession in the month of July, and it is probable that he had reduced much more; for some of his parties at this time plundered as far as Seringapatam in Myfore. It was impossible that this rapid success should have been the mere effect of his arms; but that availing himself of the discords

n. 48.

cords

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cords which prevailed in the council of Viziapore, he had gained several of the principal members, whose recommendations facilitated his compromises with the governors in the Carnatic. He appointed Hargee Rajah his viceregent in the conquered country, and fixed its capital at Gingee. Whether detained by the prosecution or regulation of his conquests we cannot ascertain, but it does not appear that he quitted the Carnatic before the beginning of the year 1678.

Siddee Sambole with the Mogul's ships, and what remained with him of his own community, sailed from Surat in October 1676, on a cruise against Sevagi's coasts; and in December burnt the town of Jettapore, which stands at the mouth of the river twelve miles from the mart of Rajapore; but troops from hence deterred the Siddee's from advancing farther up the river: they then proceeded back to Gingerah, where the garrison, strengthened by Siddee Coffim's reinforcement, and encouraged by his activity, had frustrated the floating batteries of Morah Pundit, who returned to Rairee. Positive orders had come from Delhi, that the Mogul's fleet should be delivered to Siddee Coffim, which Sambole promised to obey at the close of the season; and on this reconciliation, both fleets together came into the port of Bombay at the end of April, where Sambole promised from day to day to depart for Surat, but loitered until the monsoon set in; when it was impossible to put to sea; and then took up his residence, as usual, at Mazagong.

A wicked

A wicked bramin, who was an inhabitant of the opposite shore, came and offered Siddee Sambole to seize several persons, whom he represented as of much respect in Sevagi's government. The Siddee, afraid of discovery, gave him money to hire a boat and men belonging to the island, which set off as if on the ordinary occasions of traffick, and brought back four bramins, whom the Siddee confined with all secrecy on board his own ship; so that the first intelligence which the government of Bombay received of the felony, was by letters from Sevagi's governor of upper Chaul, threatening a total prohibition of provisions and fire-wood from the main, and even worse consequences, unless the bramins were immediately restored. The Siddee at first denied the fact, and then his share of it; but complied. Soon after eleven of the boat's crew were taken, of whom three were executed, and the others sent to Saint Helena.

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The fair season returned before the competition between the two Siddee's was reconciled. Sambole insisted on two of the largest of the Mogul's ships to carry himself with his retinue and family to Surat, and on the release of his wives and children, who were detained by Coffim as hostages at Gingerah; but on receiving an order from the governor of Surat to surrender them, Coffim tendered his compliance to Sambole, who nevertheless continued to prevaricate; which so incensed Coffim, that he marched from his quarters near the fort with his retinue, which was three hundred men, and attacked the

SECT. I. 1677. quarters of Sambole, who had nearly the same number at Mazagong. The report of matchlocks and pistols first surpris'd the fort, which detached the best of the garrison, with the troop of horse, who fell indiscriminately on both parties, until they had quelled the riot; which was not instantly effected; for three of the troopers' horses were killed, as was the horse on which Sambole was fighting. Many of the combatants were wounded, and some slain; mostly by the sword. The council oblig'd the two chiefs to send all excepting a few menial servants to the ships: but permitted the continuance of the watch over the vessels haul'd on shore, lest boats from Sevagi's Corlahs should attempt to burn them in the night.

The council then interfered as mediators, and brought the two Siddee's to agreement; Sambole to have his family, and one of the Mogul's ships; Coffim to receive all the others, who accordingly hoisted his flag as admiral of both the fleets, which a few days after sail'd out of the harbour in the beginning of November.

Morah Pundit during the truce with the Mogul and the expedition of Sevagi to the Carnatic, had visited and provided all the garrisons in and dependent on the Concan, and kept what troops were left for the field, with as much care, as if every day were to have produced hostility; which the Mogul's generals would before this time have renewed, had they not been engaged with little success against the army of Viziapore.

We

We now resume the war which Aurengzebe had conducted in person against the Pitans beyond the Indus, where he arrived in the beginning of the year 1675; before which a part of his vanguard had crossed the river, whom the Pitans defeated, and put to death even the prisoners of their victory; but after the main army, with Aurengzebe himself, had passed, the Pitans confined their resistance to skirmishes, the defence of posts, and night assaults on the camp; which protracted the war for fifteen months; but numbers at length prevailed; for the Mogul army was sufficient to people the country they attacked. After all the more habitable valleys were reduced, the Pitans retired into the more inaccessible mountains, in which Aurengzebe did not think it worth the prize to expose his troops, nor his own presence farther necessary; but establishing a chain of posts, and leaving a sufficient force to defend the conquered country, under the command of a general especially selected, returned himself to Delhi, from whence he had been absent twenty-seven months, which, according to our computation, extended to July of the year 1676. Nevertheless the work was not yet finished to his mind; and he continued at Delhi waiting the completion he had prepared.

The former governors of Pishavir and Cabul had always kept the Pitans under severe restrictions, and their chiefs at imperious distance. But Cossim Khan, whom Aurengzebe appointed on his return to Delhi, assumed a different conduct.

SECT. He remitted the arrears, and lowered the rates of their tributes; treated their chiefs with equality, and even frequented them with slender attendance, and negligent familiarities; which left him at their mercy, submitting to incur their contempt, in order to gain their confidence; but no condescensions could induce them, as he hoped, to deliver up the pretended Sultan. He, however, diverted them from any sinister suspicions of himself; and got all who especially supported the pretender, to come to a festival at Pishavir; in which he made them drunk with intoxicated wine, when bands, concealed for the purpose, came in, and massacred them all, whilst others overpowered their retainers. The impostor, on the destruction of his protectors, escaped over the mountains into Persia, and was never after heard of. This execrable deed, Aurengzebe himself was obliged, by the public detestation, to reprobate; and recalling Cossim Khan, degraded him to the lowest rank of Omrahs; but privately assured him of favour, whose exculpation, had he dared to make any, would have been death. To soothe or obviate the vengeance of the Pitans, he sent first his son Acbar, and then Sultan Mauzum, to Pishavir. But the Pitans were too much disconcerted by the loss of their chiefs, to recur to arms.

The consent or indifference of Aurengzebe to Sevagi's expedition into the Carnatic, may be imputed either to the devotion of his attention to the Pitans, or to his belief that Sevagi would waste his force unprofitably, at such a distance, against

so strong a country. But this reasoning proved the importance of the conquest, which was not only sufficient to maintain itself, but, with the parsimony of Sevagi's warfare, to furnish means for other invasions. Viziapore now became as much exposed to his attacks from the Carnatic on one side, as from the Concan on the other; and the rich countries to the south of the Coleroon lay at the mercy of his activity from Gingee; whensoever disengaged from other exertions.

Accordingly this increase of his power excited the indignation of Aurengzebe, in proportion to the obstacles it might create to his own views of reducing the Peninsula. He sharply rebuked Bahadar Khan, for having been mistaken in the consequence of his truce with Sevagi; and sent back Delhire Khan with a separate command, ordering him at least to press the conquest of Viziapore, if he could not make impression on Sevagi's countries; who returning from the Carnatic, ravaged in Viziapore, destroying the towns and tillage until the beginning of February 1678; when Delhire Khan with his army entered the country, and Sevagi, making the most of every turn, then offered his assistance to the king, which was accepted, and enabled the state to make head against all the efforts of Delhire Khan. Sevagi returned to Rairee in April, after an absence of nineteen months, the longest since he had fixed his residence there.

Siddee Cossim with the fleets, after quitting Bombay in November 1677, continued cruising along the coast of the Con-

can,

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SECT. I. 1678. can, landing frequently, but gaining little pillage, in lieu of which they seized what inhabitants they could catch, and made them, indiscriminately, even bramins, the slaves of menial office. In March they came to Dunda Rajapore, where they continued until the governor of Surat had gained permission of the English presidency for their wintering again in Bombay, where they arrived at the end of April, and hauled their smaller vessels on shore as formerly at Mazagong, and moored the larger as close to it as they could lie; many of the men took up their dwelling in the town, and daily committed violence and injuries on the inhabitants, who were, for the most part, Gentoos.

a. 50. Morah Pundit, Anagi Pundit, and most of the officers of the higher ranks in Sevagi's government, were bramins; and Sevagi, in deference to their execration of the inexpiable impurities which Siddee Cossim had inflicted on the bramins he had taken prisoners, consented to indulge their proposal of burning the two fleets at Bombay; which moreover had for many years been the only obstacle to the reduction of Gingerah. Accordingly Dowlet Caun, and Deira Sirang, the two admirals of his own fleet, came down with 4000 men in the month of July to Panwell, a large town on the river Penn, on the eastern shore of the harbour; but found not boats sufficient to transport them; and the monsoon prevented the procurement of more from other parts without the bay: on this disappointment Dowlet Caun marched with the men to Gal-
lian,

han, from whence he requested leave of the Portuguese, to cross at Tannah, intending to pass the channel of Mahim, and advance through the island of Bombay to the town of Mazagong, where they would have attacked the Siddee's quarters and vessels on shore, and from thence, in boats they might find or bring, have boarded the ships or vessels at anchor near.

The alarm was not trivial at Bombay. Whilst Sevagi's men were at Panwell, a considerable part of the garrison was quartered at Mazagong; and when they proceeded to Gallian, moved to oppose them at Mahim, and a frigate was stationed in that channel to annoy their passage into the island. But fortunately Bassein was equally alarmed for the island of Salcette, and the governor himself came with the best of his force to Tannah, and anchored forty armed boats in the stream, which utterly deterred the attempt of passing there. Dowlet Caun, not to have done nothing, burnt several villages in the Portuguese country, and sent a part of his troops by Pannela of Daman to plunder about Surat; which with the rest were soon after recalled to Rairee; and as soon as the fair weather was settled, were sent with many more, and a mightier train of artillery to Dunda Rajapore, against Gingerah. The wisdom of Sevagi controlled his resentment of the protection which Bombay had so often afforded, and now more openly than ever, to the Siddee's fleet; which indeed could scarcely be justified by the law of nations, and would have been severely atoned, if the wants of Bombay had not continually brought

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SECT. brought money into his country; and a proof of the influence
 I. of this consideration soon after occurred.

1678. The Soubadar or governor of upper Chaul had claims of money arising from traffick upon Petit, one of the company's factors, and on a Bahian, who was brother to their broker at Surat; delays of payment had been long practised, and the Soubadar, relying on the vexation of Seyagi at the disappointment of burning the Siddee's fleet, seized all the boats belonging to Bombay, which chanced at this time to be trading in the rivers, and ports of his jurisdiction. Thirty were in the rivers Penn and Negotan within the harbour, opposite to the island. The council of Bombay armed four boats with sixty Europeans, who attacked and beat off the guard, and brought back most of the boats which had been seized. The Soubadar complained to Seyagi of this insult in his territory; who said the English had done right, and ordered him to release all the trade and vessels he had stopped in any part of his government.

Towards the end of the year the batteries of Seyagi were playing furiously upon the island of Gingerah, whilst Siddee Cossim, unable to pay his men for want of remittances from Surat, was constrained to continue in the harbour of Bombay. We have no account of what operations had ensued between the Mogul's troops and those of Viziapore, since the month of May.

1679. The year 1679 opened with a new war, conducted by Aurengzebe in person, which leads us to recall an important
 measure

measure in his government, so contrary to all the notions of sound policy; as well as all the feelings of general humanity, that reflection seeks the motive with amazement.

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It is well known that Aurengzebe used the mask of religious austeriety, amongst his other means of acquiring the throne. Of his brothers, Dara had written a treatise, endeavouring to reconcile the doctrines of Bramah with the tenets of the Alcoran; Sujah had no religion; and Morad drank wine to excess; and the indulgence of their father, Shah Jehan, to all persuasions, incurred the reproach of indifference to his own. Assumed practices of general estimation can never be comfortably relinquished; but the hypocrisy of Aurengzebe increased with his power; and in order to palliate to his Mahomedan subjects, the crimes by which he had become their sovereign, he determined to enforce the conversion of the HINDOOS throughout his empire by the severest penalties, and even threatened the sword; as if the blood of his subjects were to wash away the stains, with which he was imbrued by the blood of his family.

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A few petty Rajahs were lured by better appointments to conversion, but the people clung to their pagodas; some preachers were put to death, which increased the spirit of martyrdom. An old woman led a multitude in arms from Agra towards Delhi, whom Aurengzebe defeated in person. The religious vexation continued. Labour left the field, and industry the loom; until the decrease of the revenues drew

n. 53.

L

representations

SECT. I. 1679. representations from the governors of the provinces ; which induced Aurengzebe to substitute a capitation tax, as the balance of the account between the two religions." It was laid with heavy disproportion on the lower orders of Hindoos, which compose the multitude; infomuch, that the produce, if we understand the account, would have amounted to half the ancient revenue: few, nevertheless, bartered their faith for the exemption, and thousands perished under the oppression.

n. 54. Abnir, Chitore, and Joudpore, are the three great Rajahships of Indostan. Abnir adjoins to the west of the province of Agra, and to the north of Azmir. Chitore lies on the west of Malva; Joudpore of Chitore, extending to the Indus; and both these principalities adjoin to the north of Guzerat. The races of the Rajpoots, who possess the three countries, are acknowledged the noblest in the empire: no inferior castes are admitted to the honour of bearing arms amongst them; and when united, they can bring 200,000 fighting men into the field. The Mogul had often endeavoured to subject them to amenable vassalage; but had never been able to obtain their acquiescence to more than ceremonious acknowledgments, and rated subsidies of troops. The situation of their countries enabled them to retaliate injuries in the centre of the empire; but attached to their soil, as ground in which their deities, as well as ancestors had lived, few of their princes had been ambitious of increasing their territory. Jyasing, as we have seen, was Rajah of Abnir, and Jesswont Sing of Joudpore. Both had

had served in the revolution of Aurengzebe in 1676; but we do not find in the cotemporary accounts of that period, any mention of the Rajah of Chitore, although the first of the three in ancientry and respect, and styled the Ranah, or lord of the Rajahs.

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Jyasing died at Brampore, soon after the pretended revolt of Sultan Mauzum, and seems to have been poisoned by the procurement of Aurengzebe; his son Ram Sing was at that time serving with a body of Rajpoots in attendance at Delhi, and admitted the capitation tax in his country. Aurengzebe then proposed it, but with an alternative, and by an ambassador, to the Ranah, "That he should no longer strike coin with his own name, but with Aurengzebe's; that kine might be killed in his territory; that the pagodas should be demolished, or converted into mosques; that justice should be administered according to the Alcoran; and that if these terms were refused, his whole people should be subject to the general capitation of the Hindoos."

The Ranah remonstrated to gain time, which Aurengzebe likewise wanted, until his military preparations were ready, having two wars of equal difficulty to wage; and whilst waiting, came the option of a third. The Rajah Jesswont Sing died in the beginning of the year 1678, leaving a high spirited widow, and two sons, not yet arrived at man's estate. Aurengzebe, to get them into his power, invited them to Delhi; they came even to the suburbs; but receiving some

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 1679. } suspicion, set off hastily on their return the same night, and
 were pursued by five thousand horse, whom two hundred
 and fifty devoted Rajpoots stopped at a pass, until the escape
 of the princes was secured

On this, Aurengzebe called up his sons Azim and Ecbar, from their governments of Bengal and Multan; but without waiting for their junction, took the field himself in October 1678 with his two armies; the one under his own conduct, against Chitore and Joudpore; the other of Sultan Mauzum, against Sevagi. Both held the same rout as far as the province of Malva; on their approach, the Ranah and the widow called on all the Hindoo powers for assistance.

Sultan Mauzum arrived at Brampore in the beginning of January 1679, and advanced to Aurengabad, where he fixed his court. The strict severity of Sevagi's character, which permitted no relaxation either to himself or others from the occupations of war and government, had long grown irksome to the headstrong licentiousness of his son Sambagi; who, what few had ever done, contrived his scheme and correspondence without incurring the suspicion of his father, and went off with two thousand horse from Rairee to Aurengabad, where he was expected and received by Sultan Mauzum with the utmost complacence.

At this time the Pitan Bullal Khan, minister and general of Viziapore, who had assassinated his predecessor in that station, Cowis Cawn the Siddee, was himself assassinated; and
 Serji

Serji Khan, important by his domains, had acquired the principal influence in the state. As new ministers rarely adopt the systems of those they succeed, Serji Khan yielded to the requisitions of Sultan Mauzum, demanding the assistance of Viziapore against Sevagi, to which the defection of his son Sambagi was no little encouragement. Sevagi saw and met the storm with his usual intrepidity, and fixed himself with the best of his force in Pannela, his nearest frontier to Viziapore, and the southern parts of the Mogul Country.

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This alacrity, with the approach of the rains, stopped the confederates from taking the field, until they had increased their preparations. Nor had the danger deterred or diverted Sevagi from other exertions; for, on his son's defection, a body of his troops from Rairee appeared and ravaged within sight of Surat, and his preparations at sea were continued with unabated endeavour and expence.

It was now seven years that he had been increasing his fleet to become a match for the Siddees, or any other force against which he might be compelled, or choose to contend. None of his harbours admitted ships of a great size, such as were used at Surat, or by the Europeans. The traffic from port to port of the malabar and northern coasts, as well of the Concan, now his own, had from time immemorial been of great amount; but carried on in vessels of shallow burthen, capable of taking close refuge under every shelter of the land. The vessels for fight, under the various denominations of pirates, which

SECT. I. 1679. which have always infested these coasts, were adapted to the constructions of the chase they were to follow, and trusted to the superiority of number against ships of burthen in the open sea. Sevagi did not change this system in his own marine, and by this time had collected a fleet of twenty two-mast grabs and forty gallivats.

The protection which the Siddees had given to Gingerah against the repeated attacks of Sevagi, as well as their frequent annoyances of his country, had been so much facilitated by their resort to Bombay, that Sevagi at length determined to compel the English government to a stricter neutrality by reprisals on their own port. About six miles below the point of Tullie two rocky islands, the one called Kenary, two miles and a half from the main; the other Hundry, at the distance of 1,200 yards. Kenary, which is the largest of the two, is only a mile and a half long and half a mile in breadth. Neither had ever been inhabited, and both were covered with wood, which sometimes supplied Bombay with fuel; nor had they been deemed of any other utility, although no vessel could enter or come out of the harbour, which might not be discerned from them in the day, and a light-house on Kenary would have ascertained the navigation in the night.

Sevagi, whom no advantage escaped, ordered preparations during the stormy season; and at the end of August, as soon as it began to abate, three hundred soldiers and as many labourers,

labourers, with arms and materials, passed from the main into the island of Kenary, and immediately began to raise breast works at the landing places. Bombay, when too late, saw the consequences, and recollected a pretension to both the islands by the cession of Portugal; which, the Portuguese at Bassein, equally alarmed, denied, and asserted an ancient right of their own, having formerly attempted to settle on Kenary, but finding the water came up salt in the wells they dug, desisted. Bombay at this time had no gallivats, which are vessels constructed for swift sailing: and therefore fitted three shibars or trading-boats, which they armed with forty Europeans of the garrison, who were ordered to prevent the landing of any vessels from Sevagi's shore, and to summon his officer on the island to retire with his people; who answered that he should never quit his station until recalled by his master. After cruising ten days about the islands, hard weather drove the shibars back to Bombay, from whence they proceeded again to the island, reinforced by the *Revenge*, a frigate of sixteen guns. The next day, which was the 19th of September, a Lieutenant, in a fit of drunkenness, landed with the men of his shibar, was killed with six other Europeans, the rest made prisoners, and the shibar hauled up on the shore; all before any assistance could be given by the other vessels, working against the wind and tide; which the enemy's boats by their construction and oars were much better enabled to surmount; and for several nights following passed to and from

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SECT. from the island without interception. The officers on the service
 .I. imputed their ineffectual watch to the fewness of their vessels,
 1679. and the whole of Sevagi's armada were assembling at Chaul
 under the command of his admiral Dowlet Caun: on which
 the government of Bombay increased their force by hiring the
 vessels they wanted, and on the 6th of October the fleet off
 Kenary consisted of the Revenge, as admiral, two grabs of
 two masts, the three shibars, and two munchuas, a stronger
 kind of trading vessel, in all eight; on board of which were
 two hundred European soldiers, which amounted to two-thirds
 of the garrison of Bombay, besides the seamen and lascars of
 the crews.

On the 15th of October Dowlet Caun's fleet anchored close
 to the shore a little to the north of Chaul, in sight of Kenary,
 to which a number of his gallivats passed over in the ensuing
 night, and on the next returned to the main. At day-break
 of the next morning, which was the 18th, their whole fleet
 bore down firing from their prows, and advancing so fast, that
 the English vessels at anchor near the island, had scarcely time
 to get under weigh: in less than half an hour one of the
 English grabs, called the Dove, struck, and was carried off;
 the other avoided this danger, and afterwards kept aloof, and
 the five sail of shibars and munchuas ran away; so that the
 Revenge was left alone in the midst of the enemy. She was
 commanded by captain Minchin, and had on board, as com-
 modore of the whole fleet, Keigwin the commander of the
 garrison,

garrison, both men of courage; they beat off the enemy's gallivats which attempted to board, and sunk five of them; on which the whole fleet, fifty vessels, fled before this single frigate, and were pursued into shoal water to the bar of Negotan; but several of their gallivats with recruits and stores had got into Kenary during the fight; which was intended to cover them. Two days after the enemy's fleet came out again from Negotan; but when the English advanced to meet them, returned into the river.

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At this time 5,000 of Sevagi's troops, in expectation of better effects from their fleet, came down from Rairee to Gallian, and demanded, as once before, permission of the Portuguese government at Bassein, to pass at Tannah, in order to cross at Mahim into Bombay; but were again refused. Nevertheless their continuance at Gallian created much solicitude, lest the Portuguese should change their mind, or they get boats and pass down from Gallian in the night, whilst so great a part of the garrison was abroad in the fleet; and this apprehension produced a negotiation with Rairee.

Notwithstanding the increase of the English vessels watching Kenary, it still continued impossible to prevent the enemy's boats from passing it in the night: twelve passed on the 25th; five a few nights after; and although not so readily, all got safe back again. Cannon were now mounted in the island, and fired at the English vessels; but, in several days, only one shot struck, which killed a cooley; several gallivats were

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driven

SECT. driven on shore near Negotan at different times, by the shibars
 I. or munchuas. Another frigate, of sixteen guns, called the
 1679. Hunter, which had come from Surat, and brought the presi-
 dent's guard of thirty-six Europeans, to reinforce Bombay;
 was sent to the fleet, which then quitted their stations near
 Kenary, and anchored to block up the river of Negotan; but
 could not effectually; because it has two outlets: on which
 Keigwin proposed to enter, burn the enemy's fleet, and ravage
 the country; but the council at Bombay, and still more the
 presidency at Surat, were unwilling to risque such a provoca-
 tion of Sevagi's resentment, and were confirmed in this caution
 by the hope of seeing the quarrel taken off their hands.

The Mogul government at Surat were as much alarmed,
 as either the English or Portuguese, at Sevagi's views on the
 sea, whom they had hitherto only dreaded on shore; for,
 besides the extensive trade in many vessels to various parts of
 the East Indies, seven or eight ships which traded to the red
 sea, and the gulph of Persia, annually brought back 500,000l.
 in gold and silver alone. The Siddee was equally anxious for
 the preservation of his strong hold of Gingerah, and by this
 concurrence of apprehensions obtained the supplies of his
 equipment for the first time without grudge or regret, from
 the government of Surat. His fleet consisted of two large
 ships, three frigates of three masts, and fifteen stout gallivats,
 in which, besides the lascars, were seven hundred excellent
 soldiers. They arrived at Bombay on the 10th of November,
 and

and after conference with the council there, joined the company's fleet off Kenary, whose officers at the same time received cautious instructions.

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Siddee Coffim, having towed round the island, proposed to assault it with his own men, if the company's vessels would cover the landing; but Keigwin discovered that he intended to keep it, if carried; and as Bombay might receive more detriment from it in his possession, than from Sevagi's, evaded to give the assistance; on which the Siddee cannonaded the island from his two ships for several days, which was returned, but with no effect on either side: during which no firing passed between the company's fleet and the island. This wariness confirmed what intelligence the Siddee had gained concerning the negotiation between Bombay and Sevagi, and in order to break it, he sent off his gallivats in the night to attack the corlahs in the harbour; where they burnt four towns, and brought off the inhabitants for slaves. Single boats from the main continued to get into the island; and Dowlet Caun prepared to come out of Negotan with a numerous convoy laden with provisions and ammunition: and all his grabs appeared one morning at the mouth of the river; but on the approach of the two fleets from their stations, went in again; the smaller vessels were then left to block the outlets, but the Siddee fearing his own might be surpris'd, withdrew them; and the watch was continued by only two of the Company's. The firing was renewed between the Siddee and

SECT. the island, and continued for thirteen days to the last of
 I. December with as little effect as before, and thus stood the
 1679. quarrel at the end of the year 1679.

In September Sevagi came out of Pannela, with what force for the field he had kept there during the rains, and joined 20,000 horse, which Morah Pundit had collected, waiting for him at the foot of the western side of the ridge; they proceeded towards Viziapore, whose forces were joined by the Mogul's army from Aurengabad under the conduct of Delhire Khan; Sambagi was likewise with them, and in a general battle which ensued, his ensigns were displayed against his father's. The contest was sharp: on Sevagi's side two thousand Morattoes were slain, and as many surrendered. His enemies claimed the victory, which he confirmed by retreating to Rairee, where he arrived in the beginning of November.

This was the only defeat of his life, but he soon dispelled the reproach, which he had willingly encouraged. A powerful Rajah in Berar, aggrieved by the Mogul government, confederated with him for their mutual revenge; and in the beginning of December Sevagi set off from Rairee with a chosen body of horse, and suddenly appeared in the country between Aurengabad and Brampore, where, joined with the forces of the Rajah, they committed all kind of devastation: Dongong, where the English had factors, Chupra, and other great marts, were again plundered, and Brampore shut its gates. At the same time Morah Pundit, with another body of horse, proceeded

proceeded along the western side of the mountains, and ravaged towards Surat: Sevagi returned to Raïree with his booty at the end of the year, but Morah Pundit with his division kept the field.

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In the mean time Aurengzebe was carrying on the war against the Ranah of Chitore, and the Rajah of Marwar, who on the approach of his army at the end of the preceding year, 1678, had abandoned the accessible country, and drew their herds and inhabitants into the vallies, within the mountains; the army advanced amongst the defiles with incredible labour, and with so little intelligence, that the division which moved with Aurengzebe himself, was unexpectedly stopped by insuperable defences and precipices in front; whilst the Rajpoots in one night closed the streights in his rear, by felling the overhanging trees; and from their stations above, prevented all endeavours of the troops either within or without, from removing the obstacle. Udeperri the favorite and Circassian wife of Aurengzebe accompanied him in this arduous war, and with her retinue and escort was enclosed in another part of the mountains; her conductors, dreading to expose her person to danger or public view, surrendered. She was carried to the Ranah, who received her with homage, and every attention. . . . Meanwhile the emperor himself might have perished by famine, of which the Ranah let him see the risque, by a confinement of two days; when he ordered his Rajpoots to withdraw from their stations, and suffer the way to.

SECT. 47 to be cleared. As soon as Aurengzebe was out of danger, the
 I. Ranah sent back his wife, accompanied by a chosen escort,
 1679. who only requested in return, that he would refrain from
 destroying the sacred animals of their religion, which might
 still be left in the plains; but Aurengzebe, who believed in no
 virtue but self-interest, imputed the generosity and forbearance
 of the Ranah to the fear of future vengeance, and continued
 the war. Soon after, he was again well nigh enclosed in the
 mountains. This second experience of difficulties beyond his
 age and constitution, and the arrival of his sons, Azim and
 Acbar, determined him not to expose himself any longer in
 the field; but to leave its operations to their conduct, super-
 intended by his own instructions from Azmir; to which city
 he retired with the households of his family, the officers of his
 court, and his body-guard of 4,000 men, dividing the army
 between his two sons, who each had brought a considerable
 body of troops from their respective governments. They con-
 tinued the war each in a different part of the country, and
 neither at the end of the year had forced the ultimate passes
 of the mountains: //

n. 58. The confederates in Viziapore, after Sevagi's retreat, at-
 tacked some of the towns in this country which he had for-
 merly reduced. Amongst others, they sacked Huttany, a very
 considerable mart; and Delhire Khan proposed to sell the
 inhabitants, who were Hindoos, for slaves; but Serji Khan the
 general of Viziapore wished to preserve them as recovered
 subjects;

subjects; and Sambagi still more sacredly, as being of his own religion; but the two mahomedans agreed, and Sambagi in detestation of co-operating any longer with such allies, went off with his troops, which were 400 horse, and 1,000 foot, to his father's fort of Pannela, who ordered his admission, and went to meet him at the end of the year, when they were reconciled; and Sevagi, leaving him in the command of Pannela, returned to Rairee: Morah Pundit still continued towards Surat, but refrained from any strenuous exertion, lest his assistance should be required by the future operations of Sevagi.

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The Siddee continued his daily battery against Kenary, until the 9th of January, when, without intimating his design to the English captains, he anchored his fleet at Hundry, the other island, on which he landed men and cannon, and declared his intention of fortifying it, as a check on Kenary. Four days after Dowlet Caun came out, with all his vessels, from the river of Negotan, and a general engagement ensued with little damage, for it was over before the English could take any share in it. Dowlet Caun then brought guns to a rising ground on the main land opposite Hundry, against which they fired, and were answered, as well by the Siddee's ships as the guns in the island: this cannonade continued several days. On the 27th Dowlet Caun came out again with the whole fleet and engaged the Siddee's for four hours, until he had lost four grabs, and as many of the smaller vessels,

1680.

with.

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SECT. with 500 men killed and wounded, besides the prisoners; and
 I. was himself severely wounded. The Siddee lost no vessels,
 1680. and had only ten men killed; such was the advantage of his
 ships over the opener and more slender vessels of the enemy;
 whose grabs, with their wounded admiral, leaving their galli-
 vats to the neighbouring rivers, bore away after the engage-
 ment, to rest at Rajapore, which is one hundred miles to the
 south of Negotan.

This while the negotiation had been carrying on at Bom-
 bay with an ambassador sent on purpose from Rairee, and
 lest that he should think that this success of the Siddee was
 acceptable to the council, they immediately recalled their
 own fleet. The Siddee tried again to break off the treaty, by
 sending the grabs he had taken to be sold in Bombay, and
 being refused the permission, entered the harbour on the 27th
 of February with his whole fleet, and detached his gallivats,
 crowded with men, into the river Penn, which they went up as
 far as the depth permitted, burning all the towns and villages
 on either hand, and brought away near a thousand of the in-
 habitants. Nevertheless the treaty was concluded in the
 middle of March: it confirmed that of 1674 made by
 Mr. Oxenden, and promised immediate payment of what
 remained due of the compensation then allowed for the com-
 pany's losses at the sack of Rajapore in 1673. The English
 agreed not to permit the Siddee's fleet to winter in the harbour,
 but under the condition of not attacking the opposite shores.

In this interval Sevagi was gone from Raicee, but no one knew whither; a convoy of money to a great amount was coming to Aurengabad, of which, as of every thing concerning his enemy, he received early intelligence; and taking his time before his intentions could be suspected, issued with a detachment of his hardiest cavalry, remote from all the Mogul's stations, and fell upon the convoy before his approach was known, within a few miles of Brampore, where it would have been safe, until sent forward with stronger escort. He seized the whole, and brought it without interruption and the same rapidity to Raicee. But the purchase was dearly earned; for the excessive strain of fatigué, greater than any he had endured since his escape from Delhi, caused an inflammation in his breast, attended with spitting of blood: his disorder, although increasing every day, was kept secret within his palace at Raicee; and if it had been published would not have been believed, since he had more than once sent abroad reports of his death, at the very time he was setting out on some signal excursion; and at this very time his army towards Surat, which he probably intended to have joined, were acting with such ravage and hostility up to the walls, that the city imagined Sevagi himself was commanding in person; and expected an assault with so much terror, that the English presidency sent off the treasure of their factory across the river, to the marine of Swally, where lay some of their ships; and the governor of the town redeemed his fears by a large contribution;

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N

contribution;

SECT. contribution; with which Morah Pundit returned to Rairee,
 I. to see his master die. He expired on the 5th of April, 1680,
 1680. and in the 52d year of his age. His funeral pile was ad-
 ministered with the same sacrifices as had been devoted the
 year before to the obsequies of the Maha Rajah, Jeffwont
 n. 60. Sing, of Joudpore: attendants, animals, and wives, were
 burnt with his corpse.

The name of his family was Bonfolo, which claiming their descent from ancient princes of the Rajpoot nation, were exempted (we suppose in convenience to military exertions) from some of the stricter observances of the general religion; from which, nevertheless, he never deviated for the sake of indulgences, and affected the deepest reverence to his brahmins, undertaking no expedition without their auspices; and was as punctual in his private devotions, as assiduous in the ceremonies of public worship; it should seem from conviction; but whether so or no, his practice gained the public respect: and as he delighted in every occasion of throwing defiance against Aurengzebe, he frequently stiled himself, in his correspondence and manifestos, the champion of the Hindoo gods against the sanguinary violator of their temples; which, with his own example, sharpened the antipathy of his troops against the Mogul's, whom they deemed it religious retaliation to destroy.

His private life was simple, even to parsimony; his manners void of insolence or ostentation; as a sovereign he was hu-
 mane,

mane, and solicitous for the well being of his people, as soon as assured of their obedience; for he gathered them as we have seen by degrees.

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Conflicting against the Mogul, Viziapore, and Golcondah, the revenues of his own territories, all wrested from their dominions, were not sufficient to supply the means of maintaining effectual war against such rich and mighty powers; but his genius created the resources which nature had denied. The cavalry of the three Mahomedan states were always drawn from the northern countries and borders of India with especial regard to the strength and size, as well of the riders as their horses, whose pampered maintenance was of vast expense; but their shock was not to be resisted by any of the native cavalry to the south of Delhi, and all the conquests made by the Mahomedans in this lower region may be imputed to this unequal decision. Sevagi first discerned and provided the equivalent opposition, by establishing a cavalry, of which the requisites were agility and endurance of fatigue: many must have perished in the probation, but besides the supplies of purchase and capture, broods were raised from the most approved*. The horse without a saddle was rode by a man without cloths, whose constant weapon was a trusty

n. 61.

* Navarette inserts, "I was told at Surat, the Subagi Mogul (Sevagi was far from a Mogul) was extraordinarily careful that no woman should be in his army; and, if he happened to find one, he immediately turned her out, first cutting off her hair and ears. This to prevent the effects of sensuality on the alacrity and activity of his troops, for the same reason as the Tartars."

SECT. I. 1680. sabre; footmen enured to the same travel, and bearing all kind of arms trooped with the horse: spare horses to bring off the booty, and relieve the wearied or wounded. All gathered their daily provisions as they passed. No pursuit could reach their march; in conflict their onset fell wheresoever they chose, and was relinquished even in the instant of charge. Whole districts were in flames before their approach was known, as a terror to others to redeem the ravage. Nor were they so wanton in bloodshed as reported by affright; but gave no quarter to resistance or interruption: in the towns they only fought the wealthy inhabitants to carry them off for future ransom. Such was their war of plunder. In regular campaigns, in which fortresses were to be reduced; they must have moved with the usual incumbrances; but Sevagi seems to have besieged none at an inconvenient distance from others of which he was in possession; excepting when he invaded the Carnatic, of which we have acquired no circumstances.

We are not apprised in what manner he satisfied and paid his soldiery and their officers; but believe with portions of the cumbrous plunder, grain, land, honour, privileges, exemptions, and very little ready money, for the continual influx of treasure from his predatory excursions raised the fame of the caves of Rairee to a proverbial symbol of eastern wealth, as a repository from which nothing returned. Nevertheless nothing necessary to the success of his operations was stinted, and what capture

capture did not furnish was procured, by purchase. He spared no cost to obtain intelligence of all the motions and intentions of his enemy, and even of minuter import; for his detachments always knew the opulent houses of the towns they attacked, and often the very cell in which the treasure they sought was buried; he was still more profuse in corrupting the generals with whom he contended; the Mogul's governors of Surat, his Subahs in the Deçan, and even Sultan Mauzum his son, and the heir of his empire, had more than once accepted the gold of connivance from Sevagi.

The same principles of frugality and expense were observed in the municipal disbursements of his government; for superior himself to magnificence, none of his officers were led to expect more than competence; but nothing was spared which might contribute to the internal defence of his country. Regular fortifications, well armed and garrisoned, barred the open approaches; every pass was commanded by forts; and, in the closer defiles, every steep and overhanging rock was occupied as a station to roll down great masses of stone, which made their way to the bottom, and became the most effectual annoyance to the labouring march of cavalry, elephants, and carriages. It is said that he left three hundred and fifty of these posts in the Concan alone.

SEVAGI possessed all the qualities of command; every influence, howsoever latent, was combined in his schemes, which generally comprehended the option of more than one success;

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n. 62.

so that his intention could rarely be ascertained, and when accomplished, did not discover the extent of its advantages, until developed by subsequent acquisitions. In personal activity he exceeded all generals of whom there is record; for no partizan appropriated to services of detachment alone, ever traversed as much ground as he at the head of armies. He met every emergency of peril, howsoever sudden and extreme, with instant discernment, and unshaken fortitude; the ablest of his officers acquiesced to the eminent superiority of his genius; and the boast of the soldier was to have seen Sevagi charging sword in hand.

Thus respected, as the guardian of the nation he had formed, he moved every where amongst them with unsuspecting security, and often alone; whilst his wiles were the continual terror of the princes with whom he was at enmity, even in the midst of their citadels and armies. Whensoever we shall obtain a history of his life, written in his own country, he will doubtless appear to have possessed the highest resources of stratagem, joined to undaunted courage; which, although equal to the encounter of any danger, always preferred to surmount it by circumvention; which, if impracticable, no arm exceeded his in open daring. Gallantry must lament that it should once have been stained by the blood of assassination.

Aurengzebe could not suppress the emotions of his joy on hearing of Sevagi's death, nor the justice due to his character, which he had denied during his life. "He was," he said,

"a great

“ a great captain, and the only one who has had the magna-
 “ nimity to raise a new kingdom, whilst I have been endeavour-
 “ ing to destroy the ancient sovereignties of India; my armies
 “ have been employed against him for nineteen years, and,
 “ nevertheless, his state has been always increasing.”

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n. 64.

This state comprised, on the western side of India, all the coast with the back country of the hills from the river Mirzeou to Verfal; excepting the small territory of Goa to the south, Bombay, Salcette, and the Portuguese country between Bassein and Daman to the north. Along the other side of the ridge, all, as far as the mountains continued to the westward, likewise belonged to Sevagi. The whole, at a general amount, may be esteemed four hundred miles in length, and one hundred and twenty in breadth: at the distance of three hundred miles from this dominion, he was in possession, towards the eastern sea, of half the Carnatic, which alone equalled most of the Rajahships of India; all acquired by his own abilities from an origin of little note; and left at his decease a permanent sovereignty, established on communion of manners, customs, observances, language, and religion, united in common defence against the tyranny of foreign conquerors, from whom they had recovered the land of their own inheritance.

n. 65.

SAMBAGI was at Pannela when his father died; his younger brother Ram Rajah at Rairee, whom Anagi Pundit the second minister, and rival of Morah Pundit the first, endeavoured

SECT. endeavoured by the warrant, or some expression of Sevagi,
 I. to establish in the sovereignty; but Morah Pundit was sup-
 1680. ported in the preference of Sambagi by the greatest part of
 the soldiery, who had been the companions of his valour and
 activity in the field, which put an end to Anagi Pundit's
 intrigue, and he went with Morah Pundit to pay homage
 to Sambagi at Pannela, who immediately confined him
 in irons, and came to Rairee, escorted by 5,000 horse, in the
 beginning of July, where he met his brother with kindness,
 and ordered the general rendezvous of the army.

The Siddee, having secured the continuance of his own works
 on the island Hundry, desisted from further attack on Sevagi's
 at Kenary, and sent a part of his soldiery with some of the
 smaller vessels to harbour at Mazagong, and with the larger
 cruised about Dunda Rajapore. At this time the government
 of Surat, by the especial order of Aurengzebe, increased the
 duties of all the European imports from two to three-and-a-
 half per cent, which was intended to equal their rates to the
 poll tax established on all his subjects, not Mahomedans, in
 the empire. This aggrivance encouraged the insolence of
 the Siddee's people at Bombay. They executed their own
 justice on the inhabitants, and again brought some of the
 people they had taken on Sevagi's shores to sell as slaves in the
 island; but the council released all they got notice of, which
 were twenty-one persons, men, women, and children, who,
 when produced, were nearly reduced to death by hunger.

This

This happened on the 28th of April: on the 4th of May some of their people were carrying contraband goods, which the guards of the custom-house stopped at Mazagong, and a fray ensued, in which several on both sides were wounded. The next day Siddee Coffim himself came into the harbour with the main body of his fleet, and anchored off the fort without compliment or warning, on which guns were fired on his ships, which forced them to a farther distance, and produced a discussion, which at length terminated by the Siddee's consent to refrain from the invasion of the corlahs, conformably to the engagements lately made by the council with Sevagi; but their continuing in the harbour gave so much umbrage to Sambagi, that he sent down troops to the shore, who set to work in preparing means to burn their fleet, but continually deferred the attempt.

On the first of August two hundred of their men in boats, and a dark night, landed on the island of Kenary, and got within the works before they were discovered, but the Siddee's men gathered with resolution, and either took or killed the greatest part. Eighty heads were brought in baskets to Mazagong, where Siddee Coffim prepared to fix them along the shore on poles, but was interdicted by the council. The ill success and intended insult increased the resentment of Sambagi: he sent more troops to the corlahs, and threatened the invasion of Bombay, which reinforced its out-posts towards Gallian; at length he demanded to confer with an ambassador,

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whom,

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whom, on account of the expence, the presidency at Surat would not send; on which Sambagi sent his own to the island, by name Augee Pundit, a very shrewd man, of long service and high esteem with Sevagi; he was treated with great respect, and procured every kind of intelligence concerning the strength and defences of the island, and saw the Siddee's fleet; which, wanting money, continued in the harbour until the 22d of December, when they sailed down the coast, intending to make a descent again at Vingorlah; but Sambagi had increased his fleet to sixty sail, and reinforced it with 5,000 soldiers, which nevertheless could not resist the battery of the Siddee's, but sailed much better, and could anchor in much shoaler water; of which advantages Dowlet Caunavailed himself; and restricted his operations to observation, which deterred the Siddee from attempting to ravage any part of the coast; so that after various chases, and accidental fights between the smaller vessels, the season closed without any of consequence, and the Siddee returned to Bombay towards the end of April: from whence he sailed for Surat on the 3d of May, leaving five hundred men on his island of Hundry, and six gallivats with three hundred men at Mazagong.

We left Aurengzebe in the beginning of the year 1680 at Azmir, directing the war against the Rajpoots; carried on by two different armies under the command of his sons Azim, and Achar. Soon after, if we can arrange aright, the army of Azim took the vast and ruined city of Chitore by surprize: it had

had been taken about a century before by the emperor Acbar; who defaced or demolished all the edifices of religion and regality, which in the succession of one thousand years had elevated its reputation above all the western cities of Indostan. On this disaster, the Ranah then reigning removed his residence and the seat of government to Oudipore, where it had continued ever since. Chitore, nevertheless, did not then lose all its inhabitants, and the number had been increasing until this second expulsion, but was nothing near so great as when taken by Acbar; Aurengzebe destroyed all the objects of Hindoo worship, and every dwelling which had since been either raised or restored. The capture, nevertheless, did not forward the reduction of the Ranah; for the farther mountains, which environed his residence at Oudipore were insuperable, and the prophanation of Chitore, increased the desperate defence of the Rajpoots of both principalities.

All the sons of Aurengzebe were brave; but Sultan Mauzum had acquired the love of the soldiery by his generosity and humanity; who perceived little of these virtues either in his father or brothers; whose jealousy this preference raised, which Sultan Mauzum knew; and when sent into the Decan, foresaw that any signal success obtained under his immediate command in the field, would aggravate their latent aversions; and on the other hand that the failure would be imputed to his misconduct alone. In this dilemma, he chose the middle mode of acting as the vicegerent of the emperor in the general super-

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SECT. I. 1681. intendency of the province; but left the command of the army to Delhire Khan; who was charged to watch all his proceedings. Nevertheless, the sultans Azim and Acbar exaggerated the inefficacy of the war against Sevagi; from which Aurengzebe received some consolation, as palliating the failure of his own against the Rajpoots; but ordered Sultan Mauzum to persevere with more activity. Soon after happened the death of Sevagi, when Aurengzebe, not expecting the same opposition from his successor, recalled Sultan Mauzum and Delhire Khan with the army which had accompanied them into the Decan; and they advanced to Chitore; so that the whole force of the empire, which could with prudence be collected to one destination, was now employed against the two Rajpoot Rajahs, under the command of the three sons of the emperor, and his own inspection.

n. 66. Acbar was restless, turbulent, arrogant, and mischievous; hating his brothers Mauzum and Azim, as his elders; his father still more, for not preferring his own to their better pretensions to his favour. His army was employed against Joudpore, and lay nearer than the other two to Azmir, where Aurengzebe had reserved for his guard only 4,000, but of his best troops. The widow of Joudpore, apprised of the character of Acbar, proffered the assistance of 30,000 Rajpoots, to seize the emperor; and proclaim himself. The offer was accepted, and the widow raised a belief that she was assembling the ban of her country, to assist the Ranah with the surplus of her

her own defence. The negotiation was kept concealed until Acbar communicated it to his astrologer, for the choice of a lucky day. The astrologer apprised Sultan Mauzum; who was perplexed, whether it might not be a contrivance of his father, to try his fidelity; or should the revolt be intended, and yet not take effect, lest he should be suspected of ill will to his brother; he however sent the intelligence; to which Aurengzebe gave no credit, until he received it likewise from the astrologer. No time was to be lost, for the Rajpoots had joined; and to gain a day, Aurengzebe wrote an exhortation of filial piety to Acbar, which was answered by an invective of defiance. The armies of Sultan Mauzum and Azim were advancing hastily to his aid; but Acbar was two days nearer, and within one of Azmir; this day was the 11th of January 1681. Aurengzebe bribed the astrologer to proscribe it, and contrived a letter to be intercepted by the commander of the Rajpoots, exhorting Acbar to persevere in the plan of exposing them in front, and of falling upon their rear, during the intended attack of Aurengzebe's camp. The advice corresponded with the resolve of the last council of war, of which Aurengzebe had acquired intelligence, "That the Rajpoots should commence the assault, and Acbar support them with the Mogul troops." This concurrence, with the remembrance of the former collusion between Aurengzebe and his son Sultan Mauzum in the Deçan, to inveigle Sevagi, stamped invincible suspicion; and the same night the Rajpoots

marched

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SECT: marched away to their own country, which spread such trepi-
 dation in Acbar's army, as disabled him from taking revenge
 I. of their desertion; he upbraided all the officers of his council,
 1681. and especially accused the astrologer, who was not to be
 found; his general, Teaver Caun, wounded by the disappoint-
 ment of a scheme he had earnestly promoted, as much as
 by the imputation against his honour, proffered with the fero-
 city of his nation (for he was a Pitan) to assassinate Aurengzebe
 before the ensuing noon. He set off, to certain death, with
 alacrity, and a few attendants; arrived at the camp before the
 sun, or intelligence of the retreat of the Rajpoots; announced
 himself as a fugitive from Acbar, returning to his duty to
 his sovereign, with information of near and immediate import-
 n. 68. ance; and being well known, was permitted to pass to the
 pavilions of Aurengzebe, who was asleep; and the weather
 being very cold, the guard had retired to their room, leaving
 only a single sentinel at the entrance to Aurengzebe's apart-
 ment, by whom Teaver Caun was stoppt, until the chamber-
 lain came, who ordered him to deliver his sword and dagger
 before he could be admitted to the presence of the emperor:
 he refused; high words ensued; and he attacked the cham-
 berlain with the advantage of a coat of mail under his gar-
 ment; the guards came in on the first outcry, against whom he
 defended himself desperately, until felled with many wounds.

The news of his death, and the cause, carried dismay
 through the camp of Acbar, not yet recovered from their
 former

former consternation; bands on all sides marched away, scarcely determined what to do, but most determined to atone for the revolt by returning to the standard of the emperor. Acbar put his treasure, with his infant son and daughter and the females of his family, on his elephants and camels, and accompanied by his domestics on horseback, struck to the mountains of the Maha Rajah, into which he was admitted with respect. The general, convinced that he had been deceived by the artifice of Aurengzebe, apologized; and the widow offered him retreat, or assistance, at his choice. But Acbar only accepted the service of five hundred Rajpoots, and the protection of the state to his children and family, whom he left at Joudpore, and departed to the country adjoining to the peninsula of Guzerat, which is likewise possessed by Rajpoots under several petty Rajahs, but in strong situations.

Sultan Mauzum was ordered to follow Acbar, and not to quit the pursuit, until he had taken him; which, knowing his own estimation, and the duplicity of his father, he deemed a dangerous commission; since, if Acbar should fall in action, his death might be imputed to the earnestness of removing a rival: he ventured to explain the dilemma; which Aurengzebe affected not to take amiss, and indemnified the consequence; Acbar was soon after surrounded in a situation, capable of extreme defence, but from which, if properly watched, he could not escape, so that famine seemed the umpire, against which Acbar was likewise provided. Mauzum, to save time,

offered

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SECT. offered him full pardon, and restoration to the favour of their
 I. father, from whom he had received the silver chains, with
 1681. which Acbar was to be fettered, who pretended that the
 Rajpoots would prevent his escape, until he had discharged
 the arrears of their pay. The story says, that Sultan Mauzum
 sent him 40,000 gold mohurs; which, if true, proves the high
 honour of the Rajpoots; since the obvious use of the money
 was to have sent it to them, if they could have been bribed to
 betray their ward. They seconded Acbar in a push through
 Mauzum's circumvallation, which seems to have been pur-
 posely neglected, and escaped with him to the Coolies on the
 river Mihie, which disembogues at Cambay, from whence he
 sent forward the recommendations of the Ranah, and Joud-
 pore to Sambagi, who immediately invited him into his
 a. 70. country; on which Acbar, travelling whilst the army of Bahadar
 Khan was retired into winter quarters, arrived on the 1st of
 June at Pawlee Gur, a fort and town at the foot of the Gauts,
 a day's journey from the shore opposite to Bombay. His
 retinue was four hundred Rajpoots mounted, a few well
 armed on foot, and two hundred and fifty camels carrying
 his baggage, women, and treasures.

Sambagi was then at Pannela; but his principal officers at
 Rairee came down and presented one thousand gold mohurs
 as a testimony of his homage, which Acbar distributed
 amongst his Rajpoots. None sat in his presence, as Sambagi
 had declared he himself never should. The whole country
 flocked

flocked in to pay him obeifance, as if he had been the Mogul; all the provisions of his men and animals were daily fupplied in abundance and without coft; and whilft waiting the vifit of Sambagi he was continually joined by parties of cavalry, whom he enlifted, and at the end of Auguft had five thoufand in his own pay. Whilft others admired why Sambagi did not come, Acbar knew the caufe of his continuance at Pannela.

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The minifter Anagi Pundit, although imprifoned, continued to lead the faction which had endeavoured to give the fucceffion to Ramrajah, and was abetted by his mother. On Acbar's arrival in the Concan, they tendered him the fove-
reignty of all Sevagi's dominions, referving a provision for Ramrajah, provided Acbar would declare againft Sambagi, of whom they undertook to get rid. Accordingly his meal was poisoned, but difcovered to him by an infant, and proved on a dog. Soon after Sambagi received intelligence from Acbar of the overtures which had been made to him by the confpirators, on which he put to death Anagi Pundit, Harji Pharfang, and five others; they were trampled by elephants; twenty more awaited the fame fate. Ramrajah, was fent to
refide in one of the forts of the Carnatic with a decent appa-
nage, but without any power in the government. Some time
after his mother died, it is fupposed, by the procurement of
Sambagi; who in September came to Pawlee Gur, and paid
his personal homage, with great refpect, to Acbar, whom he

n. 71.

SECT. then conducted to Rairee, giving out that he intended to
 I. accompany him with 50,000 horse, to Brampore, and there
 1681. proclaim him emperor of the Moguls. But the boast was
 scarcely made before its execution became impracticable.

