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E F F E M I N A C Y

OR THE

IN HABITANTS

OF

I N D O S T A N .

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 .

GENERAL IDEA
OF THE
GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE
OF
INDOSTAN.

BY
ROBERT O'RME.

September 1st, 1753.

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Luke Hanford, Printer,
Great Turnstile, Lincoln's Inn Fields.

ORIGIN
OF THE
ENGLISH ESTABLISHMENT,
AND OF THE
COMPANY'S TRADE,
AT
BROACH, AND AT SURAT.

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.

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 empirs, read empire.*

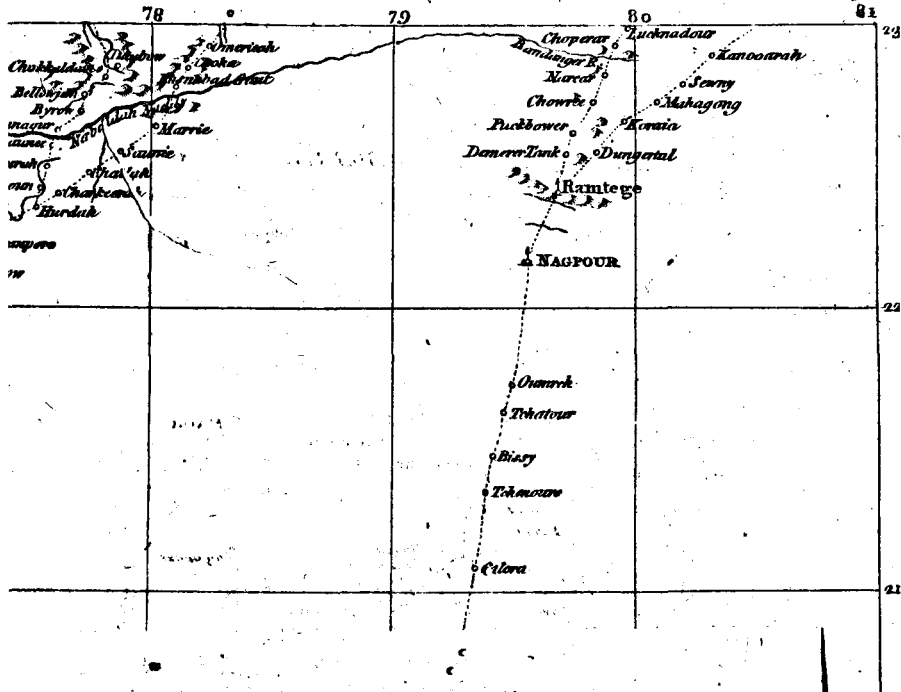
MEMOIRS

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.

C O N T E N T S.

<i>Life of the Author,</i>	- - - -	pp. i to lxxviii
<i>Historical Fragments,</i>	- - - - -	p. 1
<i>Notes to the Fragments,</i>	- - - - -	165
<i>Subject of the Notes to the Fragments,</i>	- - - -	309
<i>Origin of the English Establishment, and of the Company's Trade, at Broach and Surat,</i>	- - - - -	317
<i>General Idea of the Government and People of Indostan</i>		391
<i>Effeminacy of the Inhabitants of Indostan,</i>	- -	455
<i>Authorities,</i>	- - - - -	473
<i>Index.</i>		

To face Page 3.



AUTHORITIES.

Schewitzer, - - - - -	275.
Scott, captain Jonathan, - - - - -	210.
Shirley, Anthony, - - - - -	382.
Shirley, fir Robert, - - - - -	336.
Smith, general Richard, - - - - -	183.
Tachard, le Pere, - - - - -	274. 275.
Tamerlane's historian, - - - - -	286.
Tavernier, - - - - -	171. 172. 232. 290. 458.
Terry, Edward, - - - - -	380.
Thevenot, le Jeune, - - - - -	172. 173. 182. 194. 231. 232. 257. 291. 292. 459.
Vindication of the English East India company, concerning Bantam, &c. -	273.
<i>Ulug Beg</i> , - - - - -	217.
Univerfal Hiftory, - - - - -	168. 178.
Zoroafter, - - - - -	182.

INDEX.

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.

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.

C O N T E N T S.

B O O K III.

OF THE LAWS AND JUSTICE OF INDOSTAN.

- CAP. I. Of the laws of Indostan.
 - II. Of civil cafes.
 - III. Inheritance and commerce permitted; and from hence arise the civil cafes of Indostan.
 - IV. Spirit of the Moors and of the Gentoos, in litigious contentions.
 - v. Of the administration of justice in civil cafes
 - VI. Of arbitrations.
 - VII. An objection answered.
 - VIII. Abuse of the forms of justice.
 - IX. General idea of the oppressions of the government.
 - x. Of criminal cafes, and of the justice administered in them.
 - XI. A reflection.

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

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

Composed at Calcutta in September 1752.

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

1616. and several of his English followers were left with Robert.
Osob. 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

* * * * *

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

C O N T E N T S.

B O O K I.

OF THE GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE OF INDOSTAN.

- CAP. I. Nature of the government of Indostan in general.
- II. Particular government of the provinces.
- III. Of the lands.
- IV. Of the mechanics.
- V. Of the arts and sciences.
- VI. Of the people.
- VII. Of the manufactures.
- VIII. Of the trade.
- IX. Of the war.

B O O K II.

CHARACTER OF THE MOORS AND GENTOOS OF INDOSTAN.

- CAP. I. Of the Moors of Indostan.
- II. Manners of the Moors.
- III. Of the politeness and ceremonials of the Moors.
- IV. Of their diffimulation.
- V. Of the Gentoos in general.
- VI. Of the Brachmans.
- VII. Of the Gentoo principalities.

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.

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

1689

ORIGIN OF THE ENGLISH ESTABLISHMENT, AND
OF THE COMPANY'S TRADE,
AT BROACH, 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.

LONDON:
PRINTED FOR F. WINGRAVE, IN THE STRAND,
SUCCESSOR TO MR. NOURSE.

M, DCCC, V.

SUBJECT OF THE
NOTES
TO THE
FRAGMENTS.

NOTE I. p. 165.—*Informations required from India to supply the defects of the Fragments. Importance of the period under consideration.* SECT. I.

NOTE II. p. 166.—*Persic accounts relating to the reign of Aurengzebe.*

NOTE III. p. 168.—*Mr. Frazer.*

NOTE IV. p. 168.—*Catrou's history of the Mogul empire. Manouchi's manuscript.*

NOTE V. p. 169.—*Scope of the Alumguirnama, one of the Persic histories of Aurengzebe.*

NOTE VI. p. 170.—*Aurengzebe—from Gentil's French MS.*

NOTE VII. p. 171.—*Cotemporary accounts by Europeans, which mention Sevagi. Modern, Mr. Dow and Mr. Kerr.*

NOTE

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 wond'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.

“ Adore,

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.

I.

NOTE

SECT. 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.

SECT. I. NOTE LXXVII. p. 287.—*Broach assaulted by Sambagi's troops.*
 —ORIGIN of the company's trade there and at Surat.—
Investment at Broach in 1683.

NOTE LXXVIII. p. 288.—MALQUER, *circar and fortrefs.*

NOTE LXXIX. p. 290.—*Ibrahim Khan general of Golcondah—
 his desertion, and friendship to the English.*

NOTE LXXX. p. 290.—*Descriptions of the city of Viziapore.*

NOTE LXXXI. p. 292.—*The king of Persia's reception of Acbar.*

NOTE LXXXII. p. 293.—*Ancient account of CALBERGA.*

NOTE LXXXIII. p. 296.—*Date of the taking of GOLCONDAH.*

NOTE LXXXIV. p. 297.—*Conquest of the TANJORE COUNTRY
 by Eccogi.*

NOTE LXXXV. p. 305.—*Cablis Cawn, the traiterous favourite
 of Sambagi, and companion of his death.*

NOTE LXXXVI. p. 306.—*Date of the death of Sambagi.—
 Death of Aurengzebe.—Decisive battle between Sultan
 Mauzum and Sultan Azim.*

INDEX.