The escape of Acbar to Sambagi oppressed Aurengzebe with as much anxiety as formerly the phantom of his brother Sujah amongst the Pitans; and the consequences of their alliance became a nearer care than the continuance of the war against the Rajpoots, whose gallant activity precluded any speedy decision of the sword; but the dignity of the throne forbade any overtures of peace to a resistance which had even attempted the deposal, if not the life, of the monarch. A Rajpoot officer, who had long served with distinction under Delhire Khan, solved the difficulty; he quitted the army on the pretence of retiring with what he had acquired, to pass the remainder of his life in his own country, and visited the Ranah, as from courtesy, on his journey; the conversation turned on the war, which the Rajpoot perhaps really lamented, and persuaded the Ranah, that although Aurengzebe would never condescend to make, he might accept, overtures of peace; on which he was empowered by the Ranah to tender them. The rains having stopped immediate operations in the Decan, Aurengzebe, to avoid the appearance of eagerness or necessity, protracted the negotiation until the army could move, and then concluded the treaty without assertion or release of the capitation tax; but with the surrender of the districts.

districts of Meirdah, which had been taken from Chitore by Shah Jehan: the state of Joudpore was likewise included in the Ranah's, or had a separate treaty. In the month of September Aurengzebe began to move from Azmir, and sent forward the two armies commanded by his sons the Sultans Mauzum and Azim: the three armies arrived at their intended stations nearly at the same time, in the middle of November; Sultan Azim's at Ahmednagur, Mauzum's at Aurengabad, and Aurengzebe himself at Brampore; from whence he sent orders to hire more ships at Surat, which were to reinforce his own and the Siddee's fleet acting against the fleet and shores of Sambagi, whilst the armies should attack his mountains,

In the mean time the Siddee's gallivats at Hundry, in the various intervals of fair weather during the monsoon, attacked the boats of Bombay going to the Corlahs, and were punished by their commander for what they had not been able to take. The council of Bombay, to avoid the necessity of revenging these insults on the men at Mazagong, referred their complaints to Surat. Twenty-two of Sambagi's gallivats were sheltered in the river Negotan; and in the middle of July came down four thousand men from Rairee, who, after waiting a month for fair weather, failed over to Hundry; but were beaten off with loss, after a fight of four hours. The Siddee's gallivats at Bombay, elated with this success, failed over to the Corlahs, and brought away some of the principal inhabitants, who had purchased their protection by an annual tribute,

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bute, equal to what they paid the government of Rairee; and although several of them, as well as the Siddees, were Mahomedans, they were carried to Hundry and beaten unmercifully, until they deputed one to fetch a ransom of eighteen thousand rupees. As this injury originated in Bombay, where some of the Siddees, besides their occasional residence, had purchased houses, and established their families, Sambagi's phoufdar, or governor on the main, remonstrated to the council; whose exhortations with the Siddees availed so little, that a few days after they brought a large vessel which they had taken in the Corlahs, in open day close under the fort, from whence it was immediately rescued by the boats on guard.

In the mean Siddee Coffim, to oppose the complaints of the presidency at Surat, instigated the crews of his ships in the river, to demand justice, although sixteen months had passed, for the value of the twenty-one miserable prisoners which the council of Bombay had obliged them to surrender; and the governor encouraged them to beset the English factory, which took up arms, and pointed four field-pieces at the gate, which was kept shut for two days, when the confusion was dissipated by the governor's order, who received a present for this interference of his authority to quell the danger he had abetted; the same influence procured his injunction to the Siddee's people at Bombay, to refrain from farther offences, and they continued quiet until the end of October, when

when Siddee Coffim appeared off the harbour, but with little increase of his former force, for the Mogul's orders to arm more ships had not yet arrived at Surat; but his approach to the Decan was known, and raised the insolence of all his officers with whom the English had any concern. Accordingly the Siddee, when pressed by the council of Bombay to refrain from depredations on the Corlahs, or hostilities within the harbour; denied that he had received any such orders at Surat, and cruized daily, within and without, on all vessels trading to any part of Sambagi's country, and even detained one belonging to Bombay which had bought his own pass. All this while he occupied the town of Mazagong, and every advantage of the port without controul; for the concern of lading the company's ships at Surat precluded any effectual opposition to his enormities, which were increased by the forbearance.

On the 7th of December he sent all his gallivats into the Corlahs, where they burnt the town of Abita, which had recovered from the like defolation in the year 1673: a few days after, the whole fleet went down to Chaul, and, passing the Portuguese fort at the mouth of the river without offence, ravaged a large tract of the adjacent country; but were not able to assault the town of Upper Chaul, belonging to Sambagi; nor was the town able to oppose them in the field. On this provocation Sambagi, accompanied by Sultan Acbar, came down from Rairee, with 20,000 men and a vast train of cannon, to Dunda Rajahpore, in the beginning of January; and,

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from

SECT. I. 1682. from the hill opposite to Gingerah, battered incessantly for thirty days, until all the opposite fortifications were levelled; but a rock in the middle of the island sheltered the garrison, which was commanded by a gallant officer, named Siddee Curry; and Siddee Cossim, with his ships, plying daily into the bay, deterred Sambagi's fleet from approaching to transport his troops to the attack, who continued on the main without a single boat: but Sambagi, bent on his object, resolved to fill up the channel, although eight hundred yards broad, and thirty deep, with stones and fragments of rock. The idea was great, and not impracticable by the labour of 50,000 men in a hundred days; and so many of the fair season remained; but the mound would not have withstood the heavy and outrageous seas of the stormy monsoon.

The army which Sultan Mauzum had led to Aurengabad in the preceding November had joined the camp at Jenneahgur, from whence a general named Huffein Ally was sent with 20,000 horse and 15,000 foot, to reduce Sambagi's country towards Salcette and Bombay. They forced the Gauts of Decir after some resistance, less than they expected, and encamped at Gallian on the 4th of February, having, to their own future detriment, destroyed all the extensive and fair cultivation of the plain within reach of their excursions.

Sambagi immediately returned with Sultan Acbar from Dunda Rajahpore to Rairee; but left a considerable body of troops to continue the attack on Gingerah, which he quitted himself

himself with much despite against the causes of his disappointment. He threatened the English at Bombay with immediate invasion if they continued to admit the Siddee's fleet, and warned them of his intention to fortify the island of Elephanta within four miles of the fort, with which it would then have divided the command of the harbour; he upbraided the Portuguese at Chaul, for suffering the descent of the Siddees into his territory within sight of their walls, and demanded ground under their guns to build a fort, which should controul the landing in future; and to excite more deference, ordered his fleet at Rajapore to take possession of the islands of Anchideva, intending from thence to enthrall the trade of Goa, as well as to protect his own at Carwar.

The steep shores of the river Penn opposed the march of horse from Gallian into the Corlahs; nevertheless five thousand men were stationed to defend the fords, and under their protection a fort was raising at the mouth of the river to prevent the entrance of the Siddee's gallivats. In the Corlahs and low country from Negotan to Chaul were 15,000 men, and 10,000 continued at Dunda Rajapore, in all 30,000 on this side the Gauts, besides his fleet, which now amounted to one hundred and twenty gallivats and fifteen grabs. On the other side of the Gauts between Satarah and the pass of Pondah were stationed 20,000 horse to oppose Sultan Azim from Ahmednagur. The treasuries of Sevagi supplied this expence to the westward, and the Carnatic maintained itself.

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The Siddee, with his whole fleet of smaller vessels, as well as the ships, continued watching Gingerah until the season began to roughen, and on the 12th of April came into the harbour of Bombay, where the English presidency of Surat, more afraid of the Mogul's displeasure than Sambagi's, had ordered their admittance.

As soon as they had taken up their stations under the island, most of Sambagi's gallivats, more than a hundred, began to rendezvous from the southward at their intended winter quarters in the river Negotan, and under the island Kenary, which has a bay fit for small craft. During the slatches of fair weather several skirmishes passed between these huffars of the sea, but the Siddee's gallivats had the advantage of making prize of trading boats, without resistance, and of ravaging the defenceless parts of Sambagi's shores without the harbour; from which they brought away the inhabitants, whose noses they cut off in outrage: on which Sambagi prohibited all provisions from the Corlahs to Bombay, and the Portuguese, always glad of distressing the island, refused any from their lands to the northward, and the scarcity which ensued increased the price to threefold the usual rates.

The camp at Dunda Rajapore, after the departure of Sambagi, desisted from the mound, but gathered boats, and having demolished the opposite fortifications of Gingerah, made the attack in August, but the unstable footing of the broken rock and surging sea, exposed them with much disadvantage in the assault,

assault, and they were beaten off with the loss of two hundred men.

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The weather having begun to settle, thirty gallivats came out of the river Negotan on the 5th of October, they were commanded by Siddee Misery, a relation of Siddee Sambole, who, on his removal from the command of the fleet of their community had taken service with Sambagi. Siddee Coffim at Mazagong was apprized, and put off with fifteen gallivats crowded with his best men. The fight continued four hours in sight of the fort of Bombay, and ended with victory to the Siddee, who brought back four of the enemy's gallivats, one of which was that in which Siddee Misery hoisted his flag. He was brought ashore at Mazagong mortally wounded; but the council would not permit any other of the prisoners to be landed. Thus much for the operations at sea during this monsoon.

Aurengzebe had moved from Brampore to Aurengabad in March, in order to be nearer the war against Sambagi. His general Hufflein Ally, to save his horses from the deluges of the monsoon, repassed the gauts in May to the upper country, where this season is much less violent. Sultan Azim with Bahadar Khan had advanced in February from Aurengabad to Naffir Tirmeck on the river Gungah and near its source sixty miles to the south-west of Aurengabad; their detachments reduced several posts on detached hills, and then uniting sat down before one of greater consequence called Ramdeo; on

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which

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which Hamedrow, at this time the principal general of Sambagi, advanced from Satarah with all the troops of the eastern frontier, to raise the siege. He gave battle, and was defeated with the loss of two thousand men, and returned to the strong security of Satarah. At the same time the king of Viziapore menaced by Aurengzebe, and the fear of Sultan Azim's approach to his country, sent his army to attack Sambagi's frontiers opposite to his own capital, where they took a strong fort called Merick; on which Sambagi proposed a defensive alliance against the Mogul; which certainly was the interest of Viziapore. The king demanded the restitution of Pannela, as a preliminary; which, as the first acquisition of importance made by Sevagi, as well as its commanding situation towards Viziaporé, was highly rated by the Morattoe government; and Sambagi preferred the danger of refusal to the dishonour of acquiescence.

The fleet which Aurengzebe had ordered to be prepared at Surat was ready to sail in the beginning of November; Dowlet Caun continued under Sambagi, in the post of Admiral in chief, to which he had been raised by Sevagi, and was at Negotan with the main division of gallivats, when Siddee Misery was defeated; he had formed various but ineffectual schemes to burn the Siddee's fleet, and now received positive orders from Sambagi to invade Bombay at all events, before the arrival of the Mogul's: on which the militia of the island was raised; but the apprehension was soon removed by the

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arrival

arrival of an embassador from Sambagi, sent expressly to inform them that he had received certain intelligence from Bahadar Khan, whom he had bribed, that Aurengzebe intended to take Bombay from the English by surprize, and afterwards reduce Bassin and Daman, belonging to the Portuguese; that Sambagi, sensible of the great danger to which his own country would be exposed by the Mogul's possession of these fortresses, proposed a defensive alliance with the English, to operate on occasion; that, relying on his assistance, they should forbid the Siddee the resort of their harbour, and refuse admittance to the Mogul's fleet coming from Surat: he requested that one of the council might accompany the return of his embassador to Rairee.

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It chanced at this time that the company's trade on the coast of Coromandel required the favour of Sambagi's authority; a valuable part of the investment provided at Madras was manufactured in those parts of the Carnatic, to the south, which was first reduced by Viziapore, and afterwards by Sevagi. In the year 1673, application had been made to the Viziapore governor of Gingee, for permission to establish other factories in that territory besides the one which the company already had at Conimêr; but nothing was concluded before the invasion of Sevagi in 1677, after which the intention was suspended until the end of the year 1681, when Mr. Elihu Yale, second to the president Mr. Gifford, was deputed to Hargee Rajah, commanding at Gingee, and procured a fac-

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tory at Cudalore. A ship had been sent with the same intention, from Madras to Porto Novo, in July of the present year 1682; but the Morattoe governor there, not wholly dependent on Hargee Rajah, demanded such exorbitant terms, that the ship returned with the factors and cargo. Even Hargee Rajah had imposed an additional duty on all the cloth provided for the company within his immediate districts. In consequence, the council of Madras requested the presidency at Surat to procure a phirmaund from Sambagi, for the abolishment of the impost, with his permission to build a fort somewhere near Cudalore, and his order for the punishment of the governor of Porto Novo. The presidency at Surat had recommended this negotiation to Bombay, as nearer Rairee, a few days before Sambagi's embassador arrived there, whose intelligence concerning the Mogul's intentions was corroborated by the Portuguese governor of Bassein, and the return of the Mogul's army down the gauts to Gallian, but under the command of another general, named Ramnaut Cawn.

The embassador unfortunately became a witness of the very injuries of which he complained; the Siddee, vexed at the necessity of his departure, to give place to the Mogul's fleet, no longer regarded any measure of decency with Bombay, but continually made descent for plunder, in some part or other of the Corlahs; and on the 28th of November his gallivats entered the river Penn, where little had been done to the intended

intended fort, and brought two hundred prisoners to Mazagong, which the council dared not resent, excepting by expostulation; to which he replied, that this was his harvest, for when the Mogul's fleet arrived, he should get nothing.

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This fleet began to appear on the 28th of November, and, bringing the acquiescence of the presidency of Surat, sailed into the harbour without the compliment of notice; and having anchored their vessels, landed three thousand soldiers at Mazagong, who were all Moors, and men of service, whose insolent deportment would have persuaded a stranger that the whole island belonged to them, and that the English held the fort on sufferance; which was obliged to watch its gates with every precaution against treachery and surprize.

On the 20th of December, Sambagi's ambassador, with one of the council, sailed for the river Negotan in the company's Paloon, or boat of ceremony, which was attended by a luggage boat. Both were boarded at the entrance of the river, and particular search was made for the ambassador, who lay concealed, and was afterwards set on shore in the mud, to get to Rairee as he could; but the gallivats carried off the luggage boat. The outrage was represented to Ramnaut Cawn, at Gallian, by a deputation from the council, which he received with much solemnity, and protracted the negotiation in expectation of a present, which the council referred to the presidency at Surat, for whose consent they waited a month, when they gave Ramnaut Cawn five thousand rupees, and his lieutenant general

SECT. general Rohilla Cawn some claret, which produced an injunc-
 I. tion to the officers of both fleets to refrain from depredations in
 1682. the Corlahs, or any insult to the government of Bombay, which
 in the interval they had exercised with extreme licentiousness.

2. 72. In this year, 1682, the English company's factors were expelled from Bantam, in the island of Java, where the settlement was rated as an agency equal with Calcutta and Madras, responsible only to Surat, and having subordinate factories at Siam, Tonquin, Emoy, and Jamboe. The Dutch, ever since they got possession of Batavia, had gradually annihilated, or reduced to subjection, all the principalities of Java, which bordered on the coast, excepting the king of Bantam, who, being old and voluptuous, resigned the government to his son, but stipulated that he should keep in office the two ministers who had been his own; but the new king, as soon as settled, put them both to death; on which the principal lords or orankoys revolted, and putting the old king at their head, had very nearly reduced his son in the fortress of his palace; when the Dutch at Batavia sent a strong force, which beat and dispersed the confederacy, and took the old king prisoner; after which, on their injunctions, their ally obliged all the English to quit the city; and the Dutch now pretending hospitality, received them with what effects they could save, at Batavia; from whence they proceeded in ships of their own, or hired, some to Surat, others to England. The trade of the subordinates did not long survive the loss of the principal factory,
 and

and all together with consequences was rated in the public memorials at 400,000 pounds sterling.

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* Sultan Azim, having reduced the fort of Merick, repos'd his army during the rains, and took the field again in November. Delhire Khan now acted as his lieutenant-general. They advanced between Rairee and Satarah, and threatened both. But Sambagi in person, and all his Morattoes, exerted themselves with redoubled activity to protect their capitals; and the mountains lay thick to assist their interruptions and ambuscades, which harass'd the Mogul's troops with continual alerts, and every where checked their progress; who as usual blamed their generals, and murmured at this barren and impracticable war. In the month of February the king of Viziapore died, on which Aurengzebe order'd Sultan Azim to march into that kingdom, in order to try what advantage would be taken of this event.

1683.

The two fleets likewise sail'd from Bombay in the beginning of February; the Mogul's made some descents on Sambagi's coasts, but effect'd nothing either of damage or gain adequate to the strength and expence of their equipment. The Siddee kept cruizing near his station off Gingerah, and Sambagi's fleet out of reach of both, who in the middle of March returned to Bombay, where the Siddee paying no regard to the injunctions of Ramnaut Cawn renew'd his depredations on the Corlahs. On the 20th of April, although a month remained of the fair season, orders came to the Mogul's fleet

to

SECT. I. to return to Surat, and at the same time Ramnaut Caw...
 1682. was recalled from Gallian; and Sultan Azim with his from
 Viziapore. No one knew the reason excepting Aurengzebe
 himself, who gave out that he intended to return to Delhi.

In the beginning of the year one of the Company's ships, named the President, which had been bravely defended by the same captain, Hyde, against the Dutch fleet at Metchlepatam, arrived on the Malabar coast, and proceeding to Bombay, was attacked off Sanguaseer by two ships and four grabs: three of the grabs grappled; the crew of one boarded, were beaten off, and the grab itself sunk close alongside; the two others were cleared, and one of them blew up so near that the flash scorched many of the President's men in the lower deck, and set her on fire in sixteen places: soon after the other grab sunk likewise; on which the remainder of the squadron failed away. Of the floating men some cut the President's long-boat from the stern, and others were received into the ship. Most of them were Arabs, and all the fleet from Muscat: they pretended to have mistaken the President for a Portuguese ship which they were waiting for; but it was afterwards discovered at Rajapore, that they had all been hired by Sambagi. The President had eleven men killed and thirty-five wounded, and was obliged to put into Goa to repair her damages. As soon as this event was known at Bombay, the councillor before intended, was sent again, and arrived at Rairee, to whom Sambagi utterly denied any know-
 ledge

ledge of the Arabs, but consented to grant the privileges requested for the company's trade in the Ginge country on the coast of Coromandel; but the councillor, from some intemperance, if not disorder, of mind, came away abruptly whilst the writings were preparing.

SECT.

I.

1683.

The Siddee's fleet continued after the departure of the Mogul's with their usual licentiousness in the harbour, and their usual insolence on shore: the soldiers of the garrison frequented the same market at Mazagong, and two of them going thither unarmed, were, on some quarrel, cut down by two of the Siddee's pitans; one died the next day, and the other was recovered with difficulty. Siddee Cossim sent off the murderer privately to Surat, where the English presidency demanded him, in order to be tried at Bombay, and the governor of the city had nearly consented, when an outrage committed against the Siddee at Bombay impaired the claim.

The murder was committed in May, and in July the crazy councillor with others from the shore dined on board a ship just arrived from England; the company, heated with wine, went on board the Siddee's admiral, knowing that Siddee Cossim himself was on board: they used abusive language, and the captain drew his sword, which was wrested from him, and he was wounded in the leg: all were easily overpowered, and without farther resentment put into their boat: the captain, as soon as returned to his ship, fired her whole broadside

+ + R into

S E C T.

II

1683.

into the Siddee's, who did not return a shot. Signals and messengers from the shore stopped a repetition of the outrage; and expresses were dispatched by the council, before it was known on shore what mischief had been done, to anticipate the Siddee's complaint at Surat; where all the English continued for two days under the utmost apprehensions of the populace, who, although restrained by the governor from immediate violence, crowded the streets, impatient to know what Mahomedan blood they should have to revenge; but fortunately no one was killed in the Siddee's ship, and only two or three were slightly wounded.

The design which Sambagi had formed in the preceding year, to take possession of the islands of Anchideva, had been prevented by the government of Goa, who in July sent soldiers, artificers, and inhabitants, to settle and defend the islands; on which Sambagi ordered his officers in the conquered country adjoining the territory of Goa, to commit such hostilities as their force enabled; and mutual attacks and incursions, but of no great moment, had continued between them until the setting in of the rains in this year; when Sambagi, as regardless of seasons as his father, came down the gauts in June with 30,000 men, and from his own town of upper Chaul, invested the neighbouring citadel of the same name belonging to the Portuguese; but could make little progress against the advantages of European defence and fortification. To retaliate, the Viceroy of Goa took the field as soon as the fair weather returned in September, with 1,200 Europeans

Europeans and 25,000 natives of his own territory; a fleet of small vessels cruized at the same time from Anchideva on the trade of Carwar, and even into the river. The army carried fire and sword even into the temples, and the Inquisition burnt the prisoners. The stationary force in this part of Sambagi's country was not equal to the Viceroy's, who advanced and laid siege to the castle of Pondah; on which Sambagi, accompanied by Sultan Acbar, set off from Chaul with 8,000 horse and 14,000 foot, in order to raise this siege, but without discontinuing his own against Chaul. By this time Sultan Acbar was convinced of the inability of Sambagi's alliance to contest the throne of the Moguls against the power of his father Aurengzebe; he therefore resolved to quit India, and on some excuse withdrew from the operations of the field, and took up his residence at Bicholin, within twenty miles of Goa.

Sambagi came in sight of Pondah, when breached in three places, and the assault intended in two days. The Viceroy did not break up his camp until surrounded, which reduced him to the options of famine, retreat, or surrender. The distance to Goa was thirty miles, nevertheless he resolved to force his way. Every step was harassed by horse and foot, to which the line abandoned the baggage and heavy artillery, before the close of the first day: they lost two hundred Europeans and one thousand of the natives, before they reached the island of Cumbareem, which is separated from the city, formed by two channels of the river, which separate and unite again. A suf-

SECT.

I.

1683.

S E C T. ficient number of boats armed with peteraroes were prepared
 I. to secure the passage over both. Sambagi's infantry got boats,
 1683. in which three thousand of them passed into the island, when
 the Portuguese boats rowing round intercepted their return,
 who, when thus confined, were attacked by the retreating
 army, and most of them destroyed. This was the first trial of
 regular hostility between an European power and the Morat-
 toes, to whom it may be deemed successful; for the Portuguese
 did not venture to appear abroad again, and as their pride
 would not permit them to ask assistance, they proposed an
 alliance to Aurengzebe.

Sambagi observing with vexation, that the Portuguese had
 made greater progress in the attack of Pondah, in ten days,
 than his father had been able in three months, entirely de-
 molished the fort, which then stood upon lower ground, and
 set the whole country to work to raise another on a neighbour-
 ing hill, which is the fort of Pondah, existing at this day.

Sambagi's army continuing master of the field, distressed at
 least the luxuries of Goa, during which he himself led a detach-
 ment against the Rajah of Sundah, who although his tributary
 had assisted the Portuguese. During this expedition, Sambagi
 gave a signal instance of devotion to his religion. A Mahome-
 dan of rank, who commanded one of his grabs, bought a cow at
 Carwar, and killed it for his meals; for which Sambagi put him
 publicly to death. Discipline alone would scarcely have re-
 venged it's interdiction with so much severity; but it is a solemn
 oath

oath amongst the Hindoos to put the hand upon the head of a cow, and to imprecate, "may I eat the flesh of this animal."

SECT.

I.

1683.

In the mean time Sultan Acbar at Bicholin had purchased a ship at Goa which came to Vingorlah; when he repaired to the Dutch factory there, and from thence on board. It was impossible that his intentions could have been concealed from Sambagi, for they were known to Aurengzebe at Aurengabad; but respect to his high birth and quality prevented any opposition to his will, and Sambagi might suppose that Acbar had held out this purpose of departure only to excite his own exertions in his support, which had been promised for two years without the least effect; but as soon as he was on board, Sambagi deputed to him his lieutenant general, and Cablis Cawn the minister of his pleasures, whose protestations prevailed on him to come ashore again.

The report of the country said that Sambagi would take Goa, which Aurengzebe did not deem improbable; and although he always affected to despise the European settlements, saw what would be the importance of the acquisition to Sambagi's power, and the views of Sultan Acbar, and therefore moved from Aurengabad to Ahmednagur, in order to be nearer the protection of Goa, as well as to the war of Viziapore, which he had determined to renew. At the same time he ordered his own fleet at Surat, which now consisted of twelve sail, and the Siddee's, which was at Bombay, to proceed down the coast, in order to co-operate with an army he intended

SECT. intended to fend over the gauts. The Siddee might have
 I. failed in the beginning of September, but waited for money
 1683. from Surat, (without which he would not move,) until the end
 of October, and even then the Mogul's fleet was not ready to
 sail from Surat.

As soon as the Siddee's fleet had left the harbour of Bombay, the gallivats of Sambagi came out of Negotan and Hundry, to assist the siege of Chaul; but could not prevent a Portuguese frigate from landing a supply of military stores and provisions. The direction of the Mogul's forces to the southward having relieved Rairee and Satarah from the solicitude of defence, an army of fifteen thousand men came down the gauts in December, and encamped at Gallian, from whence they ravaged all the Portuguese country between Bassein and Daman, which was not under the cannon of these fortifications, and reduced seven of their out forts. On the 21st the Mogul's fleet from Surat came into the harbour, as well to display their force to the English government, as to awe the marine of Sambagi, which respected them so little that a detachment of troops coming in gallivats from the river Penn landed on the 24th of December, and took possession of the island Caranjah, which lieth at the bottom of the harbour of Bombay, and belonged to the Portuguese, who had stationed gallivats from Bassein to prevent the landing, which were not sufficient to oppose it. Whatsoever discomfort the Mogul's fleet might receive from this mischance to their allies, for as
 such

such they regarded the Portugese by reason of their war with Sambagi, it was alleviated by an event of much more dangerous consequence to the English affairs, which happened on this very day in the island of Bombay; of which the increasing strength and importance had long excited the grudge and jealousy of the city of Surat.

SECT.

I.

1683.

The time was now come when the company's interests were doomed to suffer more detriment from their fellow subjects, than they had hitherto endured from all the governments of India; the charters and acts of parliament had not given them distinctly, although intended, the privilege of exclusive trade; and the spirit of commerce, which sees its drifts with eagle's eyes, formed associations at the risque of trying the consequence at law, being safe at the outset and during the voyage, since the statutes did not authorize the company to seize or stop the ships of these adventurers, whom they called interlopers. The first ship, under the direction of one Say, had arrived in the month of September of the preceding year 1682, at Muscat on the Arabian shore, where he settled a factory, intending to draw to this port, out of the reach of the company's settlements and influence in India, all the commodities he wanted from thence for Europe, besides what more were to be obtained nearer hand, or from other ports. Another ship came to Goa in October, three were going to Bengal, and one coming to Surat, where the presidency discovered, by intercepted letters, that two of the council, Petit and Boucher, had

SECT. had not only encouraged, but taken part in some of the inter-
 I. loping ships; on which they were dismissed the company's
 1683. service, and took the protection of the Mogul's government
 in the city, to whom they revealed whatsoever they supposed
 might produce mischief, and promised the governor a present
 out of the cargoes they expected. The presidency demanded
 their persons as debtors to the company, in which case the
 phirmaunds granted by three Moguls disclaimed the protec-
 tion of English subjects; but Petit and Boucher counteracted
 this plea by procuring merchants of the city, who were sub-
 jects of the Mogul, to demand their detention for debts to
 themselves; so that after a short and civil confinement, both
 were released without other restraint than an eye watch; when
 several discontented Englishmen, who traded with the com-
 pany's licence, although not in their service, joined in com-
 munity with them, and all together preferred a petition to the
 Mogul for a separate trade, and requested that Petit and
 Boucher might come to his court. In the mean-time the three
 ships that went to Bengal had met with zealous advice and
 assistance from Vincent and Pitt, who had been principal
 agents of the company, but lately dismissed for irregularities.
 Hitherto the company grounded on the first phirmaunds ob-
 tained by Boughton from Sultan Sujah in 1636, had paid no
 customs to the Bengal government until the three last years,
 when the same rate of three and a half per cent. which was
 levied at Surat was demanded; but not to establish a prece-
 dent,

dent, this claim, as often as it arose, had been put to sleep with presents. But the interlopers, directed by Vincent, paid the customs willingly, and made presents into the bargain; which facilitated their dealings, and the three ships sailed with full cargoes for England in January, within four months after their arrival. Chaeft Khan, the uncle of Aurengzebe, was at this time nabob of Bengal, to which he had been removed in 1666, in consequence of his adventure with Sevagi. He was as avaricious as the meanest of his dependants, and took the greatest share of what they had got from the interlopers; and from his hunger of these new perquisites recommended the utilities of the interloping trade to Aurengzebe, who, in deference to his opinion, gave the phirmaund which Petit and Boucher were soliciting. It arrived at Surat in June, with permission for them to come to court; on which they set out their equipages, to be admired at the city gates; but whilst loitering there, Sir John Child, the president, prevailed on the governor to delay their passports, under pretence of informality in the Mogul's permission. In the mean time a counter order was procured, on which Petit and Boucher discharged their preparations for the journey, and continued seemingly quiet in the city: but, two months after, in the beginning of September, Boucher went away privately, and got to Auren-gabad. In October a ship, called the Society, of one hundred tons, which had long been expected by Petit, arrived at Daman, and on his petition to the governor of Surat, was

S

permitted

SECT.

I.

1683.

n. 73.

SECT. permitted to come into the river, where he managed her
 I. business.

1683.

Both Petit and Boucher, by their long continuance and late rank in the company's service, were connected with many others; and on their apostasy corresponded with their intimates at Bombay, representing the interlopers as protected by the king, and encouraged by the sense of the nation, averse to the company as a monopoly, to the ruin of which whosoever might contribute, would (as they pretended) have little to fear. At this time the regular military at Bombay were four hundred men, rated as Europeans, although mixed with Topasses. The highest commission was a captain, and only one of this, which was held by Keigwin, who had served with approbation against Kenary in 1674. The Europeans were equally divided into three companies, of which he commanded the first; the other two were commanded by Fletcher and Thornburn, who were only lieutenants. The directors in England had lately disapproved of several allowances to the military officers; and had even reduced the rate of exchange at which the common soldiers, as well as they, were paid; and not content with establishing new regulations for the future, insisted that the officers should refund the surplus of what they had received beyond the reform. The officers remonstrated with hardy discontent; but the company's orders were positive, and were enforced with pertinacity by the supreme council at Surat, which was imputed to the haughty austerity

of the president Sir John Child. The officers, long indulged in licentious manners, formed a conspiracy amongst themselves, and secured the concurrence of the soldiery, without exciting even a surmise of their intentions in the council of the island; and indeed the enormity of the attempt precluded the suspicion.

On the 24th of December, Keigwin, backed by the guard of the fort, seized the deputy governor, Mr. Charles Ward, with the four members of the council. The inhabitants without saw the whole body of the troops ready to support their officers, and attempted no resistance: a proclamation was issued, vesting the government of the island in Keigwin, Fletcher, Thornburn, and two ensigns, as a council; who declared their intention of holding it for the king, and menaced pain of death against all attempts to recover it for the company. Three days after arrived the Hunter frigate, commanded by Alderton, bound with merchandize and treasure from Surat for the factories at Carwar and Callicut; and Alderton was prevailed upon to deliver the cargo to the rebels, and to continue in the command of the vessel in their service. Three days after one of the company's ships from England came into the harbour; the captain went ashore, and as walking to the fort was met by a friend, who told him what had happened; on which he returned to his ship, fired upon by some small arms from the soldiers; and sailed to Surat, where he brought the first authentic information of the revolt.

SECT.

I.

1683.

SECT. I. 1684. Six of the company's ships, with their usual compliment of one hundred seamen, were at this time in the road of Swally, of which three were taking in their loadings for England. On the 6th of January the other three ships were dispatched to Bombay with three members of the presidency, empowered to treat with the rebels, who neither heeded their proposals, nor would make any of their own; and had sent away all the late council of the island, excepting the deputy governor. The ships nevertheless continued in the harbour; and on the 30th of January arrived the other three from Surat, with Sir John Child, who formally summoned the rebels to surrender the island on pain of high treason, which only exasperated them the more, and they had well nigh resolved to imprison the two commissioners who brought the summons on shore. The three ships for England were soon after dispatched; but Sir John Child continued with the others in the harbour until the 20th of February, when convinced that all his endeavours of accommodation would be ineffectual, he returned with them to Surat, and on the way left factors at Verfovah, on Salcette, to gain intelligence, with little hopes of any good.

In the beginning of this year, 1684, commenced the operations of Aurengzebe against Sambagi, towards Goa; when Sultan Maüzum with a vast army, of which 40,000 were cavalry, forced the gauts with little resistance, and met less in the plainer country; for Sambagi, sensible that his force could not stand before them in the field, left garrisons in his strong holds,

holds, and retired with the main body of his army to Rajapore, between which and Goa are six rivers. The Mogul's army spread down to the sea between Goa and the river Cary, which bounds the present territory of Molundy. They fed on the herds and harvests of the field; and, after collecting all the grain in store, burnt the towns and villages; and Sultan Mauzum, to please his father still more, defiled and destroyed the pagodas, and sacked Vingorlah with fury for having given refuge to Sultan Achar: but the Dutch factory defended themselves from their windows until they had bought off the attack.

SECT.
I.
1684.

The stock of provisions in the country were not sufficient to sustain this wasteful multitude. The Mogul's fleet from Surat escorting many transports with grain arrived towards the end of January off the bar of Goa, and the admiral relying on the appearance of intended relief to the Portuguese, failed on to enter the harbour; but the viceroy had discovered that he was secretly instructed to seize the city, and keep it for the Mogul; and forbade the entrance by the fire of the batteries which command it. On this repulse the fleet returned to the entrance of the river Bardez, where they landed their provisions, which were but a short supply to such a host, and the convoys from the inland continually failed by the difficulty of the carriage over the mountains, which this increasing necessity obliged Sultan Mauzum to repass in the beginning of March, but he encamped within twenty miles of the ridge,
waiting

SECT. I. waiting his father's orders, either to join his brother Sultan
 1684. Azim, who was acting with another army against Viziapore; or to return into the Concan if Sambagi should again press upon Goa. At the same time the Mogul's fleet returned towards Surat, and soon after Sambagi to Raicee, having first sent back his troops to retake possession of the country which they had abandoned to the Moguls, in doing which they met with no resistance, but were deterred by the vicinity of Sultan Mauzum from the immediate renewal of hostilities against Goa; where the government, convinced of the danger of any alliance with Aurengzebe, made overtures of peace to Sambagi, for which he demanded five millions of rupees.

The Siddeé having been received at Bombay in April with as much welcome by the rebels as by Sir John Child, thought he should find no restraint from them in the renewal of his former forbidden practices in the harbour, where his gallivats openly invested the opposite shores belonging to Sambagi, without endeavouring to conceal their captures, although they brought away the inhabitants themselves as well as their properties. These injuries, because not repressed by the rebels, made Sambagi's officers prevent the exportation of all kinds of provisions to the island. At the same time the Portuguese, as heretofore from envy to the prosperity of Bombay, now from respect to good government, had refused the rebels all assistance, or supply, from Salcette and their northern lands. Want prevailed, and Alderton was sent with the Revenge to
 bring

bring grain from Surat, which Petit was to provide. She arrived on the 24th of March, at Swally, where the three ships of the company were taking in their loadings; they anchored close, and threatened to board; discussion ensued, and Alderton, on the promise of pardon, surrendered the frigate. On this disappointment Petit went privately from the city on board a ship of his own, which the governor's pass protected from the company's, and, proceeded in her to Bombay, where he became a welcome adviser to the rebels.

SECT.

I.

1684.

They in the mean time had severely checked the Siddee, and forbade his galliats to continue at Mazagong, or to come there for any other purpose than to get water, so that he was obliged to make them rendezvous at his own island of Kenary, and finding that his influence with the rebels was not what he expected, he went away with his ships and larger vessels, to Surat, as soon as the Mogul's fleet passed the harbour in their way thither, which was in the beginning of April. In his dudgeon, but under the pretence of mistaking the intention, he took with him the two men who were to have watched at Kenary, and delivered them back to the English presidency at Surat.

The rebels had likewise thought it necessary to apologize to Sambagi, for the late outrages of the Siddee, and took the fair opening of a request which had been made by Sambagi before the revolution, on the absurd conduct of the councillor that had been sent to him, that Captain Gary might come to fettle

SETTLE matters. Gary was originally a Greek, but had been
 on the island ever since it was delivered up by the Portuguese,
 and had borne several commissions, civil as well as military,
 whilst it was under the government of the crown, before it
 was formally yielded up to the company, by whom he was
 suspected, and discarded. He was a busy man, of much va-
 nity, intrigue, and plausibility, and availing himself of his for-
 mer consequence and connexions, had contrived to keep up
 his correspondence with all the neighbouring governors. He
 had moreover been personally known to Sevagi, who did
 not dislike his talents, and no choice could be more acceptable
 to the rebels, as he was supposed to be the secret promoter
 of all their councils: which, however, on this occasion at
 least, were not utterly devoid of national loyalty; but hoping
 the establishment of a new company, they provided for a ge-
 neral concern, by instructing Gary to require the completion
 of former agreements, as well as the redress of late violations,
 and to solicit the phirmaunds which had been requested by
 the government of Madras, for the freedom and increase of
 their trade in the Gingee country. Sambagi, from the fear of
 desperate resolutions in men who were holding nothing they
 were not sure to lose, and from the hope of gaining them to
 his own views, which were to get the island for himself, treat-
 ed Gary with much attention. He confirmed the articles al-
 lowed by Sevagi to Mr. Oxenden; agreed to pay 2,600 pa-
 godas remaining due, according to his own accounts, for
 compensation

the losses formerly sustained in the pillage of
and Huttany. In the Gingee country he
at Cudalore and Thevenapatam, with the
was allowed by Viziapore to the factory at
allowed free trade at Porto Novo. Keigwin
was named in the patents as the parties to
the same.

SECT.
I.
1684.

अवदाता.

On taking the book for reading,
slip and hand it over to
the circulation desk.

On the 15th of July one of the company's ships, called the East-India Merchant, arrived in the harbour, with fifty foldiers for the garrison; whom the commander, Davis, a weak man, was seduced to land for the sake of selling his private adventure to the rebels, although at the same time he acknowledged the authority of the presidency at Surat; from whom he received orders to continue in the harbour, and they at the same time sent two vessels, with two of the council, who were to superintend the vigilance of all the three in preventing the rebels from getting provisions. Soon after came an interloper from England, who attempted intercourse with the shore, but was beaten out of the harbour by the fire of the East-India Merchant, and proceeded to Surat. In September, two ships bound thither from France, put into the harbour, where they continued several days, and supplied the rebels with refreshments and abundance of wine. On the 2d of October another trading ship, belonging to Petit, got under the guns of the fort. A few days after they received intelligence, that a ship of eighty guns, which the company had purchased, and

T

named

SECT. I.
 1684.
 2. 74.

named Charles the Second, was in sight of Surat, having on board two hundred and fifty soldiers and the captain a commission from the king against pirates, on which authority the presidency intended to employ her in reducing the island. On this news Petit, in his ship, sailed out of the harbour in the night of the 20th of October, unnoticed by the East-India Merchant and the smaller vessels on watch. Two days after his ship was attacked off the head land of St. John's by several Sanganian vessels, and the ship took fire by an explosion of powder, which scorched many of the crew, and all got into the long-boat and yawl. The yawl gained the land, but the long-boat was taken, and in her Petit, who had received a concussion of the brain by a fall as jumping into her. The boat was carried to Gogo, where he died a few days after.

On the 3d of November Sir Thomas Grantham arrived in the Charles the Second, empowered by the presidency to treat with the rebels. They were pressed by scarcity, and admitted a conference which lasted six days; and when articles were nearly concluded, one of the soldiers in the fort fired a pistol at Sir Thomas Grantham, in hopes of breaking off the treaty by this act of treachery, which, however, his comrades and officers disavowed, and signed the articles; which granted amnesty and pardon of all crimes and misdemeanors to all persons, and even restoration to their former ranks and employment in the company's service; which most accepted; but not Keigwin, who only stipulated for his passage to England

land with Grantham, and soon after sailed with him to Surat, where he set no restraint to the antipathy of his invectives against Sir John Child.*

SECT.

I.

1684.

The agreement for the surrender of the fort and island to Sir Thomas Grantham, was settled on the 11th of November, nearly eleven months after they had been wrested from the legal government. The revolt began, continued, and ended without bloodshed; excepting in a drunken quarrel at table, when Keigwin was wounded by his second Thornburn. At first all who openly disavowed their authority, were either imprisoned, restrained, or sent off the island, but they kept the deputy governor, Mr. Ward, in close confinement to the end. They destroyed the dwelling-house of Alderton, in revenge of his defection. They had cautiously refrained from opening the treasure, which he surrendered to them with the Hunter frigate. Nor did they use any of the company's property, unless for public service, such as the diet, cloathing, and arming of the garrison, and for maintaining the works and vessels.

* Sir John Child and the Presidency at Surat, appointed Charles Zinzan to be deputy governor. Charles Ward, the former deputy governor, to be second; Sir Thomas Grantham to have a temporary seat, even before C. Ward; John English (Agent we think of Persia), with John Gladman, and John Vauxe, to be of council. Doctor S. John, D. L. to assist. This commission is dated at Swally Marine, December 12th, 1684. Sir Thomas Grantham and C. Ward were then at Bombay, the others arrived there on the 16th of December; in what, or with what ships, is not said; they consulted on board the Charles the Second on the 17th, and on the 18th Zinzan went ashore at noon, received the keys from Sir T. Grantham, and was received by the garrison with content.

It does not appear that the Siddee, or any of his people or fleet, were on the island, or in the harbour, at this time.

SECT. They raised money by the established taxes, with additions
 I. which were so judiciously imposed, that they were continued
 1684. after the legal government was restored. They kept on fair
 terms without yielding to the Siddee, who had lately returned
 with his ships from Surat, but watched against surprize either
 from him or Sambagi, both of whom would have given much
 for the island.

On the 12th of December, arrived one of the Company's ships dispatched from Surat, with a deputy governor, Mr. Charles Zinzan, and three members of a new council, attended by a judge of the admiralty court, lately arrived from England. They were appointed by the presidency, and after the necessary precautions had been taken landed on the 17th, when Sir Thomas Grantham formally delivered the keys at the gate of the castle to Mr. Zinzan, and caused the new commission to be read at the head of all the troops drawn up on the parade; amongst whom were a few murmurs, but most in general were satisfied with the change. The next day the soldiers which had come from England in Sir Thomas Grantham's ship, were incorporated in three companies, to which new officers were appointed; but Fletcher, who had behaved with moderation during the revolt, was continued in the command of his, which was the youngest.

During this, the negotiation between Goa and Sambagi had continued, and in June a person of distinction was sent from Bassein to Rairee; but Sambagi persisted in his de-
 .mand

mand of five millions of rupees, which the Portuguese were unable to pay, and farther correspondence ceased; on which, as soon as the rains were over, about September, the fleet of Bassein surprized and retook the island of Caranjah; and soon after Sambagi, accompanied by Sultan Ecbar, came down the gauts with 15,000 horse to Gallian, from whence they spread ravage through the Portuguese country as far as Daman.

SECT.
I.
1684.

In the war of Viziapore, Sultan Azim had been defeated in two pitched battles, before the end of June, and in the last was dangerously wounded; which, with his ill fortune, and the rains, stopped his farther operations; and even Aurengzebe pretended to take time for consideration; but the perseverance of his mind left no doubt of the result; and the king of Golcondah, convinced that the fall of Viziapore would draw on his own, entered into a secret confederacy with this king. The country of Myfore was at this time divided amongst several Rajahs, of whom the most ancient, and considerable was he of Seringapatam; and all of them had paid tribute to Viziapore, whilst able to defend its own territory against the Mogul, without withdrawing the troops necessary to awe its tributaries. But their homages had lately failed, and could not be reclaimed, from the want of a military force. Golcondah, from Gandicotah, and its frontier to the south west, had immediate entrance into Myfore, and troops unemployed sufficient to invade the country; which continuing no longer of use to Viziapore, the king consented that Golcondah should keep

sect. I. 1684. keep what parts of it he might conquer; who in return supplied Viziapore with a vast sum of money, and both sent a great deal to induce Sambagi to act against the Mogul, in conformity with the operations of Viziapore.

Disturbances in the interior part of the empire at this time required attention. The city of Agra and all its roads had for many years been infested by bands of robbers, who at length had blended into one community, which, since the continuance of Aurengzebe in the Decan, had become superior, in number and military effort, to the established forces of the province. The Rajpoots of Joudpore and Chitore had, during the two last years, beset the roads of Malva and Guzerat, and in this threatened more effectual hostilities: But neither these, nor the distresses in the province of Agra, availed with Aurengzebe to abate his exertions of conquest in the Decan.

Sultan Mauzum, waiting his father's resolutions, continued with his army near the gauts of Goa, after he had repassed them in March: and in September, immediately after the rains, his camp was afflicted by a pestilence, of which five hundred died in a day: nevertheless, the resignation of ignorance and predestination sought not the remedy by removing to more open ground.

Sambagi having swept the Portuguese country to the north of Salcette, encamped before Bassein, which he invested on all sides, excepting the sea, which he could not command; but received intelligence that a large body of the Mogul's troops were

were advancing to force the gauts and descend to Gallian, he broke up his camp on the 24th of November, and marched away to the northward, ravaging, within forty miles of Surat, where the terror was great, but mistaken; for they turned through the mountains, which in this part are more open, and proceeded towards Rairee. On the way one of his generals obtained his permission to go with the troops of his command, which were two thousand horse, to make their ablutions in the Gunga at Nassir Turmeck. The day after, Sambagi discovered that they intended, after their ceremonies, to desert to the Mogul; on which he detached six thousand horse, under pretence of the same pilgrimage; which might be credited, as every Morattoe is obliged to wash at least once a year in the Gunga, and in preference at Nassir Turmeck. The deserters received their pursuers as companions, who attacked, and, according to the report of the country, slew every man of them.

SECT.

I.

1684.

n. 75.

Towards the end of the ensuing January, which brings us into the year 1685, ten thousand horse set off from Rairee under four generals, and ravaged as far as Brampore, with more than ordinary haste and devastation. We learn this from the English factors at Drongom, who had but two hours to escape, and every house in the town was either pillaged or burnt. The whole country was in flames; Aurengzebe dispatched six thousand horse from Ahmednagur, under the command of Bahadar Khan, who never came within six days of the pursuit. He soon after sent his son Cawn Buksh with

1685.

12,000.

SECT. 12,000 more, to command at Brampore; which was his first
I. establishment in public business.

1685. Ahmednagur, where Aurengzebe was residing, is one hundred and thirty miles to the north of the city of Viziapore. Sultan Mauzum's encampment at the foot of the gauts was about the same distance to the south west. Sultan Azim had renewed the war in the northern division of Viziapore, and in February took the fort of Solapore, which was considered as the strongest bulwark of the capital towards Ahmednagur; probably by the aid of treachery, as the whole force of Viziapore was assembled on this side to oppose him.

a. 76. At this time Sultan Mauzum, by his father's orders, was advancing on the westward, and met with no resistance in the field. Gocuck, Hubely, and several other towns of note surrendered without resistance, and the stronger citadel of Darwar with little. From hence he advanced thirty miles farther to Guduck, which is sixty from Viziapore; when, to interrupt his farther progress, 15,000 horse were detached from the main army, who encamped within ten miles of Sultan Mauzum's, moving as they moved, and cut off his convoys.

Bullal and Serji Khan were the two principal officers in the government of Viziapore, whose long continued enmity the danger of the state had reconciled. Their abilities in the field equalled any of the officers of Aurengzebe, and the cavalry of Viziapore serving under hereditary lords of the land, of which they themselves had portions, either by inheritance, or granted

for

for military service, were braver and better equipped in proportion to their numbers than any in Indostan, which alone accounts for their frequent victories over the Moguls. In April what remained with Bullal and Serji Khan routed Sultan Azim's army in a general battle, which quelled all dangers in the field, until the rains secured their winter quarters, after which both armies defied each other again, and in October Sultan Azim was again defeated. These repeated experiments of ill success induced Aurengzebe to order a cessation of all offensive hostilities, until he should himself arrive to conduct the war.

SECT.

I.

1685.

The government of Goa, to retaliate the ravage of their northern territory, spirited several of Sambagi's Defoys in Sundah and Carwar to revolt, and assisted them with three hundred Topasses: these hostilities commenced in February, ceased with the rains, and were renewed with the fair season. Sambagi, intent on operations against the Mogul, sent no reinforcements, and ordered what troops and officers remained faithful, to retire into the forts they had not lost; but his fleet of two ships and five grabs, stationed at Rajapore, cruised on the trade of the Portuguese and the revolted coast; nor was the marine force at Goa sufficient to oppose them. In October he sent off a body of six thousand horse from Rairee, which crossed the Tapti and Nerbeddah, and assaulted the city of Broach within a few hours after their approach was known; several parts of the wall were in ruins, and the governor and

n. 77.

SECT. several officers were killed in the onset, after which the gar-
 I. rison bewildered were glad to save their lives by laying down
 1685. their arms. The Morattoes, as soon as quiet was restored,
 proclaimed Sultan Acbar, Mogul, and continued exacting
 ransoms and collecting plunder until the Subah of Ahme-
 dabad began to advance with the troops of the province, on
 which they went off unmolested with their booty. Surat was
 in the utmost consternation, and began to remove to Swally.
 From this period we are deprived of cotemporary details con-
 cerning the operations of Sambagi.*

In December Aurengzebe with his own army from Ahmed-
 nagur joined his son Sultan Azim's at Solapore, and called up
 Sultan Matuzum with his from Guduck. Either of the three
 1686. were little inferior in numbers to the whole army of Viziapore.†
 But Aurengzebe, who although never moved by personal dan-
 ger, always avoided the brunt of arms, whensoever he could
 gain his ends by other means, lavished promises and money to
 procure defections; which, although operating by degrees,
 left him in no doubt of the final success, of which he deter-
 mined to give the honour to Sultan Azim; but as the conti-
 nuance of his eldest son, Sultan Mauzum, in reach of opera-
 tions he should not command, would have marked a partiality
 disgustful to the better part of his armies, he removed the

* Gentil says, in December 1685, Geaffoudin Khan, father of Nizamalmou-
 luck, takes the two forts of Raebari, and of Rari, in the environs of Poonah.

† In March 1686, Khan Jehan Behadoor invests Viziapore. Gentil.

dilemma by sending him off to attack the king of Golcondah, of whose concert with Viziapore and Sambagi, he had acquired information.

SECT.
I.
1686.

The king of Golcondah, weak and voluptuous, was entirely governed by two bramins, Anconah and Moodapah, whom he had constituted by patent the principal ministers of the government; their rule was insolent, mean, and avaricious. They had conferred most of the civil offices of the state on persons either of their own cast or religion, to the great disgust of the Mahomedans, who held most of the principal commands in the army, and composed the whole body of cavalry, which was considered as the bulwark of the kingdom. No one abominated the dissonant influence of the two bramins more than Ibrahim Khan, the captain-general, who led the army against Sultan Mauzum, and suffered him to reduce Malquer, the principal barrier of the capital, with much less resistance than might have been made by the strength of the fortrefs, and the force in the field. This easy success suggested to Sultan Mauzum, that Ibrahim Khan might be gained to betray his command more effectually. The experiment succeeded, and many of the best troops came over with him. The command then devolved on Rustum Roy, who soon recruited the army with numbers more than the defection, but of much inferior service; and only kept the field by avoiding battle until they had retreated to within sight of the capital, Hyderabad, of which Sultan Mauzum took possession without resistance, on

" 79.

SECT. the* 9th of October. The king before his arrival had taken
 I. refuge in the fortress of Golcondah, and in such consternation
 1686. that it was supposed he would, if pressed in the agony, have
 surrendered. Sultan Mauzum invested the fortress, but dreading
 to add a crown to his own reputation, which his father
 had once attempted, but failed to seize, listened to the over-
 tures of the king, who, to preserve his diadem, proffered the
 humblest submissions, with much gold and the most precious
 diamonds of his mines; to which Sultan Mauzum, in compla-
 cence to Ibrahim Khan, added the death of the two bramins,
 and referred the terms to Aurengzebe, who, fully employed
 against Viziapore, permitted him to conclude them.

In this kingdom repeated desertions had produced the same
 effect, as the more general defection in Golcondah. The king
 retired into his capital with a large body of troops, selected by
 n. 80. his opinion of their fidelity. The city of Viziapore was exten-
 sive, and capable of some defence, and had a citadel of greater
 strength. But the king soon began to entertain doubts of his
 troops, which were probably suggested by the artifices of
 Aurengzebe, and retired to a neighbouring fort, situated on
 an inexpugnable rock; and soon after the city, which had
 stood several assaults, surrendered. This event, according to
 the best combination we can make, happened in the middle
 of June. No troops remained in resistance in the field; and

* Mr. Gentil gives this date of the 9th of October, but adds, that Sultan
 Mauzum afterwards invested the fortress.

the forts vied in submission, after the reduction of the capital; from whence the Mogul's army proceeded to invest the retreat of the king, who seeing no chance of escape, capitulated, for the preservation of his life and the possession of his women and children.* He appeared before Aurengzebe in silver chains, and humbled himself to the dust, more with the demeanour of a captive rebel than a vanquished sovereign. It was for some time reported and believed that Aurengzebe had put him to death.