- VIZIAPORE**, armies, - - - - 62.
 army, - - - - 6. 66. 146.
 capital, - - - - 7.
 cavalry, - - - - 144.
 circar, - - - - 287.
 citadel, - - - - 148.
 city, 7. 8. 9. 17. 29. 30. 37. 61.
 141. 144. 146. 147. 148. 149.
 152. 155. 161. 173. 184. 208.
 209. 206. 291. 292. 293. 302.
 303.
 taken, - - - - 148. 149.
 council, - - - - 64.
 country, 34. 183. 222. 234. 286.
 287. 289. 299. 301.
 inland, - - - - 38.
 description of the city of, 290.
 291.
 dominions, - - - - 8.
 fleet, - - - - 8. 9.
 forces, - - - - 62. 144. 230.
 forts, - - - - 155.
 frontier, - - - - 77.
 general, - - - - 76. 86.
 government, 137. 141. 144. 231.
 302.
 governor of Gingee, 115. 299.
 KING OF, 6. 8. 9. 10. 16. 26. 34.
 35. 37. 44. 56. 61. 69. 91. 114.
 119. 141. 148. 149. 211. 224.
 225. 231. 291. 301. 302. 323.
 palace of, - - - - 291.
 KINGDOM, 5. 7. 10. 16. 22. 34.
 35. 37. 51. 56. 57. 60. 62. 69.
 77. 84. 86. 91. 114. 115. 119.
 120. 125. 134. 144. 148. 149.
 154. 158. 215. 221. 230. 231.
 234. 264. 286. 291.
 minister, - - - - 76.
 northern division, - - - - 144.
 region, - - - - 60.
 operations, - - - - 142.
 subah or province, - - 183. 289.
 territory, - - - - 141.
 troops, - - - - 7. 40. 51. 148.
 war of, - - - - 125. 141.
 western frontiers, - - 155.
 Vizir, - - - - 3. 284. 332. 415.
 Uleg Beg, flourished in 1437, tables of, 217.
 Unicorn, the, an East Indiaman, 375. 380.
 Unitarians, - - - - 240. 241. 242.
 Unity, the, an East Indiaman, - 212. 213.
 Universal History, - - - - 168. 178.
- Volcondah*, - - - - 62. 63. 234.
 Upanishat, 243. See Oupnekhat.
 Upper Chaul. See Chaul.
 Wagira, naigue of Tanjore - - - 301.
 Walledaed, Caun, an officer of Golcondah,
 - - - - 296.
 Wallets, twenty thousand prepared by Se-
 vagi, - - - - 37.
 War of the Hindoos, - - - - 417.
 Ward, Mr. Charles, deputy governor of
 Bombay, - - - - 131. 139. 358.
 Water, the drink of the Indian, - - 469.
 Westlock, captain, - - - - 213.
 Wheat in India produced in sharp regions,
 - - - - 468.
 Widow of Jeffwont Sing, of Joudpore, 75. 76.
 100. 103.
 Wife of Aurengzebe, - - - - 85.
 a Bramin, - - - - 54.
 Chaest Khan, - - - - 14.
 Withington, Mr. 333. 334. 335. 336. 340.
 341. 342.
 Woman, an old, led a multitude in arms
 against Aurengzebe, 73. 251.
 Aurengzebe's benevolent justice
 to, - - - - 236.
 Women, none admitted in Sevagi's army, 91.
 of India, the elegance of their form
 would furnish the statuary with
 the finest hints for the Medician
 Venus, - - - - 461. 465. 466.
 of Indostan, - - - - 412. 413. 461. 468.
 Sambagi's propensity to, his de-
 struction, - - - - 162.
 and children of the king of Gol-
 condah, - - - - 149.
 Women, burnt with their husbands, - 261.
 459.
 Yale, Mr. Elihu, president of Madras, 115.
 296. 299. 306. 303.
Yalore, Nabobs of, - - - - 399.
 Yejûr Ved, the word of God, - - - 242.
 Zamuluc, Nizamalmuluck, king of Berar,
 - - - - 225.
 Zemin, 403. See Zemindar.
 Zemindar, - - - - 170. 262. 402. 403. 450.
 Zinzan, Mr. Charles, deputy governor of
 Bombay, - - - - 139. 140.
 Zoroaster, the religion of, - - - - 182.
 Zulfacar Caun, - - - - 301. 360. 362. 363. 365.
 368.

discover. I sadly want a history of Bahadar Scháh (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. Hofea (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. Hofea 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. i. p. 19, 20.

(aa) Mr. William Hofea, 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 lieut.-col. Sharpe, of his Majesty’s service; and the other to John Bettsworth Trevanion, Esq.

INDEX.

- MOGUL** empire, 3. 21. 142. 167. 172. 173. 179.
- MOGUL**, mentions relating to his ADMINISTRATION and government.
- ambassador, - - - 232.
 - council, - - - 150.
 - court, - 125. 128. 320. 321. 328. 362.
 - dynasty, - - - 211.
 - government in general, 84. 128. 158. 305. 344.
 - at Surat, - 82. 128.
 - governor of Diul, - 340.
 - Pifhvir, - 49.
 - Jenneah, - 195.
 - governors of Surat, - 93.
 - officers, - 319. 334. 346.
 - prefent, - - - 364.
 - purveyors, - - - 345.
 - feraglio, - - - 321.
 - subahs of the Decan, - 93.
 - subjects, - 13. 73. 341.
- MOGUL**, mentions relating to his DOMINION.
- country, 77. 183. 223. 324. 328. 349. 365. 367. 368.
 - lands, - - - 15.
 - ports, - - - 367. 414.
 - territory, - - - 51.
- MOGUL**, mentions relating to his FLEET.
- admiral, - - - 10. 133.
 - fleet, - 27. 29. 35. 36. 38. 54. 64. 114. 115. 116. 117. 119. 121. 126. 133. 134. 135.
 - frigates, - - - 38.
 - ships, - - - 64. 65. 66.
 - title to wrecks, - - 219.
 - vessels (called the king's), - 29.
- MOGUL**, mentions relating to his WARFARE.
- army, 17. 18. 37. 53. 67. 84. 114. 116. 133. 134. 149. 152. 153. 156. 159. 160. 161. 195. 202. 296. 330. 341. 343.
 - camp, - - - 7. 47. 195.
 - cavalry, - - - 132. 163.
 - encampment, - - - 161.
 - forces, - - - 60. 126.
 - general, - - - 60. 160.
 - general's horse, - 24. 66. 160.
 - stations - - - 89.
 - soldiery, - - - 18.
- MOGUL** troops, 10. 16. 18. 47. 72. 90. 101. 119. 142. 145. 157. 161. 163. 304.
- MOGULS**, emperor of the, - - - 106.
- MOGULS**, meaning their sovereignty in India, 4. 5. 50. 158. 212. 301. 361. 457.
- Mogul's mother, - - - 325.
 - Mogul's son, - - - 205.
 - Mohila*, island of, - - - 362. 378.
 - Mohurs gold, - - - 104.
 - Molana Shah, - - - 240.
 - Molundy*, territory, - - - 133.
 - Mombaze*, port of, - - - 379.
 - Monghir*, fort, - - - 201. 202.
 - Monopoly of the trade to India, by the Dutch, 271.
 - Monotheism, - - - 241. 242. 243. 244.
 - Monfoon, 41. 42. 49. 64. 107. 110. 113. 150. 203. 350. 461.
 - Monstrous abuses of the forms of justice in
 - Indostan, - - - 448.
 - Montesquieu, - - - 466.
 - Moodapah, bramin, - - - 147.
 - Moorish captains, - - - 225.
 - government, - - - 341.
 - governor of San Thomé, - - 30.
- MOORS**, 32. 41. 117. 234. 268. 269. 306. 397. 418. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 427. 428. 431. 432. 435. 438. 439. 440. 442. 443. 444. 451. 452.
- MOOR** ship, - - - 417.
- MORAD** Bukh, - 171. See Cawn Bukh.
- MORAD** fultan, brother of Aurengzebe, - 73. 187. 189. 190. 191. 192.
- MORAH** Pundit, Sevagi's principal general, and first minister, - 27. 29. 44. 46. 55. 57. 64. 66. 70. 84. 85. 87. 90. 95. 96. 222. 223. 234.
- MORATTOE**, country, 6. 41. 211. 212. 256. 263. 265.
- creed, - - - 211.
 - custom, - - - 143.
 - government, - 114. 164. 298. 303. 304.
 - governor of Porto Novo, 116.
 - individual, - - - 143.
 - language, - 41. 210. 211. 303.
 - nation, - 6. 41. 171. 178. 180. 181. 210. 235. 237. 257. 297. 301.
 - religion, - - - 45. 211.
 - sovereignty, - - 45. 235.
 - state, - - - 303.
- MORATTOES**

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.—

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 Daman, 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 Daman, is called the GAUTS, an Indian word which

n. 17.

signifies

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Your faithful humble Servant,

WILLIAM ROBERTSON."

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

he

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^o koornis, or low obeisance, 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

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.

SECT.

I.

1678.

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 Coffim with the fleets, after quitting Bombay in November 1677, continued cruising along the coast of the Concan,

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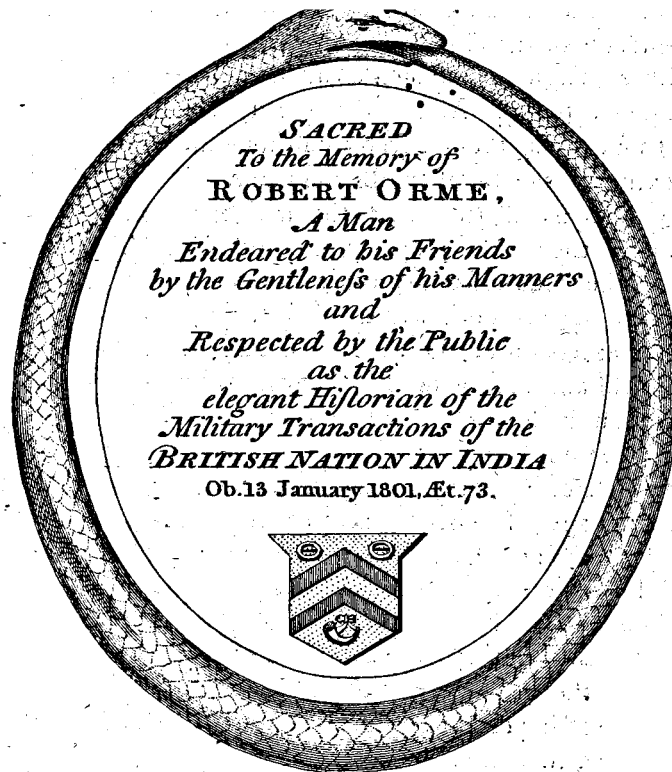
INDEX.

- Scott, Captain Jonathan, - - - 210.
 Scythians, - - - 459.
 Sebah-takin, father of Mahmud, *ibid.*
 Secrets to be concealed, 244. See Oupnekhat.
 Secunder Sani, or Sultan Alaeddin, emperor
 of Delhi, - - - 211.
 Seers, - - - 436.
 Seif, the king of Persia a descendant of, 388.
 Selim, son of Achar, - - - 185.
Senaar, - - - 325.
 Sēnyāsees, - - - 243.
 Sepulchre at Agra, said to have cost 750,000*L.*
 188.
Sera, country of, - - - 286.
 Seraglio, - - - 186. 412.
 the ladies of, solicited Aurengzebe
 to destroy Sevagi, - - - 14.
Serinagur, - - - 190. 192.
 Seringa Rajah, last king of Carnatica, 62.
Seringapatam, the capital of Myfore, 63.
 141. 145. 234. 301.
 Serji Khan, the general of Viziapore, 77. 86.
 144. 145.
 Seva, meaning a rat, - - - 263.
 Seveages, Sevagi's people or troops, 178.
 SEVAGI, 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16.
 17. 19. 20. 21. 22. 24. 25. 26. 27.
 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 34. 35. 36. 37.
 38. 39. 40. 41. 43. 44. 46. 47. 48.
 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 58. 59. 61.
 63. 64. 65. 66. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72.
 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 82. 83. 84. 85.
 86. 87. 89. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96.
 97. 98. 100. 101. 111. 114. 115.
 129. 136. 154. 155. 162. 170. 171.
 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178.
 179. 180. 181. 192. 193. 194. 196.
 199. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 211.
 212. 213. 215. 216. 219. 220. 221.
 222. 223. 224. 232. 233. 234. 235.
 258. 259. 260. 263. 264. 265. 297.
 298. 299. 300. 302. 303.
 his character, from page 90 to 95.
 his funeral, - - - 260.
 implied by father, - - - 124.
 a consummate hero and sovereign,
 174.
 his eldest son, - - - 13. 14. 15.
 his sons Sambagi and Ramrajah;
 which see.
 Aurengzebe used to call him the
 mountain rat, - - - 263.
 mentions of his COUNTRY.
 coasts, - - - 48. 53. 64.
 corlāhs, - - - 1 - 53. 66.
- SEVAGI, countries, - - - 69.
 country, - - - 26. 223. 265.
 shore, - - - 79. 96.
 flores, the whole of his dominion on
 the sea, - - - 105.
 upper or northern country, 26.
 mentions of his GOVERNMENT
 and ADMINISTRATION.
 bribes, how judiciously applied, 93.
 government, - - - 65. 70. 93.
 governors, - - - 65.
 subadar, or governor of Upper Chaul,
 65. 72.
 treasures, - - - 92.
 treasuries, - - - 111.
 mentions of his WARFARE.
 agents, - - - 215.
 army, 14. 27. 34. 47. 58. 204. 221. 262.
 artillery, - - - 40.
 assassins, - - - 11.
 assistance, - - - 69.
 attacks - - - 78.
 bands, - - - 16.
 batteries, - - - 72.
 body of troops - - - 29.
 booty, - - - 34.
 camp, - - - 15.
 camps, - - - 12.
 cannon, 36. 38. 41. 81. 109. 232. 307.
 cavalry, - - - 91. 262.
 conquest, - - - 155.
 detachment, - - - 25. 89.
 exertions, - - - 25.
 mentions of his WARFARE.
 expedition, - - - 63. 66. 68. 233.
 floating platforms, - - - 57.
 foot, - - - 262.
 force, - - - 27. 37. 40. 84.
 fortresses, - - - 93.
 forts in the northern hills, - - - 10.
 general, - - - 44. 55.
 general description of his warfare,
 offensive and defensive, from page
 91 to page 94.
 horse, - - - 30. 55. 58. 84. 223. 262.
 horse and foot, - - - 46.
 march - - - 26.
 men, - - - 44. 57. 71.
 mogul's war against him, - - - 100.
 officers, - - - 173. 216.
 outposts, - - - 11.
 parties, - - - 47.
 party, - - - 12.
 plundering, - - - 10.
 in Viziapore, - - - 16.
- SEVAGI,

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.