SECT.

I.

1686.

We have no account of Sambagi's operations in the field immediately subsequent to the surprize of Broach in October, 1685. The great force collected by the Mogul in the beginning of 1686, to reduce Viziapore, probably deterred him from any efforts to obstruct their operations in this country, but left him freer scope to the northward, between Aurengabad and Surat, of which we suppose that he availed himself, at least by plundering excursions. But whatsoever might have been his successes, the fall of Viziapore convinced Sultan Acbar that the future efforts of Sambagi in his behalf would be useless beyond the obtainment of pardon, which he despised, and of promises which he could not trust; he therefore resumed his former resolution of retiring to Persia, and Sambagi consented to his departure, as the most probable means of producing

* Mr. Gentil says, he and the city were taken on the 1st of September 1687, and appeared before Aurengzebe on the 14th.

Mr. Anquetil du Perzon proves that Viziapore was taken in the first days of October 1686.

more

more efficacious exertions against their common enemy. A
 .SECT. I. ship, commanded by an Englishman, named Béndal, was hired
 .1686. at Rajapore; and Sultan Acbar, with a slender retinue, embarked in her as soon as the monsoon was changed in October. The ship arrived at Muscat in November; from thence Sultan Acbar proceeded in another embarkation to Bushire, and was
 n. 81. escorted to Ispahan, where the king of Persia received him with all the attentions suitable to his high birth and fallen estate.

The departure of Sultan Acbar removed one half of the importance and anxiety of the war against Sambagi, and made Aurengzebe regret the terms he had granted to the king of Golcondah, which he determined nevertheless to break; but wished, without hope, the concurrence of Sultan Mauzum, who by his order had ratified the treaty. Assuming therefore the appearance of indifference to his object, he proposed to the deliberation of the council against which enemy the stress of the war should be directed. Sultan Mauzum proffered, at any forfeit, to accomplish the entire reduction of Sambagi and his country. Sultan Azim, as little in the secret, but always envious of his brother Mauzum, advised that Aurengzebe should conduct this war in person; but Cawn Bukh, instructed by his mother Udeperri, proposed the immediate conquest of Golcondah. Sultan Mauzum saw from whence this arrow parted, and replied with indignation, that the ambition of the emperor ought not to sacrifice the honor of his son,

son, which had been pledged to the king. It is said that Aurengzebe lost his temper, and concluded his invective with the threat of perpetual imprisonment. Sultan Mogedine, the eldest son of Mauzum, thinking all was lost, grasped his scimitar; but his father stopped his arm, saying "let us not set a pernicious example to posterity." These superior words made Aurengzebe recollect himself; affect complacence, and retain the grudge.

SECT.

I.

1686.

He spake no more of Golcondah; but gave out that he intended to return to Delhi, and to promote the belief negotiated with Sambagi, who consented to a cessation of hostilities, intending to renew them as soon as he was gone. Even Sultan Mauzum was deceived, and prepared to lead the van of the march, of which Aurengzebe permitted him to choose the troops, who were always to be two days a-head of the emperor, with whom Sultan Mauzum continued, waiting his ultimate orders, whilst the van was halting at their first stage. Coming as usual to the public audience, Aurengzebe made a sign with his hand that he should wait in one of the adjacent rooms, and soon after directed Sultan Mogedine thither likewise, where they were both arrested by the captain of the body guard; and conveyed on elephants to different castles; the second son was sent to another: but all the three were treated with indulgences and respect. The two other sons and a daughter, being infants, Aurengzebe took into his own family, and treated them with as much affection as if he had no quarrel with their father.

The

SECT. I. The intention of returning to Delhi was still held out. The road from Viziapore by Calberga was as near as any other. 1686. The city is fortified, and contains the most celebrated mosque in the Decan, with the tomb of a faint of equal veneration. n. 82. Aurengzebe requested the king of Golcondah's permission to pray at these shrines: and the king, with the utmost refinement of oriental homage, sent him 500,000 gold mohurs to distribute in charity; which produced none to himself; for Aurengzebe, as soon as he had performed his religious devotions, advanced from Calberga with all his banners towards Golcondah, and sent his son Sultan Azim to bring supplies of treasure, stores, troops, and artillery, from Delhi and Agra.

The army of Golcondah, again under the command of Rustum Roy, advanced to succour the defence of the strong holds, which the Mogul's army could not leave behind them untaken. But Aurengzebe committed the conduct of the war to the revolted general Ibrahim Khan, whose former influence in the kingdom operated more efficaciously than his military exertions, and continually produced defections. We find no pitched battles, but skirmishes must have passed before the king and his general shut themselves up again in the fortrefs of Golcondah, which the Mogul's army invested, 1687. in the month of January. Aurengzebe took the conduct of the siege, and fixed his own quarters in the city of Hyderabad.

The lower defences of Golcondah are six miles in circumference; above them is another circuit of much greater resistance,

ance, fashioned in some parts out of the native rock. We have little account of the siege; but according to Manouchi, who was there, the Mogul's army was obliged to raise and carry on a vast mound of earth, sufficient for the display of several batteries, until the assailants and defenders were brought to the brunt of standing fight on the same level. In April the besieged made a sally, by which they got possession of the mound, and maintained it until they had ruined the batteries, with all the artillery, and part of the mound itself. This destruction was not quite repaired before the rains began in June, which gave a farther respite. In August Sultan Azim arrived with the supplies he had been sent to bring; when Auréngzebe committed the continuance of the siege to his conduct, and retired to a distant encampment. In the mean time the garrison had received no supplies of provisions, stores, or men, to replace what had been consumed; nor expected any; but still determined to stand the assault at the breach, which Sultan Azim avoided by purchasing the treachery of two or three of the principal officers, with whom he concerted an attack on their guard in the night, when they agreed to abandon the defence, and kept their promise. It was on the twenty-seventh of September.* The garrison, although surprised, made resistance; but could not prevent numbers from pouring in sufficient to overwhelm them all, when the slaughter became desperate. The king concealed himself in the

SECT.
D.
1687.

n. 83.

* Havart in Golcondah, p. 232. says, that the fortress was taken on the second of October 1687.

SECT. meanest office of his palace, from whence he was dragged,
 I. unknown, and had well nigh been killed in the mistake. In
 1687. the morning he was carried to Sultan Azim, who suffered him
 to continue standing several hours in the sun, waiting admit-
 tance; but relenting when he saw him, permitted him to sit;
 and the king, in making his obeisance for the indulgence,
 presented him with a purse full of diamonds, of which one was
 second only to that which Emir Jumlah, at his death, had sent
 to Aurengzebe by the hands of his son. Sultan Azim, still
 more moved by this present, promised his intercession with
 his father, to whom he delayed not to send the king; but
 Aurengzebe received him with the most contumelious indig-
 nity: it is even asserted that he afterwards inflicted the
 scourge, to extort the discovery of his treasures.

n. 84. It has lately been said, that Eccogi, the brother of Sevagi,
 holding a command in Viziapore, came with his troops some
 time after the reduction of this kingdom to Gingee; from
 whence he went with them to the assistance of the Naig of
 Tanjore, at war with him of Trichinopoly; whom having
 defeated, Eccogi seized the government he had been called to
 defend. We formerly placed this revolution in 1686, and
 although we see cause to retract this date, cannot ascertain
 the real; but discover Eccogi ruling in Tanjore, in the month
 of August of this year 1687.

As soon as Aurengzebe turned his arms against Golcondah,
 Sambagi saw the impending danger to his own country of
 Gingee, and broke the truce he had just concluded with the
 Mogul,

Mogul, who, not suspecting this presumption, had drained the districts, and forts of Viziapore of their adequate defence, in order to increase his strength against Golcondah; which he had scarcely invested, as we have said in January, when Sambagi, from Satarah, Pannela, and Pondah, attacked the western frontiers of Viziapore with uninterrupted success, which continued until the rains in June, when he sent off twelve thousand horse to Gingee, under two commanders, the one named Keiffwa Puntolo, the other Santogi Row; but suspecting that Hargi Rajah, who had governed the country ever since the conquest of Sevagi, might sell it and himself to the Mogul, he gave Keiffwa Puntolo a secret instruction to seize on Hargi, and get possession of the fortress of Gingee. These troops arrived in the Carnatic in July, where at this season there are no rains, although prevailing in the country to the westward. Their march alarmed Aurengzebe, lest they should make conquests in the country of Mysore, which he intended to reduce, when free from more important war; and on this supposition he detached an army from the siege of Golcondah; which, marching west of the Carnatic mountains, invested Bangalore, before the Morattoe generals had concerted their measures for the same attack; who continued debating, and the new ones collecting offerings; but Hargi Rajah, having received intimation of Sambagi's intention against himself, effectually secured Gingee under his own ward and dependence; and Keiffwa Puntolo, disappointed in his scheme, treated him as if he never had had any, with much exterior respect.

SECT.

I.

1687.

sect. I. 1687. respect. The three generals agreed to march to the relief of Bangalore; but on the way heard that the place had surrendered to the Mogul's army. This happened in the beginning of August; and at the same time came news that Aurengzebe, on advices of disturbances in the northern parts of the empire, was compromising his dispute with the king of Golcondah, and intended to proceed to Delhi. This intelligence, although false, removed the apprehension of any immediate invasion of the Gingee country; and Hargi Rajah, confident of the attachment of his troops, lent them to Keiffwa Puntolo; and Santogi Row, wishing likewise, for some personal reason, to stay awhile in the Carnatic, also gave his division; and Keiffwa Puntolo, with the whole, amounting to eighteen thousand horse, passed into the Myfore country.

The strength of Golcondah, and the despairing resolution of the king, had raised expectations of a much longer defence, for treachery had not been suspected; so that the fall spread the astonishment of sudden ruin; and most of the officers in those countries which had not already submitted, pressed forward to make terms for themselves; and Aurengzebe, to comfort them with hopes of indulgence, appointed their old acquaintance Ibrahim Khan, to act as his vicegerent in all affairs of the kingdom.

Six thousand horse were sent, under the command of Ooffer Khan, to take in the maritime provinces from Masulipatam to Ganjam. Masulipatam made no resistance, having been lately ravaged by a grievous pestilence, and left by the governor,

vernor, who had retired with his treasures, and the detestation of his people; but much remained to do, before the countries beyond the Godaverī could be reduced to regular obedience.

SECT.

I.

1687.

That portion of the Carnatic which belonged to Golcondah was under the government of a Nabob, who kept his court at Cudapah: his name was Ally Afsar Cawn; he had always borne good will to the English at Madras, and was the first to inform them that he was continued in his station by the Mogul. Advices of the same purport came from the neighbouring governors of Conjeveram and Punamalee, who were both gentoos. He of Punamalee said, that as the world turned round like a wheel, he had beaten his drums, and fired his guns, for the victory which the mighty Alumghire* had gained over his old master. So that nothing appeared to contest the Mogul's authority in this extensive space of country, which three weeks before acknowledged another king. But this tranquillity was of short duration.

The Mogul's troops having taken Bangalore were reinforced before Keiffwa Puntolo arrived in Mysore, and marched against him, who nevertheless maintained himself on the other side of the mountains until November, when he returned into the Carnatic, and arrived about the 10th at Trinomalée. We are ignorant whether defeat or his own choice occasioned this retreat; but are not inclined to impute it to necessity; for such a body of Morattoo horse might, with their facility of avoiding encounter, have continued long in such a country as Mysore,

* Name of Aurengzebe.

unless

SECT. unless impaired by some signal overthrow, of which we find
I. no mention.

1687.

On his return the grudge between him and Hargi Rajah broke out openly; the surrender of Gingee to the orders of Sambagi was publicly demanded and refused; but Hargi, fearing that respect to his sovereign might at length predominate amongst the troops of his own command, secured the fort of Thevenapatam, near Cudalore, as a retreat on emergency: but to keep up their attachment to himself by an exertion of national loyalty and the hope of plunder, he summoned Keiffwa Puntolo to march and reduce the countries to the north of the Paliar, which had just submitted to the Mogul. Keiffwa Puntolo seems to have refused any connexion with him; on which Hargi sent forward a detachment under the command of two officers, in whom he had special trust, who met with no resistance of any consequence from the new converts to the Mogul government, and in a fortnight were in quiet possession of Arcot, Conjeveram, and Punamaléc, with their districts, of which they sat about collecting the revenues; favoured by the season, for it was the end of Decémber.

In the mean time Sambagi, insufficiently opposed in Viziapore, had reduced all the country extending south of Pannela; amongst the mountains which advance beyond the gauts to the westward; where, the record says, he had taken one hundred and twenty places of note, by the end of the year. He not only aggravated his war against the Moguls with every species of barbarity, but even poisoned the fair tanks of water

near

near which they might be tempted to encamp. Policy alone left no doubt of the preference between the conquest of the original and sovereign power, and the reduction of its dependency in the Carnatic; but indignation likewise prompted this resolution; and Aurengzebe, who rarely discovered his emotions when extreme, swore that he would never return to Delhi until he had seen the head of Sambagi weltering at his feet.

SECT.

I.
1687.

Accordingly in the beginning of January, 1688, he issued orders for the march of his army and Omrah's to Viziapore; but not willing to trust Ibrahim Khan during his absence with the government of the kingdom he had betrayed, sent him, but honourably, to govern the province of Lahore; and appointed his ancient servant, Rohilla Cawn, to Golcondah. Aurengzebe led the two captive kings in his train, and received their daily obeisance, at the hour of his public appearance, as if delighted with the contemplation of their mutual anguish and his own pre-eminence; and determined that each should see the vanquished capital of the other, gazing on the fallen majesty of both.

1688.

For two months before his departure he had several times issued and revoked orders for the march of a large detachment to Cudapah, from whence they were to proceed with the troops of that government, to attack the Gingee country, where the reports of their approach had kept Keiffwa Puntolo, and Santogi Row, making preparations of defence; but finding that no troops crossed the Kriftna, although Hargi Rajah's detachment had taken possession of the country to the north

of

SECT. I. 1688. of the Paliar, they moved likewise; and, after little resistance, took Chittapett and Covrepauk; and, about the middle of January, established a general and superior standard at Conjeveram, which Hargi's detachment, if they did not obey, did not oppose; and both agreed in getting all they could by the plunder of the open country; to which, besides the propensity of usage, they were prompted by the certainty that the army they had so long expected was in actual march from Golcondah into the Carnatic. This army was commanded by an officer named Mahomed Sadick. It consisted of twelve thousand Mogul horse, but a greater number of foot, which were of little efficacy, as being the ordinary troops of tributary Rajahs and Polygars. They arrived in the middle of February, and were the first army in the service of the Moguls, which ever entered the Carnatic.

The Morattoes left Conjeveram on their approach, and retired to their nearest forts on each side of the Paliar. The Mogul general made it his first care to put strong garrisons into Punamalee and Vandivash, which the Morattoes had not had time to reduce, and soon after encamped under Vandivash with the main body of his army; but kept detachments abroad, with the ostensible purpose of opposing the depredations of the Morattoes; instead of which these detachments rarely refrained from committing the same excesses themselves. Multitudes were continually flocking to the protection of Madras, of which the Mogul's and the Morattoe generals complained, and demanded the surrender of such as carried away any thing
of

of value; not without accusing the English government of partiality: and offence to either side was dangerous; for the Mogul's troops were often at the gates of Madrafs, whose factories of Cudalore and Conimeer, in the Gingee country, were exposed to the insults of Morattoe detachments; and the company's investment, widely diffused, to the plunder of both.

SECT.

I.

1688.

The Morattoe generals, to oppose the Mogul encampment at Vandivashi, kept the main of their army at Chittapett, within a day's march; but neither did more than observe the other; for, excepting a few accidental skirmishes between plundering parties, the year passed without any enterprize of hostility; but the country was desolated.

Aurengzebe continued throughout this year in the city of Viziapore, superintending with the utmost attention the war against Sambagi. The numbers and artillery of the Mogul's army recovered all the towns and forts in the opener country, which Sambagi had reduced whilst they were employed against Golcondah; but his holds on hills and mountains were impregnable; and all that could be done against them was, to station troops in such of the neighbouring situations as might best repress the garrisons above from descending to plunder in the plain; who, from their back country and the gauts, were supplied, when necessary, by secreted parcels, with provisions. Even Pannela, which Sambagi made his own retreat and capital during this war, was continually invested, but with

no prospect of surrender at the end of the year, when Au-
 rengzebe, convinced of the improbability of getting Sambagi
 into his power by dint of open hostility, recurred to other
 means.

That propensity to women which the wisdom of his father
 Sevagi seems to have early foreseen as the germ of Sambagi's
 destruction, had increased with his manhood and power. It
 wasted not his time in the allurements of dalliance, but his
 variety was insatiable; and every beauty he heard of became
 the object of his acquisition, in despite of all parental and
 religious resentment. Cablis Cawn, as mentioned before, was
 the procurer of his pleasures, and from this connexion gained
 some share of his confidence in the affairs of his government,
 without any political ability, and a considerable command in
 the army, with very little courage. He seems by his name and
 manners to have been a Mahomedan. Aurengzebe tried, and
 found no difficulty in tampering and succeeding with such a
 character, but was obliged to leave the mode to his own judg-
 ment, who consulting, above all other considerations, his own
 security, risqued no attempt on Sambagi's life by poison or
 assassination, but waited for some less dangerous means of
 treachery, which occurred in the month of June.

It is well known that the marriages of the Hindoos are
 contracted by the parents during the earliest infancy of the
 children, who from that time are kept separate in their own
 families, until the virgin wife arrives at the real age of nubility,
 when

when she is sent home with much pomp to the house of her husband. This procession is generally made in the night, accompanied by many lights, and is held sacred from all interruption. A young Hindoo of distinction, and much beauty, was to be carried to her husband; and the representation of Cablis Cawn, who pretended to have seen her, easily persuaded Sambagi to seize her. He put himself at the head of a small squadron of horse; but for fear of accidents in this time of hostility, Cablis Cawn was to follow at a distance with a much larger body. We are ignorant from which of his strong holds this intemperate excursion was made, but believe from Pannela, of which the investment might have been raised by the advice of Cablis Cawn. The onset of Sambagi had scarcely dispersed the procession, when his party was attacked by a detachment of Mogul cavalry, who, apprized of his person, refrained from his life, and seized him at the unresisted risque of his sword. They then proceeded against the body with Cablis Cawn, who pretended resistance only to be taken.

Sambagi appeared before Aurengzebe with undaunted brow, who reproached Cablis Cawn, not with his treachery, but the encouragement which his prostituted ministry had given to vices which at length had led his sovereign to ruin; and ordered him to instant death. To Sambagi he proffered life, and rank in his service, if he would turn Mahomedan, who answered by an invective against the prophet, and the land of his own gods. On which he was dressed in the fan-

SECT. I. 1689. taste ornaments of a wandering Indian devotee, who beg
 in villages with a rattle and a cap with bells. In this garb he
 was tied, looking backwards, upon a camel, and led through
 the camp, calling on all the Rájpoos he saw to kill him, but
 none dared. After the procession his tongue was cut out, as
 the penalty of blaspheming Mahomed. In this forlorn con-
 dition Aurengzebe, by a message, again offered to preserve his
 life if he would be converted, when he wrote, "Not if you
 " would give me your daughter in marriage;" on which his ex-
 ecution was ordered, and performed by cutting out his heart,
 after which his limbs and body were separated, and all to-
 gether were thrown to dogs prepared to devour them. Ma-
 nouchi says that Aurengzebe beheld and enjoyed the spectacle,
 which is scarcely credible. Nevertheless, human nature won-
 ders at his inflexible cruelty, as much as it admires the invin-
 cible courage of Sambagi, whose death produced not the
 expected effect of submission from any part of the Morattoe
 government, which it only animated the more to continue the
 war. But our narrative must now resumé, as well as it can,
 the English concerns in the empire from the end of 1685.

END OF THE FIRST SECTION.

NOTES

TO THE

HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS,

&c.

NOTE I.

PAGE 4, line 16: *Fragments, which the want of more materials disables us from disposing into a more regular form.*—We are not without hopes that some of the many in India, who have the means, will supply the portions of information which are deficient in these Fragments, and must otherwise always continue out of our reach. The knowledge is well worth the enquiry; for, besides the magnitude of the events, and the energy of the characters, which arise within this period, there are no states or powers on the continent of India, with whom our nation have either connexion or concern, who do not owe the origin of their present condition to the reign of Aurengzebe, or to its influence on the reigns of his successors.

SECT.

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I.

NOTE II.

Page 4, line 21. *The enquiries of Europeans have not hitherto procured any history of Aurengzebe, composed by a native of Indóstan, which extends beyond the 13th year of his reign, answering to 1671 of our era.*]—The following accounts relating to the reign of Aurengzebe have been brought to Europe, and we have acquired no information of any others. We give the titles as published by those who procured the manuscripts.

I. “ALUMGUIRNAMA, by *Munshi Mahommed Kazm ben Mahommed Amin Munshi*; containing the history of India and Aurengzebe, from Sultan Darah Sheckowh’s first confining his father Shah Jehan, until the 13th year of Aurengzebe’s reign; wherein is a full account of the means he used to cut off his brothers, and secure the empire to himself.”—This book belonged to Mr. Frazer, and, with the whole collection he brought from India, is in the Radcliffe library: but there is a mistake in the title, although given by Mr. Frazer himself; for the history does not extend beyond the 10th year of Aurengzebe’s reign.

II. “KELMAT TYBAT; all the remarkable sayings (or *bon mots*) of the great Mogul Aurengzebe, with copies of all the letters, notes, &c. he wrote himself.” This book likewise belonged to Mr. Frazer, and is in the Radcliffe library. The letters and notes have no dates, either of time or place.

The

The four following manuscripts, III. IV. V. VI.
belonged to Mr. Dow.

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I.

Caungetit?

III. " MIRAT UL WARIDAT, or the Mirror of Occurrences,
" written by Mahomed Shuffia of Delhi. He undertook the
" work at the request of Byram Chan, in the reign of Maho-
" med Shah. He professes the book to be a continuation of
" the work of Ferishta, and it contains a compendious history
" of the Mogul empire, from the death of Acbar to the inva-
" sion of Nadir Shah." The whole life of Aurengzebe must
therefore be in this history, since it comes down to the reign of
his great grandson; but we suppose very succinctly, since Mr.
Dow himself has not continued the life of Aurengzebe beyond
the year 1669, the 11th of his reign.

IV. " ROSE NAMMA, or a Journal of the first ten years of
" Aurengzebe, by *Mirza Cassim*, the son of *Mirza Amin*, pri-
" vate secretary to Aurengzebe; our author (*Mirza Cassim*)
" succeeded his father in that office."

V. " ALLUMGIRE NAMMA; or the History of Allumgire or
" Aurengzebe, by the same. This work is little more than an
" abridgment of the above." It is then the same as the
ALUMGUIRNAMA of *Mr. Frazer*, n° I. who calls *Mirza Cassim*,
Mahomed Kazm.

VI. " MIRAT ALLUM, or the Mirror of the World; by
" Nazir Buchtan Chan, a man of letters, who led a private
" life near Feridabad, within a few miles of Agra. This work
" contains the history of the first ten years of Aurengzebe."

VII. " NOBA-

SECT.

I.

VII. "NOBAVAH MOUNIR; or Splendid Intelligence; " being letters of Aurengzebe to his vizirs, governors of provinces, &c." This manuscript in 12°. was brought by Mr. Anquetil du Perron from India, and deposited by him in the king's library at Paris. We are ignorant what lights it might afford to the history of Aurengzebe.

NOTE III.

Page 4, line 24. Mr. FRAZER says,—*that he (Aurengzebe) forbade his life to be written.*]—Mr. Frazer does not say this in his Nadir Shah; but it is mentioned in a note by the authors of the Universal History, with whom it is probable that Mr. Frazer was acquainted.

NOTE IV.

Page 4, line 25. CATROU.]—The Jesuit, known by other works, wrote the History of the Mogul Emperors, from the memoirs of MANOUCHI, who had been physician to Sultan Mauzum. We find Manouchi at Madras in the year 1691; but Catrou says, that the memoirs which he received from him came down to the year 1700. Mr. Anquetil du Perron, in his *Législation Orientale*, published in 1778, says, that he saw the manuscript of Manouchi in the year 1763, in the library of the Jesuits of the MATSON PROFESSE. We are informed

informed that this manuscript was not inserted in the catalogue of the sale, when the effects of the Jesuits were confiscated in 1773; nor had it been reserved for the king's library. It is supposed to have been carried into Holland, and is well worth recovering.

The 3d and 4th volumes of Catrou's history, comprize a general view of the whole reign of Aurengzebe, and the only one within the reach of those who are not versant in the Persian; not that we know that any such exists even in this language. The style of Catrou is esteemed elegant; he gives several striking narrations, but seems to have despised much attention to chronological arrangement, and some of the few dates he gives are erroneous. We have taken largely from this work.

N O T E . V.

Page 5, line 3. "*Is a shameless apology for the depofal, &c. &c.*"—The condition of the writer, composing under the terror of Aurengzebe's inspection and displeasure, accounts for this panegyric. Mr. Boughton Roufe,* with that respect to letters which always distinguisheth those who are capable of cultivating them with success, has on all occasions supplied us with the informations which his knowledge could furnish to our ignorance of the Persian language: he read in this view two hundred pages of the ALUMGUERNAMA, and gave us the character we have given of this work, which is very voluminous.

* Now Sir C. W. Roufe Boughton, Bart. See Life, page xliii.

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NOTE VI.

Page 5, line 21. "*Aurengzebe held this government under his father.*"]—Aurengzebe having behaved with great intrepidity in separating two elephants who were fighting, his father Shah Jehan took great affection to him, created him ten hazari,* and gave him the government of the Decan, for which he departed in June 1633."

"In this year (1633) Mauhabat Cawn takes Doultabad, from which Sidi Amber, who was governor of it, took flight. This seems to have been before the first coming of Aurengzebe into the Decan."

"Aurengzebe reduced all the rebels there, was recalled to court, and returned thither with Mauhabat Cawn at the end of the year 1634."

"Towards the end of this year (1634) we believe, Shah Jehan takes the road to Doultabad."

"In 1635 Saow (the father of Sevagi) a powerful Zemindar, having got possession of the estates of the children of Nizam-almuluck, Shah Jehan drove him out of them, and his generals took the greatest part of the fortresses of the country."

"After reducing Bundelcund and its Rajah, Aurengzebe appears again in the Decan in 1637, made the conquest of the country of Bagland; Bardge, Rajah of the country, having submitted to the prince, was made three hazari, † and had

* Commander of ten thousand horse. † Commander of three thousand horse.

Sultanpour in Jaghire. Ramnagur was likewise given to him, on the terms of paying a tribute of 100,000 R."

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I.

" 1639. Kaloundgi, Rajah in the territories of Nizamuluck, after having submitted to Aurengzebe, and revolted, perished in his rebellion."

" 1649. Morad Bukh, who had been recalled from Balk in 1646, is in this year recalled from the Decan, and these four provinces are given to Chaeft Khan."

" In 1651 Aurengzebe marched to besiege Candahar; in 1652 he raised the siege, was recalled from Cabul, and sent to the Decan."

" In 1654 Aurengzebe, by his lieutenants, forced the Rajah of Deoughir to pay tribute." *

N O T E VII.

Page 6, line 7. SEVAGI was the founder of the Morattoe nation.]—The relations of all the travellers who were on the western side of India during his life, after it became an object of fame, speak more or less of his exploits. We shall enumerate the accounts in which we have found any information concerning him.

I. TAVERNIER was in India at various intervals from 1642 to 1666: he journeyed through most of the provinces of the

* From M. Gentil's MS. in French, in the possession of the author at the time the above note was written, but now in the library of the Honourable the East India Company, with the rest of Mr. Ome's original manuscripts. See note 49.

SECT. I. empire, and in more directions than any other traveller. He tells, although very succinctly, the origin of SEVAGI's fortune, and mentions him transiently on another occasion.

II. BERNIER, well known, he arrived at Surat in 1655, and left India, at the latest, in 1667. He speaks of SEVAGI as an adventurous chieftain, emerging into notice.

III. THEVENOT, not Melchizedec, but his nephew, who, as well as he, had received a liberal education. He travelled to acquire knowledge; and, after visiting Constantinople, went into Egypt and Syria. In this voyage he employed four years, from May 1655 to April 1659. After his return to France, he devoted four years more to such studies as might improve his discernment, and then set out for Persia and India. He arrived at Surat, from Bufforah, on the 6th of November 1665, and immediately went to Ahmedabad and Cambay. He then travelled across the peninsula, from Surat to Masulipatnam, by Aurengabad and Golcondah: returned by Golcondah, Beder, Patri, and Brampore; and embarked from Surat for Persia, in February 1667: so that the whole of his continuance in India did not exceed fifteen months. He died on the 6th November of the same year, at the town of Miana,* in Persia, to the great loss of cosmographical knowledge; since the posthumous publication of his journal and observations in

* Miana petite ville située dans un lieu marecageux, & où on paye un droit pour la garde des chemins. C'est où mourut Monsieur Thevenot en revenant d'Isfahan. Il avoit ramassé plusieurs livres Persans et Arabes, et le Cadi de Miana retent des mellieurs." Tavernier.

India are deprived of many additions and explanations which he had entrusted to his memory. Nevertheless, no relation of this country contains so much and such valuable intelligence, acquired in so short a time, or comprized in less extent of writing. We imagine that he was assisted by the Capuchins of Surat, who have always been attentive to the affairs of the empire, for the sake of their religion; and the scribe whom Thevenot hired was conversant with good authorities. He treats of SEVAGI to the year 1664, with better information, according to our judgment, than any of the other travellers: and every other mention which he accidentally makes of him affords some light to be relied on, and worthy of attention.

IV. CABRÉ accompanied the French director-general Carron, and arrived at Surat in 1668, from whence he was dispatched with the letters of Mr. Carron to the minister Colbert, in February 1671. He passed through Arabia, and arrived in France in the October following. He was dispatched back to Surat in 1672, and from hence was sent by Mr. Carron, with advices to Monsieur de la Haye, besieged in San Thomé; but from the superiority of the Dutch in these seas, proceeded across the continent, going first to Damán, and then to Chaul; from whence to Upper Chaul, where he was treated with much civility by SEVAGI's officer, and received his pass, which carried him, without hindrance, to the city of Viziapore, where we find him in January 1673. Here he fell ill, and says nothing more of his journey; but it appears

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I.

SECT. I. appears from the journal of Monsieur de la Haye, that he arrived at San Thomé on the 26th of April.

Carré published two small volumes of what he heard and saw in his travels, with very careless arrangement, little attention to dates, and many stories, of which the only one of any importance is a history of SEVAGI, divided into two portions, one in each volume. All he says in the first, which relates only to the outset of SEVAGI'S fortune, is either erroneous or too confused to be reduced to order: but the second part affords better information, although only concerning his operations in the years 1671 and 1672. He admires SEVAGI'S character with enthusiasm; compares him to Gustavus Adolphus and Julius Cæsar, and ascribes to him all the qualities of a consummate hero and sovereign.

V. DELLON, the physician, sailed from France in March 1668, and, after some employment at the settlements on Madagascar and Bourbon; arrived at Surat in September 1669, from whence he sailed, in the beginning of 1670, with the orders to remove the French factory at Beliapatam to Tellicherry, where they established a house in the month of June. This was several years before the English settled there. In the way the ship stopped at Rajapore and Mirzeou, where the French company had likewise factories. From Tellicherry Dellon was occasionally employed in their concerns of trade at Callicut, Tanore, and Chaly, and incidentally saw Bergerah and Cognally, which lie between Callicut and Tellicherry. In the

the month of June 1671, Flacour, the French agent, went from hence to settle a trade at Seringapatam, the capital of Myfore. Dellon intending to accompany him, went as far as the foot of the mountains, but was deterred there by the excessive violence of the torrents, and came back: Flacour persisted, and returned from Seringapatam in November. In January 1672, Dellon sailed from Tellicherry on his return to Surat: the ships stopped at Mangalore, at Mirzeou, from whence they withdrew the factory, at Goa, Atchara, and Rajapore, and arrived at Surat in the middle of March. From hence he sailed in November in a ship of force, sent to convoy home another of value from Gombroon. The two were met in their return, off Diu, by four which were cruizing for them, and all together put into Bombay in January 1673, from whence they arrived at Surat in the beginning of February. In March Dellon travelled by land to Daman, where he remained exercising his profession until the end of the year. On the first of January 1674 he sailed from Daman, and having touched at Bassein, arrived at Goa on the 14th. In this city he continued two years, and sailed for Lisbon and France, in January 1676.

Dellon directed his observations principally to the manners and customs of the people he saw, and to the nature of the country; he, however, gives some account of their princes, and mentions SEVAGI oftener than any other, with whom the interests of his voyage had so little concern: but says nothing of

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of him where he must have heard much, during his residence at Goa. His voyage is curious and esteemed.

VI. DE GRAAF, the surgeon, made six voyages to the East Indies, in the service of the Dutch company. His first outset from Holland was in the year 1640, his last return in 1687, a period of remarkable length in such wearisome employment. In each voyage he was detained several years abroad, and sent to different parts, where the Dutch had concerns or settlements, and seems to have been at them all. He gives much and various information. The first mention he makes of **SEVAGI**, is where it might be least expected, when he was travelling in Bengal; but what he says of him there has assisted our narrative: when nearer the operations of **SEVAGI**, he mentions him only once.

VII. JOURNAL du voyage des grands Indes, contenant tout ce qui s'y est fait et passé par l'escadre de sa majesté, envoyée sous le commandement de MONS'. DE LA HAYE, depuis son départ de la Rochelle au mois de Mars 1670. Monsieur de la Haye was detained by attentions at Madagascar, and the isles of Bourbon and Mauritius, where the French had settlements, and did not arrive at Surat until October 1671. After much trouble and opposition from the Dutch fleet, in his attempt to form an establishment in the bay of Trincomalee, he sailed to the coast of Coromandel, and took San Thomé by assault, on the 25th of July 1672. The place, at this time, belonged to the king of Golcondah, against whose forces, finally

assisted by the Dutch, Mr. De la Haye defended it with the utmost gallantry for more than two years, until the 5th of September 1674. SEVAGI, as we shall see, profited of this diversion of the forces of Golcondah.

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VIII. RELATION *ou journal d'un voyage fait aux Indes Orientales, &c.* Paris, 1677, 12°. in the Saint John Baptist, which arrived at Surat on the 26th October 1671, and sailed in January 1672, with Mr. De la Haye's squadron, to Trincomalee, where the writer was taken by the Dutch in May, and carried to Bengal, and the prisons of Batavia. He speaks of SEVAGI, but with little intelligence, calling him a relation of the Great Mogul; and we only mention this journal, to prevent the expectation of any thing material in it.

IX. FRYER, the physician, sailed from England on the 9th of December 1672, arrived on the coast of Coromandel in June, and from hence at Bombay in December 1673. In September 1674 he went to Surat, and returned to Bombay in April 1675: in May he travelled to Jenneah Gur, and after the rains in October sailed from Bombay for Carwar, and went from hence to Goa in December. In the beginning of 1676 he went to Vingorlah, then to Gocurn, in the Carnatic country; and having passed the rains of this year at Carwar, went again to Goa in October, and from hence arrived in December at Surat. In February 1677 he sailed from Surat for Gombroon, and continued in Persia until the 30th of November 1678, when he embarked on his return, and arrived at Surat on the

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6th of January 1679, where he seems to have continued until he sailed for England in January 1681.

The English concerns from Surat to Carwar were often affected by the operations of SEVAGI, whilst Fryer continued in India, who accordingly learnt much concerning him, but wanted leisure to digest his informations into a regular narrative, which it is impossible now to do, since his mentions of SEVAGI, although very frequent, are generally interwoven with other subjects, and without dates. Nevertheless, our attention to what Fryer says of him first led us to discover that SEVAGI was the founder of the present nation of MORATTOES, for at that time we had not seen Catrou, nor consulted the UNIVERSAL HISTORY: and divisions as well as misfortunes in the lineage seem to have confounded this knowledge, even in the apprehension of the Europeans residing in India, ever since the beginning of the present century: nor do the contemporary travellers or records ever call the people or armies which SEVAGI governed or commanded, MORATTOES; they are always called *Sevages* as a people, or the troops of SEVAGI.

X. HISTOIRE de SEVAGI, et de son successeur, *Nouveaux Conquerans dans l'Inde*, by Pere D'Orleans, Jesuit, added to his *Histoire des deux Conquerans Tartares qui ont subjugué, la Chine*, Paris, 1688. 8°. This account, which is very short, is composed from one written at Goa. It does not give a single date, and only a few facts, without precision, and better known

known before. What he says of Sambagi was at the time less known, but is very imperfect.

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MANOUCHI, sufficiently mentioned before under CATROU, Note III. MANOUCHI accompanied Sultan Mauzum in all his campaigns against SEVAGI, concerning whom he has furnished CATROU with more information than is to be found in any other writer.

These are all the accounts cotemporary with the life of SEVAGI, which have come to our knowledge; and he is mentioned in them all. We have examined two others which are of modern date.

XI. "HISTORY of INDOSTAN, from the death of AKBAR to the complete settlement of the empire under AURENGZEBE. To which are prefixed, &c. By ALEXANDER DOW, Esq; Lieutenant Colonel in the Company's service. London 1772." in quarto. This work is intended as a continuation of Ferrishta's history, of which Mr. Dow had before published a translation. Mr. Dow gives the following account of the means and materials which enabled him to compose this continuation. "THOUGH the author of this volume derives by far the greatest part of his facts from Eastern writers, he has not overlooked the interrupted glimpses of the transactions in the Mogul empire, preserved by intelligent Europeans, who travelled the last century into India. He relies upon their authority with regard to what they had seen. He prefers the accounts of domestic writers to what they

SECT. I. “ only heard. He draws his informations chiefly from the following authors; and the originals are at this moment in his hands.” They are enumerated, and are six histories in the Persian language. The Persian historians in general, as Mahomedans, are not very curious or exact in their accounts of the Hindoos or Europeans. Accordingly, the first mention which Mr. Dow makes of SEVAGI, is in the year 1661, when he styles him Sewâji, prince of Cokin, or Concan; and this part of his story continues to the year 1663. It is resumed in 1665, and 1666; again in 1667; after which nothing more is said of him, although SEVAGI had much concern in an event which Mr. Dow places in the year 1668, who does not continue the reign of Aurengzebe beyond the year 1669.

XII. “ *A short historical Narrative of the rise and rapid advancement of the MARATTAH STATE, to the present strength, and consequence it has acquired in the East. Written originally in Persian, and translated into English by an Officer in the East India Company's service. London, 1782.*” Octavo. The author is Mr. Alexander Kerr, who, studying the Persian language, translated, for his improvement, this tract, composed under his own inspection, from Persian Manuscripts, by the scribe whom he employed to teach him. The intention was meritorious, and will probably induce Mr. Kerr to make farther enquiries when he returns to India. Mr. Kerr says, the Persian manuscripts “are the only historical guide to this subject,

“ subject, since the MAHRATTAS themselves (as far as I have been able to find out) have no such of their own.” “ Oral tradition, and the best received accounts of the more recent times, supplied the rest.” Mr. Kerr’s account traces an independant MAHRATTAH principality, existing in the Decan as far back as two hundred years from the present time. We had compiled all we now say of SEVAGI, and after him, of the Morattoes, until the year 1689, before Mr. Kerr’s work was published; and have changed nothing in consequence, but rest on our own enquiries.

Besides the publications we have enumerated, we have gained information concerning SEVAGI, and of events to a later period concerning the early times of the Morattoes, from cotemporary records belonging to the East India company. The earliest which mentions SEVAGI is of the year 1671. Could we have discovered the whole series with the collateral branches of correspondence, from the year 1650, the FRAGMENTS we now publish would have acquired some authentic additions, but the labour would have exceeded the conception of any of our readers, excepting the keeper of the records at the India-house.

NOTE VIII.

Page 6, line 8. *He* (SEVAGI) *drew his lineage from the Rajahs of Chitore, who boast their descent from Porus, and are esteemed the most ancient establishment of Hindoo princes, and*
the

SECT. *the noblest of the Rajpoot tribes.*] This descent from Porus
 I. is mentioned by Sir Thomas Roe, Bernier, Thevenot; but the
 AIJIN ACBARRI, which is a general description of the empire,
 compiled by the order of Acbar, under the inspection of his
 learned general Abdul Fazel, makes the Rajahs of Chitore
 descend from Noufchirvan, the king of Persia; the same
 as Cosroes, who warred so long with Justinian, and after a
 reign of forty-eight years, died in 570. A very strange gene-
 alogy of a Hindoo and Rajhpoot Rajah; for Cosroes was of
 the religion of Zoroaster, or the worshippers of fire; who,
 although confined to many abstinences, were not restrained
 from eating beef.

N O T E IX.

Page 7, line 3. *Stabbed him with his own hand, by a device, which, if practicable, could not be suspected.*]—Thus described by Catrou: “ Il fit attacher un bistouri des mieux aguifez à une bague qu’il portoit au doigt. Le bistouri tournoit aisément autour de la bague, et pour lors il étoit caché dans l’ombre de sa main.”

N O T E X.

Page 7, line 20. *Pannela was one of the strongest fortresses in the Concan, towards the capital of Viziapore.*]—This place is as often spelt Parnela. Mr. D’Anville, in whom Europe has lately

lately lost the first geographer of the world,* has a *Parnel*, twenty miles to the north-west of Ahmednagur; but this situation does not agree with the molestations to which Viziapore was exposed from our Pannela; because Ahmednagur, a capital city, and a frontier place of arms belonging to the Mogul, lay between. And this reason excludes the Parnir, which arises in our map of the Decan, and is still farther distant in the same direction. At length we discovered a better approximation in a manuscript account of the Decan, procured for the assistance of our labours, with several other valuable documents,† by our ancient and very intelligent friend, General Richard Smith, whilst commanding the army in Bengal. The manuscript seems to have been composed from the archives of the Decan, at some time between the years 1750 and 1758. It divides the Decan into six *subahs* or provinces; the *subahs* into their *circars*, or governments; the *circars* into their *purgunnahs*, or districts. Places of note are occasionally described, and some with particular circumstances. The revenues, as rated in the king's books, are mentioned, excepting in the *circars* under the SUBAH of VIZIAPORE. One of the *circars* of this *subah* is thus described:

“ CIRCAR OF NABICHADOUROUK.

“ It is likewise called PARNALA. It contains nine pur-
“ gunnahs:

* Mr. D'Anville died at Paris, on the 28th of January 1782, aged 80 years.

† Now in the library of the Honourable the East India Company.

“ The

SECT. " The adjacencies or environs of *Parnala*, *Dârkehaj*,
 I. " *Sarala*, *Mâpatan*, *Azamtara*, *Mandal*, *Tchitpet*, *Koundelgora*,
 " *Matora*.

" These purgunnahs have (villages, [the number not men-
 tioned) which give (rupees, the sum not mentioned).

" To the east of this circar, the purgunnahs of *Raibaug*,
 " and the circar of *Merdsje*; to the north, the fortress of
 " *Djoumer*; to the west, the defiles of *Concan*, and the circar
 " of *Moustaphabad* (which is *Dabul*) and a part of the circar
 " of *Azamnagur*.

" The *Kristna* enters this circar from the defile of the
 " mountains, with the river of *Malvanâr*, which it joins,
 " and afterwards goes into the purgunnahs of *Satara*;
 " to the east of which are springs, which flow into the
 " *Pourna*; which river goes to the south, and afterwards
 " joins the *Kristna*."

It is evident from this account, that *PARNALA* is the capital
 of the circar of *NABICHADOUROUK*. *Raibaug* and *Merdsje*
 are cities which Mr. D'Anville has adjusted in the road from
Viziapore to *Dabul* on the sea; which standing northward of
Satara, placeth the circar of *Parnala* on the eastern side
 of the gauts behind *Dabul*, from which it extends north-
 west and south-east towards *Merdsje* and *Raibaug*. Although
 this does not ascertain, no other account that we have seen,
 suggests the least guess whereabouts the fortress of *Parnala* is
 situated.

NOTE

NOTE XI.

Page 11, line 16. CHAEST KHAN, *the subah of the conquered territories in the Decan, and uncle to the emperor by marriage.*] CHAEST KHAN is perhaps more properly called *Shajsta Cawn*, by Mr. Dow, from whom we shall endeavour to trace his family.

Aiafs, a Tartar, had relations in the court of Acbar, and having nothing of his own, but his abilities, travelled in quest of fortune to Delhi, accompanied only by his wife, who was delivered in the desert of a daughter, which, for want of means to carry her on, he exposed; but, relenting at the agonies of the mother, returned just in time to rescue the infant from the jaws of a serpent. Their wants were soon after relieved by other travellers.

The talents of Aiafs raised him, through a succession of employments in the reign of Acbar, to the office of treasurer of the empire, with the title of Actimad ul Dowlah. In the mean time his daughter of the desert became the first of women, in beauty, accomplishments, and allurements. Selim, who succeeded his father Acbar, with the name of Jehangire, saw her, and was captivated; but she was already betrothed; and Acbar, from religious justice, would not suffer the bonds to be broken. She was accordingly married to Shere Afkun, whom Jehangire, when in possession of the throne, procured,

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after several attempts, to be murdered; when his wife, Mher ul Niffa, was sent to the emperor's seraglio, which had been the object of her ambition ever since she first unveiled herself to his sight. But, according to the story, she continued long there in disappointment; for Jehangire, it is said, refrained from seeing her for four years, during which he had struggled with his passion to no purpose; for the first interview vanquished all his resolution, and the very next day he issued orders for the celebration of their nuptials; when her name of Mher ul Niffa, or the sun of women, was changed to Noor Mahil,* the light of the seraglio; and afterwards to Noor Jehan, or, light of the world. Her power over Jehangire was absolute to the end of his life. For a while she held the government of Guzerat, with the title of subah; during which rupees were struck at Ahmedabad with this inscription: "In the 13th of the installation, 1028 of the Hegira, Noor Jehan, wife of the king Jehangire, son of the king Achbar, being governess of Ahmedabad." It was likewise during this government, as we believe, that she struck gold rupees, or mohurs, with this not inelegant legend: "By order of the king Jehangire: Gold has acquired a hundred degrees of excellence, in receiving the name of Noor Jehan."†

* See Establishment of the English Trade at Surat, now first published, in this volume.

† The mention of these two coinages is taken from Mr. Anquetil du Perron, vol. 1. part 1. pages cclxvii. and cxlvi.

Her

Her family partook of her fortune. Jehangire, on his marriage, created her father Actimâd ul Dowlah, vizir of the empire; and raised his two sons, Acticad Chàn and Afiph Jah, to high honours. Of the first we find nothing; but Afiph Jah, on the death of his father in 1618, succeeded to the office of vizir; and Jehangire permitted his own son, Sultan Currom, who succeeded to the throne with the name of Shah Jehan, to marry his daughter, Mumlaza Zemani, which signifies the most exalted of the age; besides whom Afiph Jah had four sons; *Chæst Khan* (the occasion of this note) who before was called Mirza Morad; Mirza Mifti, who was drowned in a drunken frolic in the river Béhat, in Cashmire; Mirza Houssein, of moderate abilities, and little note; Shânâvaze Khan, who rose to much reputation and distinction.

Thus *Chæst Khan* was the nephew of the empress Noor Jehan, and by the marriage of his own sister with Shah Jehan, became the maternal uncle of AURENGZEBE, and of his brothers Dara, Sujah, and Morad. He moreover acquired the relation of uncle by alliance to Aurengzebe and Morad, by their marriage with his nieces, the daughters of his brother Shânâvaze Khan. No private family ever made such alliances with royal blood, as this of the Tartar Aiafs, afterwards Actimâd ul Dowlah; for his own daughter, his son's, and the daughter of his grandson, were married to three successive emperors of Indostan; and another daughter of his grandson, to Morad, who disputed, and for some days thought himself in

SECT. I. possession of the throne. The emperor Shah Jehan respected the virtues of the daughter of Afiph Jah, as much as his father Jehangire had been infatuated by the charms of the daughter of Actimâd ul Dowlah; and raised a sepulchre at Agra to the memory of Mumlaza Zemani, which is said to have cost the enormous sum of 750,000 pounds.*

In 1638 *Chæst Khan* was appointed by Shah Jehan to the government of Berar; and in 1652 to the more important command of Guzerat. In 1656 he was employed by Aurengzebe, at that time viceroy of the Decan, to serve as lieutenant to his eldest son Mahomed (not Mauzum) in the war of Golcondah. In the contention of Shah Jehan's sons for the throne in 1658, he served with Sultan Darah, whom he betrayed by giving intelligence and guides to Aurengzebe, which led him to turn the strong intrenchments of Darah on the river Chumbul, whom this movement obliged to give battle, in order to save Agra, and the emperor there, when he was entirely defeated, and owed not a little of his ill success to the farther treachery of *Chæst Khan*, who commanded the right wing, and retreated without making any efforts, which might have retrieved the field. Darah, hastening to Agra, accused *Chæst Khan* to Shah Jehan, and by his order proceeded immediately to take possession of the imperial treasures at Delhi. *Chæst Khan*, relying on his friends with Aurengzebe, and at

* We have seen a drawing of this monument, made by an English officer in 1773.

Agra, marched thither with unconcern, as if still in the service of Dara, and appeared with confidence in the emperor's presence, who ordered him to instant death; but *Chaeft Khan* reminded him, that the day was sacred by the Alcoran from bloodshed; on which he was reserved for the next, when a multitude of 10,000 men of his own adherents, and Aurengzebe's, surrounded the citadel, and threatened to scale the walls, if he were not immediately released; which was complied with. A few days after, Aurengzebe, with his brother Morad, encamped near Agra; messages passed, and Aurengzebe agreed to visit his father in the citadel, who intended to seize him; which he signified in a letter to Sultan Dara at Delhi. This letter *Chaeft Khan* intercepted, and carried to Aurengzebe; who evaded the interview, but sent his son Mahomed to make the visit; who, by a counter deception, got possession with his own guards, of the citadel, and the person of the emperor his grandfather. This happened on the 15th of June 1658. Mahomed was left governor of the citadel, and *Chaeft Khan* of the city, when Aurengzebe and Morad marched towards Delhi against Dara. On the way, at Mattura, Morad was seized by Aurengzebe, and sent to Agra, to the ward of Mahomed and *Chaeft Khan*. In August *Chaeft Khan* marched to intercept Soliman Sheko, the son of Dara, who pushed into Cashmire; on which *Chaeft Khan* returned to Agra, where he continued to the end of this year 1658, when Aurengzebe sent him a reinforcement; from apprehensions

SECT. fions of the attempts of Soliman Sheko, from Scrinagur.
 I. Aurengzebe, in the mean time, was following Darah from Delhi to Lahore, and from Lahore to Multan, where Darah escaped; and Aurengzebe returned by the same route to Delhi, where he arrived in December, and passed into the Doab, which is the country between the Jumna and the Ganges, in order to encounter his brother Sultan Sujah, advancing from Bengal; whom he defeated at Kidgwah, near Allahabad, on the 15th of January 1659; and two days after, the Maha Rajah Jeffwont Sing, who had turned against Aurengzebe during the battle with Sujah, plundered his camp in the ensuing night, and then maintained a running fight against Aurengzebe himself, which secured his booty: retreating with which, he passed under the walls of Agra, and was only deterred from assaulting the city by the hasty approach of Aurengzebe's vanguard; for *Chaeft Khan*, who ought to have defended it, was frightened out of his senses, and even made attempts to kill himself. From this time the war was removed to a distance from Agra, which left *Chaeft Khan* out of the danger he detested. Darah, through various adventures, after his flight from Multan, came to Ahmedabad, where his maternal uncle, Shânâvaze Khan resided, as Subah of the province of Guzerat; who, besides this common relation to all the sons of Shah Jehan, had in addition the alliance of father-in-law to Aurengzebe and Morad, to whom his daughters were married. So that, although injured by the fate

of Morad, his revenge on the perpetrator would have fallen upon one equally related to himself; and this consideration, with the ascendance of Aurengzebe's fortune, might have determined him to neutrality in the contest between Aurengzebe and Dara: but he was a man of goodness, and his daughter, the wife of Morad, was in his palace, whose bitter supplications against the impending murderer of her husband prevailed on him to join the cause of Dara; for whom he levied an army, and marched with him towards Azmir, where they expected the Maha Rajah would, as he had promised, join them with all his force. Aurengzebe, on the first intelligence of this new confederacy, marched from Delhi through Agra to Azmir, and on the way persuaded the Maha Rajah not to move. This disappointment left the force of Dara and Shânâvaze Khan utterly unequal to Aurengzebe's; and obliged them to take post in a strong situation, which the skill of some Europeans in Dara's service rendered impregnable. Aurengzebe, as usual, recurred to stratagem, and employed Debere Chan, and Jyng, to proffer their defection on a certain day with the troops of their commands. Dara, contrary to the advice of Shânâvaze Khan, accepted their treachery; which, as soon as they were admitted within the lines, manifested itself by a furious attack on the camp. Shânâvaze Khan fell by the lance of Debere. Aurengzebe advanced, and Dara escaped with difficulty from the general defeat, but only to find no refuge in the vast empire to which he was heir. He
 trusted

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trusted to the shelter of gratitude, and was betrayed by the man whose life he had twice saved. He was carried as a criminal to Delhi, and put to death there by the order of Aurengzebe, on the 11th of September 1659. In the mean time, the general Emir Jumlah had driven Sultan Sujah out of Bengal; who, with his two sons, and all his family, were soon after destroyed by the Rajah of Arracan. Thus, at the end of the year 1659, Aurengzebe was in possession of the throne without a competitor, who was not his prisoner; for Soliman Sheko had been delivered up to him by the Rajah of Serinagur, and was with Morad confined in Guialaur; and the emperor Shah Jehan to his palace within the citadel of Agra.