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 ashore 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

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. Buffu. 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.

* * * * *

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 portions 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.

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 fortrefs 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 Bengalore, 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 dependance; and Keiffwa Puntolo, disappointed in his scheme, treated him as if he never had had any, with much exterior respect.

INDEX.

- TANJORE**, king, - - - 297. 298.
kingdom, - - - 227. 235. 301.
naigue of, 299. 300. 301. 375.
women burnt with the, 261.
sovereignty, - - - 300. 301.
town, - - - 228. 299.
- Tanks**,
of water, poisoned by Sambagi, 158.
- Tannah**, - - - 71. 81. 217. 238. 282.
- Tanore**, - - - 174.
- Tapfells**, - - - 288.
- Tapti**, river, - 22. 41. 145. 210. 211. 287.
- Tartars**, - 91. 185. 418. 421. 422. 425. 437.
457. 458. 461.
- Tartary**, - - - 457. 459. 462.
horses of, - - - 262.
- Tatimal**, purgunnah, - - - 286.
- Tatta**, - - - 359.
the capital of Scindy, - 334. 335.
- Tavernier**, - - - 171. 172. 232. 290. 458.
- Tauris**, Shah Abbas II. died at, - 21.
- Taxes**, established, - - - 140.
- Tchit Koka**, purgunnah, - - - 296.
- Tchitpel**, - - - 184.
- Teaver Caun**, one of Acbar's generals, 102.
- Teber Estoon**, a palace in Persia, - 196.
- Teling**, the son of Decan. See the fabulous
history of the Hindoos, in Note xxix,
page 209. 210.
- Telंगा**, or the Gentoo language, - 210.
- Tellicherry**, - - - 174. 175.
- Temi Rajah**, - - - 225.
- Tenure**, - - - 300.
- Tepra**, kingdom of, - - - 458.
- Terry**, Edward, chaplain to Sir Thomas
Roe, - - - 380.
- Thamas Kouli Khan**, - - - 399.
- Thana**, city, - - - 217.
- Thevenapatam**, - - - 137. 158. 228.
- Thevenot**, 172. 173. 182. 194. 231. 232. 257.
291. 292. 459.
- Thibet**, great and little, - - - 457.
- Thornburn**, Lieutenant, - 130. 131. 139.
- Tillianpurah**, - - - 282.
- Timiragio**, - - - 225. 226. 227.
his son, - - - 227.
- Timurean race**, - - - 254.
- Tinivelly**, - - - 227.
- Todos Santos**, a Portuguese man of war, 348.
- Toglipoor**, rock, - - - 286.
- Tombadra**, river, - - - *ibid.*
- Tombs**, - - - 216. 294. 295.
- Tonquin**, - - - 118.
- Topasses**, - - - 130. 145.
- Trade of Indostan**, - - - 413.
- Trade's Increase**, an East Indiaman, - 375.
- Trading-boats**, - - - 112.
- Tranquebar**, - - - 228. 231.
- Travencore**, king of, - - - 435.
- Tribute to the Moguls**, - - - 212.
- Trimtiwash**, - - - 299. 300.
- Trimul**, naigue of Madura and Tritchinopoly,
301.
- Trincnamalee**, - - - 30. 32. 176. 177.
- Trinomalee**, - - - 157.
- Tripetti**, - - - 63. 227. 228.
- Tritchinopoly**, - - - 134. 228. 301. 304.
king, - - - 297.
- Trivadi**, - - - 228. 235.
- Trivalore**, - - - 228.
- Tull**, - - - 24. 78.
- Turaun**, chiefs of, - - - 252.
- Turkey**, - - - 200.
- Turkish empire**, - - - 383. 388. 389. 441.
history, - - - 264.
territories, - - - 386.
- Turks**, - - - 325. 385. 387. 388.
- Turmerick**, - - - 257.
- Tustichhund**, family of, - - - 450.
- Vacqueel**, - - - 282. 283. 284.
- Valaru**, river, - - - 62.
- Valengarah**, - - - 296.
- Van de Blocquerii**, Solomon, - - 278.
- Vanden Heuvel**, Isaac, - - - 272.
- Vandivagh**, - - - 160. 161.
- Van Goen**, Rickloff. See Rickloff.
- Van Hoorn**, Jacob, - - - 272.
- Vaniambady**, valley of, - - - 62.
- Vardah**, river, - - - 287.
- Vauxe**, Mr. John, of the council, Bomba,
130.
- Vayim**, 222. See *Rayim*.
- UDPERRI**, favourite wife of Aurengzebe,
and mother of Cawn Bukh, 85. 150. 266.
- Uzbeg-Tartary**, - - - 457.
- Vedes**, four Bedes, - - - 239.
- Velore**, - 62. 228. 230. 231. 232. 235. 262.
- Venice**, - - - 382.
- Venkitrou**, - - - 225.
- Vercingetorix**, - - - 458. 466.
- Verjal**, - - - 95. 264.
- Verfovah**, factors, - - - 132.
- Vice-regents**, - - - 399.
- Viceroy in the Decan**, - - - 63.
of Goa, 23. 133. 203. See Goa and
Portuguese.
- Viceroy**s or **Nahob**s, - - - 397. 398.
- Vincent**, Mr., - - - 128. 129.
- Vindy**, supposed king of Candish, - 223.
- Wingorlah**, - - - 42. 53. 98. 125. 133. 177.

VIZIAPORE,

INDEX.

- Providence, - - - - 244.
 Psalms, the, - - - - 241. 244.
 Pullicatte, - - - - 62. 228.
 Punamallee, - - - - 157. 158. 160.
 Pundits, - - - - 243.
 Purchas, - - - - 277. 326. 349. 359. 366.
 Purgunnahs, or districts, 183. 184. 221. 257.
 258. 285. 286. 287. 289. 293.
- Radcliffe library, Oxford, - - 166. 238.
 Radenpore, on the river Kutch, 334. 336.
 Radgeepore, - - - - 373.
 Raebari forts, - - - - 146.
 Raibung, the purgunnahs of, 184. 258. 287.
 294.
 Raiment, very little used in India, 47.
 Raimouli, - - - - 286.
 Rairee, Rari, 22. 24. 25. 26. 27. 30. 31.
 34. 35. 37. 38. 39. 40. 47. 52. 53.
 54. 55. 58. 60. 63. 64. 69. 71. 76.
 77. 81. 84. 85. 87. 88. 89. 90. 92.
 95. 96. 104. 106. 107. 109. 110.
 115. 116. 117. 119. 120. 126. 134.
 140. 143. 145. 146. 214. 215. 221.
 223. 234. 238. 287.
 government of, - - - - 108.
 Rajah, of Abnir, Jyving, - - - 13. 15.
 Arracan, - - - - 49. 192.
 Berar, - - - - 84.
 Bulbul, - - - - 335.
 Chitore, - - - - 6. 75. 182.
 Ghour, - - - - 27. 28.
 Jeffwont Sing, who is likewise
 meant by the Rajah of Marwar
 and Joudpore, - - - - 75. 85.
 Myfore, - - - - 141.
 Ramnagur, - - - - 27. 28.
 Serinagur, - - - - 192.
 Sundah, - - - - 124.
 See Abnir, Chitore, Jeffwont Sing,
 Joudpore, Jyving, Marwar, Raj-
 poot, Ramfing, Ranah.
 Rajahs in general, 170. 171. 182. 264. 268.
 269. 270. 397. 398.
 Mahomed Sadick's army from
 Golcondah, - - - - 160.
 Sultan Mauzum's army, - 18.
 between Rajapore and Mirzeou,
 35.
 petty, - - - - 73. 103.
 rajpoots, - - - - 100.
 Ranah, lord of the, 35. 40. 75.
 268. 269. 270.
 Rajahships in general, - - - 74. 95.
- Rajapore, distinct from Dunda Rajapore,
 22. 25. 26. 35. 36. 38. 40. 44. 51.
 53. 64. 88. 111. 120. 133. 137. 145.
 150. 174. 175. 222. 259. 260.
 records, - - - - 259. 260.
 river of, - - - - 22.
 meaning Dunda Rajapore, 9.
 Rajpoot, general of Joudpore, - 103.
 nation, - - - - 90.
 officer, - - - - 106.
 princes, - - - - 265.
 rajahs, - - - - 100. 266.
 tribes, - - - - 6. 267.
 Rajpoots, 6. 45. 74. 75. 76. 85. 98. 99.
 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 106. 142. 182.
 267. 269. 335. 336. 357.
 Ramali, - - - - 286.
 Ramdeo, fort, - - - - 113.
 Ramnagur, - - - - 27. 28. 171.
 Ramnaut Cawn, a Mogul general, 116. 117.
 119. 120.
 Ramragio, - - - - 225.
 RAM RAJAH, son of Sevagi, 95. 105. 225.
 260. 270.
 Ramfing, son of Jyving, - - - 75. 255.
 Ranah, or lord of the rajahs, 35. 40. 75.
 or lord of the rajahs of Chitore, 75.
 76. 85. 86. 99. 100. 104. 106. 107.
 Raolkondah, diamond mines, - 226.
 Rat of India, Sevagi compared to, 263. 264.
 Rayim fort, - - - - 60. 221. 222.
 Rebellion, Kaloundgi, Rajah, his, 171.
 Rebels, - - - - 170. 204. 301. 304.
 of Bombay, 132. 134. 135. 137. 138.
 Records belonging to the East India Com-
 pany, - - - - 181. 233. 298.
 Red Sea, ships trading to the, 82. 323. 324.
 337. 345. 371.
 Reflections in favour of Christianity and
 Liberty, - - - - 454.
 Rehemy, the, an Indian ship, the largest on
 the seas of India, 325. 326. 346. 361.
 Religious Rites of the Morattoes, 211.
 Revenge frigate, - - - - 79. 80. 134.
 Revenues of the Decan, as rated in the
 king's books, - - - 183. 401. 411. 414.
 Ribetro, - - - - 198.
 Rice, easily digested, - - - 404. 405. 468.
 harvests sometimes fail in India, 470.
 Rickloff Van Goen 30. 32. 33. 41. 42. 48.
 his son, - - - - 207.
 Rik Ved, the word of God, - - 242.
 Robbers, bands of, - - - - 142.
 Rochelle, - - - - 176.
 Rochester, lord, - - - - 272.
 Roe,

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.

SECT.

I.

1677.

n. 47.

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 Mysore. It was impossible that this rapid success should have been the mere effect of his arms; but that availing himself of the dif-

n. 48.

cords

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

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 *l.* a year (t).

In order, however, to obtain all possible information respecting the operations of the French in the Carnatic, he applied to lieutenant 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."

* * * * *

who was a very intelligent Bramin, deputed thither in a public capacity by Rajah Janogi 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.

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 labouriousness 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.

INDEX.

- SEVAGI**, posts, - - - - - 93.
 ravaging, - - - - - 26. 77.
 resistance, - - - - - 13.
 retreat, - - - - - 86.
 revolt, - - - - - 211. 215.
 sieges, - - - - - 92.
 small parties, - - - - - 14.
 troops, 6. 7. 15. 37. 39. 40. 51. 71.
 77. 81. 90. 220.
 mentions of his **MARINE**.
 admirals, - - - - - 70. 80.
 armada, - - - - - 80.
 boats, - - - - - 70. 79. 81.
 feize, Kenary, - - - - - 79.
 convoy, - - - - - 83.
 fleet, - - - - - 77. 78. 80. 207.
 fight the Siddees and are beaten,
 87.
 increased to 57 fail, - - - - - 53.
 Sevagi wished to command
 at sea, - - - - - 263.
 gallivats, 53. 78. 80. 81. 83. 88.
 grabs, - - - - - 53. 78. 87. 88.
 sea ports, - - - - - 10.
 vessels, - - - - - 24.
 of trade and war, - - - - - 58.
 See **Anchideva**, **Carwar**, **Hendary**,
 Kenary, **Rajapore**, **Siddeé**.
Sevaguzies, - - - - - 209. 257. 288.
 Seven climates, the inhabitants of the, 252.
Sewáji, prince of Cokin, meaning Sevagi, 180.
Shabander, or custom master, - - - - - 349.
SHAH ABBAS H. died at Tauris, 20. 21.
 196. 336. 359. 382. 384. 386. Meant by
 Sophy of Persia.
Shah-Gi, father of Sambagi, Eccogi, and
 Sevagi, 302. See **Saow**.
SHAH JEHAN, *i. e.* king of the world, father
 of Aurengzebe, 4. 5. 20. 73. 107. 166. 170.
 187. 188. 190. 192. 232. 245. 253. 360.
SHAH ZADA, or heir of the Mogul empire, 3.
Shaista Cawn, 185. See **Chaeit Khan**.
Shánávaze Khan, son of Aspha Jah, 187. 190.
 191. 265.
Sharpeigh, captain of the **Ascension**, 321.
 322. 375.
Shaw-ji, or **Suhu-ji**, son of Eccogi, 301.
Shawn, chiefs of, - - - - - 252.
Sheike Suffee, governor of **Ahmedabad**,
 328.
Sheko Soliman, son of sultan **Darah**, 189.
 190. 192. 240. 245.
Shekferadje, the tomb of, - - - - - 294.
Shere Afkun, - - - - - 185.
Shibars, trading boats used at **Bombay**, 79.
 80. 82.
Shipman, fir **Andrew**, died - - - - - 25.
Shiraz in Persia, - - - - - 195.
Shirley, **Anthony**, 382. 383. 384. 385. 386.
 387. 388. 389. 390.
 fir **Robert**, 336. 338. 358. 359. 381.
 382. 389. 390.
Shirpi, - - - - - 227.
Shlòks-verfes, 243. See **Slòks**.
SIAM, - - - - - 118. 274.
Sibon, a Portuguese fort, - - - - - 54. 220. 221.
SIDDEES, the people so called, 10. 44. 56. 78.
 107. 108. 323.
 their origin, - - - - - 55. 56. 57.
 meaning those in the fleet, or the
 fleet itself, 31. 71. 72. 97.
Siddee, the, meaning the admiral or com-
 mander in chief of the state, 24. 25.
 29. 134. 135. 139. 202. 223. These
 references are only to the title, when the
 person is not ascertained.
Siddeé Goffim, admiral and commander in
 chief. See **Goffim**.
 Cowis Cawn. See **Cowis Cawn**.
 • **Curry**. See **Curry**.
 Jore. See **Jore**.
 • **Misery**. See **Misery**.
 Sambole, admiral and commander
 in chief. See **Sambole**.
SIDDEES, mention of their **FLEET** and the
 crews.
 admiral's ship, - - - - - 121. 122.
 boats, - - - - - 42.
 fleet, 27. 29. 35. 36. 38. 39. 40.
 • 41. 42. 45. 46. 48. 53. 54. 71.
 • 77. 82. 87. 88. 98. 111. 114.
 • 121. 126. 154.
 gallivats, 82. 88. 107. 108. 111. 112.
 men, - - - - - 36. 97.
 pitañs, - - - - - 121.
 quarters, - - - - - 71.
 ships, - - - - - 29. 39. 53. 82. 111.
 smaller vessels, - - - - - 111.
 vessels, 31. 36. 55. 56. 57. 71. 87.
Sidi Amber, governor of **Doultabad**, 170.
Sikes, the, - - - - - 237.
Silver chains, - - - - - 104. 149.
Sindam Konki, - - - - - 289.
Sindy, port, - - - - - 325.
Singanian vessels, - - - - - 138.
Sion, town in **Bombay**, - - - - - 42.
Slavery, has sharpened the natural fineness of
 all the spirits of Asia, - - - - - 431.
Slaves, - - - - - 83. 86. 96. 205.
Slòks-verfes, 243. See **Shlòks**.
Smith, General **Richard**, - - - - - 183.
 Smirns

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 Luceius 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 pressed to speak at the ensuing Encænæia; 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

LIFE AND WRITINGS

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, Margaretta 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 Margaretta 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.