In the beginning of 1660, Aurengzebe appointed *Chaeft Khan* to the command of the Decan; he was, without doubt, by his birth and connections, the first subject in the empire, not of the royal blood; and Aurengzebe treated him as such to the end of his life.

In 1661 he engaged in the warfare against SEVAGI, which has brought his origin, and the revolution of Aurengzebe, under our notice.

NOTE XII.

Page 11, line 6. *Was stopped much longer before Chagnah.*—The manner in which Chagnah was taken, is described by Mr. Dow, with all the circumstances that can render it probable.

The

The use of bombs would have precluded this invention of the kite; but nothing has occurred to our reading, which indicates that they had hitherto been made use of in the armies of Aurengzebe. Even, at this day, they are rarely used by the native powers of India, unless when assisted by the disciplined artillery-men of Europe.

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I.

N O T E XIII.

Page 14, line 4. *He was received by Aurengzebe with much courtesy, which continued until the ladies of the seraglio, incited by the wife of Chæst Khan, in revenge for the death of her son, and the disgrace of her husband, solicited Aurengzebe, not unwilling, to destroy him. But the high Omrahs, &c. &c.*—Mr. Dow, we suppose from one of his Persic manuscripts, relates the risques which SEVAGI incurred and escaped, at Delhi, in a different manner from the account which we have adopted. According to Mr. Dow, SEVAGI defied Aurengzebe at the first audience, of which the ladies of the seraglio were spectators through the usual curtain allowed to their curiosity; “the daughter of Aurengzebe was struck with the handsomeness of his person, admired his pride, and haughty deportment, and interceded at the feet of her father,” who had ordered SEVAGI to be carried, as an offender, out of his sight.

It is scarcely probable that the daughter of Aurengzebe should, from the mere disposition of the sex to admire courage,

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take so much interest in the fate of a stranger, who had rendered himself so detestable to her relations, the family of *Chæst Khan*, who was her father's uncle, and the first subject in the kingdom. It is as little probable that SEVAGI's person should have inspired the lady with such violent compassion. "Ce Rajah," says Thevenot, "est petit et bazané, avec des yeux vifs qui marquent beaucoup d'esprit." And this description, as far as it goes, agrees with his picture; in which his figure, although very compact, is not elegant; and his physiognomy, although very significant, has no beauty. Mr. Thevenot arrived at Surat within a year after SEVAGI had plundered it for the first time, and with the greatest detriment; his return, for the same purpose, was continually feared, which must have made his life and character a constant subject of discussion amongst thousands, who had seen him so much to their cost: and Mr. Thevenot had too much sagacity to be deceived in the selection of what he ought to believe. We therefore prefer his authority, as low down as he treats of SEVAGI, to any other we have seen. See Note VII. Article 3.

NOTE XIV.

Page 16, line 10. *Their principal station was at the city of Jenneah, which lies under the impregnable fortress of the same name.*]—Doctor Fryer was sent from Bombay, in the month
of

of May 1674, to cure the Mogul's governor at JENNEAH; and describes his journey, the city, the camp of the Mogul's army, and the fortrefs on the rock, which is called JENNEAH GUR. The governor of the fortrefs, diftinct from him of the city, invited Mr. Fryer to afcend the rock, and permitted him to examine the fortrefs without restraint; for no intelligence could hurt it. Mr. Fryer has engraved the ftages of this journey; which we have inferted, as well as we could, into the map which accompaniés thefe FRAGMENTS.

SECT.

I.

N O T E XV.

Page 20, line 24. *These events clofed with the year 1665.*—The death of Jyſing, mentioned by Bernier, confines the conclufion of this pretended revolt of Sultan Mauzum, at the lateft, to the beginning of the year 1667. Bernier dates his letter, on the Gentiles of India, from Shiraz in Perfia, on the 4th of October 1667, fo that he muft at the lateft have left India in the beginning of this year, and he ſpeaks of the death of Jyſing, as an event before his departure. Manouchi, who accompanied Sultan Mauzum, mentions exprefsly the concern which the Rajah Jyſing took in this fictitious revolt; and we have no right to impute to him ſuch a defect of memory ſupplied by invention, as we ſhould, by ſuppoſing that Jyſing was at this time dead. On the other hand, Mr. Dow places the revolt in the year 1668, and confiders it as really intended,

SECT. I. intended, if Sultan Mauzum could have seized Delire Khan, who, apprized of the design, marched away to Delhi. Mr. Dow makes the Maha Rajah (Jeffwont Sing) the principal abettor of the Sultan; and does not even mention either the Rajah Jyng or SEVAGI, in the account he gives of this business. These differences can only be decided by authentic informations from India.

NOTE XVI.

Page 21, line 3. "*Shah Abbas died at Tauris in September 1666, and the infancy of his successor changed the councils of Persia to peace.*"]—Chardin says, that Shah Abbas died on the 25th of September 1666, at Teber Eftoon, a palace two leagues from Damagaan, an ancient city, which the Persian geographers place in long. 78° 15' lat. 37° 20', at twelve days journey from Ispahan, and nine from the Caspian Sea.

His successor was not an infant, but was entering into his twentieth year. However he knew nothing, having never been out of the seraglio.

The music continued twenty days, on account of his age. He never came out of the palace, in which he was born, until the day after he was crowned, when, according to the usage, he rode gently round the inclosure of the palace, to shew himself to the people. He appeared disconcerted, and his inexperience feared by the people.

NOTE

NOTE XVII.

Page 21, line 26: *The GAUTS.*]—We have met with two descriptions of the passage over the GAUTS, one at each extremity of the CONCAN. To the north, Mr. Fryer, in his journey to Jenneah in 1674*, passed over the GAUT of Decir, fifty miles north-east of Bombay; and returned by an easier, called Nunny gaut, a little lower down: his description seems to partake of the fatigue he endured. Mr. Anquetil du Perron, in his journey from Goa to Poonah and Aurengabad, in March 1758, went over the gaut of Pondah, which is thirty-five miles to the south-east of Goa; and says, “A sept heures
 “ et demie, je me trouvai au pied des GHATES; J’arrivai au
 “ haut a onze heures, apres metre reposé trois fois en route; le
 “ chemin etoit affreux et presque a pic; a droite & a gauche
 “ se precipitoient au milieu des ronces, des arbriffeaux et des
 “ rochers, des torrens qui faisoient un bruit effrayant.” His description of the magnificent prospect from the summit towards the sea, is sublime. We have inserted his route from Goa to Aurengabad in our map; and respect to the improvement of geography induces us to say, that no traveller, continually struggling with so many difficulties, ever kept so accurate a register of his way, in all his journies. He not only gives every distance that has a name or note, on the road, but

* See Note VII. Article 9.

SECT. I. the nature of the country, with every thing remarkable within his view, on either hand. We suspect a few errors of the press in his publication; and therefore wish the more that we had maps made under his own inspection, to follow in the routes we have inserted in our own from his details; which otherwise would leave the compass of the geographer nothing to doubt.

N O T E XVIII.

Page 24, line 9. *The CORLAHS.*]—We do not recollect to have found this term in use in any other part of India. But RIBEIRO, in his account of Ceylon, says, that the ancient principalities of this island, before the conquest of the Portuguese, were thus called; and accordingly M. Delisle, in the map which he composed for the translation of Ribeiro by the Abbé le Grand, gives the name of CORLAHS to all the principal divisions. The word is rightly spelt in the ancient records of Bombay, but has by degrees changed into CORRIES, which is the only term in use there at present to signify the districts on the opposite main; which we mention merely that the enquirers in our behalf may know what we mean.

N O T E XIX.

Page 24, line 17. *The fortified island of Gingerah.*] Mr. Alexander Dalrymple has given a very neat view and plan of *Gingerah,*

Gingerah, with a plan of the harbour and entrance of the river of Dunda Rajapore. It is in his collection of plans of ports in the East Indies, published London 1775.

SECT.

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NOTE XX.

Page 25, line 1. *And at the end of 1669, appeared suddenly at the head of his army before Surat, &c. &c.*—Carré, in his first volume, opens the history of SEVAGI in these terms: “L’an 1669, Surate fut pillée pour la seconde fois par l’armée de SEVAGI.” Carré afterwards relates many particulars of this second ransack; but without mention of the season, which we have ventured to suppose the end of the year, from combination, always doubtful, and wish for certainty from better authority; which may be obtained at Surat, but not from English records, for there are none of this date in the factory. Other cotemporary publications agree that Surat was twice sacked by SEVAGI, and none fix the second pillage before 1669.

It is likewise from Carré that we take the death of the governor of Surat; who, he says, dropped down dead on kissing a letter sent to him by Aurengzebe, in consequence of his treachery with SEVAGI; and the French surgeons who opened his head, easily perceived the trace of the poison. A bold assertion! The governors of Surat were not at this time powerful enough to secure even their meals from the influence of
Aurengzebe,

SECT. Aurengzebe, and this governor might have been poisoned by
 I. his means; which ignorance, and the love of wonder, converted to their own conceits: for amongst the Mahomedans of India, as well as of Turkey, it is a mark of science to be credulous in alchymies, and to spend money in quest of the philosopher's stone, the elixir of life, and other supernatural effects; and where the better sort believe the possibility, the many rarely doubt the fact; as in this instance, how a poison, of which the effluvia was to produce instant death, could be prepared or fixed to a letter, without detriment to the operator. .

Nothing has contributed more to bring the authenticity of travels into disrepute, than this propensity to relate and believe events which contradict the experience of philosophy. What traveller, on the Malabar coast, has not seen the ordeal trial in boiling oil, without harm to the patient? OVINGTON believes a prediction related to him by Mr. Bartholomew Harris, in 1690, and made by a bramin to Mr. Angier, concerning the arrival of a ship from England, which was verified at the very hour. Another bramin, according to HAMILTON, foretels the death of the English chief at Carwar; which happened with equal punctuality. The MISSIONARIES abound in necromancies, and the power of fascination. The shrewd but credulous Navarette has a house assaulted every night by invisible fiends, ducks and mice produced from the leaves of trees, &c. &c.

Even

Even the judicious Sir Thomas Roe has one doubtful story. Mr. Anquetil du Perron, none.

SECT.

I.

N O T E XXI.

Page 25, line 16. *And reinforcements were ordered to join them even from the province of Behar.*]—DE GRAAF, the Dutch surgeon, arrived in BENGAL at the end of 1669. In September of the next year, he was sent from their factory at Cossimbuzar, to cure the chief of their factory at Patna; and being a good draughtsman, was instructed to take plans and views of what he might see worthy of remark along the Ganges; on which he proceeded in a boat, accompanied by a young writer. He accordingly went ashore at Monghir, and walked round the fort, measuring by his paces the circumference from the river to the river, and the distances between the towers, of which he took notes as he went; but had been observed from the walls, and when he came again to his boat, found it under a strong guard, which carried him and his companion to the fort. Monghir at this time had been little frequented by Europeans; for the governor asked him what nation the Dutch were, and whether they believed in Mahomed; and not knowing what to judge of the travellers, confined them under much hardship in the common prison of criminals: at length, after several councils held at his Durbar, and farther interrogatories, he told DE GRAAF, “that they were not Dutchmen, for none

D d

“ came

SECT. I. " came there; but two rascally Portuguese, sent by SEVAGI,
 " who was in rebellion at Surat, to examine the country and
 " its cities, in order to attack them when the opportunity
 " should offer." Likewise, " that he should keep them pri-
 soners until he heard from the Mogul at Agra." On which
 DE GRAAF wrote to the Dutch factories at Hughley and
 Patna, who procured orders from the Nabob of Behar, for their
 immediate release; which the governor of Monghir would not
 obey, until the Nabob threatened to come from Patna, and
 bring them away himself.

Thus, after seven weeks confinement, they were released on
 the 26th of November. " Three days after they left Monghir,
 " they met the troops of a Gentoó prince called AMARTING
 " (Amarising) which consisted of twelve hundred horsemen
 " well equipped, forty camels, six elephants, many oxen,
 " and a large body of foot. There were besides a great num-
 " ber of boats of various kinds, which carried the baggage
 " and provisions. These people came from the mountain of
 " Assang, and were going to Delhi and Agra, in order to join
 " the army of the Mogul, and afterwards march against
 " the rebel SEVAGI."

N O T E XXII.

Page 25, line 23. *In conjunction with the fleet commanded
 by the Siddee.*—At the end of this year 1669, or in the be-
 ginning

ginning of 1670, Father Navarette sailed from China. This we conclude, because the ship arrived at Malacca on the eve of the purification, which eve is the 1st of February. He says, chap. xvii. "Just before my departure from China, some news arrived out of Europe: one piece was, that Bandarra had been a notorious Jew, and that his tomb was thrown down, and his prophecies suppressed:" — "that the English at Bombay overthrew the churches, and cut to pieces the pictures of the altars." — "that the infidels attacked Goa, took two thousand christians, and killed a Franciscan, and the Viceroy did not behave himself well."

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If this news concerning Bombay and Goa came from Europe, it must have gone thither first, and must be at least eighteen months old when Navarette received it, which would be June 1668. But we must suppose it came from India, and most likely from Goa to Macao; but no ship could arrive from India at Macao in December or January, nor could any from Goa, which had not sailed before the end of May; for then the monsoon sets in on that coast. A ship sailing from Goa in all May, might arrive at Macao in all August, or earlier. If they staid on the coast of Malabar until the monsoon grew more temperate, which is in August, we don't see how the ship could get to Macao against the monsoon of the China sea, in December: still Navarette received the news in December. We suppose the news came to the Philippines, and was brought from thence to Macao by some China Junk,

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or smaller vessel, although not usual to make this voyage at that season. Now the infidels appear, by what Navarette says afterwards, to be Sevagi's army, whether Sevagi himself commanded, although we think he did. After all, it is an admissible conclusion, that Sevagi was before Goa some time in April or May 1669, or at least he must have been there in 1668, if the news came from Europe.

NOTE XXIII.

Page 25, line 25. *In 1670 he sent a large detachment to attack the town of Rajapore.*]—Father Navarette was at Golcondah in July 1670, and had thoughts of travelling by land from thence to Goa; but, in his own words,—“Perceiving how difficult a matter it was to go to Goa, and that the difficulty increased every day, because a rebel whose name was Subagi (Sevagi) ranged those countries with a powerful army, I made to those gentlemen (the French factory); and, finding a fit opportunity, accepted of the favour they offered me;”—which was, to give him a passage, in a ship of theirs, to Surat.

Navarette writing, as it should seem, on board a ship, in his passage to Surat from Masulipatam, whence he sailed on the 17th of October 1670, adds, “It is fit to say something of the Great Mogul. He that now reigns put his father to death, and usurped the crown. This man had a son,

son, who governs a province eight day's journey from Golcondah, towards Bengala" (a mistake; it is more even to the Nerbeddah: of this son and government hereafter), "which properly belongs to the prince, who designs to follow the example his father set him, and get all into his own hands. Anthony Coello, who had served under him, told me that he had already two hundred thousand horse and three hundred thousand foot: a brave army, if they are but good men. He designs to join in league with the rebel Subagi, who is very great and powerful. I mentioned, in another place, how he attacked the territory of Goa, and carried away two or three thousand christians, and a Franciscan. He sent to demand of the Viceroy of Goa to make good a ship of his the Portuguese had taken. The Viceroy was in a passion, and beat his embassador: an action nobody could approve of. The English governor of Madras told me, that Infidel would make war upon Goa, by sea and land, and make slaves of all the Portuguese men and women he could light of. Subagi may do it, and the Mogul better, but he will not take small things in hand. The king of Golcondah is more to be feared, because Coromandel and all these coasts are subject to him." This being a considerable point, an account of it was sent several ways to Goa and Madras. So here we see Sevagi dreaded at Goa in 1670, and a treaty between him and the Mogul's son threatened. Who was this son?

Navarette sailed from Goa on the 16th of November 1670, and in the passage up the coast lay some days in sight of Dabul,

SECT. Dabul, which, he says, is a strong and handsome fort be-
 I. longing to Subagi.

Continuing the voyage, says Navarette, "we went on to Bombay, Bacain, and on the 8th of January (1671) by break of day, were before Daman. "On the 11th we passengers went up to Suali, in a Dutch boat that came to us." Chap. xxv. begins thus: "I came to Suali, much tired, and had a mind to wait for a religious man, who designed to travel by land; but the next day I had a letter from him, giving me an account he had not been able to come by land, by reason of Subagi's army, which lay in the way, he having already drawn near to Golcondah, and destroyed many towns and villages about that court." This determined Navarette to go to Europe in a French ship, for which he obtained leave of Carron, the French director, who, he says, was a rank heretic, but that he treated him with great respect and attention.

Navarette left Golcondah on the 28th of July, and Masulipatam on the 17th of October (1670). It is therefore probable, although not certain, that Sevagi's irruption towards Golcondah was about or after the middle of October; for if it had been before, Navarette would have heard of it before he sailed from Masulipatam, and if it had been later, Sevagi would not have appeared, as we say, in the beginning of 1671, before Surat.

Navarette continued at Surat until the 21st of January 1670, when he embarked on the French ship for Europe; so that his stay there was not more than eleven days. He says,

“ Whilst I was there, the Portuguese little fleet arrived, which runs along that coast every year. Near Bacain they met another small fleet, belonging to Subagi, consisting of fifteen small ships. They drove it up to the shore, and took every one of them without the expence of a grain of powder.”—This is the first positive mention we meet of Sevagi's having a fleet of his own at sea. But it could be only his.

SECT.

I.

N O T E XXIV.

Page 26, line 10. *In the beginning of 1671, he appeared again before Surat, &c.*]—We take this from De Graaf, when arrived at Patna; who says, after the 31st of January 1671, “ The letters which were received *at or about this time* from Surat, by the way of Agra, gave information of the plagues exercised by the prince SEVAGI, the contributions he exacted, and the ravages he committed at Surat and the adjacencies. He demanded a large sum from the Dutch factory, but it was refused.”

N O T E XXV.

Page 32, line 11. *Rickloff Van Goen.*]—He reduced Manar and Jaffnapatan in 1658, which completed the extermination of the Portuguese out of Ceylon; and in 1661, 1662, he took from them Coylan, Crangainore, and Cochin. He was succeeded by his son Rickloff in the government

of

SECT. of Ceylon, in 1675; and in 1678 became governor-general
 I. of Batavia.

N O T E - XXVI.

Page 32, line 25. *Five French ships had come into the harbour.*]—* Dellon, the physician, was in one of these ships; but we write from the Bombay records of the year.

N O T E .XXVII.

Page 34, line 19. *At Hubely.*]—This place, notwithstanding its importance, is not mentioned in any map that we have seen, nor in our manuscript of the Decan; but Mr. FRYER says, that Viziapore is ten days journey from Carwar, and HUBELY six. We have placed it accordingly in our map.

N O T E XXVIII.

Page 35, line 16. *The English company, as before, at the taking of Rajapore, had lost effects to a considerable value in the sack of Hubely.*]—The English factory at Carwar generally kept a broker at HUBELY to sell their imports, and collect the cloth intended for England, which was all provided on the other side of the gauts: for, according to Mr. Fryer, “CARWAR has no peculiar commodities or manufactories of its own product.” He was there in 1676; and says, “the

* See Note VII, article v. page 174, of these Notes.

“ factory

“ factory was then decaying, by reason of the embroils of
 “ the country, merchants being out of heart to buy or sell.” SECT.
I.
 Nevertheless, the investment ordered for 1683 was considerable, and consisted of the following articles:

200 tons of *pepper*.

51,000 pieces of *dungarees*, full yard-wide, and eighteen yards long (above 1,000 bales).

8,000 pieces of *pautkaes*.

10,600 pieces of *percollaes*, of 15 yards long the pancura, and yard broad.

50 bales of cardamums.

2,000 pieces of *baftaes*, broad.

2,000 pieces of *sevaguzzies*.

50 candies, each 500 lb. of *caffia lignum*.

Dungaree is the lighter sail cloth of India; and this quantity might have been ordered in consequence of some expectation of a war with the states of Holland; but only 8,000 pieces were procured. The intention, nevertheless, proves that Viziapore was at this time in repute for the abundance of its manufactures, which at present scarcely supply more than the consumption of its diminished inhabitants.

N O T E XXIX.

Page 41, line 1. *As king of the Morattoe nation, &c. &c.*—
 FERISHTA pretends, that the fabulous histories of the Hindoos describe the divisions and subdivisions of their own country, by personifying them into a genealogy from HIND, India, who was the eldest son of Ham, the son of Noah.

SECT.

I.

HIND had four sons; POURIB, the north (division); BANG, Bengal; DECAN, the south, or the country south of the Nerbeddah; NARWAAL, Guzerat. Decan had three sons, MARIAT, all the countries inhabited by the *Marattoes*; CONHER, all in which the language of the Canarins is spoken; TELING, all in which the Telinga, or what Europeans call the Gentoos language. We have no notion that the Hindoos admit any such genealogy. Their chronology reckons by myriads.

The same FERISHTA, in his history of the Decan, which is not translated, * says, that the Morattoes claim an antiquity of 5,000 years as a nation and a sovereignty, which is many centuries before the deluge.

However both assertions prove, that the Mahomedans esteem the Morattoes to be as ancient as any other of the Hindoo races.

It is a very admissible conjecture, to suppose that their ancient country extended wheresoever their language prevails at present. It is from Mr. ANQUETIL DU FERRON we learn that it is spoken westward of the *gauts*, from the island of Bardez near Goa, to the river Tapti, on which Surat is situated. Our MANUSCRIPT account of the Decan says, they were anciently in possession of the country which is at present comprized under the *Circar*, or immediate government, of

* Since the first edition of this work in the year 1782, Ferishta's History of the Dekkan has been translated into English, by captain Jonathan Scott, of the East India Company's service, and Persian secretary to Warren Hastings, esq. illustrated with many curious and valuable notes; in 2 vols. 4to. 1794.

Aurengabad.

Aurengabad. Allowing the same extent from north to south as far as this meridian to the eastward of the gauts, as from Bardez to the Tapti on the westward, their inland country exceeded that on the sea-coast by one hundred and fifty miles in breadth, and the whole on both sides of the mountains may be esteemed three hundred and forty miles from north to south, and two hundred from west to east, in the finest climate of India.

Their language, as all others of any purity in India, is a derivation of the *Sanfrit*, partakes of its difficulties, and is esteemed by themselves nearer the original than either the Canarin or Malabar. Their creed and religious rites are peculiar to themselves; but the Canarins use the same character, and regulate their chronology by the same cycle. This from Mr. Anquetil du Perron.

That part of their country which forms at present the government of Aurengabad, was the first that felt the fury of the Mahomedans, when ravaged in the year 1311, by Caffoor, the general of Sultan Alaeddin, or Secunder Sani, emperor of Delhi; under which sovereignty it continued forty years: but we cannot ascertain the subsequent subjections of the nation to the Mahomedan kings of Candish and Viziapore, and to the present dynasty of Moguls. At the time of SEVAGI'S revolt, the king of Viziapore possessed all the Morattoe country on the coast, from the districts of Bonfolo to Gallian, and the mountains and eastern country farther north; but the Portuguese had their fortrefs of Chaul on the main, with the

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islands of Bombay and Salcette. The Moguls levied a slight tribute in some of the more northern hills, and possessed all the better country between Surat and Aurengabad. The nation, thus subjected, adhered, in many divisions, to different chiefs, comforted by prophecies of recovering their ancient dominion, but without confederacy, until SEVAGI, a stranger, encouraged by his first successes, formed the idea of collecting all the divisions into one state.

NOTE XXX.

Page 41, line 22. *They (the Dutch fleet) met, near Metchlepatam, a fleet of ten East Indiamen.**—Mr. Fryer, the physician, sailed in the Unity, one of the ships of this fleet, of which all but one arrived together on the coast of Coromandel, and falling to the northward of Madras, went to Metchlepatam, from whence, after a month's stay, they came to Madras, either at the end of July or the beginning of August 1673, where they found the missing ship. Having staid nine days at Madras, all the ten sailed again to Masulipatam, and were dispatched from thence to the factory at Pettipolly, where they fell in with the Dutch fleet of twenty-two sail, which they might have avoided, but chose to fight, although not all with equal resolution. The Bombay, captain Erwin, received eighty shot in her hull, and some of them

* See a Dutch account of this action in Havart, page 163 et seq.

between

between wind and water, which filled her with so much, that she quitted, after an hour's engagement. The Admiral's ship, the 'London, captain Bass, having lost thirty-six men, likewise bore away, but after a longer fight, to stop her leaks; and joining the Bombay, was followed by the Massinberg, captain Westlock, the Unity, captain Craft, the Ann, captain Brown, the East India Merchant, captain Cooley, and the Cæsar, captain Andrews; leaving their three comrades surrounded by the whole of the enemy's fleet of twenty-two ships, against which they nevertheless maintained the fight until utterly disabled. The President, captain Hide, vice admiral, was boarded several times; and in the Sampson, captain Erning, the rear admiral was killed; before either struck: captain Goldsberry stranded his ship Antelope, rather than let her belong to the Dutch; and had the good fortune to escape ashore with what remained of his crew. The seven ships who had borne away, came to Madras on the 1st of September. We take this account principally from Fryer, who was not in the engagement, having been detained at Madras when the ships returned to Metchlepátam.

SECT.

I.

N O T E XXXI.

Page 43, line 6. *Mr. Henry Oxenden was deputed, and Sevagi received his visit with civility.*—FRYER has given Mr. Oxenden's *Narrative* of this embassy to Sevagi, and the journey

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 ney to Rairee. Mr. Oxenden has not been curious in the geography of his journey; he only mentions the resting-places, which are only four, and, excepting Esthemy, the first stage, leaves us to guess the hours, and rate of his travelling, in order to determine the distances of the stages. Esthemy, he says, is six leagues up the river of Chaul, but does not mention the course of the river; but from combination with an improbable position, which must otherwise be given to Rairee, we have ventured to suppose that it flows from the south-west, and, according to this conjecture, have marked the stages of Mr. Oxenden's journey, and the situation of RAIREE in our map. Mr. Fryer has given this track separately, on the same plate as his map of the peninsula, but sets Esthemy E. N. E. of Chaul.

N O T E XXXII.

Page 43, line 11. *He was publicly weighed against gold, and the sum amounting to 16,000 pagodas.*—which is equal to 112 pounds avoirdupoize, and agrees with such a make as his picture describes.

N O T E XXXIII.

Page 43, line 18. *Admitting eighteen of twenty articles proposed.*—We have the twenty articles from the Bombay records,

records of the time, as settled there with Sevagi's agent, and delivered to Mr. Oxenden, to procure Sevagi's ratification of them at Rairee.

SECT.

I.

N O T E XXXIV.

Page 44, line 25. *In the ruined town of Gallian.*]—
 This town, at the time of SEVAGI's revolt, belonged to the kingdom of Viziapore. It was taken by the Portuguese in 1535, who do not seem to have maintained it with a constant garrison. Mr. Fryer was there in April 1675; and we shall give his description, as it marks the ancient magnificence of a city, which no one else mentions as of considerable note. He says, "Early therefore the next morning (April the 26th) I left the most glorious ruins the Mahomedans in Decan ever had cause to deplore: for this city, once the chief empory, excelled not only in trade, but the general consequent, sumptuousness, if the reliques of the stately fabrics may add credit to such a belief; which reliques, notwithstanding the fury of the Portugals, afterwards of the Mogul, since of SEVAGI, and now lately again of the Mogul (whose flames were hardly extinguished at my being here, and the governor and people on that score being prepared more for flight than defence at present), are still the extant marks of its pristine height. The remaining buildings having many stories of square facing stones, and the mosques, which

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“ which are numerous, of the same, abating little of their
 “ ancient lustre, being all watered with delicate tanks, about
 “ which are costly tombs, with their distinct chapels or
 “ mosques, where formerly the *mullahs* (or priests) had fat
 “ pensions to pray for their departed souls, which is main-
 “ tained by them as efficacious: wherefore they covet fune-
 “ rals in the most conspicuous places, which the pleasant
 “ summer-houses hanging over here, cause these places to be.
 “ The unemployed people of the town daily wasting their
 “ time in these inviting varieties, which is the only thing
 “ pleads for their continuance, SEVAGI, as a Gentu, being
 “ otherwise inclined to raze them; yet purposely to pervert
 “ them from the use of the donors, and intention of the found-
 “ ers, orders them to be converted into granaries, especially
 “ those within the city. The houses the present inhabitants
 “ kennel in, are mean; the people beggarly, by reason of
 “ these hostile incursions.”

Mr. Fryer was received with civility by Sevagi's officers in the town, and they appointed a great mosque for his lodging.

It is probable that Gallian existed early in the 14th century, as the immediate metropolis of Salcette, Bombay, Bassein, and all the adjacent country, although under a higher power. Friar Oderic of Priuli, who had returned from his travels to India, and wrote his account of them in the year 1330, says, that he arrived in twenty-eight days from Ormus,

Ormus, at a city called Thana (on the island of Salcette) and describes particularly the martyrdom of four friars, which had happened there some time before his arrival; whose piety had led them to dispute before the Cadi, or ecclesiastical judge of the town, and to tell him that his prophet Mahomed was in hell with his father the devil: on which the governor, whom Oderic entitles Meleck, executed them under excessive tortures: but the king of the country, DODSI, called up the Meleck, and, having examined the case, put him and all his family to death for his despotism and cruelty; on which the Cadi of Tannah fled the country. Friar Oderic collected and carried away with him the bones of the martyrs, to which he imputes several miracles.

It is evident from this account, that Tannah was under a Mahomedan government, and most probably GALLIAN likewise: but king DODSI must have been a Gentoo, who entrusted the command of them to Mahomedans, in order to encourage the resort of their trade from Persia and Arabia.

We are aware, from Mr. D'Anville, that Tannah only is mentioned in the tables of Naffereddin, and Uleg Beg, who flourished in 1261 and 1437, and by Abulfeda, who was cotemporary with Friar Oderic: But as no vestiges of magnificence have been discovered at Tannah, and as no vessels of burthen can pass beyond it towards Gallian, Tannah might be the port of deposite; to which merchants occasionally re-

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I.

paired to transact business with the ships, who nevertheless might consecrate the enjoyment of their fortunes to the more splendid residence of Gallian. And Mr. D'Anville himself supports us in the notion, even of an earlier antiquity, by supposing, that the famous Calliana of the Periplus Maris Erythræi, and of Cosmas Indicopleustes, is the island of Caranjah, in the harbour of Bombay; for we have no doubt that he would have appropriated Calliana to Gallian, if he had ever seen a map in which this place had been laid down. The Periplus is imputed to the second century—Cosmas travelled in the sixth.

NOTE XXXV.

Page 45, line 17. *The armada which used to cruise every year from Goa, to assert the sovereignty of the Indian seas, had the year before crossed over to the gulph of Persia.*—Chardin says, that he received news of this expedition of the Arabs to Bassein, on the 4th of April 1674, he being then at Gombroon. The latter part of Chardin's account differs from ours; that the Arabs were routed by an ambuscade of sixty Portuguese near Daman, as far as which they had marched, and there abandoned all their booty in a precipitate flight back to their vessels, from which it should seem they were twenty leagues distant when defeated. We wrote from the
Bombay

Bombay records, which do not mention this defeat, and Chardin writes from letters which might be not authentic, and from report (on rapporte) which might be less so. SECT. I.

In June 1674 a ship returning from Gombroon was abandoned in a storm in the gulph of Cambay, and the government of Surat demanded all that was saved with the people in the long-boat, in virtue of the Mogul's title to wrecks.

Chardin writes under the 15th of February 1679; he then at Ispahan.

N O T E XXXVI.

Page 49, line 23. *In the island of Sooloo—where his tomb is shown at this day.*]—Mr. Dalrymple has seen the tomb.

N O T E XXXVII.

Page 49, line 26. *That he continued alive in Indostan.*]—SEVAGI, when he plundered Surat in 1664, gave out, in mockery of Aurengzebe, that he had Sultan Sujah in his camp, who, as rightful emperor, had given him the town.

N O T E XXXVIII.

Page 51, line 20. *For a cessation of hostilities until Pondah should be reduced.*]—Chardin gives an account of the dispute between the Portuguese armada, in the gulph of Persia, with the government of Persia, concerning the revenues of Congue,

SECT. I. and thence takes occasion to speak of the general declension of their power and affairs in the East Indies. This seems to be written at Ispahan, under June the 28th 1675—the period we are now treating in the Fragments. He says, “the Portuguese, in losing the maritime countries of the Indies, have lost the former respect which used to be paid to them, inso-much that those who were under the greatest degree of subjection to their domination, are those who afterwards insulted them the most, and who *at this present* press upon them the hardest. I mean to speak of the people of Malabar, in which the city of Goa is situated. Sevagi, that famous conqueror, who is the most powerful prince of this country (Malabar) ravages, when he pleases, to the very gates of the city, and probably will drive them out of it one time or other.”

As Pondah was taken in the end of April, the news could scarcely have arrived at Ispahan by the 23d of June 1675; but the march of Sevagi's troops to invest, which was in February or March, might.

N O T E XXXIX.

Page 54, line 2. *A fort called Sibon, belonging to the Portuguese, in the neighbourhood of Bassein.*—Mr. Anquetil du Perron, towards the end of 1760, travelled from Surat to Bassein, in order to examine the famous excavations in the island of Salcette, which he has described, as well as his journey,

ney, with his usual diligence. He returned to Surat nearly by the road he came; but the fort of Sibon did not fall in his way, either coming or going. We have inserted his route into our map. One of the Portuguese country, from Daman to Bassein, is much wanted; for we find several places of some consequence in this territory, mentioned in the records of Bombay, whose situations have not yet come to our knowledge.

SECT,
I.

N O T E XL.

Page 60, line 21. *They (SEVAGI'S army) laid siege at the same time to two strong forts, one called Billigong, near Banca-pore, the other at five days journey from this, and called Rayim.* —Neither of these places is mentioned in our manuscript of the Decan, either under the *subah* of VIZIAPORE or of BEDER; consequently neither have the rule over a *purgunah* or district, in either of these *subahs*: but strong forts are often separated as feifs or jaghires, from the ordinary municipal government; and we have no doubt of the existence of these, because we find them mentioned in a letter dated the 6th of October of this year 1676, from the government of Bombay to the presidency at Surat.

“ This day arrived Narranfinay; (he had been sent on business to Rairee). Sevagee is not gone down the coast, but struck up the hill, and has besieged two castles in
“ Balgot

SECT. I. “ Balgot (Balagat) one called BILLIGONG, near Bancapore,
 “ the other called RAYIM (or Vayim, for it is doubtful in the
 “ manuscript) about five days journey on this side of it. He
 “ has made great havock in the Viziapore country, and does
 “ intend to continue it, which we believe will much prejudice
 “ the company’s investments at Rajapore and Carwar. We
 “ hear not of any army intended towards Surat, or that way,
 “ and suppose none will be sent, because himself is gone so
 “ far up the hill.”

N O T E XLI.

Page 61, line 3. *Bahadar Khan—listened to proposals from Sevagi, who offered, it is said, 400,000 pagodas with his homage of fealty to the Mogul, on condition that permission were obtained for his passage through the territory of Golcondah, to attack that part of the Carnatic which was subject to Viziapore.*—Neither SEVAGI’s intention of attacking the Carnatic, nor his stipulation for the passage of his army through the territory of Golcondah, were publicly known when he concluded the terms of peace with Bahadar Khan. At that time an agent, named Narransinay, was sent from Bombay to Morah Pundit, at Chaul, in order to settle the payment of what remained due from SEVAGI on Mr. Oxenden’s agreement, and other detriments. This Narransinay writes from Chaul, in the beginning of December (1676) that “Sevagi is to pay the Mogul 400,000
 “ pagodas.”

“ pagodas yearly, to assist him with five thousand horse, and that
 “ saw Morah Pundit send to Rairee for four lacks (400,000)
 “ of pagodas, to send away immediately for the first year’s pay-
 “ ment; and that the five thousand horse were gone under the
 “ command of Narangi Pundit.” Such an agreement, con-
 sented to by such a dealer as Sevagi, would have been equi-
 valent to an open avowal of his intentions not to abide by it; he
 neither parted with his money nor his troops so easily on
 any terms, much less on expectation. We have no doubt
 that Morah Pundit sent some money to Bahadar Khan, and
 intended to send more, as circumstances might require: on
 the other hand, it was natural that Morah Pundit should wish
 the English at Bombay might believe that Sevagi’s country,
 during his absence, was under the immediate protection of
 the Mogul; since from this respect they would be less cau-
 tious of refusing their harbour to the Siddee, who only claimed
 it on the same pretension. Accordingly Bombay writes to
 Surat on the 20th of December, that “ the peace is broken,
 “ because Sevagi would not deliver his son Sambagi as a
 “ hostage.” But again, Bombay writes to England, on the
 19th of March 1677, “ We have some credible reports that
 “ there is peace concluded between Sevagi and the Mogul,
 “ but dare not absolutely affirm it, though some of our ser-
 “ vants that are now come from up the hill say that there is
 “ free egress and regress out of Sevagi’s into the Mogul’s
 “ dominions; if so, we have hopes to open a trade directly
 “ up

SECT.

I.

SECT. I. “ up the country, which in time may much advance the cus-
 “ toms, and increase the trade and splendor, of the island.”
 There was peace, and no mention of hostilities in the Bombay
 record during the rest of the year.

MANOUCHI, so far from supposing that Sevagi paid any
 thing for the truce, says that Aurengzebe, from his greater
 apprehensions in the war of the Pitans, ordered his son
 Sultan Mauzum “ to make peace with Sevagi, without re-
 “ gard to the dignity of the empire, and to the chastisement
 “ of an adventurer who had crowned himself with his
 “ own hands.”

N O T E XLII.

Page 61, line 14. *But the king (of Chandergherri, at the
 close of the 16th. century) is stiled king of Bisnagar, for what
 reason we do not find, unless from the ancient title of a lost pos-
 session; for the city of Bisnagar is situated on the other side of the
 Carnatic mountains, two hundred miles to the N. W. of Chanderg-
 herri, and was at this time part of the dominion of the Maho-
 medan king of Viziapore.]—Cæsar Frederic, the Venetian, set
 out in 1563, and continued in the East Indies until 1581. In
 1567 he went from Goa to Bisnagar: the account he gives of
 the state of this kingdom is very obscure, nevertheless we shall
 endeavour to guess his meaning. The hereditary king of
 Bisnagar, a Gentoo, had for many years been kept in confine-
 ment*

ment by his ministers, Ramragio*, who represented on the throne, and was called king; Timiragio†, who held the seals, and managed the revenues; Bengatre‡, who commanded the army, in which were two Moorish captains of note and influence. The three ministers became impatient of the life of the king, and the son of Timiragio put him to death in his confinement, which raised discontent; of which the two Moorish captains took advantage, and invited an invasion, which was accordingly made by the four neighbouring Mahomedan kings, who were *Dialcan* (Idal Caun) king of Viziapore; *Zamuluc* (Nizamalmuluck, king of Berar) who resided at Ahmednagar; *Cotamuluck* (Cuttub Shaw) king of Golcondah; *Vindy* (king of I don't know what, unless it be Candish). Ramragio and Bengatre fell in the battle against the four kings, and Timiragio fled with the loss of an eye: but the wives and children of all the three were sent away in safety. The four kings entered BISHNAGAR, and remained in it four months, searching and digging for treasure; and then, says Frederic, "departed to their own kingdoms, because they were not able to maintain such a kingdom as that was, so far distant from their own country."

After the departure of the four kings, Timiragio returned to Bishnagar, and invited the merchants at Goa to bring horses,

* Ram Rajah.

† Temi Rajah.

‡ Venkitrou.

SECT.

I.

whom he afterwards cheated. Frederic went in company with two of these horse merchants, to buy diamonds, which were brought from the mine of Raolkondah, and staid seven months at Bifnagar, until the ways were cleared of thieves, but might otherwise have done his business in one.

He then says, that the king and his court, by reason of the sacking of the four kings, went to dwell in *Penigondah*, a castle eight days up in the land from Bifnagar; that this city was twenty-four miles in circumference, and had fallen to such decay, in consequence of the war and capture, that many parts of it were infested by tygers; but that the palaces of the three tyrants, and the pagodas, were remaining unimpaired: that he had seen many, but never saw such a palace as that of Bifnagar; by which we suppose he means the ancient palace of the ancient kings. By the king and his court, who went to dwell at *Penigondah*, we conclude he must mean Timiragio. There is a *Penukonda* marked by Mr. D'ANVILLE, as a fort on a rock, situated on the bank of the Penar, about midway in its course to the north, before it turns to the east: twenty miles west of this fort is a *Pakon'da*, which is only marked as a common town; but from a later map of the Decan, of which we may hereafter trace the documents, we have inserted into our own a considerable fort on a rock, called *Palikondah*, which stands north of the other two, and twenty miles west of the elbow of the Paliar, not far from
Shirpi.

Shirpi. We cannot determine whether either, or which, is the Penigondah of Frederic, but all the three stand equally convenient for the transfer of a fugitive government to CHANDERGHERRI, from which they are distant one hundred and twenty, one hundred and thirty, and one hundred and forty miles. It still remains to know, whether the king of Chandergherri, to whom the Jesuits went in 1599, was a descendant of Timiragio, or of the rightful king of Bijnagar, murdered by Timiragio's son; but we believe of Timiragio. We wish all this were enquired for in India, which may perhaps be found at once with the Bramins at Tripetti.

Frederic, after his return from Bijnagar to Goa, saw, in different voyages, all the ports from hence to Cape Comorin, and on the coast of Coromandel from Comorin to San Thomé. It appears from his evidence, that the kingdom of Bijnagar extended from sea to sea: on the western coast from the river of Carwar to Mangalore, one hundred and twenty miles; on the eastern, from Negapatam to San Thomé, and probably farther north to Nelore, which would be two hundred and forty; the breadth across the peninsula is nearly three hundred miles. The whole of the present kingdom of Tanjore was under the dominion of Bijnagar, and governed by a Naigué or deputy, who treated the Portuguese at Negapatam with imperiousness; and at San Thomé they submitted to whatsoever exactions were imposed. The sea-coast of the Maravars and Tinivelly was under other jurisdiction.

SECT.

I.

NOTE XLIII.

Page 61, line 20. *Two Portuguese Jesuits went from St. Thomé to Chandergherri in the year 1599, and were received with attentions by the Gentoo king, whose sovereignty they describe as extending over the countries of Tanjore and Madura; and other Jesuits who travelled at the same time into these countries, confirm the assertion.*—Our authorities may be found from page 726 to page 808 of the book entitled, “*De rebus Japonicis, Indicis, & Peruvianis, Epistolæ recentiores, a Joanne Hayo, Scoto, Societatis Jesu, in Librum unum coacervatæ. Antverpiæ, M,DC,V. Octavo.*” These jesuits, one or other, were at *Negapatam, Tranquebar, Tanjore, Chillambarum, Gingee, Thevenapatam, Conimeer, Trivadi, Salawauk, Sadrafs, Chinglappett, Conjeveram, Tripetti, Pulliacat, Armegon, Cotapatam, Trivalore*; likewise, at *Madura*, but none make mention of *Tritchinpoly*; nor they who went to *Chandergherri*, of *Arcot*: their relations are very curious.

The *Theaurus* of Jarric, printed at Cologne in 1615, not only gives all that is published by Haye, concerning this mission of Chandergherri, but a farther account of it from subsequent letters, which confirm the sovereignty of Chandergherri over the *Naiques* of *GINGEE* and *TANJORE*, but describe them as too powerful not to be often refractory: and in 1609 the governor of *VELORE*, at their instigation, refused his tribute,

bute, and stood a severe siege, but was at length reduced by the king; who, amongst his other titles, which are very extravagant, styles himself Mahometanorum exercituum debellator; which, with other passages, prove him to have been a GENTOO.

SECT.
I.

N O T E . XLIV.

Page 62, line 1. *About the year 1645, a descendant of this Gentoo king of Chandergherri, permitted the English to purchase the ground of Chinapatam, on which they raised Fort St. George, and the town of Madras.*—Madras, from its first establishment, became important to the company's commerce on the coast of Coromandel, which had before centered at Masulipatam: but since the year 1744, it has been the metropolis of the national war in India, although Bengal has lately attempted to have its share in this fame; of which both are at this time partaking largely. The origin of famous men and places is always an object of curiosity; and we have lately, by the help of a record, come nearer to the foundation of Madras than ever we could get before. In 1661 the presidency at Surat blamed the agency of Madras for persisting in giving protection to two or three capuchin friars; who were Frenchmen; although one of them had suffered an imprisonment of five years in the inquisition at Goa, for accommodating his ministry to the convenience of the settlement. The agency pleaded the reasons which originally induced the permission of

SECT. I. of their residence; to which the friars were invited in order to draw the Portuguese from San Thomé, who being considered as Europeans, would add to the military reputation of Madras, consequently attract the resort of the natives, and with them an increase of trade; all which would go back to San Thomé, or be dispersed, if the capuchins were expelled. In the course of this argument, the agency say, "At the company's first beginning to build a fort, there were only the French padres, and about six fishermen's houses; so to entice the inhabitants to people the place, proclamation was made in the company's name, that for the term of thirty years, no custom of any thing to be eaten, drank, or worn, should be taken of any of the town-dwellers. Now twenty-one years of that time being expired," and the town become flourishing both in inhabitants, trade, and commercial customs, all will be to begin anew if the capuchins are expelled. If twenty-one years of a term of thirty were expired in the year 1661, it follows that Madras was founded in the year 1640.

N O T E XLV.

Page 62, line 8. *The forces of Viziapore reduced Velore, which probably was their first conquest.]*

Page 62, line 17. *It is said the kingdom of Tanjore was likewise reduced by Viziapore, but we have met with no documents to confirm this position.]*

Mr.

Mr. Thevenot says, p. 273, that "the king of Viziapore, after having taken what was in his neighbourhood, pushed his conquest to the cape of Negapatam." Again, p. 274, describing the extent of the kingdom of Viziapore, he says, "that it is bounded on the south by the country of the Naique of Madura, whose state extends to Cape Comorin. This Naique is tributary to the king of Viziapore, as well as THE NAIQUE OF TANJORE, to whom belonged the cities of Negapatam, Tranquebar, and some others on the coast of Coromandel, when taken by the king of Viziapore." These are positive assertions of the conquest of Tanjore, but we find nothing to confirm them in such letters as we have seen, written to and from Madras in 1661, 1668, 9, 70, 72, 73, 74, 75, although they clearly point out Gingee as subject to Viziapore. Notwithstanding our respect to Mr. Thevenot's authority, we must remark his mistake in supposing the king of Bishnagar or Chandergherri, conquered by Viziapore and Golcondah, in 1652, 1656, was a Mahomedan, with the ancient title of Adil Shah, king of Narfingah; whereas the Madras records prove him undoubtedly a Gentoo. Mr. Thevenot says, VELORE was the capital of this king, which may be true.

SECT,
I.

NOTE XLVI.

Page 62, line 19. *The army of Golcondah, led by the famous Emir Jumlah, reduced all the hilly country which stretcheth north*

SECT. *north of Velore from Gandicotah towards the sea, &c.]—*

I.

TAVERNIER went from Madras in 1652, to sell pearls to Emir Jumlah, besieging Gandicotah, and arrived there on the 1st of September, six days after the place had surrendered. He ascribes the success to four pieces of cannon planted on a neighbouring hill, and managed by European gunners, against two, which were all the garrison had to oppose: but Thevenot says, that Jumlah invited the governor to a conference, on assurance of free return to his fortresses, and kept him prisoner, until he gave orders for the surrender.

N O T E XLVII.

Page 63, line 5. *They (Aurengzebe and Emir Jumlah) besieged the king of Golcondah in his capital; who, to preserve his diadem, submitted his government to the controul of the Mogul, which had continued until this time, and enabled Bahadar Khan to procure the humiliating permission which Sevagi requested.]—*Mr. Bernier says, that Aurengzebe, on making the peace, “fit consentir le roy (de Golconde) que toute la monnoye d’argent qui se feroit deormais porteroit d’un coté la marque de Cha Jehan.” We have read somewhere else, that the king obliged himself to give the Mogul’s ambassador at his court, information of all the material resolutions of his government. Manouchi, speaking of the permission which SEVAGI requested, says, that “l’autorité d’Aurengzebe

“ rengzebe fit confentir aifement le roi de Golconde aux
 “ demandes du SEVAGI.”

SECT.

I.

NOTE XLVIII.

Page 63, line 10. *The want of cotemporary record has disabled us from acquiring any regular account of Sevagi's expedition into the Carnatic.*—This expedition, the most important of SEVAGI'S life, had important consequences, which will appear hereafter, as well as we have been able to collect them. It is therefore more especially our wish, that enquiries may be made in India concerning the whole of this portion of the history of Coromandel, which operates even at this day in the events of that country. We have reason to believe, that no cotemporary records of the company will be found either at Madrafs, Bombay, or Surat, which we have not discussed in England; but the informations they afford on this subject are very scanty.

Bombay writes to Surat, June 27th, 1677. “ * Mr. Child
 “ (from Carwar, where he was chief of the factory,) writes,
 “ that SEVAGI is in a castle of the king of Golcondah, where
 “ he intends to winter; and after the rains, it is thought,
 “ intends against the Carnatic. Several of the Decan Om-
 “ rahs are joined with him, and its believed that Bullul
 “ Cawn and he have agreed to share all between them. The

* He was afterwards Sir John Child, governor of Bombay.

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I.

“ Decan country is so miserably harassed, that Mr. Child
 “ does not expect to provide * a piece of goods this year,
 “ and we believe Carwar to be in little better state. Morah
 “ Pundit has lately been to visit the northern garrison of
 “ Salere, and is now past by and gone to Rairee, where we
 “ shall be sure to find him.”

July 11, 1677. Again, “ Sevagi at present is a great way
 “ off in the Carnatic country, *where he wintered.* In his
 “ absence, Morah Pundit and Anagi Pundit, and another
 “ Bramin, are left to govern affairs, to whom we have
 “ sent to procure their cowl (pafs) to all generals of armies
 “ that shall come towards Surat, that they molest not the
 “ English in any part where they come, nor plunder any
 “ of their goods.”

August 24th, 1677. “ SEVAGI is at present in the Upper
 “ Carnatic, where he has taken the strong castle of Chingy
 “ (Gingee) Chingavore†, Pilcundah‡, and several others, and
 “ shamefully routed the Moors§, and 'tis believed has robbed
 “ Seringapatam||, and carried away great riches from thence;
 “ and they say he designs, on his return back, to take Brid-
 “ noor¶, and so join Canara to his own conquests.”

* See Note xxviii. page 208.

† Chingavore is the Moor's name (or rather pronunciation) of Tanjore.

‡ Pileundah, perhaps Volcondah.

§ The troops of Viziapore.

|| Capital of Myfore.

¶ Bidnoor.

Madras,

Madras, in a letter dated September 1, 1677, which is not to be found, advise the company, that the nearness of SEVAGI engageth all their attention to fortify; they describe *his force and success*, and had received three messengers from him with letters. July 9, 1678, they say that little action hath passed between the armies of the king of GOLCONDAH and SEVAGI.

It is from a subsequent record nine years later, in 1687, that we find SEVAGI passed by Trivadi, where we suppose he paid his devotions, as all the Morattoe generals have done ever since, who have been near it. We have ventured to ascertain the outline of SEVAGI's conquests in the Carnatic, by the indication of subsequent occurrences, of which none suggest that he entered the kingdom of TANJORE. It appears by Manouchi, that Sambagi accompanied his father into the Carnatic.

In our history of the national wars in India, we have supposed Velore to have been built by the Morattoes, having understood so when there;* probably mistaking possession for foundation, from our ignorance of SEVAGI's conquest; which must intirely overset that assertion, unless we should hereafter find that the Carnatic had been in more ancient times a Morattoe sovereignty; of which we have hitherto discovered no traces, excepting in the inaccurate talk of the people of the country.