LIFE AND WRITINGS

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

INDEX.

161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168.
 169. 170. 171. 179. 180. 187. 188. 189.
 190. 191. 192. 193. 199. 200. 219. 224.
 232. 233. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 250.
 264. 265. 266. 267. 290. 292. 293. 306.
 307.
- AURENGZEBE**, his death, - 306. 307.
 completely skilled in the
 Arabic, Persian, and Turk-
 ish history, - 264.
 his armies, - 107.
 governors, - 74.
 public audience, - 151.
 used to call Sevagi the
 mountain rat, - 263.
- Azamnagar**, circar, - 184. 286. 287.
Azantara, - - - - - 184.
- Azim**, sultan, son of Aurengzebe, 76. 86. 98.
 100. 101. 107. 111. 113. 114. 119. 120.
 134. 141. 144. 145. 146. 150. 152. 153.
 154. 265. 266. 307. 308.
- Azmir**, city, 74. 86. 98. 100. 101. 107. 191.
 364. 372.
- Bacain**. See *Bassein*.
- Baftaes**, - - - - - 209. 257. 288.
Bagdad, - - - - - 382. 383. 387.
Bagland, country, - - - - - 170.
Bahadar Khan, 21. 51. 52. 53. 60. 61. 63.
 69. 104. 113. 115. 143. 222. 223.
 232.
 Shah, or the victorious king, 308.
- Balagat**, - - - - - 222.
Baldæus, - - - - - 264. 291. 292.
Balgot (*Balugat*), - - - - - 222.
Balgui, purgunnah, - - - - - 296.
Balk, - - - - - 171.
Baloon, or boat of ceremony, - 117.
Bahuches, people of, - 337. 338. 339.
Balzar, - - - - - 368.
Bamanis, sultans, - - - - - 294. 295.
Bamboö, - - - - - 408. 471.
Banaras, *Benaras*, city, - - - 239. 243.
Bancapore, a circar, 60. 221. 222. 236. 237.
Bandarra, a notorious jew, - - 203.
Bang. See the fabulous history of the Hin-
 doos, note xxxix. - - - - - 209. 210.
Bangham, a joiner, - - - - - 321. 322. 323.
Banians, - - - - - 72. 335. 336. 344. 358. 465.
Bantam, in the island of Java, - 118. 270.
 271. 273. 274. 275. 277. 278. 279. 285.
 319. 320. 327. 337. 340. 356. 370. 375.
Bantam, city, - - - - - 118. 274.
 new king, - 118. 274. 276. 279.
- Bantam**, old king, - 118. 274. 278. 279.
Baraer, - - - - - 373.
Barcelore, - - - - - 325.
Bardcz, island of, near Goa, 40. 41. 210. 211.
 river, - - - - - 133.
Bardge, rajah of Bagland country, - 170.
Bardiana, - - - - - 335.
Baron, Mr: the French director at Surat, 33.
Basha of Senaar, - - - - - 325.
Baskets, Sevagi and his son made their escape
 from Delhi in, - - - - - 15.
Bass, captain, - - - - - 213.
Bassein, 12. 23. 41. 45. 46. 54. 71. 79. 81. 95.
 115. 116. 126. 140. 141. 142. 175. 206.
 207. 216. 218. 220. 221. 238. 263. 264.
 360.
Bassein, fleet of, - - - - - 141.
 governor of, - - - - - 46. 71. 116.
Basserikankona, - - - - - 286.
Batacia, in the island of Java, 118. 177. 208.
 274. 275. 277. 278.
- Bathurst**, sir John, - - - - - 272.
Bedgr, - - - - - 5. 172. 221. 289. 295. 296.
Bedes, four Vedes, the sacred writings of
 the Hindoos in the Sanskrit language,
 239. 249. 250.
Behar, province, - - - - - 3. 25. 201. 202.
Behat, river, in Cashmere, - - - 187.
Beliapatam, - - - - - 174.
Bendal, an Englishman, - - - - - 150.
BENGAL, province, 3. 5. 49. 76. 127. 128.
 176. 177. 183. 190. 192. 201. 210. 229.
 250. 251. 287. 404. 405. 409. 412. 415.
 416. 426.
BENGAL, government, - - - - - 128.
 nabob of, - 129. 399. 424. 426.
 427. 450.
 records, 281. See Authorities.
Bengal, too rank for horses, - - - 262.
Bengala, - - - - - 205. 381.
Bengalore, - - - - - 155. 156. 157.
Bengatre, a commandant, - - - - 225.
Benjah Gungarço, - - - - - 282.
Berar, - - - - - 5. 84. 188. 225. 257. 289.
Berawghies, - - - - - 254.
Bergerah, - - - - - 174.
Bernier, Mr: 172. 182. 195. 232. 240. 265.
 267. 291. 292.
Best, captain, of the Dragon, - 327. 328.
 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 340. 342. 343.
 345. 375.
Beyah Bofeman, - - - - - 282.
Bible, no tribe without one, - - - 242.
Bicholin, near Goa, - - - - - 123. 125.
Biddulph,

INDEX.

- Peru*, - - - - - 470.
Perwannah, - - - - - 284.
Pefgourri, Mctkal, - - - - - 296.
 Penitence, Sultan Mauzum's camp afflicted by, - - - - - 142. 156.
Peteraroes, - - - - - 124.
 Petit, Mr. one of the company's factors, * 72. 127. 128. 129. 130. 135. 137. 138.
Pettipolly, factory, - - - - - 212.
 Peyton, captain, of the Expedition, 368. 375.
Philippines, - - - - - 203.
 Philosophers stone, the Mahomedans spend money in quest of, - - - - - 200
 Phirmaunds, from the Mogul to the East India company, - 128. 129. 332. 341. 342. 343. 363. 366. 371. 372. 374. from the Mogul to Petit and Boucher, - - - - - 136.
 from Sambagi, for the trade in the Gingee country, 116.
 Phoufdar, or governor, 282. 283. 401. 402. 403. 450.
 of Carwar, - - - - - 36.
 Sambagi's, on the main, 108.
Pilcundah, 234. See *Volcondah*.
 Pilgrims, tax levied on them, - - - - - 285.
Pinna, Chaukna, fort, - - - - - 26.
 Pir, or Saint, - - - - - 294.
 Piracy, encouraged by Sevagi, - - - - - 10.
 Pirates, Malabar, - - - - - 77.
Pishavir, - - - - - 21. 49. 67. 68.
 Pitau, Pitans, tribes of Pishavir and Cabul, 21. 224. 236. 237.
 war of, 25. 49. 67. 68. 76. 106.
 Pitau, an impostor, - - - - - 50.
 Bullal Khan, minister and general of Viziapore, - - - - - 76.
 Teaver Cawn, - - - - - 102.
 two belonging to the Siddee, 121.
 Pitt, Mr. - - - - - 128.
 Plantain tree, - - - - - 470.
 Pole tax. See Capitation tax.
 Politeness and Ceremonies of the Moors, 425.
 Pollum, 402. See Polygar.
 Polygars of Coromandel, 160. 262. 402.
Panduh, 22. 38. 40. 44. 51. 111. 123. 124. 155. 197. 220.
Poonah, capital of the Morattoes, 146. 197. 237.
 Pope, the, - - - - - 382. 388.
Porto Novo, - - - - - 62. 116. 137. 299.
 Morattoe governor of, 116.
 Porus, - - - - - 6. 182. 459.
 PORTUGAL, crown of, - - - - - 23. 79.
 gentry of, - - - - - 23.
 king of, - - - - - 361.
- PORTUGAL, princess of, Katherine, queen of Charles II. - - - - - 23.
 PORTUGUESE, the, meaning their GOVERNMENT or people in INDIA, 8. 22. 27. 28. 30. 35. 37. 39. 40. 41. 45. 52. 54. 71. 79. 81. 82. 111. 112. 115. 122. 123. 124. 126. 127. 133. 134. 136. 141. 198. 202. 205. 207. 211. 215. 218. 220. 221. 227. 230. 238. 277. 320. 321. 322. 329. 333. 337. 338. 340. 341. 343. 344. 347. 349. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 365. 366. 368. 370. 371. 378. 379. 383. 386.
 PORTUGUESE, their COUNTRY, districts, territory in INDIA, expressed or implied of Bassein, 45. 46. 71. 95. 126. 141. 142. 264. Daman, 53. 95. 126. 141. 264. town of Chaul, - - - - - 109.
 See Bassein, Chaul, Daman, Goa.
 PORTUGUESE, their MARINE.
 armada, 219. 320. 321. 323. 349. 353. 354. 355. 368.
 boats, - - - - - 124.
 fleet, 123. 207. 329. 330. 331. 347. 349. 350. 351. 355. 368.
 frigates, 126. 327. 328. 333. 348. 351. 352. 353. 354.
 gallions, 329. 331. 332. 337. 347. 348. 349. 350. 353. 353.
 gallivats, - - - - - 46. 320.
 grabs, - - - - - *ibid.*
 junks, - - - - - 351. 352.
 ships, 120. 324. 347. 369. 376.
 Portuguese governor of Bassein, - - - - - 116.
 government of Surat, 320. 371.
 Jesuits, 61. 292. 333. 341. 344. 366.
 trade, - - - - - 145. 371.
 Pourib. See the fabulous history of the Hindoos in Note xxix. page 209. 210.
Pournæ river, - - - - - 184.
 Powel, Michael, brother of sir Thomas, 359. sir Thomas, 336. 337. 338. 358. 359. his widow, - - - - - 359.
 Predictions believed in India, - - - - - 200.
 Presidency, English, at Surat. See Surat.
 President, the East Indiaman, 120. 213.
 Pretender to the throne, as king of Indostan, 50. 68. 298.
 Prince, meaning sultan Mauzum, 17. Hindoo princes, - - - - - 6.
Priuli, - - - - - 216.
 Property in Indostan, subject to oppressions, 451.
 Prophet, no tribe without a prophet or bible, 242. 243.
 Providence,

INDEX.

- Biddulph, Mr.** - - - - 343. 362.
Bider, - - - - - 257.
Bidnoor, - - - - - 234. 289.
Billigong, fort - - - 60. 221. 222.
Bimra, river, - - - - 289. 295. 296.
Biscay, bay of, - - - - 375.
Bismillah, - - - - - 240.
Bijnagar, city, 61. 224. 225. 226. 227. 299.
 king of, - - - - 61. 227. 231.
 kingdom, - - - - - 227.
Boats of Goa, armed with pateraroes, 124.
Boadam, Mr. Charles, - - - 238.
 Mr. R. H. - - - - - 238.
BOMBAY—bay, 30. 33. 38. 70. 206. 212.
 216. 222. 223. 224.
 boats, 79. 81. 82. 83. 87. 107.
 council, 72. 82. 97. 107. 108. 109.
 116. 117. 122. 137. 140. 256.
 fleet, vessels, - - - - 69. 80.
 fort, - - - - 65. 113. 131. 139.
 gallivats, - - - - - 107.
 garrison of, - - - - 80. 81. 121.
 government, 43. 44. 46. 65. 71.
 79. 80. 83. 88. 118. 136. 139.
 140. 221.
 governor, - - - - - 23. 140.
 grabs, - - - - - 80.
BOMBAY—harbour, - 22. 31. 32. 36. 38.
 39. 42. 45. 53. 69. 70. 72. 77. 112. 119.
 125. 126. 132. 134. 139. 175. 218. 237.
 267.
BOMBAY—island, 23. 31. 32. 35. 36. 38. 39.
 41. 42. 47. 48. 49. 54. 55. 71. 73. 79. 81.
 82. 83. 95. 96. 97. 98. 104. 108. 109. 110.
 111. 112. 114. 115. 116. 119. 120. 127.
 134. 136. 139. 140. 197. 198. 203. 212.
 224. 237. 238. 258. 259. 264. 267.
BOMBAY—military, - - - - 33. 130.
 militia, - - - - - 33.
 port, - - - - - 64.
 presidency, - - - - 138. 140.
 records, 208. 214. 219. 221. 224.
 233. 236. 260. See Authorities.
 town, 26. 42. 88. 121. 130. 134.
 177. 194. 197. 203. 216. 237.
 268.
 trade, - - - - - 305.
Bombay, the, an East Indiaman, 212. 213.
Bombs, not made use of in the armies of
 Aurengzebe, - - - - - 193.
 Bon-mots of Aurengzebe, - - - 166.
Bonjolo, districts of, - - - - 211.
Bonjolo, name of Sevagi's family, - 90.
Boomah, the son of Rajah Bulbul, 335. 336.
Boucher, Mr. - - - - 127. 128. 129. 130.
Boughton, procured the first phirmaunds and
 establishment of the company in Bengal,
 in 1636, - - - - - 128.
Bourbon, ide, - - - - - 174. 176.
Brachmans, the - 432. 433. 434. 435. 439.
 459. See Bramins.
Bramah, the doctrines of, - - - 73. 238.
Bramin—Bramins, 40. 43. 65. 70. 90. 147.
 148. 200. 227. 234. 238. 239. 245. 253.
 254. 261. 294. 432. 433. 434. 435. 439.
 466. 472.
Bramin—Bramins, wife, - - - - 54.
 will eat fish or flesh, 469.
Brampore, 5. 17. 20. 47. 75. 76. 84. 89. 106.
 107. 113. 143. 144. 172. 256. 237. 363.
 364. 371. 372.
Brett, Mr. his translation of Feyjoo quoted,
 263.
Bribes given by Sevagi, how judiciously ap-
 plied, - - - - - 93.
Bricks, very good ones in India, - - 472.
Bridroor, - - - - 234. See Bidnoor.
Britisha musetm, - - - - 239. See Halhed.
 nation, - - - - - 3.
Britons, - - - - - 466.
Broach, city, 145. 149. 287. 288. 334. 336.
 343. 344. 356. 357. 371. 372. 373.
 territory, - - - - - 287.
Brodera, a mart, - 334. 343. 356. 357. 373.
Brown, captain, - - - - - 213.
Budgerow, - - - - - 282.
Buggshi - - - - - 401. See Buxey.
Bullal Khan, a Pitan, general and officer of
 the Viziapore government, - 34. 76. 144.
 145. 233.
Bundelcund, - - - - - 170.
Burnet, Bishop, quoted. - - - - 278. 279.
Bushire, - - - - - 150.
Buffarah, - - - - - 172.
Buffy, M^r. - - - - - 257. 292.
Buxey, or paymaster-general, 308. 401. See
 Buggshi.
Byram Chan, - - - - - 167.
Cahlis Cawn, minister of Sambagi, 125. 162.
 163. 305.
Cabul, - - - - 5. 21. 49. 67. 171. 307. 308.
Cadi, or ecclesiastical judge, - - - 217.
 of Miana, - - - - - 172.
 of Taunah, - - - - - 217.
Casar, - - - - - 458.
Casar, the, an East Indiaman, - - - 213.
Casar, Frederic, the Venetian traveller, 224.
 225. 226. 227.