* See The Military Transactions in Indostan, vol. i. page 45.

SECT.

I.

NOTE XLIX.

Page 67, line 1. *We now resume the war which Aurengzebe had conducted in person against the Pitans beyond the Indus, where he arrived in the beginning of the year 1675.*] We have taken all we say, both before and now, concerning this war of the Pitans, from Manouchi: but have adjusted the few dates we give (for he gives none) from the records of Surat and Bombay, which often received intelligence of the distant affairs of the empire, and sometimes mention them, but abstractedly, referring to the original letters in Persian, which we suppose are all lost now, as well as the translations, if any were made; even the dates of the intelligence are not recorded, but the mention ascertains the time of receipt, and we have allowed for the journey.

We can have no expectation that an account of this war will ever be collected by any of our own nation, or other Europeans in India, all being, luckily for themselves, at too great a distance from the country of the Pitans; but it may have been compiled by some writer at Delhi, and it is not improbable that an account of it, either more or less explicit than Manouchi's, is at present in Europe. Mr. ANQUETIL DU PERRON, in his *Legislation Orientale*, gives an extraordinary instance of the benevolent justice of Aurengzebe to an old woman, who maintained her family by a mill, of which
his

his foldiers had turned off the water: this happened in 1674, at Affanabad; which we suppose the Affenabdal of Manouchi on the Indus, when Aurengzebè was marching to this war of the Pitans. Mr. Anquetil du Perron cites the incident from a manuscript history of Indoftan, composed by Mr. Gentil,* who served long with reputation in the French army in India; and, with the languages, acquired much knowledge of the country. We flatter ourselves that this work will be published. Every information concerning the Pitans and their country, will assist the history of the Sikes, the invasion of Nadir Shah, and the later invasions of the Afghans under their prince Abdalla.

N O T E L.

Page 70, line 22. *Panwell, a large town on the river Penn.*—Panwell is *not* on the river Penn; but on another to the north of it, which opens due EAST from the middle of the island of Bombay; whereas the entrance of the river Penn is in the angle of the harbour, SOUTH-EAST of the island. The authority we followed is entitled to more than half the error; and this section of the Fragments was printed before we were set to rights by a plan of the march of the English army, in January 1778, from Bombay, to attack POONAH, the capital of the Morattoes. This plan, besides the inland march, comprizes the harbour of Bombay, and the island of Salcette.

* See Note in page 171.

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N O T E . L I .

Page 73, line 6. *Of his (Aurengzebe's) brothers, Darah had written a treatise, endeavouring to reconcile the doctrines of Bramah with the tenets of the Alcoran.*—This treatise was brought to England by Mr. FRAZER, and is in the Radcliffe library, under the following title, as given by Mr. Frazer:
 “ MUJMAH AL BARHAIN (*i. e.* the uniting of both seas). A
 “ treatise wrote by *Sultan Darah Shekowh*, eldest brother to
 “ *Auring-zebe*; in which he endeavours to reconcile the
 “ *Brahmins* religion with the *Mahommedan*; citing passages
 “ from

“ from the *Koran* to prove the several points. It was his writing this book, and conversing so much with the *Brahmins*, that chiefly lost him the empire; for Aurengzebe made a pretence of that, and consequently had all the bigoted Mahomedans to join him.”

We learn from Mr. Anquetil du Perron, that “ Sultan Darab, in 1656, likewise caused a Persian translation to be made by the Brahmins of Benaras, of the OUPNEKHAT*, a work in the Sanscrit language, of which the title signifies, “ the word that is not to be said;” meaning, the secret that is not to be revealed. This work is an extract of the FOUR VEDES (Bedes) and gives, in fifty-one sections, the complete system of the Hindoo theology; which establishes the unity of the First Being; whose perfections and operations personified, become the names of the principal divinities of the Hindoos; and demonstrates the re-union of all nature to this FIRST CAUSE, the DEITY.” Of this curious work, Mr. Anquetil has promised to publish a translation†.

* There is a copy of the Persian version of this work in the British Museum, with a MS. translation, which we understand was made by N. B. Halhed, Esq. — This title, as written and pronounced by the Brahmins of Banaras, is according to the English orthography OUPANEESHAT, and of the French OUPANICHAT. The Sanskrit character answering to the English *sh* and the French *ch*, is, by the vulgar of India, often pronounced like *kh*, or *k* aspirated.

† This work has since been published at Paris, by M. Anquetil du Perron, in two large volumes in quarto, in which, at page 755 of the second volume, is the following compliment to Mr. Orme: In alio ejusdem historiae exemplari MS. (fol. 6 recto) quod ad me misit amicus meus eruditissimus et veritatis amatissimus Indiae historiographus, D. ORMES (terrenasne an caelestes auras spirat?) eadem praecise: verum *hascht*; octo post *bist* (28) in *satdjog* addito; quod rectius.

SECT.

I.

Mr. Bernier says, that in the last council held by Aurengzebe concerning the fate of Darah, an Omrah insisted on the necessity of his death, because he had long quitted the religion of Mahomed, and was become a coffee, a pagan, and an idolater. He was accordingly put to death; for which Aurengzebe made the same apology to Sultan Shekowh, the son of Darah, whom he assured of safety, but destroyed by the poppy draught at Gualior.

Mr. Haller's translation of Darah's Preface to the Oupanéeshat.

“ Dàrà Shěkhòh's Preface.

“ Praised be the Being among the eternal secrets of whom is the dot of *B* of the *bismillah* in all the heavenly books, and glorified be the *Alm* of the mother of books, which in the Holy Koran is a token of his glorious name: and the angels, and the heavenly books, and the prophets and saints, are all comprehended in this name. And be the blessing of God upon the best of his creatures, Mahomed, and upon his children, and upon his friends universally. — To proceed: Whereas the unsolicitous Fakeer *Mahommed Dàrà Shěkhòh*, in the 1050th-year of the Hejrà, went to *Cashmēer*, the resemblance of Paradise, by the attraction of the favour of God, and the blessing of the Infinite. He there obtained the auspicious intercourse of that most Perfect of the Perfect, of that Flower of Gnostics, of that Tutor of Tutors, of that Sage of Sages, of that Guide of Guides, of that Unitarian skilled in Truths, *Mōlàrà Shàh*, on whom be the peace of God! And
whereas

whereas he was impressed with a longing to behold the gnostics of every sect, and to hear the lofty expressions of Monotheism, and had cast his eye on very many theological books, and been a follower of them for years; and as the thirst for investigation, which is a boundless ocean, became every moment increased, subtle doubts came into his mind, for which he had no possibility of solution, except by the words of God, and the direction of the Infinite Being. And whereas the holy Koran is almost totally mysterious, and at the present day the understanders thereof are very rare, he was desirous to collect into view all the heavenly books, that the very word of God itself might be its own commentary; and if in one book it be compendious, in another book it might be found diffusive; and from the detail of one, the conciseness of the other might become comprehensible: he had therefore cast his eyes on the books of Moses, and the Gospels, and the Psalms, and other holy pages; but the explanation of Monotheism in them also was compendious and mysterious; and from the slovenly translations which prejudiced persons had set forth, their purport was not intelligible. Thereafter he considered, on what account is Hindostan conspicuous for Monotheism, is there so much discourse of the Divine Unity, and wherefore, both in the exterior and interior practices of the most ancient sect of Hind, is there no disavowal of the Divine Unity, and no apostacy against Unitarians; but there is even a stock of faith in opposition to the blockheads of the

I i

present

SECT.

I.

sect. I. present time, who have established themselves for erudite, and who, falling into the traces of murder and molestation, and apostatizing from, and disavowing the true proficients in God, and Unitarians; display resistance against all the words of Monotheism, which is most evident from the glorious Koran, and the authentic traditions of indubitable prophecy; and are highwaymen in the path of God. After verification of these circumstances it appeared, that among this most ancient tribe, out of all their heavenly books there are four principal holy books, which are, the *Rik Véd* (*), the *Yējūr Véd* (†), the *Sām Véd* (‡); and the *Athērbēn Véd* (§), together with a number of ordinances descended upon the prophets of those times, the most eminent of whom was Adam, on whom be the peace of God! and this purport is manifest from those same books. And it is also known out of the holy Koran, that there is no tribe without a Prophet; and without a Bible; and from sundry passages therein it is proved, that God inflicts not punishment on any tribe, until a Prophet hath been sent to them; and that there is no country whetein a religion, accompanied with prophecy hath not been placed: and of a

(*) *Rik Véd*—The word of God, in which the rythms of the letters of each Hemyfych are equal in number.

(†) *Yējūr Véd*—The word of God, in which the letters of the fourth Hemyfych are unequal in number.

(‡) *Sām Véd*—The word of God, which is chanted with music.

(§) *Athērbēn Véd*—The fourth book of God.

certainty,

certainly, Prophets with conspicuous miracles have been sent, and holy books with them. And the principal parts of those four books, wherein are contained all the secrets of the *Shloks*,* and of the contemplative exercises of pure Monotheism, are called *ōpnēkhēts* (°): and the Prophets of that time having extracted them, have written commentaries, with complete and diffusive interpretations thereon; and being even still understood as the best part of their religious worship, they are always studied. And whereas the views of this Seeker of plain truth were directed to the origin of the unity of the Being, in the Arabic language, and the Syriac, and the Chaldaic, and the Sanscrit, he was desirous to comprehend these *ōpnēkhēts*, which are a treasury of Monotheism, and in which the proficients, even among that tribe, were become very rare, by translating, and without any worldly motives, in a clear style, word for word. Since as this sect hath kept them so exceedingly hidden and concealed from the professors of Islām, what are the secrets contained therein? And as at this period the city of *Bēnārēs*, which is the metropolis of the sciences of this tribe, was in certain relations with this Seeker of truth, having assembled together the *Pūndits* and *Sēnyāsees*, who were the most learned of their time, and proficients in

* Or *Shloks*, Verses.

(°) *Opnēkhēt*, *Opāneehat*, or *Upanishat*—A sentence of Monotheism, which is a Secret to be concealed, according to the *Sanskrit*.

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I.

the *öpnëkhëts*, himself free from prejudices translated these essential parts of Monotheism, which are the *öpnëkhëts*, i. e. Secrets to be concealed, and the end of the purport of all the fables of God, in the 1067th year of the Hejrà. And every difficulty, and every sublime topic, which he had desired and sought, and had looked for and not found, he obtained from these essences of those most antient books, which without doubt or suspicion are the first of all heavenly books in point of time, and the source of the fountain of verity, and an ocean of Monotheism, and are in conformity with the holy Koran, and even a commentary thereon. And it becomes clearly manifest, that this sentence is literally applicable to these ancient books, viz. the venerable Koran is in a book, which book is hidden, and which cannot be discovered except by the heart which is become purified, and which hath descended from Providence. It is evident to any person, that this sentence is not applicable to the Psalms, or to the books of Moses, or to the Gospel; and by the word '*descended*,' it is clear that it is not applicable to the reserved tables of destiny. And whereas the *öpnëkhëts*, which are *Secrets to be concealed*, are the essence of this book, and the sentences of the holy Koran are literally found therein, of a certainty therefore the '*hidden book*' is this most ancient book, and hereby things unknown became known, and things incomprehensible became comprehended by this Fakeer. In beginning this translation

translation he opened the holy pages as an omen; and the chapter of Arâf * came up, of which the first sentence is thus: "A. L. M. S. a book hath been sent down unto thee, and therefore let there be no doubt in thy breast concerning it; that thou mayest preach the same, and that it may be an admonition to the faithful;" and he had no intention, and no purport, except for the religious advancement of his children, and his friends, and the seekers of truth. Happy is he, who having abandoned the prejudices of vile selfishness, sincerely and with the grace of God renouncing all partiality, shall study and comprehend this translation, which is to be denominated '*mighty secrets*,' knowing it to be a translation of the words of God: he shall become unperishable, and without dread, and without solicitude, and eternally liberated."

SECT.
I.

Sultan Darah's Prayer to RUDER.

A PRAYER directed by the BRAHMINS to be offered up to the Supreme Being; written originally in the SHANSCRIT language, and translated by C. W. BOUGHTON ROUSE, Esquire, *from a Persian version of DARAH SHEKO, a son of SHAH JEHAN, Emperor of Hindostan.

"O RUDER, I reverence thee in thy majesty, and in thy displeasure. I reverence thy arrows, which convey destruc-

* Al Arâf is the 7th Chapter of the Koran, and this sentence is borrowed from Sale's translation, p. 117.

tion;

SECT. tion; and thy bow, thy quiver, and thy arms, which are the
 I. givers of victory. Look toward me with that countenance
 of benignity, mild like the face of the moon, by which thou
 bestowest joy, and doest away all sins.

“ O thou, who art the Lord of mighty mountains, dispel the
 pains of all mankind; make them joyful, and defend them
 from harm; and grant that I may remain secure under thy
 guardianship and protection. Thou art the great Physician
 of Physicians! heal thou my infirmities; disperse my vicious
 and malevolent inclinations, which lead me into the road
 of evil.

“ I reverence thee in the sun, which is thy image, whilst it
 scatters a hundred thousand vivifying rays over the universe;
 whilst in meridian brightness it diffuses gladness: nor less
 when at morn or eve its flaming countenance denotes thy
 anger. Turn away that anger from me.—I reverence him
 who is the source of joy to living creatures, whose nature
 is exempt from decay, and knows not the increase of age.
 To him and all that springs from him I owe reverence and
 honour.

“ O RUDER, string thy bow to defend me from all my open
 or secret enemies. Shoot the arrows of thy quiver to destroy
 them. When thou hast destroyed my enemies, and unstrung
 thy bow, and taken off the points of thy arrows, and art re-
 joiced, then grant that I likewise may rejoice. But thy bow
 is not like other bows, nor thy arrows like other arrows. Thou
 needest not to string the bow, nor to sharpen the points of
 arrows.”

arrows. Thou needest not the sword like other swords, to accomplish thy purposes. O thou, who canst fulfil desires, whose designs no enemy can baffle, guard and protect me, on every side, and drive my enemies far from me.

SECT.

I.

“ O RUDER, thy arm is like shining gold. Thou art the Lord of all armies. All causes of things have their origin in thee. Thou art the cause of causes. Thou art space. The verdure of the fields is thine. Thou art Lord of all the beasts, and the birds, and other living creatures. Thou art the guide: every light that shines is thy light. Thou enterest into all: thou sustaineest all.

“ O punisher of those who go astray, O Lord of life, O parent of beings! terrify not thy creatures, strike them not, destroy them not; nor let even one of them suffer pain from thee. O thou, who givest strength to the feeble, and medicines to the sick; grant me thy support, that I may enjoy health, and live. O RUDER, turn my understanding toward thee, for thou art the Lord of power. I beseech thee to keep all creatures which belong to me, whether man or beast, in quiet and security. Preserve all the inhabitants of this city. Afflict them not with sickness: do thou, RUDER, give them health, and drive diseases far from them. We all come before thee in supplication: grant unto us all those blessings which our fathers asked of thee for us, when they were desirous of bringing us into existence. Old men, and young children, and infants yet unborn, all join in sacrifice and prayer unto thee.

SECT. I. thee. O thou, who art ever young and mighty, thou source of joy, be gracious toward me. O thou, who wantest nothing, who art worthy of adoration, I reverence thee. O thou, who employest thy arms for my security, who hast thousands of thousands of weapons, scatter my enemies, and destroy them; for thou, RUDER, art supreme in every part of nature. Exert, for my protection thy powers, which are over the earth, the air, and the heavens, and under the earth; which show themselves in the plains, in the vegetation of the trees, in the various species of living creatures, in the waters, and in food, provided for the support of life. Thou, who destroyest all which eat the food and drink the waters; who art amidst the guardians of the highways, and in the places of worship: in all thou art the infinite RUDER; in every one I implore thee to protect me, and to disarm my enemies. To thee, and all thy other various powers and attributes not here enumerated, I offer reverence. Ten times toward the east, ten times toward the south, ten times toward the west, and ten times toward the north, I bow myself before thy earthly powers, and invoke their aid, that I may enjoy health, and see the destruction of my enemies. Ten times toward the east, ten times toward the south, ten times toward the west, ten times toward the north, and ten times with my eyes on heaven above, I bow myself before thy aerial and heavenly powers, whose arrows are the wind and rain: I invoke their aid, that I may enjoy health, and see the destruction of my enemies. Every one of these

these is RUDER, whose infinite power I reverence: RUDER, whose fulness is in all. All that has been, it is he. All that is, it is he. All that shall be, it is he." SECT.
I.

The foregoing Prayer is extracted from the JUDGEER BEDE: to which it may be curious to subjoin a Description, of RUDER, to whom it is addressed, as contained in another sacred book, intituled, the ATHERBUN BEDE.

“The angels, having assembled themselves in heaven before RUDER, made obeifance, and asked him, O RUDER, what art thou?” RUDER replied, were there any other, I would describe myself by similitude. I always was, I always am, and always shall be. There is no other, so that I can say to you, I am like him. In this ME is the inward essence, and the exterior substance, of all things. I am the primitive cause of all. All things that exist in the east, or west, or north, or south, above or below, it is I. I am all. I am older than all. I am King of Kings. My attributes are transcendent. I am truth. I am the spirit of creation; I am the Creator. I am the knowledge of the four BEDES*. I am Almighty. I am purity. I am the first, and the middle, and the end. I am the light. And for this purpose do I exist, that whosoever knows Me, may know all the angels, and all

* The Sacred Writings of the Hindoos, in the *Sanscrit* language.

SECT. I. books, and all their ordinances. And whosoever knows the learning of the Bedes, from thence he will learn the duties of life, he will understand truth, and his actions will be virtuous. And to those who practise virtue will I give fulness and tranquillity."

RUDER having pronounced these words to the angels, was absorbed in his own brightness.

N O T E LII.

Page 73, line 15. *He (Aurengzebe) determined to enforce the conversion of the Hindoos throughout the empire, by the severest penalties.*—DE GRAAF, when at Hughly in Bengal, in the year 1670, says, "Au mois de Janvier tous les gouverneurs & officiers maures reçurent ordre du Grand Mogul d'empêcher l'exercice de la religion payenne dans tout le pays, & de faire murer tous les temples ou pagodes des idolâtres. On diminua en même temps les taxes des marchands Mahomédans & on augmenta celles des idolâtres dans l'espérance que quelques Payens embrasseroient la religion Mahomédanne. Et pour mieux faire paroître sa piété, l'empereur envoya à la Mecque une très grosse somme d'argent à l'honneur de son grand prophète Mahomed. Il depecha aussi des ordres pour défendre tous les lieux publics de débauche; mais pour lui il n'observoit pas ces ordres dans son palais."

In

In 1674 he forbid the use of cochineal in the dyeing of garments, as too splendid a colour for the sanctity of a Mahomedan.

SECT.

I.

N O T E LIII.

Page 73, line 23. *An old woman led a multitude in arms.*—This story is told by Manouchi, as well as by Dow, but with different circumstances.

N O T E LIV.

Page 74, line 9. *Abnir, Chitore, and Joudpore, are the three great Rajahships of Indostan.*—The standing force and revenue of these princes in 1770, were reputed,

Of ABNIR, twenty thousand horse and eighteen thousand foot; revenue fourteen millions of rupees.

Of JOUDPORE, which is more commonly called the Rajah of MARVAR, thirty thousand horse; his revenues above ten millions of rupees.

Of CHITORE, twenty thousand horse and ten thousand foot; his revenues likewise are computed at ten millions of rupees.

We have this note from Mr. C. W. BOUGHTON ROUSE; and hope that the late expedition from Bengal into the province of Malva, will have acquired ample information concerning the language, geography, and ancient history of these

+ +

K k 2

countries;

countries; for such an opportunity will not soon occur again.

I.

N O T E LV.

Page 75, line 22. *The Rajah Jeffwont Sing died in the beginning of the year 1678.*—He had written the following letter to Aurengzebe. ⁸⁶173

“ All due praise be rendered to the glory of the Almighty, and the munificence of your majesty, which is conspicuous as the sun and moon. Although I, your well-wisher, have separated myself from your sublime presence, I am nevertheless zealous in the performance of every bounden act of obedience and loyalty. My ardent wishes and strenuous services are employed to promote the prosperity of the Kings, Nobles, Mirzas, Rajahs, and Roys, of the provinces of Hindostan, and the chiefs of Aeraun, Turaun, Room, and Shawn, the inhabitants of the seven climates, and all persons travelling by land and by water. This my inclination is notorious, nor can your royal wisdom entertain a doubt thereof. Reflecting therefore on my former services, and your majesty's condescension, I presume to solicit the royal attention to some circumstances, in which the public as well as private welfare is greatly interested.

“ I have been informed, that enormous sums have been dissipated in the prosecution of the designs formed against me, your well-wisher; and that you have ordered a tri-

“ bute

“ bute to be levied, to satisfy the exigences of your ex-
 “ hausted treasury.

“ May it please your majesty, your royal ancestor Maho-
 “ med Jelaul ul Deen Akbar, whose throne is now in heaven,
 “ conducted the affairs of this empire in equity and firm
 “ security for the space of fifty-two years, preserving every
 “ tribe of men in ease and happiness, whether they were fol-
 “ lowers of Jesus, or of Moses, or David, or Mahomed; were
 “ they Bramins, were they of the sect of DHARIANS, which
 “ denies the eternity of matter, or of that which ascribes the
 “ existence of the world to chance, they all equally enjoyed
 “ his countenance and favour; insomuch that his people, in
 “ gratitude for the indiscriminate protection he afforded
 “ them, distinguished him by the appellation of Juggut
 “ Grow (Guardian of Mankind).

“ His majesty Mahomed Noor ul Deen Jehangheer, like-
 “ wise, whose dwelling is now in paradise, extended, for a
 “ period of twenty-two years, the shadow of his protection
 “ over the heads of his people; successful by a constant
 “ fidelity to his allies, and a vigorous exertion of his arm
 “ in business.

“ Nor less did the illustrious Shâh Jehân, by a propitious
 “ reign of thirty-two years, acquire to himself immortal repu-
 “ tation, the glorious reward of clemency and virtue.

“ Such were the benevolent inclinations of your ancestors.

“ Whilst they pursued these great and generous principles,
 “ wheresoever

SECT.

I.

“ wheresoever they directed their steps, conquest and prof-
 “ perity went before them; and then they reduced many
 “ countries and fortresses to their obedience. During your
 “ majesty’s reign, many have been alienated from the em-
 “ pire, and farther loss of territory must necessarily follow,
 “ since devastation and rapine now universally prevail with-
 “ out restraint. Your subjects are trampled under foot, and
 “ every province of your empire is impoverished; depopu-
 “ lation spreads, and difficulties accumulate. When indi-
 “ gence has reached the habitation of the sovereign and his
 “ princes, what can be the condition of the nobles? As to
 “ the soldiery, they are in murmurs; the merchants com-
 “ plaining, the Mahomedans discontented, the Hindoos def-
 “ titute, and multitudes of people, wretched even to the
 “ want of their nightly meal, are beating their heads through-
 “ out the day in rage and desperation.

“ How can the dignity of the sovereign be preserved, who
 “ employs his power in exacting heavy tributes from a people
 “ thus miserably reduced? At this juncture it is told from
 “ east to west, that the emperor of Hindostan, jealous of the
 “ poor Hindoo devotee, will exact a tribute from Bramins,
 “ Sanorahs, Joghies, Berawghies, Sonaffees; that, regardless
 “ of the illustrious honour of his Timurean race, he conde-
 “ scends to exercise his power over the solitary inoffensive
 “ anchoret. If your majesty places any faith in those books,
 “ by distinction called divine, you will there be instructed,
 “ that

“ that God is the God of all mankind, not the God of
 “ Mahomedans alone. The Pagan and the Mussulman are
 “ equally in his presence. Distinctions of colour are of his
 “ ordination. It is he who gives existence. In your temples,
 “ to his name the voice is raised in prayer; in a house of
 “ images, where the bell is shaken, still he is the object of
 “ adoration. To vilify the religion or customs of other
 “ men, is to set at naught the pleasure of the Almighty.
 “ When we deface a picture, we naturally incur the resent-
 “ ment of the painter; and justly has the poet said, Presume
 “ not to arraign or scrutinize the various works of power
 “ divine.

“ In fine, the tribute you demand from the Hindoos is
 “ repugnant to justice: it is equally foreign from good po-
 “ licy, as it must impoverish the country: moreover, it is an
 “ innovation and an infringement of the laws of Hindostan.
 “ But if zeal for your own religion hath induced you to deter-
 “ mine upon this measure, the demand ought, by the rules of
 “ equity, to have been made first upon RAMSING, who is
 “ esteemed the principal amongst the Hindoos. Then let
 “ your well-wisher be called upon, with whom you will have
 “ less difficulty to encounter; but to torment ants and flies
 “ is unworthy of an heroic or generous mind. It is wonder-
 “ ful that the ministers of your government should have
 “ neglected to instruct your majesty in the rules of rectitude
 “ and honour.” ✓

S E C T.

I.

The elegant translation of this letter was made and given to us by Mr. C. W. Boughton-Roufe.

N O T E LVI.

Page 79, line 2. *The island of Kenary.*—We have extracted all we say of the dispute, which ensued for this and adjacent island of Kenary, from the daily correspondence between the council of Bombay, and their cruizers on this vice.

N O T E LVII.

Page 84, line 23. *Dongong, where the English had factors, Supra, and other great marts, were again plundered, and Ampore shut its gates.*—*Dongong* is likewise spelt in the words, *Dorongom*, and *Drongom*. *Gong* means a town, and occurs frequently in the geography of Candish and Aungmye, and still more in the Morattoe country. We find that the English presidency at Surat, established a factory at *Drongom*, in April 1674; but their correspondence does not ascertain the situation of the place, which appears to have been under the jurisdiction of *Aurengabad*; on some injury which the factory had received from the Phoufdar of the district (it was towards the end of 1682) the presidency procured a letter from the governor of Surat

Surat to the Duan at Aurengabad, to redress the grievance. The factors say, that *Drongom* is 130 cofs from *Surat*: the road was by *Saler Moler* and *Nourdabar*, whereabouts a caphila of the company's goods, coming from *Drongom*, was plundered in January 1681, by a troop of banditti, who were not Morattoes.

SECT.

I.

Mr. D'Anville, following Thevenot, in his route from Brampore to Bider and Golcondah, gives a *Deulgong*, to the east of Brampore and Aurengabad, nearly equally distant from both. And its distance from *Surat*, agrees nearly with the 130 cofs given by the factors. We find this place in our mss. of the Decan, under the province of BERAR, as the head of a purgunnah or district, in the government or circar of *Mekker*.

A *Dongom* arises in the marches of Mr. Buffy, between Aurengabad and Golcondah; but its distance from *Surat* is too great, not to prefer the other: this *Dongom* is not mentioned in our mss. of the Decan, under the subahs either of Aurengabad, Bider, or Golcondah; to one of which it must belong.

The investment provided for the company at *Drongom* in 1683, was,

10,000 picces of broad baftaes.

10,000 pieces of sevaguzzies.

2,500 maunds (100,000 lbs.) of turmerick.

SECT.

I.

NOTE LVIII.

Page 86, line 23. *Amongst others, they sacked Huttany, a very considerable mart.*]—*Huttany* is mentioned as such, not only by Fryer, but likewise in the records of the English factory at Carwar, which had continual dealings there; nevertheless, if at that time, it has not of late years been the head of a purgunnah or district, because the name does not occur in our MSS. of the Decan. Mr. D'ANVILLE has placed a town called *Atteni*, forty miles WEST of Viziapore, and twenty EAST of Raibaug; but this is too near the capital to have been maintained for any time, although it might have formerly been plundered by Sevagi. We have inserted the *Atteni* of Mr. D'Anville into our map.

NOTE LIX.

Page 89, line 14. *His (Sevagi's) disorder, although increasing every day, was kept secret within his palace at Rairee; and if it had been published would not have been believed, since he had more than once sent abroad reports of his death, at the very time he was setting out on some signal excursion.*]

Page 90, line 2. *He expired on the 5th of April 1680, and in the fifty-second year of his age.*]—BOMBAY, on the 28th of April 1680, write to the presidency of Surat; “We have cer-
“tain

“tain news that SEVAGEE RAJAH is dead; it is now twenty-
 “three days since he deceased, 'tis said of a bloody flux,
 “being sick twelve days. How affairs go in his country, we
 “shall advise as comes to our knowledge; at present all is
 “quiet, and Sambagee Rajah is at Parnella.” The purport
 of another letter from Bombay to Surat, which is dated the
 3d of May 1680, likewise confirms the death of Sevagi.

SECT.
 I.

SURAT, answering, on the 7th of May, to the letter from
 Bombay of the 28th April, say, “SEVAGEE'S death is con-
 “firmed from all places; yet some are still under a doubt of
 “the truth, *such reports having been used to run of him before*
 “*some considerable attempt*; therefore shall not be too confi-
 “dent until better assured.” The next letter from Surat is of
 the 18th of May, in which they express no farther doubt of
 his death; and two English factors, who had been sent to
 Rajapore in order to receive the balance of account allowed
 by Sevagi to the company, write on the 22d of June to
 Bombay, that they were disappointed by the arrival of a new
 subadar or governor, who declared that he should pay nothing
 without the express orders of SAMBAGEE; on which the fac-
 tors sent a messenger to Sambagee, who was certainly at
 Pannela, and answered, that he should examine the accounts,
 but was at that time employed in other affairs.

The agency of *Bengal*, in answer to the advices they had
 received from Bombay of SEVAGI'S death, write on the 13th
 of December 1680, “SEVAGI *has died so often*, that some

SECT. " begin to think him immortal. 'Tis certain, little belief can
 I. " be given to any report of his death, until experience tell
 " the waining of his hitherto prosperous affairs; since when
 " he dies *indeed*, it is thought he has none to leave behind
 " him that is capacitated to carry on things at the rate and
 " fortune he has all along done."

The dates we have quoted from Bombay, Surat, and Rajapore, incontestably prove, that Mr. Fryer is mistaken in saying, SEVAGI died on the first of June 1680; but as Mr. Fryer did not digest his letters for publication until twenty years after their date, his memory might easily fail in correcting the error of his memorandum. But Catrou, although guided by MANOUCHI (who says more of Sevagi than all the other writers, and particularizes the cause of his death) simply says, that he died in 1679: from which we conclude, that Catrou did not find the particular date in Manouchi's manuscript, and gave it generally from a conjecture of his own.

N O T E LX.

Page 90, line 6. *Attendants, animals, and wives, were burnt with his corpse.*]—We have these circumstances of Sevagi's funeral from Mr. Fryer; from whom we likewise learn, that Sevagi, during Mr. Oxenden's embassy in 1674, married his fourth wife; but the mother of his son Ramrajah was exempted.

empted from his funeral pile; and so would Sambagi's, if she had been alive, as having both passed the term of beauty, which seems alone to be consecrated to this cruel penalty, and almost revokes the respect which contemplation cannot refuse to the gentle manners of the Hindoos in all other observances.

SECT.
I.

The Bramins always preside and officiate in these sacrifices, and with more zeal than in any other of their priestly functions, excepting when they sacrifice themselves to save the temple of their religion.

The Jesuits in JARRIC say, that three hundred and seventy-five women burnt with the NAIGUE of Tanjore, who died in 1602; which we suppose to be the honest but enthusiastic credulity of missionaries lamenting the infernal state of the heathens they wished to convert.

If the princes of the Hindoos, who alone could have suppressed, have encouraged these deathful rites, by suffering the profusion devoted to their own obsequies; they themselves are obliged to surrender even an infant daughter, if betrothed, to the immolation, when called for by the manes of a husband.

N O T E LXI.

Page 91, line 20. *Broods were raised from the most approved.*]—The horses bred in India, although naturally more vicious.

SECT. vicious than those of Arabia, Persia, and Tartary, are, like
 I. them, preserved intire. It is rare that any of race or value
 have been seen by the European travellers at open pasture; which in Coromandel is too arid, and in Bengal too rank, to give them size and vigour; nevertheless a few are seen straggling in every part of these countries, but so diminutive and naught, that no one owns them, and they may be taken up for the fee of a few pence to the Zemindar: and there is a breed at COLAR, west of VELORE, which, although restive, and not hardy, serve for the wretched cavalry of the neighbouring polygars. Sevagi, at the time of his death, had 60,000 horse, and as many foot, always ready for the field, besides his stationary guards and garrisons. The Morattoo horses are of all sorts and sizes, but always lean, active, and hardy, the effect of continual exercise and fatigue, so that it is probable fewer survive than perish under the experiment of service. In detachments of ambuscade they rode mares, not to be discovered by neighing. It is worth the inquiry to know in what parts of India the good horses are bred, together with the properties of the soil, and the care of the breeder,

A race which have height and agility are bred on the river KUTCH; another, stronger, on the INDUS, but in what part we have not yet discovered.

Mr. Fryer says, that SEVAGI stabled his choicest horses at DECIR, at the foot of the gaut going to Jenneah, "for the
 "conveniency

“conveniency of this plain to supply them with hay and
 “corn, which causeth them to have the greater force.” By
 corn we suppose he means rice. M. Anquetil du Perron, in
 his journey from Surat to Bassain, saw near *Naucari* “des
 “paturages garnies de chevaux.” We have found no other
 mentions of *stables* or horse pastures in the Morattoo country.
 Where are the rest?

SECT.
 I.

N O T E LXII.

Page 94, line 3. *In personal activity he exceeded all generals of whom there is record.*—Mr. FRYER says, that he even wished to command his fleet in person, and tried the element; but his constitution could not overcome the nausea.

N O T E LXIII.

Page 95, line 5: *His state has been always increasing.*—It is said that Aurangzebe used to call Sevagi, the Mountain Rat; and we have often wondered what affinity there could be, to give occasion for this epithet. One says, that Seva means a rat, in one of the Indian languages. We thought it might be in derision of his figure, which was short, thick, and black: but we have now found (Jan. 1785) in Brett's Feyjoo, vol. 1, page 58, a description of the properties of an animal which Feyjoo calls the Rat of India, that makes the appellation

SECT. I. lation applied to Sevagi a compliment, and very characteristic of his military policy.

However we must not be sure that Aurengezebe had this animal in his idea, until we know whether it exists in India Proper; for if it does not, but in other parts of the East Indies, and if not there, in America, which the Spaniards call India, it may be that Aurengezebe never had any idea of the animal, unless he read it in some Arabic, Turkish, or Persian history, in all which languages he was completely skilled.—This must be inquired into, for the allusion is most apposite.

N O T E LXIV.

Page 95, line 6. *This state comprised, on the western side of India, all the coast, with the back country of the hills from Mirzeou to Versal; excepting the small territory of Goa to the south, Bombay, Salcette, and the Portuguese country between Bassein and Daman to the north.*]—Thus SEVAGI had reduced the whole tract of the sea-coast, which had been subject to the kingdom of Viziapore; and, according to BALDÆUS, who was in India from 1655 to 1666, extended from the river Mirzeou to Dando. Dando lies between Agacim and Daman; from whence to Versal, thirty miles, we suppose belonged either to the Moguls, or to independent Rajahs.

N O T E

NOTE LXV.

Page 95, line 12. *The whole (of SEVAGI'S dominion to the west) may be esteemed four hundred miles in length, and one hundred and twenty in breadth.*]—To save doubt, and the trouble of comparison, we shall observe, that this extent differs from what is given in Note XXIX; because there we are computing what we suppose to have been the original country of the Morattoes, but here, the territory which SEVAGI had reduced under his own sovereignty.

NOTE LXVI.

Page 100, line 16. ACBAR]—BERNIER says, that Aurengzebe (in the year 1664) “summoned his privy council, and “the most learned persons of his court, to decide on the new “preceptor he should give to his third son ACBAR, whom he “intends to be his successor.” Acbar was at this time about seven years of age; and we find by other accounts, that this preference arose from Acbar being the son of a Mahomedan mother, the daughter of Shânâvaze Khan, who, as one of the Sophy family, was descended from Mahomed, by his daughter married to Ali; whereas the Sultans Mauzum and Azim were born of the daughters of Rajpoot princes. We are ignorant how long the preference of Acbar continued; but it had ceased some time before the commencement of the war

SECT. I. against the Rajpoot Rajahs; and probably from the concurrence of several causes. Sultan Mauzum had manifested abilities, courage, and on all occasions implicit obedience; and in these qualities even Sultan Azim exceeded Acbar; who, naturally wayward and arrogant, assumed the succession to the throne as a right, instead of an undue predilection in his favour; which diminished still more after the birth of Cawn Buksh, whom Aurengzebe cherished with the utmost tenderness, as the son of his old age, and of his favourite wife Udeperri, who governed him in all concerns relating to his family; and from this time Aurengzebe no longer held out Sultan Acbar as the general heir of the empire; whom this change in his expectations exasperated to the revolt we are relating.

N O T E LXVII.

Page 101, line 14. *This day was the 11th (read the 9th) of January, 1681.*—We have taken this date from Manouchi, one of the very few he gives; although it barely allows time for what passed within the limit of another date, of which there can be no doubt.

N O T E LXVIII.

Page 102, line 15. *The pavilions of Aurengzebe.*—Which are described by MANOUCHI as compartments of wood; but
Bernier,

Bernier, who went on the journey to Caſſimire in 1664, deſcribes the field equipage of Aurengzebe at that time, as conſiſting of tents. SECT.
I.

NOTE LXIX.

Page 103, line 3. *Acbar put his treaſure, with his infant ſon and daughter, and the females of his family, on his elephants and camels.]*

* Page 103, line 10. *But Acbar only accepted the ſervice of 500 Rajpoots, and the protection, of the ſtate to his children and family.]*

Neither Manouchi, who we believe was at this time in the army of Sultan Mäuzum, nor OVIINGTON and HAMILTON, who were at Surat in 1690, and ſpeak of this revolt, make any mention of Sultan Acbar's children: they appear in the Surat records of the year 1693, and explain a point of hiſtory, left in great obſcurity by all the accounts we have ſeen of the acceſſion of the emperor Mahomed Shah, in 1718.

NOTE LXX.

Page 104, line 15 and 16. *Acbar arrived on the firſt of June (1681) at Pawlee Gur, a fort and town at the foot of the Gauts, a day's journey from the ſhore oppoſite to Bombay.]—*
BOMBAY writes to Surat on the 10th of June 1681, "There

SECT.

I.

“ has been a flying report here for some days, that SULTAN
 “ ECBAR is come down into Sambagee’s country; and two
 “ days ago came over hither from the main a Moor inhabi-
 “ tant of our island, who says he saw him at a place called
 “ *Pawlee*, about a day’s journey from *Negotan*, where he is
 “ with about four hundred horse, and two hundred and fifty
 “ camels, and some small number of foot, being all that is
 “ with him; that he is saluted as KING; at his entrance into
 “ the Rajah’s dominions was met by several of his grandees;
 “ by his order, and conducted to the aforefaid place, where
 “ it is said the Rajah is daily expected to wait on him. We
 “ intend a man over to the main, who shall go where he is,
 “ and learn what he can, and then shall give you a full ac-
 “ count of all. It’s said that the RANAH* and SAMBAGEE
 “ RAJAH intend to join their forces, and endeavour to fet
 “ SULTAN ECBAR in his father’s kingdom†.”

Again, Bombay, on the twenty-first of June, writes to
 Sprat; “ Our last was of the tenth instant, sent by the Carwar
 “ expreffes. We then wrote you of SULTAN ECBAR’s being
 “ at a place called *Pawlee*, near *Negotan*, and of our inten-
 “ tions to fend a man thither to enquire into the truth of it,
 “ and learn what might be farther worthy your knowledge.
 “ The man we sent returned to us last night, and brings us
 “ this account: The SULTAN is really there; he is a white

* We suppose, of Chitore.

† A mistake, we suppose, for throne.

“ man.

NOTES.] OF THE MOGUL EMPIRE.

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SECT.

I.

“ man of middle stature, of about 25 years* of age: he is
 “ lodged in a large house covered with straw, at the foot of
 “ Pawlee Gur: it has tallah walls; but since his being there;
 “ are pulled down; it is lined within with white calico, and
 “ spread with ordinary carpets: he sits open: with him of
 “ any note is but one man, called Drugdas, a *Rashpoot* of the
 “ RANAH's, in great esteem with his master; about five hun-
 “ dred horse, and but fifty camels; a small parcel of foot:
 “ they are all lodged near about the SULTAN, and are most
 “ *Rashpoots*, very few *Moors*. Without them is quite round
 “ placed about three hundred foot, Sambagee Rajah's men,
 “ who keep guard: all the Subadars near about are there to
 “ wait on him; and about four days ago came from Sambagee
 “ Rajah to him, one Harji Pharfang, a person of great
 “ quality and esteem: he brought with him a letter from his
 “ master, and a present that was laid down at the SULTAN's
 “ feet; 1000 pagodas, a large string of great pearl, hanging
 “ to it a rich jewel set with a very large diamond, and a large
 “ jewel of diamonds for the head, with many pieces of rich
 “ India and Persia stuffs: the 1000 pagodas the next day he
 “ divided amongst his men. All the respect imaginable is
 “ paid him; and provisions for himself, horse, and men, is
 “ daily brought in by the several Subadars, being SAMBAGEE
 “ RAJAH's orders; who himself waits for a good day to set

* See Note LXVI. concerning Acbar's age.

“ out

SECT. I. “ out of *Pernella** towards the Sultan, which, it is talked,
 “ will be in a few days more; and that he will wait on the
 “ Sultan standing, and not sit in his presence; for the Sultan
 “ permits none to sit in his presence, and all that come to
 “ him salute him as KING. He is in want of money, but
 “ hath with him jewels of great value. It is in every body’s
 “ mouth on the main, that the RANAH and SAMBAGEE
 “ RAJAH, &c. Rajahs, do resolve to join all their forces, and
 “ endeavour to make him KING: and this is all we have
 “ concerning him.”

N O T E LXXI.

Page 105, line 21. *RAMRAJAH was sent to reside in one of the forts of the Carnatic.*]—We have not yet been able to discover in what fort; but suppose the knowledge might easily be obtained at Madras, although with more difficulty, what is of more concern, the circumstances of his life, during the nine ensuing years.

N O T E LXXII.

Page 118, line 5. *In this year, 1682, the English company’s factors were expelled from Bantam, in the island of Java.*]—The

* Pannela.

murderous .

murderous business of *Amboyna* in 1624, with the later expulsion of the English from *Macassar* in 1670, and now from BANTAM; with the inevitable fall of their distant factories under this agency, gave the DUTCH, who likewise held the coasts of CEYLON, the exclusive possession of the four rich spices, with the greatest share of the pepper, produced in the East Indies; and this monopoly had been so evidently the object of their policy, from the first outlets of their trade to India*, that the revolution of Bantam was imputed, even before examination, by all except themselves, to the prosecution of the same design. The discussion soon followed. Mr. Childie, the English envoy, delivered a memorial to the States General in April 1683, and was assisted by Sir John Chardin, the traveller, deputed by the East-India company. But at the end of the year the company prepared twenty-two ships, and avowed their intention of reinstating themselves in Bantam by force of arms: on which the STATES broke off the negotiation; and in March 1684 the king, CHARLES the 2d, stopped the armament, ready to sail, and ordered the negotiation to be resumed by his ministers; when, after many delays, it was agreed that four commissioners should be named

* See especially Memoire dressé par l'admiral C. Matclief au sujet de l'Etat et du commerce des Indes, vol. 6 of the Recueil des Voyages qui ont servi à l'establissement et au progrès de la Compagnie des Indes Orientales des Pays-Bas. 8vo. A Rouen MDCCXXV.

And indeed the narratives in this whole collection prove their earnest pursuit to acquire this monopoly to themselves.

SECT. I. by each of the companies, who were to prefer their demands and objections to a board of decisors, consisting of eight members, four appointed by the king, and four by the states. The English decisors were the Lords Sunderland, Clarendon, Rochester, and Middleton. The Dutch were likewise of high rank*; and four directors of their company† were opposed to Sir Joseph Ashe, the governor, Sir Josiah Child the deputy-governor, Sir John Bathurst and Sir Jeremy Sambrooke, directors of the English company. The process was held in London, to which the Dutch directors and decisors repaired. The allegations and testimonies were all preferred in writing; and the first was delivered by the Dutch directors on the 27th of May 1685; but after sixteen answers and replies, besides much more in proofs and arguments, nothing was decided in January 1686; when, from the cessation of the pleas, we suppose the Dutch representatives returned to Holland, where we find the negotiation renewed by the Marquis D'Abbeville, in August 1687, with additional complaints of new violences committed at *Gombroon*, *Metchlepatam*, and on the Malabar coast. But still no reparation was made, and probably no

* Lord Anth. Heinfius, councillor and pensionary of the city of Delf; John Goes, lord of Abanade, consul of the city of Leyden; Isaac Vanden Heuvell, councillor; Adrigan de Borffele Vander Hoge, senator of the supreme court of Holland.

† The Heer Gerrard Hooft of the council of Amsterdam; Jacob Van Hoorn of the council of Flushing; Solomon Van de Bloccquertii, and Adrian Paets, of the council of Rotterdam.

longer

longer urged by the councils of England, agitating with the Dutch a REVOLUTION of very different import.*

The pleas of the two companies appear in two publications. The one intitled, "A Justification of the Directors of the Netherlands company, as delivered to the States General the 22nd of July 1686, touching the affair of *Bantam*, and other controversies at *Macassar*, and on the coast of *Malabar*, and at *Gamron*; with a justification in answer to several memorials lately given to the States General by the Marquis of Albeville, touching *Masilipatam* and other parts of *India*." The whole factum is dated the 4th of October 1687, and was translated into French, and miserable English. It is a dull and conceited performance, and was answered by "An impartial VINDICATION of the English East India company from the unjust and slanderous imputations cast upon them in a treatise, intitled, A Justification of the Directors of the Netherlands East India company, &c." London, 1678. The Dutch treatise was annexed to the English vindication †, in which are several positions which, without his name, sufficiently indicate the knowledge and good sense of Sir Josiah Child, whose opinions ‡ concerning the commerce of India, although continually cla-

* See ADDITIONAL NOTE concerning the expulsion of the English from *Macassar* in 1670, and from *Bantam* in 1682, page 277.

† Both were printed together, London, 1678, octavo.

‡ Published in a treatise, intitled, *The East India trade a most profitable trade to the nation*. London, 1677, quarto.

SECT. moured against, have not been confuted by the experience
 I. of a century.

The Dutch company denied the accusation of having instigated the young king to expel the English from BANTAM, and insisted that it proceeded naturally from his resentment of the assistance which the English had given his father when besieging him, until routed by the Dutch forces from Batavia. It was impossible at that time to prove the instigation by positive witnesses or documents; but the consequences left no doubt; for they got both kings into their power, confined the father, and kept the young king in subjection under their own guards, allowing him indeed a maintenance, with some representation, but obliging him to authenticate whatsoever regulations they thought proper to make in the government. The whole kingdom of Bantam was sensible of this condition, even whilst the commissaries were disputing in London, as appears by the relation which father TACHARD the jesuit has published, of the embassy sent by LOUIS the XIVth to the king of SIAM. The two ships which escorted Monsieur de Chaumont*, put into Bantam in August 1685, and were denied all communication with the shore; but acquired sufficient knowledge to ascribe the revolution to the same arts and motives as were alledged at this very time by the directors of the English company in

* The ambassador.

London.

London. The Chevalier FORBIN, in his ingenuous memoirs of his own life, agrees with father Tachard on this subject, although on no other concerning the splendid and non-sensical embassy in which they were employed.

SECT.

I.

Nothing is said of the military operations of the revolution, either by Forbin or Tachard; and very little by either of the two companies: but they are amply, although not distinctly, related by FRYKE * the surgeon, who served through the war, and continued at Bantam eighteen months after it ended. An army of three thousand Europeans and five thousand natives marched by land from Batavia, fighting their way, and opposed by fortresses; whilst twenty-two ships, with many small vessels, co-operated from the sea: but the credit of FRYKE'S relation is much impaired by his exaggerations of the slaughter; for, according to his account, not less than forty thousand Javans were slain in the different fights and engagements; of the Europeans with the Dutch, only five hundred.

Fryke has expressed his opinion of this revolution with much simplicity. After the war, "the Javans," he says, could "hardly bear the Hollanders for a great while; and truly

* FRYKE sailed for Batavia in May 1680, and returned to Holland in August 1685. His voyage is translated, and published in London, 1700 (octavo) together with SCHEWITZER'S, who went from Holland in the beginning of 1675, and returned in August 1682. We particularize the terms which the different writers we mention continued abroad, that such of our readers who wish to investigate any portions of the history of India, may know where to seek cotemporary authorities.

SECT.

I.

“ their antipathy against us was not wholly without some
 “ grounds; seeing that we, being foreigners, had invaded their
 “ territories, and taken possession of all they had, and then
 “ lorded it over them. They being a very filly sort of people,
 “ had no other way to shew their spite and resentment, than
 “ by making mouths at the Dutch as they passed by, and
 “ sometimes spitting upon them—of which they were cured
 “ by a good box on the ear.

“ Admiral TACK was all this while lodged in the apart-
 “ ment which before belonged to the ENGLISH, where the
 “ young king used to come and visit him almost every day,
 “ and maintained a faithful friendship with him. In a little
 “ time, things being settled, a proposal was made to the
 “ young king by the Dutch, that if he would resign intirely
 “ all claim of power and jurisdiction over his people, custom,
 “ &c. they would allow him such a sum as would enable him
 “ to keep up his grandeur, and live like a king, (a titular one,
 “ that is) and would be obliged to pay him some thousands
 “ of guilders every month. To this he condescended, whether
 “ through fear or indifference I cannot well say; and a
 “ certain pension was likewise settled upon his two young
 “ princes: all which was paid according to agreement. The
 “ rest of the nobility and chief of the land remained in pos-
 “ session of their goods and lands as before, only that they
 “ were now subject to the Dutch government. Thus the
 “ Dutch compassed their whole design by force and policy,
 “ and

“ and by fair means became masters of that kingdom, which
 “ was and had been so long flourishing, and famous for its
 “ vast trade and traffic; and that in so little time as from
 “ 1682 to 1685. That I believe history will hardly afford
 “ an instance of a more sudden change of affairs in so great
 “ a kingdom.”

SECT.
I.

Fryke, although a German, had no prejudices against the Dutch company, but frequently admires the policy and regularity of their government.

The armament which the English company prepared to recover Bantam, enabled them afterwards to engage in other wars.

Factors were left at Bantam by Sir James Lancafter, in the first voyage made on the company's account to the East Indies. He failed from Bantam, on his return to England, in February 1603*; but the regular factory, which continued until the expulsion under notice, was established by captain Keeling, in 1609†.

ADDITIONAL NOTE.

AUTHORITIES for the date of the expulsion of the English from Macassar in 1670, are,

I. The treaty between Matzuyher, general of Batavia, with the king of Macassar, dated in November 1667; in which treaty the king engageth to expel the Portuguese, and the English with them.

* Purchas, in his PILGRIMS, vol. i. page 162.

† Idem, page 204.

2. In

SECT.

1.

2. In the Justification of the Dutch East India company, printed London 1688, in octavo, p. 46, 47, which Justification is dated October the 4th, 1687, they wonder the English dare to publish, that the English were secluded from the commerce of Macassar, by a *contract* with those people, as printed at Batavia in November 1667—because all former subjects of complaint were given to oblivion by the treaty or agreement of 1674, and two treaties before this agreement;—because the Dutch can justify to the world their right of making such contracts;—because the contract in question was made during the war with England, or at least before the peace concluded in 1667 was or could be known in the Indies, or at Macassar.


And now, says the Dutch writer, the English make complaints (on this subject of Macassar) eighteen years after.

Eighteen years back from the 4th of October 1687, carries us up to October 1669: allow eighteen to be meant as a general number, we may conclude for the year 1670, as we have said.

BURNET, under the year 1684, mentions the business of Bantam as follows:—“A quarrel was depending between the English and the Dutch East India company. The Dutch had a mind to drive us out of Bantam; for they did not love to see the English settle so near Batavia. So they engaged the old king of Bantam into a war with his son, who was in possession of Bantam; and the son was supported by the English. But the

the old king drove out his son, by the help that the Dutch gave him; and he drove out the English likewise, as having espoused his son's rebellion against him; though we understood that he had resigned the kingdom to his son, but that by the instigation of the Dutch he had now invaded him. It is certain, our court laid up this in their heart, as that upon which they would lay the foundation of a new war with the states, as soon as we should be in a condition to undertake it. The East India company saw this, and that the court pressed them to make public remonstrances upon it, which gave a jealousy of an ill design under it. So they resolved, to proceed, rather in a very slow negotiation, than in any thing that might give a handle to a rupture."

Farther on, under the year 1688, Burnet says, "I begin the year with Albeville's negotiation after his coming to the Hague. He had, before his going over, given in a threatening memorial upon the business of Bantam, that looked like a prelude to a declaration of war; for he demanded a present answer, since the king could no longer bear the injustice done him in that matter, which was set forth in very high words. He sent this memorial to be printed at Amsterdam, before he had communicated it to the states. The chief effect that this had, was, that the actions of the company did sink for some days; but they rose soon again: and by this, it was said, that Albeville himself made the greatest

SECT. I.  greatest gain. The East India fleet was then expected home every day; so the merchants, who remembered well the business of the Smirna fleet in the year seventy-two, did apprehend that the king had sent a fleet to intercept them, and that this memorial was intended only to prepare an apology for that breach, when it should happen: but nothing of that sort followed upon it. The states did answer this memorial with another, that was firm, but more decently expressed. By their last treaty with England it was provided, that in case any disputes should arise between the merchants of either side, commissioners should be named on both sides, to hear and judge the matter. The king had not yet named any of his side; so that the delay lay at his door: they were therefore amazed to receive a memorial in so high a strain, since they had done all that by the treaty was incumbent on them. Albeville after this gave in another memorial, in which he desired them to send over commissioners for ending that dispute. But though this was a great fall from the height in which the former memorial was conceived, yet in this the thing was so ill apprehended, that the Dutch had reason to believe that the king's ministers did not know the treaty, or were not at leisure to read it: for, according to the treaty, and the present posture of that business, the king was obliged to send over commissioners to the Hague, to judge of that affair. When this memorial was answered, and the treaty was examined, the matter was let fall."

NOTE

NOTE LXXIII.

Page 129, line 6. *Chæst Khan.*]—We find, in a Bengal record of the year 1687, that he came into the province as nabob, in the year 1666; he kept his court at Dacca, and by other injustices provoked the war of Job Chanock.*

Some account of Job Chanock from Mr. Orme's manuscript collection.

JOB CHANOCK was appointed by the English East India Company, governor of their factory at Golgot near Hughley, where a quarrel arose with the king's people, upon a soldier's going to buy mutton. As the dispute ran very high, Job Chanock wrote to Madras for a strong reinforcement of men, which was accordingly sent him. These troops were quartered at a little distance in the day-time, and privately drawn into the fort at night, unknown to any but the garrison. Thus strengthened, Job Chanock meditated revenge, and commenced hostilities against the king's people, by attacking Abdul Gunnee, the phoufdar of Hughley, who being discomfited in the first day's fight, fled a considerable way, and sent an account of his proceedings to the king. On receipt of this letter, the king detached twenty-two Jemidars, with a

* See The Military Transactions in Indostan, vol. ii. page 12.

SECT. great body of horse and musketeers, to his assistance. Upon
 I. this junction the phoufdar held a council of war; in conse-
 quence of which the army was divided into two equal parts,
 one of which was stationed at Hughley, and the other sent
 to Tillianpurrah near Ghiretty garden, and Tannah fort near
 Surman's. These parties were furnished with iron chains,
 which they stretched across the river, to obstruct the passage
 of vessels. Job Chanock, on advice of this step, abandoned
 the fort, and embarked all the troops, stores, and baggage, on
 board his shipping: he himself went in a budgerow, ordering
 his people to fire the villages on both sides the river. When
 he came to Tillianpurrah, he broke the chain; and being fired
 upon by the king's people, from both shores, returned it from
 his fleet, and landed a small body to keep them in play. In
 this manner he fought his way down to Tannahs fort, where
 he forced the second chain. Here the king's people halted;
 and Job Chanock dropt down to Ingelee. A few days after,
 the Bengal king marched down against the southern king.
 When he reached the southern country, Job Chanock went,
 attended by Benjah Gungaroo, Beyah Boseman, and Dr.
 Chunderfeeker, to prefer a petition to his majesty, which
 was delivered by a vacqueel, who had instructions to be
 very loud in his complaints the moment the fleet began to
 fire, which he was to tell the king was a salute in compliment
 to his majesty. The king then required what was the pur-
 port of his business; to which he replied, that the English
 company

company had sent Mr. Chanock out as governor of their factory at Golgot, to conduct their trade under his majesty's protection; but that the nabob and the phoufdar of Hughley had, upon a slight dispute about some meat, taken these violent measures, and driven them down to Ingelee; where, adds the vacqueel, my master pays his devoirs to your majesty by a discharge of all his cannon. The king, having heard this story, ordered him to bring his master into the royal presence. The vacqueel having reported the substance of his conference with the king, and his order for Mr. Chanock's appearing in person, Mr. Chanock made the vacqueel a handsome present, and ordered his army to attend him to the king, by way of Affwaree. Job made a salam koornis, or low obeifance, every second step he advanced, and stood with folded arms beside his majesty, who promised to do him justice. At this juncture some of the king's people whispered him, that his provisions were quite expended, which Job Chanock observing created much uneasiness in his majesty, ordered his people privately to bring an ample supply of every kind, from his fleet, which he presented to the king. This hospitable, generous act, so won upon his majesty, that he desired him to ask what he had to solicit in return. Job replied, the first command he requested his majesty to lay upon him, was, to order him to defeat his enemies. The king cheerfully accepting this offer, he quitted the presence instantly, and joining a few of the king's troops with his own, marched

SECT. immediately against, and routed the enemy, and then paid
 I. his koornis to the king again, who loaded him with presents,
 and granted him a perwannah for Calcutta. After this victory the king returned to Delhi, and Job Chanock took possession of Calcutta, which, after clearing of the jungles, he fortified. That, or the succeeding year, some gentlemen came out with a recruit of stores and soldiers. Job Chanock, upon the arrival of this fleet, sent the king a very handsome present of European things, under charge of his vacqueel, Dr. Chunderfeeker his physician, and two or three other gentlemen. When they reached Delhi, they learnt that the king lay so dangerously ill, that none but his physicians were admitted into his presence. The embassadors, considering what could, under this dilemma, be done in execution of their commission, determined to wait upon the vizier, who told them, his majesty was sorely tormented with caruncles, which his physicians could not cure, and that all access had been denied to him on that account. One of the English gentlemen, who was a physician, undertook the task, and was conducted by the vizier to the king, whom he made a perfect cure of, to the inexpressible joy of the whole court. He was honoured with a genteel gratification, and received a present for the company, accompanied with a phirmaund excusing them from all duties. The embassadors, thinking this total exemption from duties might give umbrage to some succeeding Shah, preferred a petition, desiring they might pay a
 quit-

quit-rent, or small annual consideration, which being agreed to by the king, they returned to Calcutta.

SECT.
I.

N O T E LXXIV.

Page 138, line 1. *Charles the second.*]—This ship was the admiral of the fleet intended against Bantam.

N O T E LXXV.

Page 143, line 8. *To make their ablutions at Naffir Turmeck.*]—Read Naffick Tirmeck. According to our MSS. of the DECAN, TIRMECK is a *purgunnah* or district of SANGAMNER, which is one of the CIRCARS or governments of the SUBAH or province of AURENGABAD. “ The river
 “ GUNGAH comes from the mountains of Concan, on which
 “ Tirmeck is built, and passeth through the middle of the
 “ *circar* of Sangamner, to Goulchonabad, commonly called
 “ Naffick; the distance twenty cofs; below which the bed of
 “ the river becomes much broader. Numbers of Hindoos
 “ resort every year from the most distant parts, to wash at
 “ Tirmeck on the day that the sun enters the Scorpion. Every
 “ twelfth year the multitude is much greater, and some come
 “ on every day in every year. The tax levied on these pilgrims
 “ amounts to a great sum, and belongs to the kellidoor,
 “ or governor, of the fort of Tirmeck. The Hindoos prefer
 “ this

SECT. I. “ this place for their purifications, because the Gungah has its source here. In the rock out of which it springs has been fashioned the head of a cow.” The same has been said by Tamerlane’s historian, of the rock of Toglipoor, where the great Ganges enters Indostan.

N O T E LXXVI.

Page 144, line 14. *Gocuck, Hubely, and several other towns of note, surrendered without resistance; and the stronger citadel of Darwar with little. From hence he (Sultan Mauzum) advanced thirty miles farther to Guduck, which is sixty from Viziapore.*—We speak from the letters of the time, written by the English factory at Carwar to the presidency of Surat. Hubely is ascertained in note xxvii, page 208; and we find GOCUCK, DARWAR, and GUDUCK, in our MSS. of the Decan, under the kingdom of Viziapore, in which Bancapour is rated as a circar or government. It saith,

“ CIRCAR OF BANKAPOUR

“ Contains sixteen purgunnahs: the adjacencies of *Bankapour,*

“ *Karoli, Lakmir, Kamiran, Goundkoul, Raimouli, Nerengal,*

“ *Ramali, Angal, Nafurabad or DARVAR, Aribara, Mahapour,*

“ *Bafferikankona, GUDUCK, Tatimal, Mareli.*

“ To the east, the woods which the *Tombadra* separates

“ from the country of *Sera*; to the north, the *purgunnahs* of

“ *Moudgal, and Nourgal*; to the west, *Azamnagur*; to the

“ fouth, the circar of Mahammadnagur, through which
 “ paffeth the river Vardah.”

SECT.
 I.

We do not find *Moudgal* either as a purgunnah, or circar of Viziapore, and fuppose the word an error of the copyift; but *Nourgal* is a circar of Viziapore, and, as well as part of Azamnagur, ftretcheth to the north of Bancapore, dividing this from the circar of Raibaug; and under Azamnagur we find ГОУВСК as a circar, of which the town in queftion is the head place.

N O T E LXXVII.

Page 145, line 22. *In October (1685) he fent off a body of fix thoufand horfe from Rairee, which crossed the Tapti and Nerbeddah, and affaulted the city of Broach, within a few hours after their approach was known.*]—We have this from the Englifh factors in the town, writing in the hour of alarm to the presidency of Surat.

The territory of BROACH was well able to have maintained the ward of the city, producing at this time, as it had for a century before, more manufactures, and of the fineft fabricks, than the fame extent of country in any other part of the empire, not excepting Bengal. Accordingly we find the Englifh agents reforting to Broach, as foon as they were permitted to have a factory in Surat.

The

SECT. I. The importance of the company's establishment at Surat, having induced us to trace the events by which it was obtained and confirmed, we shall give the account apart at the end of this section of our Notes.*

The investment for England, provided at Broach, in the year 1683, consisted of

17,000 pieces broad baftaes; viz.

9,000 white, }
4,000 blue, } of the usual lengths and breadths.

4,000 black, such as the Dutch provided for the Europe markets.

4,000 pieces sevaguzzies, white.

9,000 pieces baftaes, narrow, white.

4,000 pieces tapfeils, broad.

6,000 pieces niccannes, 13 yards long.

15,000 pieces of Guinea stuffs.

55,000 pieces.

N O T E LXXVIII.

Page 147, line 15. *Malquer*]—is not mentioned in any map; but MANOUCHI, from whom alone CATROU can have

* This curious Tract was not finished by the author: what was printed off in his life time, in octavo, but never published, is reprinted and inserted at the end of these Notes.

taken

taken it, is right. For we find in our MSS. of the Decan, MALKAR as the head place of a circar or government in the province of BEDER, and extending between CALBERGA and GOLCONDAH. We translate

“ CIRCAR OF MOUZAFERNAGAR.

“ This circar, which is more commonly called MALKAR, has fourteen purgunnahs.

“ The adjacencies of *Mouzafernagar*, *Karimour*, *Nergounda*, *Mangalguin*, *Kaukourni*, *Sindam Konki*, *Sanour*, *Koudouni*, *Adjouli*, *Ountkour*, *Mankael*, *Doumer*, *Amerdjena*.

“ These purgunnahs have one hundred and nine villages, which give to the treasury 1,091,196 rupees, 2 annas & 3.

“ To the east of this *circar*, that of GOLCONDAH; to the north, BEDER (meaning the city); to the west, *Kanjouni*, of the circar of *Naldourouck*, and the circar of CALBERGA; to the south, the foubah of *Viziapore**.

“ The *Bimra* cometh from the circar of *Naldourouck* into this circar of MALKAR, and from hence into the foubah of *Viziapore*. The river of *Kakna*, which cometh from BERAR, and passeth near *Kaliani*, enters this circar; from whence it flows to join the *Bimra*, which afterwards passeth below *Ferouzeabad*; and from thence to the fort of *Bidnour*.”

* By which it should seem, that both Malkar and Calberga lie to the north of Viziapore.

SECT.

I.

We likewise find in the account of the next circuit of Ferouzgur, which is a fort on a mountain, that MALKAR stands twelve coss to the northward of Ferouzgur.

None of these subordinate places are in any of the maps hitherto published; nor can their situations be ascertained with any degree of justness, from the documents concerning them in the MSS. of the Decan. Mr. D'Anville has not even ventured to give CALBERGA.

N O T E LXXIX.

Page 147, line 19. *Ibrahim Khan.*]—The defection of Ibrahim Khan, related by Manouchi, is confirmed by the letters of the agents at Madras; whom he corresponded with, and befriended, when in power at Golcondah; and afterwards endeavoured to do them service with Aurengzebe.

N O T E LXXX.

Page 148, line 16. *The city of Viziapore was extensive, and capable of some defence, and had a citadel of greater strength.*]—The descriptions given of Viziapore differ.

Tavernier, who was there in 1648, says, "Viziapore is a kind of great village, which has nothing remarkable either in the public edifices or in regard to trade. The palace of the king

king is sufficiently extensive, but ill built; nevertheless the approach to it is difficult, because the ditches which surround it are full of water, and stored with crocodiles."

SECT.

I.

Bernier says, "That Viziapore is very strong; but situated in a bad dry country, which has scarcely any good water, excepting what is within the city."

Baldæus, speaking of the kingdom of Viziapore, says, "Its capital city, which bears the same name, lies seventy leagues beyond Goa, eighty from Dabul, and is said to be five leagues in compass, with very strong walls, and five noble gates, on which are mounted above a thousand brass and iron pieces of great cannon. They *tell us*, among these there is one carrying no less than five hundred and forty pounds weight of gunpowder, cast by a certain Italian, a native of Rome; who, being questioned by one of the king's commissioners concerning the money he had disbursed on this account, threw him into the same hole where he had cast the cannon before*."

Mr. Thevenot says, "The city of Viziapore is more than four or five leagues in circumference; it is inclosed by a double wall, provided with a quantity of cannon; and by a ditch, a *fond de cuve*. The palace of the king is in the *middle of the city*; and it is likewise surrounded by a ditch full of water, in which are some crocodiles. This city has

* Baldæus, in Churchill's collection, vol. iii. p. 540.

SECT. I. “ several large suburbs, filled with shops of goldsmiths and
 “ jewellers; besides which there is little other trade, and little
 “ else to remark.”

Neither Bernier, Baldaus, nor Thevenot, had ever been at Viziapore; nor do we know of any person now living who has: for the marches of Mr. Buffy*, when serving in the Decan, never came much nearer to it than Calberga: but there may be some Portuguese priests who have seen it, in their missionary journies to and from Goa.

N O T E LXXXI.

Page 150, line 7. *The king of Persia received him with all the attentions suitable to his high birth, and fallen estate.*—Kæmpfer, in his *Amœnitates Exoticæ*, says, That Ecbar arrived in that part of Arabia bordering on Persia, in the beginning of the year 1687; and that the governor of Lar had like to have lost his head, for neglecting to give early intelligence to the king, of Ecbar's arrival; and that Ecbar arrived at Ispahan on the 24th of January 1688; and that the king went out to meet him near the city, in a style of magnificence usual at the reception of sovereigns.

Gentil says, that on the 2nd of April 1686, Aurengzebe received an envoy from his son Acbar, who had retired into

* See the map of his marches in the Decan; given to us, and inserted at page 3 of the Fragments.

Persia. The envoy offered to Aurengzebe two Persian horses, and asked pardon for his son.

SECT.

I.

NOTE LXXXII.

Page 152, line 2. *Calberga*.]—In our MSS. which is a later arrangement of the Decan, *Calberga* is rated as a government under *Viziapore*, with the following account of it, according to our own translation; for the text is not very clear:

“ CIRCAR OF ASSENABAD.

“ This circar, which is also named *KALBERGA*, has only
 “ one purgunnah; of the same name, *KALBERGA*; which
 “ contains two hundred and eighty-eight villages: they give
 “ 737, 117 rupees, 13 annaes and $\frac{1}{4}$ to the treasury.

“ The fortress of *KALBERGA* is in a plain; it is surrounded
 “ with good ditches, which may be filled from a neighbouring tank.

“ Before the introduction of Mahomedanism, the *HINDOOS*
 “ had within the fortress a great temple; which the Mussul-
 “ men have destroyed, and with the materials built a magnificent mosque, which exists at this day: it is one of the
 “ largest and best constructed in the Decan. There was
 “ formerly, between the fortress and Sultanpour, at two coss
 “ distance, a market, where every thing that could be required, was sold: it exists no longer, since the continual
 “ troubles

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“ troubles which have reigned in the Decan. Without the
 “ fortrefs is the tomb of Shekferadje, where are some houfes.
 “ To the west is the quarter of the Bramins, where one
 “ named Kongoy firft began to build; and in courfe of time,
 “ the Hindoos, by degrees, have fixed their abode here.
 “ Between the fort, and the tomb of a celebrated miffulman,
 “ has been raifed a town, to which he has given his name,
 “ Mogdounabad. This pir (or faint) was called Mogdoun
 “ Sayed Mahomed Guefouderage. Towards the end of the
 “ reign of the Sultan Togoul Schah, all the lords of the
 “ Decan, whom he had fubdued, unable to fupport or refift
 “ his tyranny, retired to the frontiers, where, having made
 “ fome eftablifhments, they raifed troops. The moft confi-
 “ derable amongft them was Affen Kongoy Bamani, fur-
 “ named Moufafir Khan, who firft got poffeffion, not without
 “ good fortune, of Raibague and Maitché*. Thefe fuccelles
 “ having increafed his forces, he advanced againft KAL-
 “ BERGA; and having killed the governor (who held it
 “ for Togoul Schah) in a ffirmifh, the place furrendered to
 “ him. On which all the fugitive lords united their forces,
 “ recovered the Decan, and acknowledged Affen Kongoy
 “ Bamani their fovereign, with the title of Sultan Alaoudin.
 “ And this prince, the firft of the Bamanis, gave the
 “ name of ASSENABAD to KALBERGA, which he rendered
 “ flourishing, and made his capital in the year 748 of the

* Perhaps Mirdsjé. See the map.

“ Hegira,

“ Hegira, A. C. 1347. Magdoun Sayed Mahomed Guefou-
 “ derage, the famous faint, came from the Indus to Kalberga,
 “ in the year 915 of the Hegira, A. C. 1544, in the time of
 “ Firouz Schah Bamani, and had the address to engage the bro-
 “ ther of this prince to become his disciple, and build him a
 “ fine house. The Sultan Firouz Schah, from affection to his
 “ son, was desirous of resigning the crown to him, and con-
 “ sulted Mogdoun, who advised him to give it to his bro-
 “ ther, Ahmed Schah, as much more capable of governing
 “ the kingdom; to which the Sultan replied, that this counsel
 “ was the price of the house, and the effect of his desire to
 “ have a king devoted to himself. Mogdoun, stung by the
 “ reproach, quitted the house, and came to dwell where his
 “ tomb now stands. After the death of Firouz Schah, his
 “ brother Ahmed Schah succeeded to the throne, when the
 “ house of Mogdoun became so much resorted to, that by
 “ degrees a town was built about it; which is the Mogdou-
 “ nabad above mentioned. The credit of Mogdoun became
 “ so great under Ahmed Schah, who had been, and conti-
 “ nued to profess himself his disciple, that from the lord to
 “ the artificer, all made it their glory to enlist themselves
 “ under his instruction. Nothing was done without him.
 “ After his death, Ahmed Schah came to *Bēder*, and made
 “ this city his capital. The *Bimra* passeth within six coss
 “ of *Kalberga*.

SECT.

I.

“ To

SECT. " To the EAST of KALBERGA, *Ferouzegara*; to the NORTH,
 I. " *Kandjoli*, a purgunnah of *Naldourouck*; to the WEST, the
 " fort of *Naldourouck*; to the SOUTH, the fort of *Sakkar*,
 " upon a mountain dependant on *Naldourouck*, where
 " passeth the *Bimra*."

FROM KALBERGA,

To the fort of *Sakkar* twenty cofs.

To *Naldourouck*, s. w. twenty-four cofs.

To *Angousteri*, e. twenty cofs.

To *Pefgouri Metkal*, e. thirty cofs.

To the purgunnah of *Balgui*; n. e. twenty-four cofs.

To *Valemgarah*, thirty cofs.

To BEDER, thirty cofs.

To KALIANI, twenty cofs.

To the purgunnah of *Kandjoli*, twenty cofs.

To the purgunnah of *Tchit Koka*, twenty cofs.

N O T E LXXXIII.

Page 153, line 22. *It was on the 27th of September.*—
 No account has hitherto ascertained the time when Golcon-
 dah was taken by the Mogul's army; there have been doubts
 even of the year. But it is ascertained by a letter to Mr.
 Yale, the governor of Madras, from Ahadaed Caun, and
 Walledaed Caun, two officers of Golcondah in the Conje-
 veram country. This letter is dated the 15th of October 1687,
 and

and says, "*We are informed this day, that the Mogul took Golcondah eighteen days since, and that the Mogul has given the Carnatic country government to Mahomed Ebrahim, who is coming down to possess himself of it.*" This Mahomed Ebrahim is the Ibrahim Khan mentioned before in Note LXXIX, page 290.

SECT.

I.

N O T E LXXXIV.

Page 154, line 21. *We formerly placed this Revolution in 1680.*—In the history of the military transactions, first published in the year 1763, we have said,

" In the year 1680, the king of Tanjore, attacked and well nigh overpowered by the king of Trichinopoly, called the Morattoes to his assistance. The famous Sevagee, who at that time reigned over all the Morattoe nations, sent his brother with a strong army, which soon left the king of Tanjore nothing to fear from his enemy, but every thing from these free-booters; for they made out so large an account of expences, that all the riches in the kingdom would have been insufficient to discharge what they demanded. Under pretence therefore of collecting this money, they took possession of the government; and shortly after, the brother of Sevagee declared himself king of Tanjore. He reigned *six years*, and left three sons."*

* See The Military Transactions in Indostan, vol. i. page 108. of the fourth edition, 1803.

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I.

We received this information from a person who was concerned in the expedition undertaken in favour of a pretender, by Fort St. David, against the king of Tanjore; in 1749. But our later researches leave us no right to think that Eccogi entered Tanjore in 1680. And at whatsoever time he made the conquest, it appears doubtful whether he was acting as a member or officer of the Morattoe government.

The objection, which first and immediately occurs to the date of 1680, is the death of Sevagi, which happened in the early part of this very year*; and the perplexity which ensued, and continued for a while; in the Morattoe government, in consequence of this event, seems sufficient to have stopped the prosecution of an expedition of such importance as Eccogi's, whatsoever arrangements might have been made to promote it before Sevagi died. Nevertheless, this objection, if unsupported by others, would not alone confute the date in question.

We have no cotemporary records during the period, in which even their silence on the revolution of Eccogi would have been presumptive evidence that he was not acting in the Tanjore country during the year 1680: for although the company's agents at this time troubled themselves very little with enquiries which did not immediately concern the interests of their commerce and settlements, yet these attentions were sometimes affected by the general events of the country, which accordingly received mention in their corre-

* See page 90, and note LIX.

spöndence with the natives, their own servants, and other Europeans. * When Mr. Elihu Yale was sent, in December 1681, to treat with Hargee Rajah for a settlement at Cuddalore, he went first to Porto Novo, in order to settle the terms of his reception, and the presents he was to make at Gingee; and the council of Madras write to him, December the 28th, complaining that the presents expected were intolerable; and permit him, in consequence of a suggestion from himself, to treat with the agent of THE NAIGUE OF TANJORE (who seems to have been at Porto Novo) for a settlement at Trimliwash, which is in the Tanjore country.

SECT.
I.

This single expression of "THE NAIGUE," is almost sufficient to determine us, that ECCOGI was not at this time the ruler of the country.

The three great Naigues of Coromandel, under the ancient Gentoo sovereignty, whether of Bijnagar or Chandhergheri, were Gingee, Tanjore, and Madura. After the conquest of Gingee by Viziapore, about 1655, the rulers of Tanjore and Madura retained their titles of Naigue; which, although meaning a lieutenant, will not decide the degree of their dependance on Viziapore, because they had long retained it with very little, on the Gentoo sovereignty of Chandhergheri, and Bijnagar.

The Viziapore governor of Gingee was styled the CAWN. Harji Rajah, appointed by Sevagi, after he conquered Gingee in 1677, is styled, when spoken of, the GREAT SUBADAR, and

* See Fragments, page 115.

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I.

assumes the eminent title of MAHA RAJAH, to which he had no right, nor could use to his superior Sevagi, or his successor Sambagi. We see the ruler of Tanjore, in 1681, called THE NAIGUE. It is not probable that ECCOGI, the brother of Sevagi, should, after he had obtained the government or sovereignty of Tanjore, have admitted, or have been designated by, a title so inferior in phrase to that which had been assumed by an officer of his brother Sevagi. However, admitting the contrary, December 1681 presseth so close upon the conquest of 1680, that we must suppose he would at that time have been distinguished by some epithet, significant of the lateness of his accession to the government, instead of being simply called *The Naigne*, as if he were the ruler of the ancient line, whom he had just dispossessed.

We have likewise said, as in the extract above cited, that he reigned *six years*; but his reign must have extended longer, if he were the NAIGUE OF TANJORE, with whom Mr. Yale wished to treat for Trimliwash, in December 1681: for we find him alive, from an authentic record, in September 1688.

We therefore relinquish our position of 1680, but are yet to seek the time of his death, as well as of his accession to the government of Tanjore, and the nature of his tenure.

A late publication*, supplied with documents out of our reach, saith,

* The History and Management of the East India company. London, 1779, quarto.

“ Some

“ *Some time after the reduction of Bijapour* (commonly called
 “ Viziapore) ONE Ecko-ji, and other Marrattas, servants to
 “ the dethroned king, fled, with a few troops, from the per-
 “ secution of the Moguls, and *established* themselves at Gingee,
 “ in the Carnatic. Some differences subsisting at that time
 “ between Wagira, the Naig of Tanjore, and Trimul, Naig
 “ of Madura and Tritchinopoly, the former applied to
 “ Ecko-ji for assistance; but the treacherous Maratta seized
 “ the government he had been called to defend. The
 “ unfortunate Wagira was forced to fly, and take refuge in
 “ Seringapatam, the capital of *Myfore**. This revolution
 “ in the government of Tanjore, happened about the year
 “ 1696 †.

“ Ecko-ji, not content with his acquisition of Tanjore,
 “ began to extend his territories, and to give assistance to
 “ *rebels*, though he owned himself its subject. His death,
 “ which happened about the year 1702, transferred the ven-
 “ geance prepared for him by the Moguls, to his son, and
 “ successor, Shaw-ji, or Suhu-ji,” &c.

• The notes which accompany the portion we have ex-
 tracted, are,

* to *Myfore*.]—“Wagira had a son, Chingul Muldafs, whose son, the grand-
 son of Wagira, the expelled Naig, is still living in or near Seringapatam.”

† to 1696.]—“Authentic mss. account of Tanjore, taken on the spot, and now
 in the hands of the author of this disquisition, &c. Culnamma of Zulfacar
 Caun. Nabob's papers, vol. i. page 41.”

SECT. I. The date of 1696, ascribed to the revolution, must be an oversight.

Shah-Gi* was the father of Sambagi, ECCOGI, and the famous SEVAGI: all had employment under the government of Viziapore, in which Sambagi and Eccogi continued after the revolt of their brother. What became of Sambagi, we have not learnt; but admit, that ECCOGI remained in the service of Viziapore, if not until the fall, at least until he despaired of the kingdom.

The city of Viziapore was taken, at the earliest, in June 1686; the king, perhaps, a month or two after. We have a letter from Madras to Cuddalore, which shews that Eccogi was considered as the ruler of Tanjore, in September 1687. It is the first and only mention we find of him in this year; for, although we have not the letters received before July, we have the letters written by Madras from the beginning of the year. Hence it follows, that if ECCOGI came to Gingee *some time after the reduction of Viziapore*, the revolution by which he acquired Tanjore must have been accomplished in the space of six or seven months at most; which however might be, if there were much treachery, and little resistance.

That Eccogi should have brought with him a body of Morattoo troops, is not improbable; for being a Hindoo, the troops of his command in the service of Viziapore, were, in all likelihood, of the same distinction; and no where nearer

* Saow, according to M. Gentil's ms. in French. See pp. 170 & 171.

to make his levies, than in the countries which spoke the Morattoe language; not that we suppose they were of the same hardiness and activity as the cavalry of the Morattoe government, established by Sevagi.

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I.

That Eccogi, with his Morattoes, should have *established* themselves (in the strict sense of the word) at Gingee, is impossible; for we find Hargi Rajah, Sambagi's vicegerent, governing there with as full authority, in the beginning of 1687, as when Mr. Yale was sent to treat with him for a factory at Cuddalore, at the end of 1681.

We have little of Madras during the interval between 1681 and the beginning of 1687, or might otherwise have discovered this dubious date of Eccogi's expedition into Tanjore; but if conjecture might be substituted to the defect of record, it would be no improbable account to suppose, that

“ SAMBAGI, the son of SEVAGI, and his successor in the
 “ sovereignty of the Morattoe state, was in correspondence
 “ with his uncle ECCOGI; who, instead of waiting, as is said,
 “ until *some time after the reduction of Viziapore*, went off, as
 “ several other commanders did, before the city was invested,
 “ and came with recommendations from his nephew, to
 “ Hargi Rajah, at Gingee; who accordingly permitted him
 “ to advance, and encamp near the fortress, and accommo-
 “ dated him in other respects. This reception, at the dif-
 “ tance

SECT. " tance of a century, may have been mistaken, by cursory
 I. " enquiry, for an establishment made by ECCOGI at Gingee.
 " The rest naturally follows. The war existing on the other
 " side of the Coleroon, found employment for ECCOGI; who,
 " successful against Trichinopoly, seized the government of
 " Tanjore." All this might have happened in the latter half
 of 1685, and the first of 1686.

By the *rebels* whom Eccogi assisted after *his acquisition of Tanjore*, we suppose are meant the Morattoes of Gingee; and we were surprized not to find this confederacy as soon as the Mogul troops began to approach the Carnatic; but, until the end of 1688, neither Eccogi nor any officer seeming to belong to him; appears taking any part in the hostilities we have mentioned. They may afterwards; and should we find them so acting, will give some light to two or three years of obscurity.

The death of Eccogi, imputed to 1702, is another oversight. For in the same publication, his successor, Suhuji, appears reigning in 1695. We remark, that the two mistaken dates of 1696 and 1702, ascribed to the accession and death of Eccogi, give the *six years* which we formerly allotted to the extent of his reign.

We admire, that in a dispute of such importance as that which has been lately agitated between the Nabob of Arcot and the Rajah of Tanjore, no regular history has been produced

duced of this country, from the accession of ECCOGI, who is the ancestor of the present RAJAH; not even the dates of death in the succession, nor of the hostilities, whether in the family or with their neighbours; their acknowledgments or resistance of the Mogul government. All that is necessary to know in Europe, if dates are given, might be composed in a few pages. The public acts, agreements, and treaties, would be mere translations; and, for obvious reasons, ought not to be presented in any other form.

N O T E LXXXV.

Page 162, line 11. *Cáblis Cawn.*]—His name occurs variously spelt. In the letter which SAMBAGI wrote to Keigwin, on concluding the treaty which adjusted the terms of trade and intercourse between his western country and Bombay, and confirmed the company's trade and factories in the Gingée country, he says, "You shall also take notice what shall be written to you by *my loving and faithful Cavy Callas*;" unufual terms in the stile either of the Mahomedan or Hindoo princes, unless when speaking of their sons or brothers: the epithets which they give to their officers are generally expressive of the superiority of their dignity over others, and subservience to themselves.

SECT.

I.

NOTE LXXXVI.

Page 162, line 22. *In the month of June.*]—An abstract is preserved of the letter written by the government of Madras to the company, on the 20th of July 1689, in which no mention is made of Sambagi's death. The next letter is dated August 27th; and the abstract says, "Have news from the Moors camp (in the Carnatic); their forces had surprized SAMBAGEE, brought him prisoner to the MOGUL: was mounted on a camel, his eyes put out, and beheaded; his quarters disperfed as a traitor." Allowing more than twenty days for the coming of the news, Sambagi might have been taken at the end of June; if less, in the beginning of July. The letter of the 27th of August gives no intimation how long the news had been received at Madras; so that the event might have happened in the end of July.* The circumscription to the interval of a month or six weeks, may assist inquiry to ascertain the real date, which we hope will be done.

Death of Aureng......, in January, 1707, Aurengzebe died at Ahmednagar, in the Decan, three hundred and forty miles from Delhi. His will, which was made publick, seemed

* Mr. Gentil makes it January 11th, 1690.

to

to signify, although equivocally, that his son Mahomed Mauzum, who was at Cabul, should have Delhi, and the northern provinces; and his son Azim, who was with himself in the Decan, Agra, and the countries to the south. Both asserted the whole empire; the contest was decided a few months after, by a pitched battle fought near Agra with prodigious numbers on both sides.

The two armies met at the river Chumbul, which Mauzum had placed in his rear; and never did two such mighty hosts appear in sight of each other. A list of Mauzum's has been published: it consisted of one hundred and seventy thousand horse, and one hundred and seventy thousand foot, three thousand elephants, and two thousand pieces of cannon. The army of Azim is said to have been little inferior. Such numbers appear improbable; but the two princes shared between them the collected force of the whole empire, as far as it extended at the time when Aurengzebe entered the Decan; and with the followers and attendants the multitude must have exceeded a million.

The battle was fought on the 9th of June 1707, and maintained with an obstinacy equal to the importance of the contest; for as the two princes fought for the empire, so did their followers for their own fortunes. All the great Omrahs who had served under Aurengzebe, displayed their standards in the line of Mahomed Azim. Many of them fell. The com-

S E C T.

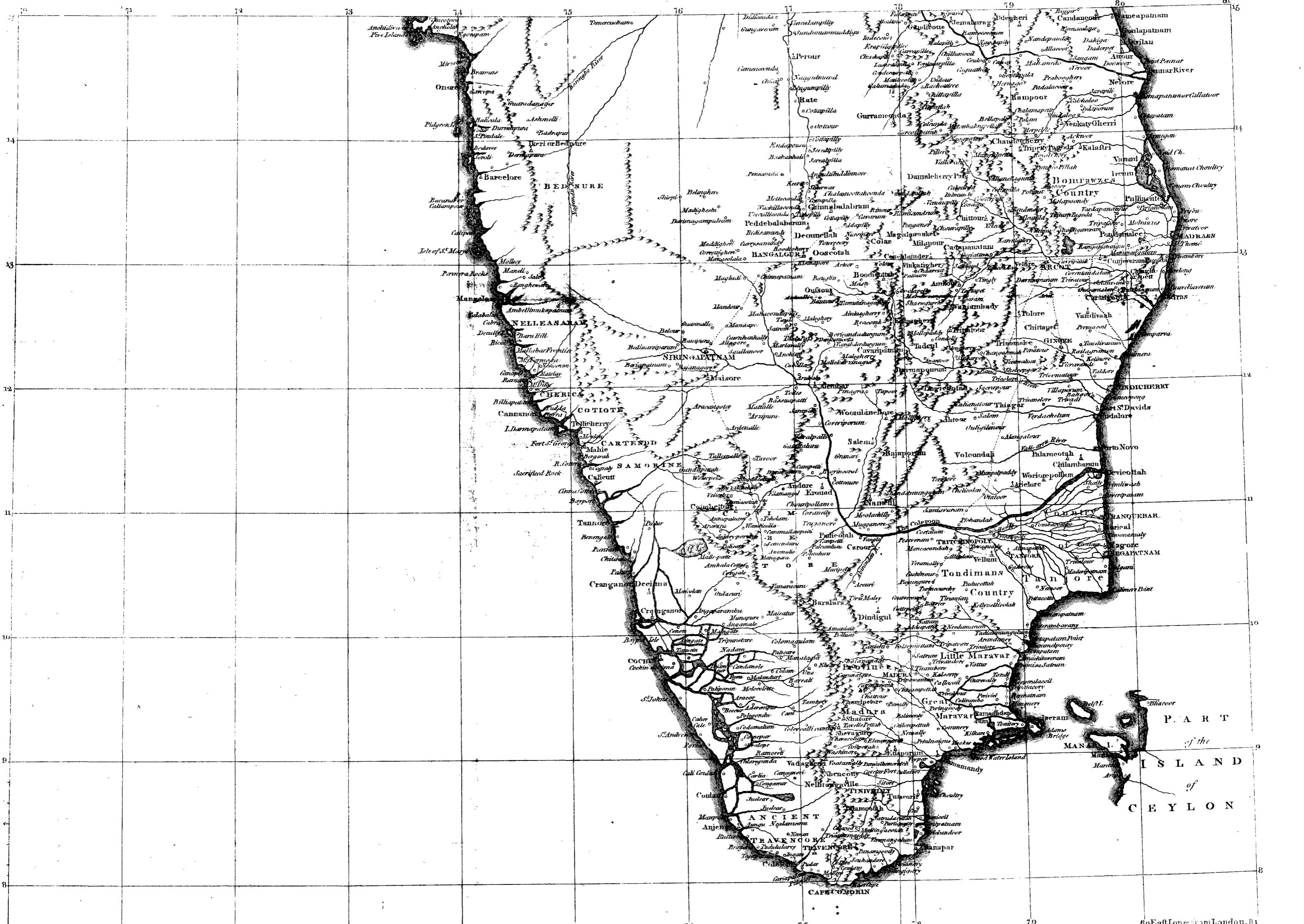
I.

mander of the artillery, and Buxey, or paymaster-general, and the names of seven others, are mentioned. The two elder sons of Mahomed 'Azim were likewise slain, and the two others were taken prisoners. Nevertheless Azim stood his ground, until he was left with only six thousand horse, which were surrounded by ten times their number; when, to avoid the inflictions of captivity, and the remembrance of this fatal day, he stabbed himself to the heart with his poignard.

No victory could be more decisive. Mahomed Mauzum immediately sat on the throne, and was proclaimed with the name of Bahadar Shah, or the Victorious King, which he had taken before he left Cabul. He does not seem to have disgraced his success by any subsequent acts of cruelty or revenge.

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(B)



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NOTE LXXXI. p. 292.—*The king of Persia's reception of Acbar.*

NOTE LXXXII. p. 293.—*Ancient account of CALBERGA.*

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of Sambagi, and companion of his death.

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Death of Aurèngzebe.—Decisive battle, between Sultan
Mauzum and Sultan Azim.

O R I G I N
OF THE
ENGLISH ESTABLISHMENT,
AND OF THE
COMPANY'S TRADE,
AT
BROACH, AND AT *SURAT*.

ESTABLISHMENT
OF THE
ENGLISH TRADE AT SURAT.

THE first English ship which came to Surat, was the Hector, commanded by captain William Hawkins; who brought a letter from the company, and another from the king, James the first, to the great Mogul Jehangire, requesting the intercourse of trade.

The Hector arrived at Surat in August 1608, but as in a voyage of experiment; the contingency of ill success at this port was provided for, by a farther destination of the ship to Bantam; to which several voyages had already been made, with sufficient encouragement to continue the resort.

1608.
Aug.

At this time the Portuguese marine predominated on the western seas of India, in so much that they made prize of all vessels which had not taken their pass; and the fear of their resentment on the ships which traded from Surat to the gulphs of Arabia and Persia, deterred the Mogul's officers from giving the encouragement they might wish, to the English strangers. They, however, permitted Hawkins to land his lead and iron, with some treasure; but obliged him
to

1608. to buy and sell with much delay and disadvantage. In
Sept. September the northern armada of the Portuguese, consisting of forty sail of grabs and gallivats, came into the road, threatening to burn the city and all its vessels, if the English ship, and all that belonged to her, were not sent away. Hawkins hastened her dispatch, but not equal to the impatience of the Portuguese, who seized his longboat, with goods to a considerable amount, and twenty-seven men, whom they kept prisoners; but did not venture to attack the ship, which sailed a few days after, on the 5th of October, for Bantam.

Notwithstanding the menaces of the Portuguese, the government of Surat dared not disobey the Mogul's order, that Hawkins should repair to his court. He set out for
 1609. Agra on the 1st of February 1609, travelling in continual fear
Feb. of poison or assassination from his attendants, at the instigation of the Portuguese, whose jealousy followed all his steps. He left behind him William Finch, with three or four English domestics, to sell the remainder of what goods had been landed; whom the favourable reception of Hawkins at the Mogul's court preserved from open, but not from secret vexations; for Mocris Caun, the governor, retained his terrors, and perhaps the bribes of the Portuguese.

- Sept.* In September*, the Ascension, coming to Surat, was wrecked at Gundavie. This ship had left England in

* The 5th.

ENGLISH TRADE AT SURAT. 321

March 1608, a month before the *Hector*, which had brought captain Hawkins; but came last from Mocha, and was the first English ship which had ever entered the gulph of Arabia. Her crew, seventy-five men, travelled to Surat, where they were not permitted to enter the city, but Finch to maintain them in a neighbouring village. In January 1610, Finch
1610.
Jan. went to Agra, on the summons of Hawkins, and from thence came over land, by Lahore and Persia, to England.

Sir Henry Middleton, after his captivity, escape, and reprisals at Mocha, arrived with his three ships at Surat, on the 26th of September 1611. The northern armada of the
1611.
Sept. Portuguese were ready stationed at the bar, and within the river, to prevent the intercourse of his boats with the city, in which no Englishmen, excepting Bangham, a joiner, who had lately returned from captain Hawkins, was remaining, all who had been saved from the *Ascension* having dispersed, most to get livelihood as soldiers in the country; but the few of better condition, with the captain, Sharpeigh, had repaired to Hawkins, at Agra, who seems to have been much fitter to fight the Portuguese at sea, than to counteract their intrigues at the Mogul's court, where they had jesuits of great subtlety. He accepted a wife, who however was a christian and a maiden, out of the Mogul's seraglio, and his service, with a pension, which was very ill paid; still retaining his pretension to the character he had assumed of an ambassador from the king of England. He received frequent assurances of the

1611. privileges he solicited for the company's trade; which were constantly retracted without apology. Even Mocris Caun had been summoned to court, to be punished, on his complaint; but returned to Surat with greater power. At length Hawkins lost hope, and began to think of nothing else but his return to England; when the relations of his wife, set on by the jesuits, forbade her departure off the shore of India; and Hawkins agreed with the same jesuits to procure a passage for them both at Goa. Fortunately, at this time news came to Agra of the arrival of Sir Henry Middleton at Surat; when Hawkins formally demanded his dismissal from the Mogul, and requested an answer to the letter he had brought from the king, which was denied; but he was permitted to depart, and arrived at Cambay on the 11th of *Decem.* December 1611, accompanied by the brothers of his wife, to prevent him from carrying her farther. Captain Sharpeigh, and what other Englishmen had joined him at Agra, had gone before, and came to Cambay soon after Sir Henry Middleton arrived at Surat.

In the mean time Sir Henry Middleton, apprized by Bangiam of the evil intentions of the government of Surat, either from their own inclination, or dread of the Portuguese, seized three ships which belonged to the town, and were riding in the road, and refused to release them until he had received all the Englishmen he expected. This exertion produced compliments, provisions, and promises of trade:

but, as his communication was on the open beach, the Portuguese landed the soldiers of their armada, who several times attempted to surprize his people, but never risked themselves sufficiently to hurt a single man. Bangham escaped from Surat, and all the others from Cambay, excepting Hawkins, who was not yet arrived there. Mocrif Caun, and other officers, came to the shore, visited the ships, made bargains, and cheated at the scales; which Middleton endured, still fearing harm to Hawkins, who, procuring two jesuits on mission at Cambay, to be sureties for the surrender of his wife, prevailed on her brothers to return to Agra; and then, by some scheme not explained, but suggested by Middleton, escaped with her, met escort, and arrived safely at the ships on the 26th of January 1612.

1611.

1612.
Jan.

The accounts of dealing, which were to no great amount, had already been settled with the chapmen of Surat; and whilst Sir Henry was preparing to depart, Mocrif Caun, contrary to his former promises of a factory, peremptorily ordered the agent in the town to be gone, pretending the Mogul's order, that the English should have neither trade nor factory there.

The ships sailed from the road of Swally on the 9th of February, and coasted down to Dabul, which at this time belonged to the king of Viziapore, and was governed by a Siddec, whose ship they had stopped the year before in the Red Sea; which, with the report of their late conduct at Surat, procured them a respectful reception, and some trade; during

Feb.

which,

1612 which, they stopped and examined two merchant ships belonging to the Portuguese, and dismissed them without injury.

On his departure from Dabul, Sir Henry Middleton summoned his council, to deliberate on what he had long before determined, but kept secret in his own mind. On leaving Mocha, he had agreed not to revive any claim for the injuries he had sustained from this government, if his confiscated goods, or their value, were restored, and the sum of 18,000 dollars paid as a compensation for damages. The governor restored the goods, but obliged the merchants of the Indian ships, which Sir Henry had stopped on his escape, to pay the money; which Sir Henry seems to have regarded as a breach of the treaty, but ought therefore to have refused the benefit. He now proposed to return to the Red sea, and seize all the ships coming from the coasts of India to Mocha. The ransom of the ships from the Mogul's country, was to compensate the injuries he had lately received at Surat. The withholding of the customs on the others, would oblige the government of Mocha to make full restitution for their iniquities in the preceding year. Few schemes have been formed with greater probability of success. The ships sailed from Dabul *March.* on the 5th of March, and arrived at Socatra on the 26th, where they received information that three ships from England had passed into the gulph, under the command of captain Saris*. Middleton, however, kept at the entrance,

* Afterwards famous for the voyage to Japan, on which he proceeded after he left the Red sea.

and in thirty-seven days, from the 3d of April to the 10th of May, stopped and detained fifteen ships coming from the coasts of India, besides smaller vessels of the Arabian shores, not subject to the Turks, which they dismissed. Of the ships, nine were from the Mogul's ports of Sindy; Diul, and Surat, three from each; from Dabul, two; one from Barcelore; two from Callicut; and one from Cananore. Besides these, two other ships of value, one from Chaul, the other from Cananore, got into the streights before Middleton, and unloaded at Mocha whilst Saris was there. The *Rehemy** of Surat was of 1500 tons, had on board, it is said, 1500 souls, and belonged to the Mogul's mother, whose devotion had built and maintained this ship for the accommodation of pilgrims to Mecca; most of whom, as in all the other ships, carried adventures of trade. The *Mahmoodic* of Dabul was of 1200 tons burthen.

1612.
April.
May.

The offensive governor of Mocha had been removed, and his successor, in obedience to orders from the Basha of Senaar,

* Saris, in his journal, says, "The ninth of May 1612, I caused the *Indian* ships to be measured, which were found to be of the scauthings following; viz. the *Rehemy* was long, from sterne (*stem, perhaps*) to sterne post, an hundred three and fiftie foot; for rake from the post aft, seventeene foot; from the top of her sides in breadth, two and fortie; her depth, one and thirtie.

May.

"The *Mahomedce* in length, an hundred six and thirtie foot; her rake aft, twentie. In bredth one and fortie; in depth nine and twentie and an halfe. Her main mast in length was six and thirtie yards, an hundred and eight; her main yard four and fortie yards, an hundred two and thirtie.

"The other were not much lesse." In this is some mistake, for none of the other ships are described as above five hundred tons.

had.

1612. had treated captain Saris with courtesy, although not unsuspected of treachery, before the arrival of Sir Henry Middleton; who, releasing three, kept the other twelve ships of India at Affab on the opposite shore, and demanded 100,000 dollars of the government of Mocha, as a compensation for the injuries of the preceding year. A negotiation ensued, and was continued by various inventions of delay; during which the English ships bartered commodities to a considerable amount with their prizes, and took no advantage of their constraint in the bargains. At length Middleton, finding that he had nothing to expect from Mocha, signified to his prizes that they must accompany him out of the gulph; by which they would lose a year in the sale of their cargoes; and this impending detriment induced them to satisfy him by an assessment, of which neither the amount, nor the ships which contributed to it, are distinctly ascertained*; but the share of the Rehemy was 15,000 dollars. All reckonings and payments were finished by the 12th of August; and by the 17th,

Aug.

* Captain Nicholas Downton, who commanded the Pepper-corn, one of Sir Henry Middleton's ships, says in his journal, as published in Purchas, Pilgrims, vol. i. p. 309.—“*May the 26th*—And to begin withal, composition was this day made with Meele Mahumet Tuckey, Nohuda (supra cargo) of the “*Rehemy*, for fiftene thousand rials of eight, she being in value near equal to “*the other foure ships*,” which four ships are not enumerated either in this or the other journals. It is from hence, we suppose, that Purchas in his RELATIONS, which is a distinct work from his Pilgrims, says (page 525) “they had money of these ships some 32,000 rials of eight, whereof the Rehemece “paid 15,000.” Nevertheless Purchas had other opportunities of knowing, being personally acquainted with officers who served in the voyage.

all the English ships were out of the gulph, bound to Bantam; 1612,
from whence, some to Europe, others on farther voyages to
the eastward.

The news of these proceedings at Mocha had not reached
Surat, when two of the company's ships, directly from
England, arrived there on the 5th of September, under the *Sept-*
conduct of captain Best. The Dragon, which he com-
manded, was large, but the Ofiander very small. The fac-
tors who went up to the town, were well received by the
officers of the government; and no reason is assigned for
this change of their behaviour. A few days after*, sixteen
Portuguese frigates put into the river, in order to stop the
communication, and took a purser, with another Englishman,
either coming or going to the town, and it should seem with
goods; on which captain Best, on the 30th of September,
secured a large Guzerat ship, probably one of those just re-
turned from the same durance at Mocha, and declared that
he should not release her until he had received his men on
shore, and the value of the goods, which he had landed on
invitation; for which he allowed five days. On the 6th of *Octob:*
October, the governor Medi Jaffeir, accompanied by four
principal men, and many others, came on board the Dragon,
and brought a great present, intreating the release of the
Guzerat ship, and the continuance of trade; on which captain
Best removed from the bar of Surat to the road of Swally, as

* The 13th of September.

having:

1612. having a better beach, and with safer communication to the town by land; for the Portuguese frigates infested the banks of the river. The principal merchant said, that Surat must burn all its ships, if friendship were not maintained with the English: and on such representation, Sheik Suffee, the governor of Ahmedabad, came down to Swally on the 17th, and gave pledges; on which captain Best went ashore, and in two days settled a treaty; of which the first article is thus expressed: "Imprimis, that all which concerneth Sir Henric Middleton be remitted, acquitted, and cleared to us; that they shall never make seizure, stoppage, nor stay of our goods, wares, and merchandizes, to satisfie for the same." By the 2d, a confirmation of all the articles now agreed to, was to be obtained under the seal of the great MOGUL within forty days. By the 3d, an embassador for the king of England to reside at the Mogul's court. The 4th, That on the arrival of the company's ships at Swally, proclamation be made in Surat, three several days successively, that the people of the country may freely come and trade with the English at the water side.—5th, All English commodities to pay a duty of three and a half *per cent.* 6th, But petty wares, above ten dollars, to be free of custom. The 7th settles the rate and mode of carriage between Swally and the city. The 8th releases the effects of English subjects dying in the Mogul's dominions from forfeiture or claim. And by the 9th, it is provided, that if all the English left on shore should die

die in the interval between the departure and arrival of the company's ships, the government of Surat should see that their effects were faithfully collected and preserved, and deliver them to the first captains which should arrive. 10th, All men and goods which may be taken by the Portuguese, to be recovered by the government, and restored without charge. The 11th, exempts the trade and *factory* from responsibility for the robberies of English pirates. The 12th, No provisions, except exceeding one thousand dollars, to pay customs. And by the 13th, That in all questions of wrongs and injuries done to the English nation, justice be rendered without delay, or exorbitant charge. 1612.

The scope of these articles provided sufficiently for the security of a *first* establishment. They were signed on the 21st of October, when captain Best delivered the governor of Ahmedabad a costly present from the company, which he well deserved; and shewed him the present intended for the Mogul, which he sent back to the ship, to wait the confirmation of the articles. *October.*

In the mean time factors resorted to Surat, where they discovered that the master of the customs, whose authority was second only to the governor's, befriended the Portuguese; and soon after, that a fleet was coming from Goa, to drive away the English ships.

The Portuguese fleet consisted of four gallions, and more than twenty frigates. The admiral of the gallions mounted

1612. thirty-eight guns; the three others, twenty-eight and thirty. The frigates had no cannon, but seemed intended for boarding, and the services of shoal water. This fleet appeared off the *Octob.* bar of Surat on the 28th of October; and being joined by the frigates in the river, the number of this craft amounted to forty sail.

The next day captain Best bore down from the road of Swally, and engaged the vice-admiral, separated by the tide and sands from the others. A shot from her sunk his long-boat, another wounded his mainmast. The day after, he engaged all the four; and three of them, either from ignorance or confusion, grounded on the sands, where they would have overfet, if the frigates had not shored them up with their yards until the tide and farther assistance got them afloat again. On the 31st the fight was renewed; and at night, a frigate, prepared as a fire-ship, bore down on the Dragon; which discovered her in time, and sunk her. Eighty dead bodies floated to the shore. Of the English, only two were killed in the three fights.

Novemb. The four succeeding days passed without action, in the repair of tackle; when captain Best, not doubting that the Portuguese would follow him, resolved to try them in an open sea; and crossing the gulph, anchored on the 9th at Madrasabad, which at this time was invested by an army of the Mogul's. From hence he continued cruizing along the shores on each hand, in order to learn the foundings; during which

which he received several invitations from the general of the army; who sending pledges, captain Best went ashore on the 21st to his camp, and was much intreated by him to assist in the siege with two pieces of cannon; but refused: nevertheless presents were exchanged, and he was dismissed with civility. 1612.

The next day, which was the 22d, the four Portuguese galleons appeared, and at night anchored within shot. Early in the morning captain Best stood towards them, who weighed, and put before the wind, cannonaded until out of reach; for they failed better. The next morning, at sun-rise, he stood to them again, and maintained the fight until noon, when both sides, weary, such is the phrase, parted. When Best, finding on examination that both his ships had expended more than half their store of ammunition, resolved to reserve the remainder for defence, and steered towards Daman. The Portuguese followed, to preserve the shew of their flag; but did not venture near enough to renew the fight. Only one man was killed in these two last days; but the shot expended in all were, six hundred and twenty-five from the cannon, and three thousand from the small arms. *Novemb.*

On the 27th, the two ships, no longer dogged by the Portuguese, anchored at Swally, and renewed the intercourse with their factors at Surat; where the event of their fights raised the English reputation, even in the opinion of ill will;

1612. which nevertheless continued; and by means of the custom-master, the confirmation of the articles by the Mogul, which arrived a few days after, was sent to Swally as a common letter of business, which raised suspicion that it might be a counterfeit; and captain Best, aware of the intended contempt, and its consequences, whether it were or not, refused to receive it, unless delivered with the usual solemnities. This spirit brought the governor and his son-in-law, the custom-master, to Swally, who presented it in state*, and congratulated; but were very curious to know whether the English ships had not suffered more than was said, in the late engagements.

Deceml. This passed on the 11th of December. The goods intended for the factory were immediately landed; and those provided there, received on board. In the interim, on the 14th, the four gallions appeared again, but anchored at a distance. Captain Best set sail in the night of the 17th, and was followed by them for two hours, when they parted with-

* Captain Best, in this part of his journal, calls the confirmation he received, a phirmaund, which is the highest rank of patent, expressed to be issued by order of the King, and authenticated by the Vizir. But we are inclined to think it was no more than a husbullhookum, or injunction from the Vizir, which was soon after followed by a real phirmaund. For in the subsequent part of the journal, captain Best, when at Atchin, says,

“ The seven and twentieth (of May) *Malim Gany* came to *Atchin*, by whom
 “ I received letters from our merchants at *Surat*, and also a copie of the king’s
 “ *fiatna*, sent them from *Agra*, bearing date the twenty-fifth of January, and
 “ the seventh year of the Great Mogul’s reigne, confirming all that was passed
 “ between the governour of *Ahmedabad* and me.”

out

out firing. Near Cananore he discovered the southern armada of Portuguese frigates, and took a merchant ship from amongst them, which he sunk after he had taken out the cargo of rice and sugar. He then continued cruising down the coast until the last of February, when he put off from Cape Comorin for Atchin. 1612.

The principal factors left by captain Best at Surat, were Aldworth, Canning, Kerridge, and Withington; and Andrew Starkey, to proceed overland to England, with advices of the settlement. Canning was sent with the king's letter and the present, which was of little value, to Agra, travelling through much trouble, and was attacked by robbers, who killed some of his escort, and wounded more, with himself and another Englishman. He arrived on the 9th of April, and was asked by the Mogul, whether *that* present was sent by the king; but answered, that it was sent by the merchants. He continued in daily dread of poison from the Portuguese jesuits; and died on the 29th of May, which confirmed the suspicion. Andrew Starkey, was poisoned somewhere on the way by two friars. Kerridge, was sent from Surat on the 22d June, to supply the place of Canning, at Agra. April. May. June.

The Portuguese, from vexation at the permission of the English factory, and exasperated by the reproach of their own insufficiency, in not driving their ships from the road, resolved to keep no measures with the government of Surat; and in October seized a ship belonging to the port, which had

Octob.

1613. had on board five hundred persons, and effects to the amount of 100,000 pounds; they carried her with the prisoners to Goa. This violation produced an interdict of all intercourse, unless under especial passport for the purpose of reconciliation.

Novemb. In November, Aldworth and Withington travelled from Surat to examine the marts of Broach, Jumbafeer, Brodera, Neriad, and Ahmedabad, where they received intelligence, that three English ships were arrived at Laureebunder, in the river Indus: and Withington proceeded in order to assist them with his advice.

Decemb. This journey is five hundred miles, and mostly through the most inhospitable country in India. He set out on the 13th of December, travelling for safety with a caravan, which was attacked in the night of the third stage; and the next day met the Mogul's officer returning with two hundred and fifty heads of the Coolies, a nation of robbers. The sixth march brought them to *Radenpore**, on the river Kutch, where they provided water and meat for the journey across the desert, in which they marched six days, watering their camels at brackish wells, until they arrived at Nagar Parkar, a village on the skirts of the better country; where came in a caravan, which had been robbed within two days of Tatta, the capital and emporium of Scindy. From Nagar Parkar they travelled three days, partly in the desert, to a town

* Is in Mr. D'Anville's Carte de L'Inde, Nov. 1752.

called

called Bardiana, where they provided more water, but bad, 1613.
 for the ensuing journey of five days, all through the desert, to
*Naramquere**; and arrived without mischance, but much
 sickness, when the caravan separated, leaving Withington
 with four servants, two merchants with five, and five drivers
 to their ten camels; who hired an escort at *Naramquere*,
 which saved them from a band of robbers in the next march
 to Gundaiwa. The next day they were twice attacked, but
 cleared themselves by a small present, and arrived at Surrana,
 a large town with a castle, belonging to the Rajpoots; whose
 chief, Rajah Bulbul, had been taken by the Moguls, and
 blinded; but nevertheless had lately escaped to his own
 mountains, and excited his kindred to revengé. His son
 Boomah, who was in Surrana, asked Withington many ques-
 tions concerning England, invited him to supper, and drank
 freely. A Banián, who pretended to give intelligence con-
 cerning the English at Laureebunder, persuaded Withington
 to hire Boomah to escort him to Tatta, as the journey was 1614.
 full of danger, although not thirty miles.

Boomah attended with fifty horse: the first halt, at ten
 miles, was on the bank of a river, from whence he renewed
 the march at two hours after midnight; and leading a quite
 contrary way, brought them, at break of day, into a thick
 wood; when his gang seized all, camels, men, and goods,
 and strangled the two Hindoo merchants and their five ser-

* Is in Mr. D'Anville's premiere partie de la Carte d'Asie. 1751.

1614. wants with their own tackle; but only bound Withington and his, and sent them forty miles into the mountains to Boomah's brothers, by whom they were kept twenty-two days in close confinement; and then sent to Parkar, where the Rajpoot governor had orders to forward them to Radenpore. In the journey to Parkar they were robbed of their clothes, and lived from hence to Radenpore by begging, and the price of Withington's horse, which the thieves did not think worth the taking. At Radenpore their wants were relieved by a Banian whom Withington had known at Ahmedabad, where he arrived on the 2d of April, after a distressful absence of one hundred and eleven days. Proceeding by Cambay and Broach, he arrived on the 18th at Surat, where Aldworth was returned before, having left a house, hired on the company's account, at Ahmedabad, and another at Broach, with brokers and domestics to provide goods, until the factors from Surat should come to examine them, and fettle the prices.

The report of three ships in the Indus, which had called forth Withington, had arisen from the arrival of one, named the Expedition, on board of which was sir Robert Shirley, who had been sent by the Sophy, Shah Abbas the great, as his embassador to king James; and was returning to Persia, accompanied by sir Thomas Powel, whom the king sent as his own to the Sophy. Both embassadors had their wives with them; and in the retinue of sir Robert Shirley were

were several Persians. The ship was provided for the voyage of Surat and Bantam; but the company, grateful to the state, and perspicacious of their own future interests in Persia, undertook to convey the ambassadors. 1614.

The Portuguese in possession of Ormus, where their garrison and gallies proudly barred the entrance of the Persian gulph, and vaunting likewise their hold of Muscat on the Arabian shore, deterred all approach within their reach, not licensed by their passport; and the ambassadors, ignorant of the countries between Persia and the Indus, prudently rated the long journey from Surat to Candahar, as the most secure and shortest way of getting to Ispahan. But the Expedition putting into the bay of Saldania, where they arrived in April, met several of the company's ships returning from Bantam; and with them captain Hawkins, whose account of Sir Henry Middleton's proceedings, as well at Surat as in the Red-sea, made the ambassadors despair of reception at that port; and it was resolved to try the shores adjoining to Persia; in sight of which they came on the 10th of September, about one hundred miles to the eastward of Cape Jasques. 1613.

Sir Thomas Powel went ashore to get intelligence in a little village, and learned that the country was called Mekran, the people Baluches, and subject to a prince tributary to Persia, who resided at Guadel, a port five days sail to the eastward, and would willingly convey the ambassadors to the Sophy's court; on which they stood towards Guadel, and in

1614. the way endeavoured to stop two trading boats, which beat
 1613. off the ship's pinnace, not without bloodshed; and when
 pursued by the long-boat better armed, pushed into a bay,
 where one of them ran ashore, and was wrecked; and the
 other was with difficulty prevented; but all the men, except-
 ing nine, swam ashore, who, with the boat, were brought
 to the ship, and treated with civility. They belonged to
 Guadel, and had a pass from the Portuguese at Muscat, to
 which they were bound, and begged to go, but were denied,
 from the fear of spreading alarm, and piloted the ship to
Septemb. Guadel, where she arrived on the 10th of September, the
 fifth day's sail from the village, where Sir Thomas Powel
 had landed.

The governor of Guadel spared neither humilities, promises,
 nor preparations, to gain the confidence of the ambassadors.
 The carriages and escort of their journey were collected and
 shewn; on which they landed their presents, furniture, and
 money, and agreed to come ashore on the 21st, at four in
 the afternoon.

It wanted only half an hour to this time, and all were
 ready dressed on the deck, when the ship's boat came on
 board with intelligence from the Persian, Nazerbeg, that the
 Baluches intended to murder all who might land, excepting
 the chirurgeons, musicians, women, and boys. Neither the joy,
 nor indignation of the danger escaped disconcerted shrewdness
 or presence of mind. Sir Robert Shirley sent a message to the
 governor,

governor, that a sudden illness prevented him from coming ashore until the next day, and mentioned the hour; but intending to land in ceremony, wished the governor to send three boats, with some of his principal men, to honour the procession of his own. The counter-snare was not suspected. In the interval the money was secretly conveyed back to the pinnace, and a chest of old lumber, sent from the ship, was changed for one of much value, which it was pretended had been brought ashore by mistake. The governor's boats, with fifty persons, arrived on board the ship whilst the pinnace was still on shore; and to get her away without suspicion was the pinch of the stratagem; for Nazerbeg, with three Europeans, were at the tent; and it was resolved to save Hodgee Comal, the governor's physician, who had revealed the plot, and now obtained his leave to go to the ship in order to buy the proper medicines for his disorder. The Europeans passed as musicians necessary to the procession; and Nazerbeg prevailed on a man of rank to go with him in order to see rarities. As soon as the boat was well on the way, all the Baluches on board the ship were seized and disarmed; the meaner suffered to return; they of better condition confined; and a message sent to the governor, that their liberty should answer the restoration of the effects on shore. A deceitful apology produced a second summons, which limited their lives to two hours, and the hour-glass was set before the messenger. This terror brought off every thing;

1614.

1613.

1614. when all the prisoners were released, excepting one, detained
 1613. to pilot the ship to Scindy, which arrived at Diul*, in the
 Sept. river Indus, on the 26th of September.

Many Portuguese, although without regular force or government, were settled and trading at Diul, who represented the English as pirates. Nevertheless the Mogul's governor received the embassadors with courtesy, and promised to assist their journey, but refused the permission of trade, because the ship had brought few commodities; and the Portuguese threatened to leave the port, which gained largely by their customs. He, however, promised in writing, that if the English would engage to make their trade as valuable, he would give them the preference.

So little was the intercourse between Diul and Surat, that the Expedition heard nothing of the factory settled here by captain Best; to which, as well for the certainty of trade as the convenience of the embassadors' journey, they would otherwise have repaired: but disembarked with their families and effects at Diul, intending to proceed from hence by Candahar to Ispahan. The ship sailed for Sumatra and Bantam
 Octob. on the 9th of October, two months before Withington set out for Ahmedabad to find her in the Indus.

The misfortune of this ship left the factors at Surat without the arrival of one from England during the two first seasons after their establishment, which might have exposed them to the

* Not the island of Diu.

contempt

contempt and oppression of the Moorish government, but for expectation of assistance from the first which might arrive, against the Portuguese; who, after taking the great ship, had continued outrages by sea and land against the Mogul's subjects within their reach, until, in consequence of these provocations, an army, under the command of Mocrif Caun, marched from Ahmedabad against their town and territory of Daman, and another against their fortress in the island of Diu.

1614.
1613.

Withington, soon after his forlorn journey to Scindy, proceeded to Agra, where he arrived in the middle of June, and found all the catholics, who were many, prohibited from the public exercise of their religion; their churches shut up under guard; and the two Portuguese jesuits, who had hitherto been in great favour with the emperor, forbidden his presence.

1614.
June.

The occasion which called Withington to Agra, was the death of John Mildenall, a name of earlier note in the resort to India. He was bred a merchant, and was employed whilst the establishment of the COMPANY was under adjustment, to bear a letter from queen ELIZABETH to the Mogul, ACBAR, requesting the freedom of trade in his dominions. He left Aleppo in July 1600, but did not arrive at Agra until the year 1603, where he was much thwarted by the friars; but after a residence of three years, obtained a phirmaund, Acbar being dead, from Jehangire, with which he returned

as

1614. as he came through Persia, and was at Casbin in October 1606. The advices of his success, we suppose, promoted the mission of captain Hawkins; who sailed for Surat in March 1607; at which time Mildenall might not have been arrived in England. The rest of his story is very obscure. He returned to Persia, if not before, in 1610, with some commission, in which two others, young men, were joined; whom it is said he poisoned, in order to embezzle the effects committed to their common charge, with which he repaired to Agra, where he turned Roman catholic; and died himself of poison, leaving all he possessed to a Frenchman, whose daughter he intended to marry. Mr. Kerridge was at that time the resident at Agra; but being constantly occupied in attendance on the court, sent for Withington to collect the effects left by Mildenall; of which to the amount of 20,000 dollars were recovered, in conformity to the exemptions allowed in the phirmaund granted to captain Best.

Oaob. At length the long-expected succour from England appeared at the bar of Surat on the 12th of October, two years and eight months after the departure of the ships with captain Best; during which interval, none belonging to the English had been seen there. The fleet consisted of four ships, of 650, 500, three hundred, and two hundred tons; and the crews would have been six hundred men, if not impaired by sickness. The general (for such was the title given in these early voyages to the chief commander, even of a single ship,
if

if independent of any other) was Nicholas Downton, who had been captain of one of those with Sir Henry Middleton. They left England on the 1st of March, and had been informed at Socotra of the fights and phirmaund of captain Best. From Daman they were followed in the night by fourteen frigates, which avoided the day. The 15th they moored at Swally, where the next day came down Mr. Aldworth, the principal merchant, accompanied by Richard Steele, lately arrived from Aleppo, and sent by the company on experiment. These two, with one Biddulph, were the only factors remaining at Surat when the fleet arrived, which brought a sufficient recruit.

Mocrib Caun not only commanded the army against Daman, which had done nothing, but likewise held, with the title of Nabob, the governments of SURAT, BROACH, Brodera, and Neriad, which extended from the Nerbeddah to the territory of the Portuguese. His former conduct to Sir Henry Middleton had left a prejudice in the mind of Downton, which Aldworth could not remove by representing his present want of assistance from the English. He was at this time at Surat, and expected the first overtures; which not coming, he sent one of his principal officers, named Coja Nazar, to Swally, on the 27th of the month, to whom captain Downton delivered a present for Mocrib Caun, and another for himself; but neither of much value; and demanded redress for impositions in the customs, especially at BROACH, and a market

1614.

Octob.

1614.
Octob.

market for beeves on the strand at Swally: but Coja Nazar answered, that the customs of BROACH were out of the power of the government, being farmed to a merchant; and that the Banians at Surat had paid a large sum to prevent the killing of beeves. On which the three senior factors, newly arrived, were sent with Aldworth to treat with the Nabob, who proposed various means by which he might be assisted; but was told, that the peace which subsisted between the two nations in Europe, prohibited the English from any hostilities against the Portuguese, excepting in their own defence; in which distinction, finding them inflexible, he said, that as they would do nothing for him, he should do nothing for them.

On the 27th, all the natives who had gathered at Swally, for dealing or employment, disappeared. And on the same day, the factors in the city intending to return to the ships, were seized at the gate, and forced to prison; where Aldworth imprudently said, that such treatment would drive the English to join the Portuguese; which encreased the severity; for this violence was occasioned by the contrivance of two jesuits in the town, who had counterfeited a letter, as from the vice-roy of Goa, ordering them to inform the Nabob, that unless he made peace with his nation, he should join the English against the Mogul's government; and the angry words of Aldworth confirmed the suspicion, until explanation detected the fraud, when the Nabob apologized, and permitted the

factors to return to Swally; from whence the country people had removed by his order given, not in despite, but in consequence of injunctions from Agra, not to suffer any thing to be bought out of the ships which might arrive, before the Mogul's purveyors, who were expected, had chosen what was fit for his use.

With the factors came down what goods were in the factory, provided since the departure of captain Best. They were only sixty bales of indico, and eleven bales of cotton-yarn, not in the whole exceeding 20,000 rupees. Money, and goods for sale, to a much greater amount, had been left with Aldworth; but the produce had been expended in jounies, maintenance, residences, equipages, and presents.

The intercourse now opened with the city did not entirely remove the suspicions of captain Downton; which Mocrib Caun did not lessen, by holding out a claim for restitution, on a pretended account of unfair dealings in the barthers made with the Surat ships, when detained by sir Henry Middleton in the Red-sea; which Downton knew to be false. At the same time came intelligence, that the vice-roy of Goa was preparing the whole marine of his state, to attack the English ships at Swally; and Downton doubted whether he might not be joined by Mocrib Caun; who a few days after threatened the factors in the city with severities, because they refused to shew him the present intended for the Mogul,

1614. which nevertheless they were at last obliged to do. These mistrusts deterred Downton from risking himself on shore, until his anxieties were alleviated by the arrival of officers sent by the Mogul to examine the presents, who brought orders that the English should be treated with favour in all their wants and dealings; on which Mocríb Caun made honorary presents to the principal factors, and gave the allotted sum for expences to those who were to accompany the Mogul to Agra, advising them to set out without delay, and promising escort as far as his authority reached. This

Novemb. passed on the 25th of November: a few days after, he sent merchants to make purchases in the ships for his own use;

Decemb. and then his son, on the 9th of December, to visit Downton, who met him on the strand at Swally.

Four days after appeared a fleet of twenty-two frigates, which passed unmolested, although near the sand of Swally; for Downton adhered to his resolution of not commencing hostility. They crossed the gulph to the road of Gogo, where they burnt one hundred and twenty trading boats, and several ships, of which one was the Rehemý, without doubt, at this time, the largest on the seas of India; after which the soldiers landed, and destroyed several villages; but Gogo, being walled, was safe. The news of this devastation arrived at Surat on the 16th of December, and renewed the suspicion of Mocríb Caun, that the English were in league with the Portuguese,

Portuguese, because they had not fired on the frigates as they passed. 1614.
Decemb.

Before their return, captain Downton weighed from Swally, and anchored his ships off the bar of Surat, in order to protect the communication of his boats with the city. The road is seven miles from the shore; and every where along the coast are sands which afford refuge to shallow vessels against the approach of ships of deep burthen, of which the frigates availed themselves, anchoring much nearer the shore, from whence they gave chase, even into the river, to every boat which appeared either coming in or going out; whilst others cruized as they lifted around. On several nights some bore down, as if they intended to set the ships on fire; which were kept in continual alerts, either of guard, defence, or chase, with very little detriment done or received, until the 29th, when captain Downton, finding that he could not prevent the cruizes of the frigates at the mouth of the river, returned to Swally. On the 16th of January, a fleet of near forty 1615.
Jan. more appeared from the south, and joining those already at the bar, went all together into the river to get water, and came out the next day. The day after arrived nine ships, which were followed the next day by two gallies.

The crews of the Portuguese marine in India were composed of two different orders. The fighting men were rated as genuine Portuguese; who, proud of this pre-eminence,

1615, refused, unless in cases of extremity, to take part in the services necessary to navigate the vessel; but relieved themselves the management of the cannon, fire-works, and small arms. The mariners were either slaves, or *filibecos* of the meaner cast, or still more degenerate christians, born in the country, and considered as unworthy of the military character, were entirely allotted to the management of the tackle. The armament, which now appeared at the bar of Surat, was commanded by the vice-roy of Goa, Don Jeronimo de Azevedo, who hoisted his flag as admiral, in the *Todos Santos* of eight hundred tons, two hundred and sixty fighting men, of whom thirty were of family and distinction, and twenty-eight pieces of ordnance, which probably were of the larger calibres; for two are expressly said to be forty pounders. Five others of the ships were from seven to four hundred tons; from one hundred and eighty to one hundred and forty men, from twenty to fourteen guns. These six were rated as galleons; a distinction we do not comprehend. The two next in force were each of two hundred tons, fifty men, and eight guns; and a pinnace of four guns had eighty fighting men. The two galleys had each fifty. The frigates had eighteen oars on a side, and were equally manned with thirty besides the rowers, who were probably two to an oar; in which case they amounted to four thousand three hundred and twenty, and, with the mariners in the larger vessels, made the

the number of six thousand natives serving in the fleet; in which the Portuguese, or Europeans, were two thousand six hundred, who managed, with very * little skill, one hundred and thirty-four pieces of cannon, against eighty of much inferior shot.

1615.
Jan.

Captain Downton considered the success of this armament as the certain destruction of the English commerce in the Mogul's dominions; reasoning, that if his own ships should be driven from their stations, in the roads of Surat and Swally, the vice-roy, by devastation even of the city itself, would compel the Nabob to refuse the English all future resort and intercourse; and, computing the loss of his ships as a detriment much inferior to such a consequence, he resolved to perish with them, rather than recede; but did not despair that stratagem might avail to supply the defect of force.

The Nabob, terrified by the appearance of the armament, sent his shabander, or custom-master, and several other principal men, to the vice-roy, with a large present of provisions, and many promises, to obtain peace; which the vice-roy refused, not doubting that he should destroy the English

* We have endeavoured to compute the force of this armada, from the deposition in Purchas, of a Portuguese who served in one of the galleons. FARIA DE SOUZA relates this campaign; and, although differing in some particulars from the English accounts, without partiality to the Portuguese. Describing that part of the fleet, which sailed with the vice-roy from Goa, and consisted of all the vessels which mounted cannon, besides some others, he says, "Llevavan mil y quatrocientos Portugueses mucha y poderosa artilleria: pero ignorante manejadores della."

ships;

1615. ships; after which he intended to exact much severer terms,
Jan. or the full price of remission.

The channel of Swally is about a mile and a half in breadth, and seven in length. It lies between a spot of sand of this length, which is dry at low water, and the main shore. The ships, when Swally used to be the station, now deserted, anchored in a cove which cuts into the land, about midway of the channel, and is called Swally-hole. The wind, during the northerly monsoon, blows constantly from the N. E. and at this time generally fresh enough to stem the flood, which comes from the south.

Early in the morning of the 20th, at low water, Downton sent the Hope, of three hundred tons, to anchor at the south entrance of the channel, where the galleons would not have depth sufficient to come near her until the flood was high. The three other ships soon after came out of the cove, but anchored again in the channel. These manœuvres produced the intended mistake, that the English ships had quitted Swally to put to sea and fly the coast. And the Hope had scarcely anchored, before the whole fleet of the Portuguese were under full sail, plying to stop the channel. The two smaller ships, with the pinnace, which were foremost, all at the same time grappled and boarded the Hope; in which, the attack being expected, was well resisted. Downton, with the three other ships, leaving their anchors, came down, and chose their shot on the enemy's ships entangled with the
 Hope;

1615.
Jan.

Hope; which thrice beat off the Portuguese who had entered, to find more danger on board their own; which the confusion of continual slaughter disabled them from cutting clear of the *Hope*, until in despair, they set fire to all the three, and took to the water; when a number of frigates, which had hitherto given no assistance, now risked themselves, and saved many, but many were drowned.

In the mean time the *Hope* had taken fire in her main and fore rigging, but nevertheless disengaged herself from the three ships in fiercer flames, which drove on the sands, and burnt until overwhelmed by the flood. All this while the galleons kept on the outside of the spit, across which they cannonaded the English ships within the channel, which was answered; but with little detriment on either side.

This success changed the face of affairs. The vice-roy sent a deputation to the Nabob proposing an alliance; who answered with a present of provisions, and refusal to make any peace in which the English should not be included; to whom he ordered his officers at Swally to give every assistance, and even sent timber from the city to replace the main-mast of the *Hope*, which had been destroyed by the fire. And the English ships carried on their usual occupations in the channel, sometimes alarmed, but never attacked, by the Portuguese, who waited for reinforcements; which arrived on the 3d of February, consisting of two ships, two large junks, and eight or ten of the country boats.

On

1615.
Feb.

On the 8th, in the forenoon, the two junks, with the two gallies before arrived, came driving up the channel with the flood, as if intending to fire the ships, for which they were said to be prepared; but as soon as the ships weighed and stood towards them, they put about, and got away with the wind. Captain Downton suspected, that this appearance was only meant to fix his attention to this end of the channel, whilst it was really intended to make the attack from the other, where, during the ebb, the wind and tide served together; whereas the wind constantly opposed the flood, which was the only help of approach from the south. Nor was he mistaken; for soon after dark, the interception of a large light on an island, at a great distance, or perhaps on the coast itself, on the other side of the bay towards Gogo, discovered that vessels were moving to the north of the channel; and before midnight four were descried coming down with the ebb: they were two fire-boats not yet lighted, towed by two frigates. The cannon and small arms of the ships soon obliged the frigates to throw off the boats, setting fire to them; which coming on were avoided by three of the ships, but both at some interval fell on the Hope, one athwart her hause, the other on her quarter; but she cleared herself without damage, and the flood brought them back, still burning in the morning, when the ships boats towed them aground.

On the night of the 10th, came down two boats, towed by four frigates, which, as before, were forced by the fire of the ships

ships to cast off and kindle the boats at too great a distance, when the strength of the wind drove them to leeward of the ships. They were scarcely passed, when many more frigates were discerned, which had in tow four boats chained together ahead: all stemmed directly on the Hector, affording spacious mark to the fire of all the ships; which again beat away the frigates, in such terror, that they only lighted two of the boats. The Hector, by swinging round on her cable, avoided them. A shot from the admiral set fire to the third boat, which fired the other; and all, confounded together, were driven by the gale on the strand of Swally.

1615.
Feb.

The Portuguese galleons, which had this while continued anchoring to the northward, fell down the next day to the bar of Surat, where captain Downton caused them to be watched, suspecting the vice-roy might land and attempt the city, in which case he resolved to attack the galleons, deprived of their fighting men; but the vice-roy saw the danger, and only sent the frigates into the river, to give importance to the negociation which he renewed with the Nabob, who answered as before, that he could not abandon the English. And on the 13th the vice-roy sailed away with all the armada, excepting twenty frigates; which created various conjectures concerning his future intentions.

Notwithstanding the alarms to which the English ships had been lately exposed, they had not desisted from landing their outward cargoes, and receiving on board the goods provided for England; all of which were shipped, as well as the water

and

1615. and provisions; when captain Downton, deeming the fair
Feb. season too far spent to permit the armada, if they should return, to attack the city, signified his intention of departing to the Nabob, who intreated him to defer it for fifteen days, and after much seeming objection he consented to eight; on which the Nabob sent his tents and pomp to Swally, and arrived there himself with a great train on the 24th in the morning, before captain Downton was apprized, who landed two hours after, with one hundred and twenty men regularly armed, and was escorted by them to the tent, where the Nabob received and entertained him with much courtesy, and on his invitation went on board his ship, which he examined with intelligent curiosity; and Downton accompanied him back to the shore. Two days after, his son, and son-in-law, came on board to take leave; and the next, several of the principal men of the town.

March. On the 3d of March the English ships weighed from Swally, and saw a fleet of frigates coming from the westward to the river, most of which passed in shoal-water, out of cannon-shot; but the ships fired on the nearest, to give the last testimony of good-will to their friends on shore. Vessels going from Surat to the south, even in the northerly monsoon, save their ground by anchoring on the flood, unless the wind is very stiff. At day-break the Portuguese armada were discerned at anchor towards the shore; who weighed and stood after the English ships through the day, but lost ground by not anchoring, as they did, on the flood. The next day, the 5th
of

1615.
March.

of the month, both fleets stood on to the south; but the Portuguese did not gain, although the *Hope* failed so ill, that the *Hector*, which failed the best, was obliged to take her in tow. The succeeding day, Downton, thinking he had led the armada far enough from their own ports and Surat, resolved to let them come up, and then putting about suddenly, to attack them unexpected, hoping much from the surprize of conceited superiority. He accordingly went in his boat to the three other ships, to animate and instruct them; during which the flood set in; when his own, which had the admiral's flag aloft, meaning to accommodate the quickness of his return to her with the tide, fell astern of the others. At this time the vice-roy's galleon sailing well, was far a-head of the rest of his fleet, and near enough to have brought Downton's to engagement; and his gunner proffered to sink her with the two forty-pounders, which seem to have been the pride of the armada; but the *hidalgos*, or gentry, said that the English admiral had fallen astern with no other intention than to tempt the vice-roy to the trial, when the three other ships would bear down, and be an overmatch; on which he hauled his wind* towards the shore, was followed by his fleet, and

* FARIA DE SOUSA says, that the English ships made their acknowledgments to the vice-roy for this resolution of not fighting them, by a salute, as from friends, of their cannon without ball; and reason good, that they should consult the safety and satisfaction of those who had consulted theirs. "Finalmente los Ingleses agradecieron aquella resolucion a los nuestros, con un salva como de amigos, porque fue de artilleria sin bala: que era razon procurassen el gusto y la salud de quien les procurava el fuyo y la fuya."—But notwithstanding the wit of FARIA, the English salute was a very ironical compliment.

1615. all were soon out of fight, as the English ships continued
March. their course. When the vice-roy was afterwards arraigned
 on various crimes during his government, his conduct on this
 day was one of the articles of accusation, and the very hi-
 dalgoes, in deference to whose opinion he had refrained from
 the attack, witnessed against him. The English ships pro-
 ceeded down the coast, and on the 10th of the month the
 Hope was sent off for England; the other three doubled Cape
June. Comorin on the 19th, and arrived on the second of June at
Aug. Bantam, where captain Downton died on the 6th of August,
 lamented, admired, and unequalled.

1614. The present for the Mogul had set out from Surat on the
Novem. last of November, under the charge of Mr. Edwards, the
Decem. senior merchant of those who arrived in the fleet: an escort
 was furnished by Mocrib Caun; and Mr. Aldworth, the prin-
 cipal agent, with several other factors, availed themselves of
 the safety and repute of this opportunity, to visit the towns
 where the company had residencies or trade. The escort was
 changed at BROACH, again at Demy-røde; but at Chamon-
 dyle only twenty-five men were allotted, and they were in
 concert with the robbers, of whom a band of fifty horsemen
 came near the caravan whilst halting at night, but were de-
 terred by the dispositions of defence which the factors made
 with their own servants. On the 8th they arrived at Brodera,
 where a present to the governor, and a fight of the mastiff
 dog intended for the Mogul, procured them kind reception,
 and an escort of one hundred soldiers, who accompanied
 them

them to Ahmedabad, where they arrived on the 13th. From hence Richard Steele and John Crouther were sent off on their destined journey, to Persia; and on the 2d of January, Mr. Edwards continued his with the present to Agra.

1615.

Jan.

The exclusion of the Portuguese enabled the English factors abroad to make their purchases at Ahmedabad with dispatch and sufficient cheapness. They set out on their return from thence, on the 26th of January, with forty carts, and an escort, which the government encreased, because murders and robberies had been committed, two nights before, close to the walls of the city. At Mundevas, the governor informed them of the fight, which had passed on the 20th, between the *Hope* and the three ships which boarded her, acknowledging that Surat owed its preservation to that success, and in gratitude augmented their escort; to which more were fortunately added when they arrived at Brodera; for on the march to Broach, the caravan was attacked in a close lane, thick set on each side with hedges, by three hundred Rajpoots, who with their lances and arrows wounded many, although few dangerously, and before the line could get out again into the plain, cut off two of the carriages, with which they retired to divide the booty. On the 5th of February the caravan arrived at Surat, and the goods were sent to the ships at Swally.

Feb.

The mission of Steele and Crouther was intended to procure a phirmaund for the permission of English ships to trade in

in

1615. in the ports of Persia; and the hopes of success were authorized by the circumstances of the time, and the expected assistance of sir Robert Shirley.

1613.
Octob. The ship *Expedition* had no sooner left the Indus, as we have said, in October 1613, than the governor of Diul, who was a Banian, and either bribed or intimidated by the Portuguese, falsified the promises which had induced the two ambassadors to land under his protection; a frigate had been dispatched to Ormus, which brought back twelve assassins, if other means should fail, to stop their journey to Persia; which obliged them to keep constant guard in their own house, often exposed to the outrages of the Portuguese residing in the town; which the governor, if he did not encourage, would not, although called on, prevent, but even refused his permission for their departure; during these distresses, sir
1614. Thomas Powel, and one of his followers, died. At length sir Robert Shirley set out with his own means; which, as he took his company, must have been openly, and without hindrance; but when they came to where they intended to cross the river, no boats would venture to carry them over: on which they made a raft, and Shirley first embarked with Nazerbeg, to try the passage, when a party of horse, sent from Diulinde, appeared on the bank, and swimmers brought back the raft. Meanwhile a fray ensued on shore, and Mr. Ward, who had long been the companion of sir Robert Shirley, fired his pistol in the face of one of the troop, and
was

was instantly shot dead by another. All were seized and carried back, their effects pillaged in the way, and the whole company put into prison. At length they were released, and permitted to get boats, in which they proceeded to Tatta, where the governor, being a Persian, treated them with civility; but as all the roads were infested by robbers, they waited two months for the escort of an omrah of distinction travelling to Agra. During this delay, the widow of sir Thomas Powel was brought to bed, and died with her infant; and soon after Michael, the brother of sir Thomas, likewise died.

1615.

1614.

Sir Robert Shirley, on his arrival at Agra, was received with much courtesy by the emperor, who wished to entertain him in his service, and sent for the governor of Diulfinde, on whom he offered to inflict any punishment sir Robert might chuse, if he would stay to see it inflicted. But sir Robert pressed to continue his journey, and gave offence by a retort to a harsh reflection on the king of Persia; which nevertheless did not prevent the sometimes generous humour of Jehangire from dismissing him with rich presents*, equipage, provisions, and an escort, which was continued to the frontier of Candahar, from whence he arrived safely with his lady at Ispahan; bearing the purport of sir Thomas Powel's embassy from KING JAMES, which was not unacceptable to SHAH ABDAS; who having lately reduced the province of Lar, wished to dispossess the Portuguese of Ormus, and their other lordships in

* Purchas says, to the amount of 9,000l.

1614. the Persian gulph, but wanted the assistance of an equal force at sea, which he foresaw might be furnished by the English nation.

1615.
March.

The Portuguese vice-roy, after retreating from captain Downton, stopped at Bassein, before he proceeded to Goa, and instructed his governor of Daman to endeavour a reconciliation with Surat; to which end the jesuit Hieronimo Xavier worked more efficaciously at Agra, by proffers and apologies, which gained the emperor's mother from motives of religion, and his wife by expectation of presents; at whose solicitations the emperor gave the government and revenue of Surat in appanage to his third son Sultan Currom, who succeeded to the throne with the name of Shah Jehan.

Aug.

Sultan Currom appointed his favorite Zulfacar Caun to act as his manager and vicegerent at Surat, from whence Mocrib Caun set out as soon as the rains began to abate, and Mr. Aldworth, with several factors, took the advantage of his escort, to repair to Cambay and Ahmedabad*.

Sept.

Zulfacar Caun, vexed at the detriments which the state and revenues of his new government had sustained from the Portuguese, imputed the cause to the English, whom he detested accordingly, and concluded a treaty with the governor of Daman, which, according to the historian FARIA, consisted

* We find this second journey of Aldworth, and the departure of Mocrib Caun, not in any of the relations in Purchas, but in a separate tract of forty pages in 12°—printed London 1633, and written by CHRISTOPHER FAREWELL, one of the factors who accompanied Mr. Aldworth in this journey.

of the following articles, “ That neither the emperor, nor the
 “ vice-roy should hold any correspondence either with the En- 1615.
 “ glish or the Dutch: that they should not shelter either of these Sept.
 “ nations in their ports; but obliged themselves to drive them
 “ out of the sea of Guzerat within three months after their
 “ appearance in it: that if the English should come into the
 “ well of Surat, the Portuguese should be permitted to raise
 “ batteries on the shore, and expel them: that, former injuries
 “ and losses on both sides being forgot, the Moguls and
 “ Portuguese should trade freely in each others ports: that
 “ the prisoners on both sides should be restored, and the Mogul
 “ restore all effects in his possession belonging to the Portu-
 “ guese, after paying himself seventy thousand xeraphins,
 “ for the estimated loss in a ship coming from Mecca: that
 “ the hulk of a ship should be given to the emperor’s mother,
 “ in compensation for that* which had been burnt at Gogo:
 “ that the vice-roy should permit two ships for one year, and
 “ one every year, to make the voyage from Surat to Mecca,
 “ exempt from all duties: that the Malabars should be
 “ driven out of the ports of both, as pernicious pirates; and
 “ that nothing in this peace should alter the rights of the
 “ king of Portugal to levy duties at his custom-house of Diu,
 “ on all vessels navigating the gulph of Cambay.” We can-
 not ascertain the date of this treaty; which FARIA places
 towards the end of this year 1615, and it might have been

* The Rehemy, see page 325 and 346.

1615. executed in September, soon after the arrival of Zulfacar
Sept. Caun; who at all events could not presume to fulfil all its
 engagements, until confirmed by the Mogul.

Frequent information given by intelligent persons who had been at Agra, concerning the state and manners of the Mogul's court, had convinced the company of the expediency of a formal embassy from the KING, to be executed by a person of more distinction than any who at this time sought their mercantile service. Accordingly sir Thomas Roe was appointed; but, as if the royal commission required not the accompaniments of splendor, frugality prescribed his allowances, his retinue, and even the present to the Mogul, with little conformity to the sumptuous prejudices of the most magnificent court in the universe.

March. Sir Thomas Roe embarked in one of four ships which
 failed together. They left the land's end on the 6th of
Sept. March of 1615, touched at the Cape, at Mohila, and at Socotra; and anchored at Swally on the 18th of September. The factor Biddulph came down, and returned with several of those arrived, in order to provide and furnish the ambassador's house; nevertheless each of them was strictly searched at the city gate, for the customs on what toys or implements they might have about them. Zulfacar Caun, notwithstanding his aversion to the English, was deterred by respect to his own sovereign from insulting their ambassador without pretext, and sent down his principal men to receive sir
 Thomas

Thomas Roe on the strand : who landed on the 24th under a general salute, and the best apparel of the ships, accompanied by all their officers, the factors, his own retinue, and one hundred men under arms. 1615.

On his arrival at the city, his own person, with four of his followers, were exempted, but not until after remonstrance, from the custom-house search ; but Zulfacar refused the rest, pretending to see no difference between his, and the quality of those who had been employed as the company's residents at Agra *, all of whom had assumed the title of embassador from the king of England. This was followed by other affronts ; which determined him to wait for an answer from the court ; during which, Mr. Aldworth died at Ahmedabad, and Mr. Kerridge, who took the management of the factory there, was fined and imprisoned by the government. The letters from court ordered proper respect to sir Thomas Roe ; who sat out from Surat on the 30th of October.

Octob.

At BRAMPORE were encamped the Sultan Parviz, second son of the emperor, and Chan Chanan, the rival of Afiph Jah, with forty thousand horse, designed against Melec Amber. Sir Thomas visited the Sultan, and requested his permission to establish a factory in the city ; which he not only granted, but immediately issued the phirmaunds for the coming and residence of the factors : he likewise ordered new carriages for

* Hawkins, Canning, Kerridge, Edwards.

1615. the Mogul's present. Sickness detained him at Brampore for
Decemb. some days. On the 23d of December he arrived at Azmir,
 to which the Mogul had removed from Agra, and was met
 the day before by Edwards the resident, and Thomas Coryat,
 the traveller.

1616. His sickness delayed the first audience until the 10th of
Jan. January: he was received by the Mogul with more than the
 usual courtesy to embassadors in the east, and delivered the
 presents from the KING. On the 14th he visited Sultan
 Currom, with one, as from the company; and demanded
 redress of him, as lord of Sutat, for the many injuries
 which had been inflicted on their trade and factors, by the
 officers of that government; adding, that respect to the Sultan
 had prevented him from complaining to the emperor. The
 Sultan promised that the grievances should be immediately
 remedied. On the 24th sir Thomas, at a public audience,
 represented to the emperor the violences and indignities,
 which the factors had suffered at Ahmedabad; on which he
 ordered two phirmands of injunctions, the one, that the
 money exacted from Mr. Kerridge should be restored, and the
 English be treated with all favour; the other, to release all
 customs, levied on whatsoever pretence, on the roads; and
 to repay what had been received. He moreover willed sir
 Thomas Roe to complain again, if these orders were not soon
 and punctually obeyed.

But these professions were only occasional reliefs, and no earnest for such a treaty as sir Thomas Roe was instructed to obtain for the general and permanent security of the English trade in the Mógul's dominions; which, although not openly, were inveterately opposed by the most powerful influences in the court. Many had been persuaded by the jesuit, and Sultan Currom by Zulfacar Caun, of whose conduct sir Thomas Roe had complained, that Surat would be more benefited by the friendship and intercourse of the Portuguese, than the trade of the English; or at least, that this trade would never compensate the detriment of the Portuguese hostilities, which would never cease whilst the English were encouraged. Sultan Currom had married the daughter of Afiph Jah, the vizier; whose sister, Ndormahil*, was married to the emperor, and rarely failed to influence all his resolutions. The aunt and father-in-law indulged the prejudices of the Sultan, and thwarted the success of sir Thomas Roe, who having borne the delays and excuses of office for two months, and finding nothing consonant in the terms offered by Sultan Currom; spoke directly to the emperor, and re-

1616.
Jan.March
13th.

* See note XI, to the Historical Fragments, page 185.

discourse

1616. discourse of the treaty, sir Thomas Roe said that the English
 March. had been often *wronged*, and could not continue on such terms. The emperor caught the word, and asked, with much emotion, By whom *wronged*? Sir Thomas ordered his interpreter, in broken Spanish, to say “that he would not trouble his majesty, but ask redress of his son, from whom he doubted not to obtain it.” The king understanding the word *figlio*, thought his son was accused, and scolded him roundly, before he would listen to the explanation of the mistake; which restored quiet, and renewed the conversation on the *phirmaund* offered by the Sultan, which produced other altercations of heat; when Mocris Caun spoke out in favour of the Portuguese, and slightly of the English, and was seconded by the jesuit; to which sir Thomas Roe replied, that he offered them a conditional peace, but set their friendship at a mean rate, and their hatred and force at less. The emperor said, his demands were just, his resolution noble, and bade him propound. But Asiph Jah, who had hitherto been silent, although very significant, was apprehensive that more dispute would break out, and proposed, that the English demands should be presented to the emperor in writing; sir Thomas, that the Sultan’s terms should accompany them, which was agreed to with seeming satisfaction on all sides, but with dissimulation by Sultan Currom. On the 26th of March, sir Thomas Roe delivered his demands to the emperor at the public audience; they were disposed into
 nine-

ENGLISH TRADE AT SURAT.

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nineteen articles*, which comprehended every necessary provision for the safety and success of the company's trade in the

1616.
March

* The articles, as penned by sir Thomas Roe, were,

- i. That there be perpetual peace and amity between the king of Great Britain and his Indian majesty.
- ii. That the subjects of England have free trade in all ports of India.
- iii. That the governors of all ports publish this agreement three times, upon the arrival of any English ships.
- iv. *That the merchants and their servants shall not be searched or ill used.*
- v. *That no presents sent to the Mogul shall be opened.*
- vi. *That the English goods shall not be stopped above twenty-four hours at the custom-house, only to be there sealed, and sent to the merchant's house, there to be opened and rated within six days after.*
- vii. That no governor shall take any goods by force, but upon payment at the owner's price; nor any taken upon pretence of the king's service.
- viii. That the merchants shall not be hindered selling their goods to whom they please, or sending them to other factories, and this without paying any other duty than what is paid at the port.
- ix. That whatsoever goods the English buy in any part of the Mogul's dominions, they may send down to the ports, without paying any duty more than shall be agreed on at the port at shipping them; and this without hindrance or molestation.
- x. That no goods brought to any port shall be again opened, the English shewing a certificate of their numbers, qualities, and conditions, from the governor or officers of the place where they were bought.
- xi. That no confiscation shall be made of the goods or money of any English dying.
- xii. That no custom be demanded for provisions during the stay of English ships at any port.
- xiii. That the merchants' servants, whether English or Indians, shall not be punished or beaten for doing their duty.
- xiv. That the Mogul shall punish any governor or officer for breach of any of these articles.
- xv. That the English ships shall suffer all others to pass and repass freely to the Mogul's ports, except their enemies; and that the English aforesaid shall behave themselves civilly as merchants.
- xvi. That they shall yearly furnish the Mogul with all rarities from Europe, and all other such things as he shall desire, at reasonable prices.
- xvii. The

1616. *March.* the Mogul's dominions, and guarded, by special expression, against the repetition of such injuries and indignities as he himself had seen or suffered at Surat.

1615. *Octob.* The vice-roy Azevedo, on his return to Goa, armed a fleet of twelve ships and twelve smaller vessels, of which he gave the command to Ruy Freyre, a man of quality, and an officer of reputation. They sailed at the end of October, in the preceding year; and during the passage, as well as at the *emb.* outset, took under their convoy all the trade of the coast bound to the northward. From Balzar, near Daman, two of the ships went off to convoy the vessels bound into the gulph of Cambay, and to return with what were ready to sail from thence; but Freyre, with the main body of his fleet, anchored at the bar of Surat; from whence, we suppose*, the English ships, which had brought sir Thomas Roe, expected to be attacked by him at Swally. Zulfacar Caun sent

xvii. The English to pay the duty of *three and a half per cent.* for goods reasonably rated; and *two per cent.* for pieces of eight; and no other duty elsewhere.

xviii. That the English shall be ready to assist the Mogul against all his enemies.

xix. Lastly. That the Portuguese may come into this peace within six months; or, if they refuse, the English be at liberty to exercise all hostilities against them.

* The journal of captain Peyton, who commanded the ship Expedition, is the only one concerning this voyage; and it says nothing of what passed at Surat after the 5th of November to the departure of the ships; so that we speak of this armada, from the particular account given of it by Faria y Sousa, who even mentions the long names of twenty-three commanders; and nineteen hidalgos, commanding or serving in the different vessels; and commemorates with complacency the gallant disinterestedness of their admiral.

officers,

officers, with two boats from the city, laden, as he said, with provisions, which he requested Ruy Freyre to accept; but they contained bales of curious cloths and silks; which Freyre opened, examined, praised, and returned to the officers, in the presence of all his captains, whom he had summoned to participate in the refusal; but reserved one piece, which was a shawl, and professed the same assurance of his services to the governor, as if he had accepted the whole present. The shawl was dedicated to the fairest mistress, The fleet sailed to Diu and Gogo, whilst the trading vessels were preparing at Cambay, which joined at the end of December, and was the largest convoy of many years. Off Daman they were assailed by a violent tempest, which wrecked or sunk four ships of the armada, and only one man was saved out of three of them; of the other, all. Thus ended this cruise, without giving any molestation to the English ships, notwithstanding the late pretended treaty with the government of Surat; who were probably deterred by the respect with which they were ordered to treat sir Thomas Roe, from encouraging the armada to the hostilities they wished.

1616.

1615.

Novemb.

Decemb.

1616.

Feb.

March.

In February the English ships sailed from Swally, and proceeded as usual down the coast. On the 29th they took a Portuguese ship; and on the 3d of March anchored at Callicut, where the SAMORIN, always at enmity, and now at war with that nation, having heard, from the merchants of

1616.
March.

his own port, the fame of captain Downton's defence at Surat in the preceding year, sent his minister to invite the English general, Keeling, to meet him at Crangainore, which he was besieging. In the way thither, the ships took another prize; and, on receiving a hostage for the visit, Keeling went on shore. The Samorin received him with much complacence, and requested to enter into a league with the English nation; which was concluded on the 8th, and expressed in provisional promises, opening with these words: "As I have been ever
" an enemy to the Portuguese, so do I purpose to continue
" for ever." He then "promises to give the fort and island
" of Crangainore, when taken, with nine mile of the coast;
" but reserves a house, and the residence of a hundred of his
" own people in the island; engageth to take Cochin, with
" the aid of the English, and to give it them, with the whole
" kingdom; but the charge and spoil of the capture to be
" equally shared; and lastly, exempts them from all duties
" and customs throughout his dominions: the terms to be
" perpetual:" which induced Keeling to leave three factors, with a youth, to manage some trade, and a gunner to serve the Samorin. The ships sailed from Crangainore on the 10th of March, when one went off for England; the other three took two more prizes before they quitted the coast, when separating, two went for Atchin, and the other for Bantam. The Samorin, instead of favouring the factors he had invited to remain in his country, exacted presents from them, and they

they were glad to get away with their goods to Callicut, where they took up their residence in April, and met with all discouragement, excepting open violence, which was sometimes threatened, in consequence of their own indiscretions. Such was the origin of the factory at Callicut, which has continued ever since.

1616.

April.

Sultan Currom and Afiph Jah not only continued their opposition to the demands of fir Thomas Roe, but even treated him more than once with ill manners, in the presence of the emperor; who repaired their affronts by the constant courtesy of his own behaviour, but decided nothing in the business; which, left at large to its enemies, they introduced deputies from the Portuguese government, with presents, and the offer of other jewels of rare value, at low prices; and by holding out the trade of the Red-sea, and the pilgrimage to Mecca, as dependant on the will of the Portuguese, turned the respect of the court to their alliance, and excited equal aversion towards the English; insomuch that fir Thomas Roe had made no progress in the treaty at the end of July, when he received a phirmaund from Mahobet Caun at Brampore,

July.

granting all the immunities he had requested of him for the trade of Broach*; by which, besides other advantages, a

saving

* The words of fir Thomas Roe will best describe his opinion of the validity of these privileges; to which we shall add what more may be pertinent to this discussion.

“ The two and twentieth (of July 1616) I received letters from Brampore, in answer of those to Mahobet Chan, who at first (request) granted my desire, “ making

1616. saving was procured in the customs alone of one thousand
 July. five hundred pounds a year; and the grant was not likely
 to

“ making his firman to BAROOCH most effectual to receive our nation, and to
 “ give them a house near the governor; strictly commanding no man to molest
 “ them by sea or land, or to take *any custome* of them, or any way trouble them
 “ under colour thereof. Finally, that they might buy, sell, and transport any
 “ commodity at their pleasures, without any molestation, concluding, that
 “ they should expect to hear no other from him, and therefore they should be
 “ careful in execution. I received with it a letter from himself, which was more
 “ civility than all the Indies yielded me, full of courtesie and humanity, and
 “ great respect, protesting his desire to give me content, and that what I had
 “ demanded, I should make no doubt of performance: and if I had any other
 “ occasion to use him, he desired me to write, and it should be performed. The
 “ copies are worthy the seeing, for the rareness of the phrase. The firman
 “ I caused to be sent to Surat (in order to be forwarded by the agency there to
 “ Broach): *so that BAROOCH is provided for a good retreat from the PRINCE'S*
 “ *injuries, and the custom given, whereby fifteen hundred pounds per annum*
 “ *will be saved; besides all manner of searches and extortions. For the per-*
 “ *formance of this no man maketh any doubt, for that all men confess, that he*
 “ *neither careth for the prince, and so feareth not, nor needeth any man, being*
 “ *the only beloved man of the king, and second person in his dominions, and*
 “ *in all his life so liberal of his purse, and honourable of his word, that he hath*
 “ *ingrossed good reports from all others: and concerning custome, the king*
 “ *takes none, the governors make it their profit, which he professeth to scorn,*
 “ *that he should abuse the liberty of the king's ports.”*

We cannot discover what office in the state was held by Mahobet Caun, which entitled him to give this patent for Broach: he is mentioned by Sir Thomas Roe as one of the principal generals in the army commanded by Sultan Parviz and Chan Chanan at Brampore, but could scarcely be the governor of this city, since Sir Thomas Roe was treated there with neglect and slight, when on his journey to Azmir, in 1615; at which time Ahmedabad was governed by Abdallá Caun, and Surat belonged to Sultan Currom. Sir Thomas Herbert, who arrived at Surat in 1626, when mentioning the revolt of Sultan Currom in April 1622, and his march to seize the castle of Agra, says, “The PRINCE immediately commands all his officers out of such provinces as his father had assigned him from Brampore to Surat, and all Cambaya to Amadabat, the governors of BAROOCH, *Jaunbasser, Medapore*, and of the maritime coast, *Goga, Diul, Nayfary, Mangerehpore*; and Ormepore; as also out of
 “ Mando,

to be repealed during the life of Gehanghire, from the high respect and esteem in which he had always held the exalted character of Mahobet Caun. 1616.

The emperor's birth-day fell on the 2d of September; and at the assembly of congratulation, sir Thomas Roe told Asiph Jah, the vizier, that having now waited seven months without effect, he should, on the morrow, request the emperor to declare the causes of the delay, and what he really meant to grant. Asiph Jah apologized, imputing the hindrance to the preparations for the feast (which as usual had superseded all other attentions) but promised, now it was over, to expedite Sept.

" Mando, Ganderfee, Oudepore, Baraer, Amnadagar, &c. in an enterprize so full of peril, desirous to engage and bring them under like hazard, the better to oblige their future dependance upon his fortunes: and so, with no less than seventy thousand horse, he marches towards Mando, as if he intended a contrary progress." If this account be authentic, BROACH and Surat were under the same government in 1622; and so they seem to have been in 1614, by the applications of captain Downton, on his arrival, to the government of Surat, for the redress of grievances at BROACH.

" In quondam times," says sir Thomas Herbert, " the royalties of BROACH were spacious, as sovereignizing over many towns and provinces of note a great way distant; as *Medapore*, seventy miles thence, *Radgeepore* or *Brodara*, eighty; *Jownbasser*, thirty; and *Janagar*, in Soret; each of which now enjoys peculiar podesstates: howbeit, the Mogul has received hereout, as an annual tax or tribute, no less than one million two hundred and threescore thousand mammoorders (or shillings in our money) which revenue, from one province, shews what a vast exchequer all his empire yearly contributeth." Sixty thousand pounds was then the annual revenue of BROACH; and Jehangire, from policy as well as particular affection, might have entrusted this government to the integrity of Mahobet Caun, by a special commission; for Ahmedabad and Surat were in the hands of rapine. Sir Thomas Herbert, as well as Mr. Dow, gives the whole life of Jehangire; and in the latter revolution of this reign, MAHOBET CAUN appears the greatest captain and character in the empire. Leisure may be amused by comparing the accounts of these two writers.

the

1616. the privileges he solicited before all other business: but in the
Sept. discussion which ensued by appointment, Afiph Jah at last declared, that seeing the terms were so drawn as to exempt the English, and their trade at Surat, from any dependance on the authority of Sultan Currom, he himself would never give his consent to them. Sir Thomas Roe kept his temper, offered to make a new model, and sent it, with request that it might receive the seal, or he be permitted to receive the denial from the emperor, and so depart the country. Afiph Jah refused the seal, but offered Sultan Currom's phirmaund, which he said would be sufficient. Sir Thomas, seeing no better resource, changed his ground, and adopted the appearance of relying entirely on the Sultan's favour; to whose secretary, *Socorolla*, he had sent four articles* to be expedited for the use of the factory at Surat, when the ships expected from England should arrive: he accordingly attended the Durbar, or public audience of the Sultan, on the 10th, who, not without haughtiness, delivered the phirmaund in which the articles were altered and abridged. Socorolla bore the repute of an honest man, who took no bribes. Sir Thomas visited him, and represented the objections; on which he admitted the first meanings, and gave a phirmaund, expressed in very effectual terms, and with it a letter to the governor of Surat, commanding the custom-master to pay for fifty pieces of broad cloth, which he had purchased many months before

* These articles are not published in Sir Thomas Roe's journal.

of the factory, and wanted to return, because the price had fallen. He likewise frankly explained the Sultan's wish, that sir Thomas Roe should rely on him in the business of his own government, instead of crossing him by requests to the emperor: in which case he would be found a better friend than sir Thomas expected: who repaid these professions by a visit to the Sultan.

1616.
Septemb.

On the 25th of September arrived four ships from England, which left the land's-end on the 13th of March, in company with two others; of which one separated during a violent gale of wind in the bay of Biscay, and the other tarried behind at the Cape; but both at length got safe to Bantam, whither they were bound. The four ships were under the command of general Joseph, a brave and long experienced mariner, and came on, as all * which had hitherto come to Surat, through

March.

* They were

The Hector, captain Hawkins, in 1607, 1608.

The Ascension, captain Alexander Sharpeigh, in 1608, 1609.

The Trade's Increase, the Pepper-Corn, the Darling, under sir Henry Middleton, in 1610, 1611.

The Dragon and Hosiander, under captain Best, in 1612.

The Expedition, captain Christopher Newport, which went to Guadel and Diulinde, but did not come on to Surat, in 1613.

The New Year's Gift, the Hector, the Merchant's Hope, the Salomon, under captain Nicholas Downton, in 1614, 1615.

The Expedition, Dragon, Lyon, Pepper-Corn, which brought sir Thomas Roe. This fleet was commanded by captain Keeling; the voyage written by Walter Peyton, captain of the Expedition, in 1615, 1616.

The ships which arrived this year 1616, and had sailed under the command of captain Joseph, were, the Charles, the Unicorn, the James, the Globe.

the

1616. the inner channel between Madagascar and the main; at the head of which, amongst the islands of Comora, they descried, at day-break of the 5th of August, a carrack of enormous size, bearing the Portuguese flag at the main-top-mast head, and steering the same course. The *Globe*, which failed the best, but was the smallest of Joseph's squadron, chased, came up at noon to windward, hailed, and received opprobrious language, with a command to fall to leeward; which not doing, the carrack fired five great shot, each of which went through her, whilst she returned eighteen, of much less effect, and fell astern. The carrack was commanded by Don Manuel de Meneses, admiral of three, which had failed this year from Lisbon bound to Goa. At three in the afternoon, captain Joseph came up in his ship the *Charles*, which was of one thousand tons; and hailing, bid the commander of the carrack come on board to account for his attack on the *Globe*; but was answered, that he had no boat; on which he sent his own, which brought three officers with a message, "that Don Meneses had promised his master, the king of Spain, not to quit his ship; out of which he might be forced, but never commanded." Joseph repeated the summons in writing; and said to the officers, "that he would sink by his side, or compel him." Meneses persisted; the fight began; in a few minutes a shot killed captain Joseph; the master continued the engagement half an hour; when night approaching, he fell off to call a council; and captain Pepwell,

of

of the James, who was the vice-admiral, took the command of the Charles, and the squadron. Meneses kept out a light to direct his enemies; but the next morning, of the 7th, was at anchor so near the shore, that Pepwell did not deem it prudent to attack him in that situation. In the evening Meneses set sail, leading out to the open sea; and when dark, again hoisted his light, which led to the encounter at sun-rise.

1616.
Sept.
August.

Captain Pepwell had instructed his ships to engage by turns, and began himself in the Charles; which had not continued half an hour, when a bullet from the carrack struck one of the iron guns, which shivered it: its fragments could not have chosen better execution; for, besides dangerously wounding three of the common seamen, and tearing the master's arm, one piece struck out the eye of captain Pepwell, and two others wounded him in the jaw and leg. The mate took up the command of his disabled superiors, and deserved it, maintaining the fight with vengeance beyond the share of time; when the other ships took their turns with the same ardour; which the carrack resisted until three in the afternoon, by which time her main-mast and mizen-mast were brought by the board, her fore-top-mast shot away, and her sides shattered into several breaches. The island of Angazija was not far off, to which she turned with what little sail she could set, and stood in so near the shore, that the English ships would not venture to follow her close; but a boat was sent with Mr. Connock, the principal merchant, and a flag of

1616.

Sept.
August.

truce, as a signal of parley, which was accepted by another. Meneses received Mr. Connock with courtesy; but was not moved, either by the offers, or admiration due to his valour, to desist from his first resolve; and said that if able, he would get out to sea again on the morrow, and renew the fight; when, if taken, he expected the treatment of a gentleman*. In the night the wind and surf grew high; the carrack drove, and, for want of fail to weather the danger, struck, and was jammed between two rocks; which stretching inward within a step of the shore, relieved the crew from the solicitude of their own preservation, and gave them time to set the carrack on fire, which blazed amain at midnight. They carried off what they chose of the treasure, of which the whole on board was to a great amount, and all the jewels. The English ships kept near throughout the next day, in hopes of gleaning valuable drifts, but took up nothing; and bore away for refreshment to the neighbouring island of Mohila, where they arrived on the 10th. The natives of Angazija regarded the crew of the shipwreck as invaders, and assailed them with stones; but ceased on the display and offer of presents, until they had received them; when, instead of returning provisions, they renewed their attacks; on which the Portuguese employed their hand-guns, and lost, in the retreat of the natives, the only hopes of sustenance. In this distress the admi-

* FARIA says, he threatened to hang the next person who should bring him a proposal of surrender.

ral Meneses yielded to the advice of his cannoneer, as more practised in the voyages of India, to throw their guns into the sea; when the natives returned in great numbers, and overpowered them; and then stripped them of all their clothes and raiment, setting so much value on every thing which might serve for their own, that they threw away the dollars, in order to put their heads into the empty bags. The Portuguese wandered in different companies to gain food; many endured much distress, and some died; but all were protected by their nakedness from farther insult. The pilot, and a few more, went in the boat (for, notwithstanding the first denial to captain Joseph, they had one) and coasted to find a more hospitable shore; they fortunately met two junks belonging to a Mahomedan, which came from *Pate* on the main, and were going for trade to Madagascar. This man took up the boat, and, having influence with the chief of that part of the island where the ship was wrecked, sailed thither, collected all the Portuguese, clothed them, gathered their treasure, secured their jewels, and sent them away in his own vessels to their own port of Mombaze, where they arrived on the 4th of September, and were afterwards conveyed to Goa. Here the valour and misfortunes of Meneses were received by the viceroy, Azevedo, and the city, with the highest veneration; he was sent back to Lisbon in an advice-boat, and arrived safe, to receive the same acknowledgments in his own country. And indeed his defeat merited a trophy of victory; for his

1616
Sept.

force

1616. force bore no proportion to the English ships*; of which
 Sept. nevertheless, either of the strongest would probably have
 maintained an equal conflict against the same superiority; for
 at this time the highest spirit of military honour animated all
 the officers and seamen of the COMPANY'S marine.

On the 24th, sir Thomas received intelligence of the arrival of the four ships at Swally, with the letters to himself; and presented the compliments of his sovereign to the emperor; who hurried through the mere decent enquiries, to question what presents the KING had sent, hoping jewels; but disappointed, asked for velvets; and was much pleased that two dogs had escaped the fight; of which he spoke with praise; but was much vexed that the great horse had not come, and offered a lack of rupees if sir Thomas Roe would procure him one; who requested that the presents might be sent up without search, or tax, and that the people of the ships might receive good usage. The emperor said, the port

* Edward Terry, who was afterwards chaplain to sir Thomas Roe, sailed in the *Charles*, which he calls a "new built goodly ship of a thousand tons; the *Unicorn*, a new ship likewise, and almost of as great a burthen; the *James*, a "great ship too;" the *Globe*, a lesser. He likewise says, that "seven hundred men sailed in the *Carrack*, for she was a ship of exceeding great bulk and burthen: our *Charles*, though a ship of a thousand tons, looking but like a pin-nace, when she was beside her." Also, that only five men were killed in the fight, three in the *Charles*, two in the *James*, and about twenty wounded in all the four ships.

Sir Thomas Roe says, that "the *Carrack* was of fifteen hundred tons burthen;" and that "Don Emanuel de Meneses had twice been general of *their* forces;" but not in India, where he neither appears before or after this voyage.

of

of Surat was his son's ; but sent for him, and gave positive orders in public concerning the presents and people, conformably to fir Thomas Roe's desire. 1616. Sept.

The company, although they had approved, and perhaps solicited, the embassy of fir Thomas Roe, had not empowered him to controul the conduct of their own servants at Surat and its dependencies ; who seem to have availed themselves of this exemption, with much less respect than was due to such a character *. The ships now arrived, brought orders to prosecute the intention of establishing a trade in the kingdom of Persia, although the success of Steele and Crouther, who had been sent for this purpose from Surat in the beginning of the preceding year, was not known in England at the departure of the ships. Octob.

These travellers passing by Candahar, arrived at Isfahan on the 18th of September, where they found fir Robert Shirley on departure to execute another commission from the Sophy.

The means by which the two extraordinary adventurers of that name obtained such important employment from the ablest and fiercest sovereign of the east, would not have borne

* " Your factors sent me four or five clauses of your commission that concerned Persia, a fort, a plantation in Bengala, all which they knew were not of use : with no other proposition or resolution they will acquaint me. They cannot abide I should understand or direct them. If they resolve of any thing in their opinion for your profit, I will effect the court-part ; but you will find in my letters and journal how they use me ; which doubtless at first was sowed by some jealousy of yours, which will cost you dearly."

much.

1616. much respect in our times, which permit no enthusiasts to
Orob. cover or consecrate the latent views of luxurious ambition.

ANTHONY SHIRLEY, the elder brother of Robert, was a dependant on the Earl of Essex, who sent him, in 1598, with some soldiers to fight for the duke of Ferrara against the pope; but, by the time they arrived in Italy, the quarrel was reconciled. Essex nevertheless, unwilling that his knight should return to England with the derision of having done nothing, not only consented to his proposal of proceeding to Persia with offer of service to Shah Abbas, whose fame had spread with much renown throughout Europe; but also furnished him with money and bills for the journey. SHIRLEY embarked from Venice, in May 1599, with twenty-five followers, some of education, all of resolution, and amongst them his brother Robert, at that time a youth. After various escapes by sea and land, they arrived at Aleppo, where getting money for their bills, they proceeded in the company of a large caravan to Bagdad, Shirley professing himself a merchant, who expected goods by the next; but this pretence, and the number of his retinue, excited suspicions, and all he brought was seized at the custom-house; which reduced them to live on the piece-meal sale of the clothes they wore: his anxiety in this situation was observed by a Florentine named Victorio Spiciera, who was proceeding to Ormus in order to embark for China, and had frequently conversed with Shirley during the journey from Aleppo. He tried by repeated questions to
 discover

discover his real condition and purpose, but failing, made up his own conjectures, that Shirley intended some signal mischief either against the Turkish empire, or the sovereignty of the Portuguese in India, of which the one was as detestable to his piety, as the other to his traffic: from these motives, mixed perhaps with admiration of a character, which knew to personate romantic dignity, the Florentine determined not only to extricate him from the dangers of his present situation, but enable him to prosecute his views, whatsoever they might be. The emergency pressed: for the second caravan from Aleppo was come within ten days of Bagdad, and Spiciera knew, that when the goods which Shirley had pretended to expect, should not appear, he and all his followers would be doomed to imprisonment, if not worse. Fortunately, a caravan returning from Mecca to Persia arrived at this time, and encamped under the walls. Spiciera hired amongst them camels, horses, with all other necessaries of travel, and when the caravan was ready to depart, revealed to Shirley the dangers which awaited him, and the measures he had taken for his preservation and success, confirming these assurances by the delivery of a great sum in gold, and many rarities of great value; so much in the whole amount, that Shirley declines to mention it, because he says it would not be believed. The Florentine left it to his honour to repay him when he could; and, for five days after the departure of the caravan, diverted suspicions of his escape by living in Shirley's house,

to

1616.
Orob.

1616. to whom he pretended to have lent his own, that he might
Octob. recover in more quiet from a fit of illness; he even requested the governor for his physician, knowing he had none; but was afterwards fined severely for these generous collusions.

Fifty janisaries were sent in pursuit of Shirley, but missed the caravan; which employed fifty days on the march to Casbin; where the aids of Spiciera enabled Shirley to equip himself and followers in sumptuous array, to live splendidly, and to make presents; which procured commendations to Shah Abbas, who arrived at Casbin a month after, and was saluted by Shirley and his company at his entrance into the city, when the king distinguished him with the most honourable notice. The next day Shirley sent the king a present of jewels and Italian rarities, which were not only curious, but costly beyond the expectation of homage; and the more he professed, that he had come to offer his service on his own account, and at his own expence, the more the king inclined to believe, that the denial was intended, by concealing, to heighten the elegant compliment of his monarch; and at all events could not resist the complacence of regarding the resort of this band of strangers as a signal proof of the great extent of his own fame; which Shirley took care on all occasions to inculcate.

It was the way of Shah Abbas, to discern those he employed, by familiarities. Shirley was solemn in behaviour,
 pompous

pompous in elocution, quick in apprehension, and guarded in argument; and having served both at land and sea, was capable of suggesting the military ideas of Europe; which could not fail to attract the attention of a monarch whose ruling passion was the fame of war: he even visited Shirley in his house, to examine a book of fortifications; and having, during a daily converse of six weeks, treated him more with the respect of a guest, than the distance of a solicitor, on the very day before his departure to Cassan, declared him a *Mirza*, or lord, in his service, and referred him to the treasurer; who, as soon as the king was gone, sent to Shirley a present, which consisted of money to the amount of sixteen thousand ducats, forty horses, all accoutred; two, intended for his brother and himself, with saddles plated with gold, and set with rubies and torquoises; the others, with silver and embroidered velvet; twelve camels laden with tents, and all furniture, not only for the field, but for his house in Casbin, which likewise was bestowed on him: he was ordered to follow the king to Cassan, from whence he accompanied him to Ispahan, and was treated by him with the same deference as before he had accepted his service.

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Daily and artful suggestions prepared the way to the advice which Shirley had long premeditated, that the king should renew the war against the Turks, and depute an ambassador to excite the princes of Christendom to co-operate by land and sea from the west; whilst Persia invaded the

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Octob.

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

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

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

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

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

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

1616. *Octob.* risques to which he now offered to expose himself for his service. Shirley, in a very long discourse, explained all the probabilities of his plan: that the emperor of Germany was already at war with the Turks; that the pope would excite all the other catholic princes; that the king of Spain was at continual enmity with the government of Algiers, which was subservient to the Turkish empire; that the invitations of the king would attract merchants, and christians of all other arts, trades, and occupations, who would not only increase the commerce of his country, but introduce new methods and inventions of great utility, especially to the improvement of his warfare; and that the liberal schism of religion, which the king wished to promote as a descendant of Sefi, between his own subjects and the Turks, would be encouraged by the intercourse of christians, whom they would be accustomed to see drinking wine, and exercising other tolerances, which the Turks held in detestation.

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

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and

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

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

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

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

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

GENERAL IDEA
OF THE
GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE
OF
INDOSTAN.

BY
ROBERT ORME.

September 1st, 1753.

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

P R E F A C E.

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

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

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

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OF THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF INDOSTAN.

B O O K I.

CAP. I.

Nature of the Government of Indostan in general.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CAP. II.

Particular Government of the Provinces.

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

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

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

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

Duan—

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Wherever this gradation is interrupted, bloodshed ensues.

Kellidar is the governor or commander of a fort.

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

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

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

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

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

CAP. III.

Of the Lands.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CAP. IV.

Of the Mechanicks.

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

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

penfity to magnificēce and splendour; the difpiriting effects of that fear which reigns throughout, and without which a defpotick power would reign no more.

If any improvements have been made in the few years of a milder adminiftration, they are utterly loft again when the common methods of government fucceed.

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

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

CAP. V.

Of the Arts and Sciences.

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

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

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

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

We

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

CAP. VI.

Of the People.

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

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

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

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

built

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

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

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

CAP. VII.

Of the Manufactures.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

The

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

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

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

CAPITULE

Of the Trade.

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

The

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CAP. IX.

Of the War.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

Composed at Calcutta in September 1752.

Corrected on board the ship Pelham, September 1753.

B O O K II.

CAP. I.

Of the Moors of Indostan.

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

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

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

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

The

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

CAP. II.

Of the Manners of the Moors.

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

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

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

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

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

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

Inhumanity

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

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

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

CAP. III.

Of the Politeness and Ceremonies of the Moors.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

CHAPTER IV.

Of their Diffimulation.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

C A P. V.

Of the Gentoos in general.

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

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

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

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

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

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

It

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

C A P. VI.

Of the Brachmans.

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

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

is

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

C A P. VII.

Of the Gentoos Principalities.

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

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

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

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

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

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

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

Composed at Calcutta in September 1752.
Corrected, retrenched in some, enlarged in other places, on board
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B O O K III.

OF THE LAWS AND JUSTICE OF INDOSTAN.

CAP. I.

Of the Laws of Indostan.

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

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

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

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

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

CAP. II.

Of Civil Cases.

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

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

CAP. III.

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

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

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

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

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

Gentoos

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

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

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

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

to

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

C A P. IV.

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

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

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

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

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

CAP. V.

Of the Administration of Justice in Civil Cases.

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

* An instrument out of which they smoke tobacco.

of their superior industry and abilities may have confirmed this custom; which nevertheless is not so absolute as to exclude the Moors intirely: if any favourite of the Nabob hath application and capacity equal to the task, his being a Moor will certainly give him that preference; which a kind of necessity alone seems to have established amongst the Gentoos.

The Duan is, by his office, the chief judge of the province: from whose tribunal no appeal is made, as by suffering him to preside in the seat of judgment, it is known that the Nabob will confirm his decrees.

A Nabob, who through humanity is led to inquire into the condition of his subjects, may sometimes be seen to preside at the Durbar in person; during which time the Duan has no authority but what the countenance of his master gives him.

No man is refused access to the Durbar, or seat of judgment; which is exposed to a large area, capable of containing the multitude: here justice, or the appearance of it, is administered upon all but festival days, by the Duan, if the Nabob is absent; or by a deputy, in the absence of the Duan.

The plaintiff discovers himself by crying aloud, Justice! Justice! until attention is given to his importunate clamours. He is then ordered to be silent, and to advance before his judge; to whom, after having prostrated himself, and made his

his offering of a piece of money, he tells his story in the plainest manner, with great humility of voice and gesture, and without any of those oratorical embellishments which compose an art in freer nations.

The wealth, the consequence, the interest, or the address of the party, become now the only considerations. He visits his judge in private, and gives the jar of oil: his adversary bestows the hog, which breaks it. The friends who can influence, intercede; and, excepting where the case is so manifestly proved as to brand the failure of redress with glaring infamy (a restraint which human nature is born to reverence) the value of the bribe ascertains the justice of the cause:

This is so avowed a practice, that if a stranger should enquire, how much it would cost him to recover a just debt from a creditor who evaded payment, he would every where receive the same answer—the government will keep one-fourth, and give you the rest.

Still the forms of justice subsist: witnesses are heard; but brow-beaten and removed: proofs of writing produced; but deemed forgeries and rejected, until the way is cleared for a decision, which becomes totally or partially favourable, in proportion to the methods which have been used to render it such; but still with some attention to the consequences of a judgment, which would be of too flagrant iniquity not to produce universal detestation and repentment.

The quickness of decisions which prevails in Indostan, as well

well as in all other despotic governments, ought no longer to be admired. As soon as the judge is ready, every thing that is necessary is ready; there are no tedious briefs of cases, no various interpretations of an infinity of laws, no methodized forms, and no harangues to keep the parties longer in suspense.

Providence has, at particular seasons, blessed the miseries of these people with the presence of a righteous judge. The vast reverence and reputation which such have acquired, are but too melancholy a proof of the infrequency of such a character. The history of their judgments and decisions is transmitted down to posterity, and is quoted with a visible complacency on every occasion. Stories of this nature supply the place of proverbs in the conversations of all the people of Indostan, and are applied by them with great propriety.

CAP. VI.

Of Arbitrations.

THE abuses of public justice naturally produced the preference of private arbitrations; these would soon have removed all causes from the tribunal of the sovereign; all arbitrations are therefore prohibited, excepting under the inspections and restrictions of the Durbar, which confirms such umpires as are desired, or elects such as are dreaded, conformable to the complacency or displeasure which have been inspired by the address of the parties.

Many

Many of the causes which arise from the intricacies in commercial accounts, are referred to arbitration, as the attention necessary to scrutinize them would employ too much time at the Durbar. These are sometimes decided with sufficient candour, as the umpire capable of such a task are not always the immediate instruments of the government.

CAP. VII.

An Objection answered.

It may be objected, that the strict attention given to the forms of justice in Indostan, appears inconsistent with the nature of a government acknowledged to be despotic.

These forms would, without doubt, be despised, were not the inhabitants of the province less subjected to the will of their Nabob, than the vicegerent himself is dependant upon the will of his sovereign.

A government depending upon the will of one, exists no longer if another absolute will exists in any part of it; that part immediately becomes a separate kingdom. This is openly the case in the revolts of Indostan whilst they last; and sometimes is secretly so in the dominions of such vicegerents, who, relying on their power, distance, or address, think that they have little to fear from the throne; but at the same time do not openly give defiance to it.

The Nabob is commissioned to represent his prince as a steward, who is bound to take all measures for the preservation and increase of his master's estate. It would be absurd

absurd to imagine that the emperor should delegate to any subject the power of plundering and murdering at pleasure: this monstrous privilege is acknowledged in none but himself; and others must use oblique means to attain it. The last resource from injustice lays at the throne, which has been often seen to recall a Nabob, when the cries of a province have been loud enough to penetrate its recesses.

It is well known that the emperor is commonly the most ignorant man in his dominions, of the transactions of his government. The lordly minister who thus excludes all affairs from his master's inspection, subjects them as much to his own. The cabals, the caprice, the revolutions of a court, are every hour to be dreaded by every vicegerent, if not of overgrown authority; and he is never without enemies and rivals ready to exaggerate all pretexts for supplanting him.

From the impression of these restraints, such as they are, the forms of justice are revered in all the governments of Indostan, as much as the reality of it is abused.

C A P. VIII.

Monstrous Abuse of the Forms of Justice.

FROM the impression of such restraints, we likewise see no act of violence committed but under the mask of justice.

As soon as a man becomes conspicuous for his possessions, and begins to despise keeping measures with the Durbar, by neglecting to supply the voluntary contributions which are expected

expected from him; instead of giving him poison, which would not answer the end proposed, as his treasures are buried, he is beset with spies, commonly of his own domestics, who report even to the minutest of his actions: offers from discontented parties are made to him; a commerce with the enemies of the province is proposed; if he avoids these snares, a profitable post in the government is tendered to him; which if he accepts, his ruin is at hand, as the slightest of the villainies practised in every branch of it, becomes foundation sufficient to render him a public criminal: should he have escaped this too, it remains that some more glaring and desperate measure of iniquitous justice hurry him to destruction. Let the following example suggest and supply the many which might be produced.

A very wealthy house of Gentoo bankers were admonished at Muxadavad of the Nabob's necessities for money: and better versed in the arts of amassing; than in the methods necessary to preserve their riches, they presented a sum much more agreeable to their own avarice, than to the expectations of their persecutors. None of the usual snares were likely to succeed with people of their excessive caution. One of the dead bodies, which are continually floating upon the river Ganges, happened to be thrown ashore under the wall of their dwelling-house; which was immediately surrounded by the officers of the civil magistrate, and nothing heard but execrations against these devoted criminals, who were proclaimed the murderers of a son of Mahomed. The chief of

the house was hurried away to a dungeon prepared for his reception; where, after having thrice endured the scourge, he compromised the price of his liberty, and the remission of his pretended crime, for the sum of fifty thousand rupees. This man I personally knew.

Warned by such examples, the more intelligent man of condition sees at once the necessity of ingratiating himself into the favour of his prince by making acceptable offerings, proportioned to his fortune. It would not be credited, that the family of Tuttichhund, shortly after his death, gave in one present to the Nabob of Bengal, the sum of three hundred thousand pounds sterling! were it not known that this man, by having managed the mint and treasury of the province for forty years successively, was become the richest private subject in the empire.

C A P. IX.

General Idea of the Oppression of the Government.

IMITATION has conveyed the unhappy system of oppression which prevails in the government of Indostan throughout all ranks of the people, from the highest even to the lowest subject of the empire. Every head of a village calls his habitation the Durbar, and plunders of their meal and roots the wretches of his precinct: from him the Zemindar extorts the small pittance of silver, which his penurious tyranny has scraped together: the Phouddar seizes upon the greatest share of the Zemindar's collections, and then secures the fa-
vour

our of his Nabob by voluntary contributions, which leave him not possessed of the half of his rapines and exactions: the Nabob fixes his rapacious eye on every portion of wealth which appears in his province, and never fails to carry off part of it: by large deductions from these acquisitions, he purchases security from his superiors, or maintains it against them at the expence of a war.

Subject to such oppressions, property in Indostan is seldom seen to descend to the third generation.

CAP. X.

Of Criminal Cases; and of the Justice administered in them.

It now remains to speak of the justice administered in criminal cases.

These meet with severer and more various punishments amongst the Gentoos, who are guided by their own caprice in appointing them, than amongst the Moors, who are directed by their *Alcoran*—a law which, amongst its absurdities, has not admitted that of cruelty in the punishment of crimes.

The punishment of all offences is executed immediately after conviction; and the proofs of this conviction are generally attended to with more justice than prevails in any other cases: perhaps, because the guilty have seldom any thing but their lives to lose.

Murders and robberies upon the highway incur death; other felonies; labour during life, and the scourge, a mulct, or imprisonment.

The offices in the civil magistrature are comprized in an institution, which is too peculiar to Indostan to be expressed by any word in our language.

In every city, and in every considerable town, is appointed a guard, directed by proper officers, whose duty it is to coerce and punish all such crimes and misdemeanors as affect the policy of that district, and are at the same time of too infamous or of too insignificant a nature to be admitted before the more solemn tribunal of the Dürbar. These ministers of justice are called the Catwall; and a building bearing the same name is allotted for their constant resort.

At this place are perpetually heard the clamours of the populace; some demanding redress for the injury of a blow, or a bad name; others for a fraud in the commerce of farthings: one wants assistance to take, another has taken a thief: some offering themselves for bondsmen; others called upon for witnesses. The cries of wretches under the scourge, and the groans of expiring criminals, complete a scene of perfect misery and confusion.

After these employments of the day, parties are sent from the Catwall, to patrol and watch through the town by night.

The intelligence which the Catwall constantly receives, of every transaction which passes within the limits of its jurisdiction, renders it very capable of assisting the superior powers of the government in their system of oppressions.

Gentoos who have commerce with public women; Moors
 * who

who are addicted to drinking spirituous liquors; all persons who hazard money in gaming;—such are subject to be narrowly watched by the Catwall; and, when detected, find that nothing but money can exempt them from public disgrace.

In such governments where the superiors are lost to all sense of humanity, the most execrable of villanies are perpetrated by this institution, designed to prevent them.

The Catwall enters into treaty with a band of robbers, who receive from hence the intelligence necessary to direct their exploits, and in return pay to it a stipulated portion of their acquisitions: besides the concessions necessary to secure impunity when detected, one part of the band is appointed to break into houses, another assaults the traveller upon the road, a third the merchant upon the river: I have seen these regulated villains commit murders in the face of day, with such desperate audacity as nothing but the confidence of protection could inspire.

In jurisdictions of narrow limits and little importance, it is customary to blend the Durbar and Catwall in one tribunal. In these all causes wherein money and property are in contention, those wherein the terror of his presence is necessary to support the intended extortions,—such are brought before the governor of the district, who leaves to inferior ministers the execution of what are properly the duties of the Catwall.

CAP. XI.

Some Reflections.

HAVING brought to a conclusion this essay on the government and people of Indostan, I cannot refrain from making the reflections which so obviously arise from the subject.

Christianity vindicates all its glories, all its honour, and all its reverence, when we behold the most horrid impieties avowed amongst the nations on whom its influence does not shine, as actions necessary in the common conduct of life: I mean poisonings, treachery, and assassinations, in the sons of ambition; rapines, cruelty, and extortions, in the ministers of justice.

I leave divines to vindicate, by more sanctified reflections, the cause of their Religion and their God.

The sons of Liberty may here behold the mighty ills to which the slaves of a despotic power must be subject; the spirit darkened and depressed by ignorance and fear; the body tortured and tormented by punishments inflicted without justice and without measure: such a contrast to the blessings of liberty, heightens at once the sense of our happiness, and our zeal for the preservation of it.

END OF THE THIRD BOOK.

Composed on board the Ship Pelham, September 25th 1759.

E F F E M I N A C Y

OF THE

I N H A B I T A N T S

OF

I N D O S T A N .

EFFEMINACY, &c.

EUROPEANS understand by the East Indies, all the countries and empires, which laying to the south of Tartary, extend from the eastern frontiers of Persia to the eastern coasts of China. The islands of Japan are likewise included in this denomination, as are all the Malay islands, in which the Dutch have such valuable possessions, and which extend to the southward as far as the coasts of New Holland, and to the eastward to lands unknown.

The dominion of the Great Mogul, to which the name of India can only with propriety be applied, are designated in Asia as well as in Europe, by the kingdom of INDOSTAN; and although the Moguls are not masters of all the countries which are accepted under this denomination, yet there are very few tracts which have not formerly been, or which are not at present, subject or tributary to Mahomedans.

That part of the western side of Indostan, which is not bounded by the sea, is separated from Persia and the Usbeg Tartary by desarts, and by those mountains which were known to the ancients under the name of Paropamisus. The course of mount Caucasus forms its barrier to the north, and separates it from various nations of Tartars, from the Great and Little Thibet. Where mount Caucasus ceases, marshes

and rivers divide it from the kingdoms of Tepra, Affam, and Aracan, and circumscribe to the eastward the dominions of the Mogul, until they reach the sea at Chitigan. The sea from Chitigan to the cape of the peninsula of India, and from this cape to the dominions of Persia forms the remaining boundary, and embraces more than one half of the kingdom of Indostan: there are few empires of which nature has more strongly marked the outline.

The most northern parts of this empire laying in the 35th degree of latitude, and the most southern in the 8th, the distance from the northern to the southern extremity is more than 1,620 geographical miles; the greatest extent from east to west is about 1,500 miles.

This great extent of country has, from the earliest antiquity, been inhabited by a people who have no resemblance, either in their figures or manners, with any of the nations which are contiguous to them; and although these nations have at different times sent conquerors amongst them, who have established themselves in different parts of the country; although the Mogul Tartars, under Tamerlane and his successors have at last rendered themselves lords of almost the whole of it, yet have the original inhabitants lost very little of their original character by these mixtures; contrary to the effects of conquest in all the Christian, and in most of the Mahomedan empires, in which Cyrus, Vereingetorix, and Cæsar, if risen from the dead, could not distinguish any traces

* See Tavernier, also Mr. D'Anville's Map of India.

of the men who obeyed them in Persia, in Gaul, and in Italy; but this might Porus in India*, on the very spot in which he submitted to Alexander.

* Read the description given by Diodorus, of the Indian woman who burnt herself with the corpse of her husband, in the army of Eumenes. She distributes her ornaments amongst her friends and relations, as a pledge of her regard to them, and as a mark of her desire to be remembered by them. These ornaments, are a great number of rings set with precious stones of all colours, which she wore on her fingers; her head was adorned with stars of gold, and with the same kind of stones; her neck with ornaments or chains, which fell down to her breasts. One would think that the description of these ornaments, and of the alacrity and spirit with which this woman sacrifices herself, was wrote yesterday. It is not probable that any great changes can have been introduced amongst a people, who have preserved for two thousand years, a custom which so strongly revolts the first feelings of humanity.

Mr. Thevenot says, that the Indians were ignorant of the time, when the stupendous works of the temple of Elora near Aurengabad were performed; at the same time that they were giving histories of the gods worshipped in those temples.

There are, in the temple of the Elephanta near Bombay, vestiges of an antiquity, perhaps not later than the incursion of Alexander. Helmets, a sacrifice, of which the hints seem to be taken from strangers; for the Indians do not scruple to think foreign modes a proper ornament in their temples, and even for the figures of their divinities, although they will not adopt them to their own use.

Mr. D'Anville.—Besides that it has been remarked, that the Indians, having never quitted their own country, have never mixed themselves with other people, we do not find that they have suffered at home any revolutions which have overset the constitution and custom of the country. The Scythians have formerly penetrated into India, and established themselves there; from thence it comes to pass, that we find Indo Scythia in the ancient Indostan. Several Mahomedan princes, and amongst others, Mahmud son of Sebâh-takin, very zealous for Mussulmanism, have made conquests in India; and India has been governed for two centuries by a house whose origin is from Tartary, and whose religion is that of Mahomet. But these circumstances, which have unnaturalized, if we may be allowed the expression, other nations, have not had the same effect upon the Indians: they have preserved, besides several idioms which are proper to them, their religion and its ministers, Brachmans and Gymnosophists; their division into casts and tribes; distinguished every one by its profession, its rites and superstitions: in a word, all that is particular to themselves, and distinguishes them from other nations, since the earliest times. Depuis les temps les plus reculés.

Besides the particular denominations which they receive from the casts and countries in which they are born, there is one more general, which is applied indiscriminately, to distinguish the original natives from all who have intruded themselves amongst them. Hendoo, from whence Indian, and throughout the millions of Indians which inhabit Indostan; although situated at such distances as would suffice to form them into several distinct nations, are visible the strongest marks of one general character, in their dispositions, in their observances, and in their form.

The colour of the Indians is generally either that of copper or of the olive, but both with various shades. It is not absolutely the proximity of the inhabitant to the equator, that determines his complexion in India; other physical causes, from differences which arise as by starts in regions equally distant from the sun, and it is in their complexion that less national generality is found, than in any other of the properties of their figure: some are almost black; but these are either inhabitants of the woods, or people inured to labour and fatigues uncommon to the rest of their countrymen.

The hair of the Indians is without exception long, fine, and of a jet black. The nose, if not always aquiline, is never buried in the face, nor with large distorted nostrils, as in the Caffres of Africa, and in the Malay nations. Their lips, though in general larger than in Europeans, have nothing of that disagreeable protuberancy projecting beyond the nose, which

which characterises the two people just mentioned. The eyebrows are full in the men, slender in the women, well-placed in both. The eyelid is of the finest form,—long, neither opening circularly, as in many of the inhabitants of France, nor scarce opening at all, as in the Chinese. The iris is always black, but rarely with lustre, excepting in their children, and in some of their women; nor is the white of the eye perfectly clear from a tinge of yellow; their countenance therefore receives little animation, but rather a certain air of languor, from this feature. From the nostrils to the middle of the upper lip they have an indenture, strongly marked by two ridges, seldom observable in the northern Europeans, but often in the Spaniard and Portuguese; and from the middle of the under lip there is another such indenture, which loses itself a little above the chin: these lines, chiefly remarked in persons of their habits, give an air of sagacity to the men, and of delicacy to the physiognomy of the women. The outline of the face is various, oftener oval than of any other form, particularly in the women; and this variety of outline is another of the principal characters which distinguisheth the Indian from the Tartar as well as Malay; whose faces are universally of the same shape; that is, as broad as they are long.

The climate of India is divided into two seasons: from the month of October to March, the wind continually blows from the northern, and in the other months from the southern points of the compass. These seasons, called by navigators monsoons,

soons, are suspended twice in the year, for the space of twenty or thirty days, whilst one of the reigning winds is losing, and the other acquiring strength. The southern winds, passing through regions inflamed by a perpendicular sun, and accompanying its approach, diminish nothing of its influence; the season of their duration is therefore very hot indeed. The northern winds, after having scoured the vast plains of Tartary, receive additional keenness in their passage over the summits of mount Caucasus, covered with eternal snows; they bring intense cold into the countries which lay at the foot of these mountains; but do not carry more than a very moderate degree of it beyond the 30th degree of latitude; for as during the whole time of their continuance the air is pure and unclouded, the sun has always heat at noon; and so much in the southern parts of India as to give Europeans very little, if any sense of cold, not more than that of the month of June in England.

The texture of the human frame in India, seems to bear proportion with the rigidity of the northern monsoon, as that does with the distance from Tartary; but as in the southern monsoon heats are felt at the very foot of mount Caucasus, intense as in any part of India, very few of the inhabitants of Indostan are endowed with the nervous strength, or athletic size, of the robustest nations of Europe.

On the contrary, southward of Lahore we see throughout India a race of men, whose make, physiognomy, and muscular strength, convey ideas of an effeminacy which surprizes when

when pursued through such numbers of the species; and when compared to the form of the European who is making the observation. The sailor no sooner lands on the coast, than nature dictates to him the full result of this comparison; he brandishes his stick in sport, and puts fifty Indians to flight in a moment: confirmed in his contempt of a pusillanimity and an incapacity of resistance, suggested to him by their physiognomy and form, it is well if he recollects that the poor Indian is still a man.

The muscular strength of the Indian is still less than might be expected from the appearance of the texture of his frame. Two English sawyers have performed in one day the work of thirty-two Indians: allowances made for the difference of dexterity, and the advantage of European instruments, the disparity is still very great; and would have been more, had the Indian been obliged to have worked with the instrument of the European, as he would scarcely have been able to have wielded it.

As much as the labourer in Indostan is deficient in the capacity of exerting a great deal of strength at an onset, so is he endowed with a certain suppleness throughout all his frame, which enables him to work long in his own degree of labour; and which renders those contortions and postures, which would cramp the inhabitant of northern regions, no constraint to him. There are not more extraordinary tumblers in the world. Their messengers will go fifty miles a day,

day, for twenty or thirty days without intermission. Their infantry march faster, and with less weariness, than Europeans; but could not march at all, if they were to carry the same baggage and accoutrements.

Exceptions to this general defect of nervous strength, are found in the inhabitants of the mountains which run in ranges of various directions throughout the continent of Indostan. In these, even under the tropic, Europeans have met with a savage whose bow they could scarcely draw to the head of a formidable arrow, tinged with the blood of tigers whose skins he offers to sale. Exceptions to the general placid countenance of the Indians, are found in the inhabitants of the woods, who, living chiefly on their chace, and perpetually alarmed by summons and attacks from the princes of the plains, for tributes withheld, or ravages committed, wear an air of dismay, suspicion, treachery, and wildness, which renders them hideous; and would render them terrible, if their physiognomy carried in it any thing of the fierceness of the mountaineer.

The stature of the Indian is various: the northern inhabitant is as tall as the generality of our own nation: move to the south their height diminishes remarkably; and on the coast of Coromandel we meet with many whose stature would appear dwarfish, if this idea was not taken off by the slimmess and regularity of their figure. Brought into the world with a facility unknown to the labours of European women; never

never shackled in their infancy by ligatures; sleeping on their backs without pillows; they are in general very straight; and there are few deformed persons amongst them.

Labour produces not the same effect on the human frame in Indostan as in other countries: the common people of all sorts are a diminutive race, in comparison with those of higher cast and better fortunes; and yield still more to them in all the advantages of physiognomy. Prohibited from marrying out of their respective tribes, every cast seems to preserve its respective proportion of health and beauty, in fancy and ugliness. There is not a handsomer race in the universe, than the Banians of Guzerat: the Haramcores, whose business is to remove all kinds of filth; and the buryers and burners of dead bodies; are as remarkably ugly.

Nature seems to have showered beauty on the fairer sex throughout Indostan, with a more lavish hand than in most other countries. They are all, without exception, fit to be married before thirteen, and wrinkled before thirty—flowers of too short a duration not to be delicate; and too delicate to last long. Segregated from the company of the other sex, and strangers to the ideas of attracting attention, they are only the handsomer for this ignorance; as we see in them, beauty in the noble simplicity of nature. Hints have already been given of their physiognomy: their skins are of a polish and softness beyond that of all their rivals on the globe: a statuary would not succeed better in Greece itself, in his pursuit of the Grecian form; and although in the men he

would find nothing to furnish the ideas of the Farnesian Hercules, he would find in the women the finest hints of the Medicean Venus.

If we consider the impossibility of a stranger being admitted into any one cast, to which a Bramin will administer any of his sacerdotal functions, and the universal restriction of marriage to persons of the same cast; we shall not be surprized to find that the Indian has preserved his physiognomy from a resemblance with any of his neighbours.

Montesquieu attributes much to the effect of climate; and his critics impute to him, to have attributed much more to this effect than he really does. It is certain, that there is no climate in which we may not find the same effects produced in the human species, as in climates entirely different in situation, and in every other circumstance. The Sybarites, whose territory was not more than a day's journey from the country of the Horatii, the Cincinnati, and the Scipios, were more effeminate than the subjects of Sardanapalus; and there are Sybarites at this day in the country of Vercingetorix. The Britons, although they possess at this day all the courage of their painted ancestors, who beat the greatest general of the world out of their country, are doubtless incapable of bearing like them the fatigues and hardships of a campaign.

But it would be to contradict all our feelings, not to allow that it is much more difficult to bring the human race to particular habits in some countries than in others. To make a Sybarite of an inhabitant of the 50th degree of latitude,
infinite

infinite inventions must have been carried to the greatest degree of perfection: apartments must be closed and fuelled so as to render the alterations of seasons little sensible to him: he must be carried in vehicles contrived to be as warm as the apartments he leaves, and almost as easy as the chair in which he slumbers; his food must be every thing that is not simple.

To produce the same effect in such a climate and such a country as Indostan, nothing is necessary but to give the man his daily food. The effect of the sun on the perspiration of the human body, together with the softness of the air, renders this secretion in India more powerful than the effect of labour in other countries. The awkward constraint arising from rest in northern climates, is the call of nature to throw off something obnoxious to the habit, or to quicken the circulation into warmth. Sensible of neither of these impulses, and satisfied with the present sense of ease, the inhabitant of Indostan has no conception of any thing salutary in the use of exercise; and receiving no agreeable sensation from it, esteems it, in those not obliged to it by necessity, ridiculous, or the effect of a discontented spirit.

This general tendency to indolence being admitted, we shall find nature encouraging them in it.

The savage, by his chase, and the perpetual war in which he lives with the elements, is enabled to devour almost raw the flesh of the animals he has killed. In more civilized nations, the plowman from his labour is enabled to digest in its

coardest preparations the wheat he has sown. Either of these foods would destroy the common inhabitant of Indostan, as he exists at present: his food is rice.

To provide this grain, we see a man of no muscular strength carrying a plough on his shoulder to the field, which the season or reservoirs of water have overflowed. This slender instrument of his agriculture, yoked to a pair of diminutive and feeble oxen, is traced, with scarce the impression of a furrow, over the ground, which is afterwards sown. The remaining labour consists in supplying the field with water; which is generally effected by no greater a toil than undamming the canals, which derive from the great reservoir. If in some places this water is drawn from wells, in most parts of India it is supplied by rain; as the rice in those parts, when the rainy season is of two or three months duration, is always sown just before this season begins. When reaped, the women separate the grain from the husk in wooden mortars, or it is trampled by oxen. Instead of hedges, the field is inclosed with a slender bank of earth.

A grain obtained with so little labour, has the property of being the most easily digestible of any preparation used for food, and is therefore the only proper one for such an effeminate race as I have described. There is wheat in India; it is produced only in the sharper regions, where rice will not so easily grow, and where the cultivator acquires a firmer fibre than the inhabitant of the plain. It was probably introduced with the Alcoran; as all the Mahomedans of northern extraction

traction prefer it to rice, as much as an Indian rejects a nourishment which he cannot well digest even in its finest preparation.

Water is the only drink of every Indian respectable enough to be admitted into their assemblies of public worship, as all inebriating liquors are forbore through a principle of religion; not that the soil is wanting in productions proper to compose the most intoxicating, nor themselves in the art of preparing them for the outcasts of their own nation, or others of persuasions different from their own, who chuse to get drunk. They have not equally been able to refrain from the use of spices, and these the hottest, without which they never make a meal. Ginger is produced in their gardens as easily as radishes are in ours; and chilli, the highest of all vegetable productions used for food, insomuch that it will blister the skin, grows spontaneously: these, with turmeric, are the principal ingredients of their cookery, and by their plenty are always within the reach of the poorest. A total abstinence from animal food is not so generally observed amongst them as is imagined; even the Bramins will eat fish; but as they never prepare either fish or flesh without mixing them with much greater quantities of spices than Europeans suffer in their ragouts, animal food never makes more than the slightest portion of their meal; and the preference of vegetables, of which they have various kinds in plenty, is decisively marked amongst them all. The cow is sacred every where: milk, from a supposed resemblance with the amortam or nectar of their

their gods, is religiously esteemed the purest of foods, and receives the preference to vegetables in their nourishment.

If the rice harvests should fail, which sometimes happens in some parts of India, there are many other resources to prevent the inhabitant from perishing: there are grains of a coarser kind and larger volume than rice, which require not the same continuation of heat, and at the same time the same supplies of water, to be brought to perfection: there are roots, such as the Indian potatoe, raddish, and others of the turnip kind, which without manure acquire a larger size than the same species of vegetable in Europe, when assisted with all the arts of agriculture, although much inferior to those of Peru, of which Garcilassa della Vega gives so astonishing a description: there are ground fruits of the pumpkin and melon kind, which come to maturity with the same facility, and of which a single one is sufficient to furnish a meal for three persons, who receive sufficient nourishment from this slender diet. The fruit-trees of other countries furnish delicacies to the inhabitant, and scarcely any thing more; in India there are many which furnish at once a delicacy and no contemptible nourishment: the palm and the coco trees give in their large nuts a gelatinous substance, on which men, when forced to the experience by necessity, have subsisted for fifty days: the jack-tree produces a rich, glewy, and nutritive fruit: the papa and the plantain-tree grow to perfection, and give their fruit within the year: the plantain, in some of its kinds, supplies the place of bread, and in all is of excellent nourishment.

These

These are not all the presents which the luxuriant hand of nature gives as food to the inhabitant of India; but as the natural history of this country is reserved for more diligent and able enquirers, this imperfect enumeration is sufficient to prove that the Indian, incapable as he is of hard labour, can rarely run the risk of being famished; and that from the plenty which surrounds him, he is confirmed in the debility in which we now see his frame.

Nature has made them still other presents, which supply many other of their wants, without exacting from them the exertion of much labour. The bamboo, which grows every where, requires only one stroke of the hatchet to split it from one end to the other, and to divide it into laths of all lengths and of the smallest sizes, at the same time that intire, it is large and strong enough to serve as the support of such houses as the climate demands; for in the greatest part of Indostan the bare earth affords a repose without the danger of diseases to so temperate a people. The palm and the coco-nut tree give their large fan leaves, which naturally separate into several long divisions, with which a mat may be made in a few minutes: a number of these mats laid over the scaffolding, erected with no other materials than the bamboo and pack-thread, compose in a day a house, in which the Indian may live for six months, in those parts of Indostan which are not subject to much rain. If a better house is required, walls of mud are carried up to the height of six or seven feet, and rendered in a few days extremely hard by the intense heat of
the

the sun : these are covered with thatch made of rushes or the straw of rice ; and many persons of good casts, and far from distress in their fortunes, even Bramins, are satisfied with such a habitation. There are bricks, and very good ones, in India ; but a brick house is a certain mark that the inhabitant is extravagant or rich.

The sun forbids the use of fuel in any part of the year, as necessary to procure warmth ; and what is necessary to dress their victuals, is chiefly supplied by the dung of their cows.

The want of raiment is scarce an inconvenience ; and the most wealthy remain by choice almost naked, when in their own families and free from the intercourse of strangers ; so that all the manufactures of cloth, for which India is so famous, derive more from the decency of their character ; the luxurious taste of a rich and enervated people ; and from the spirit of commerce which has prevailed among them from time immemorial ; than from wants really felt ; and if the manufacture of a piece of cloth was not the least laborious task in which a man can be employed in India, it is probable that the whole nation would at this day be as naked as their Gymnosophists, of which the ancients say so much and knew so little. Breathing in the softest of climates ; having so few real wants ; and receiving even the luxuries of other nations with little labour, from the fertility of their own soil ; the Indian must become the most effeminate inhabitant of the globe ; and this is the very point at which we now see him.

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