INDEX

- COMPANY**, their records, 298. See Authorities.
- residences, - - - 356^p
- service, - - - 128. 138.
- settlements, - - - 127.
- ships from England, commonly called East India-men, 34. 41. 109. 120. 121. 131. 132. 135. 137. 140. 329. 337. 342. 343^p
- trade, - 36. 115. 121. 223. 224. 230. 273. 305. 322. 341. 356. 367. 381.
- Compendious history of the Mogul empire**, - - - 167.
- Compensation of losses sustained**, - - - 137.
- Concan**, 5. 7. 10. 16. 18. 22. 25. 52. 66. 69. 77. 93. 105. 134. 180. 184. 197. 285.
- its situation, - - - 21.
- Condanore**, nabobs of, - - - 399.
- Congue**, revenues of, - - - 219.
- Conher**, son of Decan. See the fabulous history of the Hindoos, note XXIX. page 209. 210.
- Conjeveram**, - - - 157. 158. 160. 228. 296.
- Conimcer**, - - - 62. 115. 137. 161. 228.
- Connock**, Mr. - - - 377. 378.
- Conspirators** trampled to death by elephants, - - - 105.
- Constantinople**, - - - 172.
- Cook**, secretary to sir Andrew Shipman, 23.
- Cooley**, captain, - - - 213.
- Cooley**, one, killed, - - - 81.
- Coolies**, a nation of robbers, - - - 104. 334.
- Corlahs**, meaning districts, 24. 31. 32. 39. 43. 53. 83. 97. 107. 108. 109. 111. 112. 116. 118. 119. 198.
- Sevagi's - - - 53. 66.
- Coromandel**, coast of, 30. 41. 115. 121. 176. 177. 205. 212. 227. 229. 231. 233. 402. 404. 409. 427. 464.
- too arid for horses, - - - 262.
- naigues of, - - - 299.
- provinces of, - - - 3.
- Corries**, - - - 198. See *Corlahs*.
- Coryat Thomas**, the traveller, - - - 364.
- Cosmas Indicopleustes**, travelled in the sixth century, - - - 218.
- Cosmographical knowledge**, - - - 172.
- Cofroes**, - - - 182.
- Cossimbuzur**, factory at, - - - 201.
- Cosim Khan**, - - - 67. 68.
- Cosim**, Siddee, admiral of the Siddee's fleets; the references are either when he is expressed by name, or meant by his title of THE SIDDEE, 55. 57. 64. 65. 66. 69. 70. 71. 72. 82. 83. 87. 88. 96. 97. 98. 107. 108. 109. 110. 112. 113. 115. 116. 119. 121. 122. 125. 126. 140.
- Cotamuluck** (Cuttub Shaw) king of Golconda, - - - 225.
- Cotapatam**, - - - 228.
- Council**, a member of the council of Bombay, - - - 115. 117.
- of Bombay. See under Bombay.
- at Surat, - - - 130. 137.
- Councillor of Bombay**, - - - 120. 121. 135.
- Country**, desolated by the armies of Aurengzebe and the Morattoes, - - - 161.
- Covrepauk**, - - - 160.
- Cow**, held sacred in Indostan, - - - 469.
- Sambagi's devotion to one that was killed, - - - 124. 125.
- the dung of, a substitute for fuel, 472.
- Cowis Cawn**, Siddee, minister and general of Viziapore, - - - 76.
- Cowl**, or paws, - - - 234.
- Coylan**, - - - 207.
- Craft**, captain, - - - 213.
- Craft**, small, - - - 112.
- Craugainore**, island of, - - - 207. 370.
- Cream**, a plate of, presented by Sevagi to Mahommed Mauzum, - - - 17.
- Creed of the Morattoes**, - - - 211.
- Criminal cases of Indostan**, - - - 451.
- Crocodiles**, great store in the ditches at Viziapore, - - - 291.
- Crouther John**, - - - 357. 381.
- Cuchin Allahi**, a Persian of ordinary rank, - - - 389.
- Cudalore**, - - - 116. 137. 158. 161. 299. 302.
- factory, - - - 303.
- Cudapah**, - - - 62. 157. 159. 399.
- Culnamma of Zulfacar Cawn**, - - - 301.
- Cymbareem island**, near Goa, - - - 123. 124.
- Curdistan**, - - - 387.
- Currom**, sultan, son of Jehangire, 187. 360. 364. 365. 366. 371. 372. 374. 375.
- Curry**, siddee, commanding in Gingerah, 110.
- Customs**, the Moguls, - - - 128. 401. 411. 414.
- Cuttub Shaw**, - - - 225. See Cotamuluck.
- Cyrus**, - - - 458.
- Czar**, - - - 389. 390.
- 302 Dabul,

INDEX.

- Roe, fir Thomas, 182. 201. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 380. 381. his articles of trade demanded of the Mogul, - 367.
- Rohilla Cawn, Rattaut Cawn's lieutenant general, - - - 118. 159.
- Rome, a surprizing piece of cannon cast by an Italian of, at Viziapore, - 294.
- Room, chiefs of, - - - 252.
- Rose Namma, by Mirza Cassim, - 167.
- Roufe, fir C. W. Boughton, -169. 245. 251. 256. See authorities.
- Royal power, - - - - 398.
- Roys of the provinces of Indoftan, 252.
- Ruder, Darah's prayer to, - - 245. description of, - - - 249.
- Rupees, struck by Noor Jehan, - 186.
- Russia, - - - - - 389.
- Rultum Roy, the king of Golcondah's general, 147. 152.
- Ruy Freyre, an officer of reputation, 368. 369.
- Sacred animals of religion, - - 86. writings of the Hindoos. 249. See Bedes.
- Sadrasi, - - - - - 30. 63. 228.
- Safeguards, Sevagi's, a few trusty men, 58.
- Saint John Baptist, a French ship, 177. John's headland, - - - 138. Helena, island, - - - 65.
- Sakkar fort, - - - - - 296.
- Salam Koornis, or low obeifance, 283. 284.
- Salawauk, - - - - - 228.
- Salcette island, near Bombay, 33. 39. 44. 71. 95. 110. 132. 134. 142. 212. 216. 217. 220. 237. 264.
- Saldania bay, - - - - - 337.
- Saler Moler, - - - - 22. 26. 27. 257.
- Satere garrison, - - - - 234.
- Sale's translation of the Koran - 245.
- Salomon, an East Indiaman, - 375.
- SAMBAGI, SAMBAGEE, son and successor of Sevagi, 54. 76. 77. 84. 87. 95. 96. 97. 98. 104. 105. 106. 109. 110. 112. 113. 114. 116. 117. 119. 120. 122. 123. 124. 125. 127. 132. 134. 135. 136. 140. 141. 142. 143. 145. 146. 147. 149. 150. 151. 154. 155. 158. 159. 161. 162. 163. 179. 223. 235. 259. 261. 268. 269. 270. 300. 303. 305. his invincible courage, and death, 164. 306.
- SAMBAGI, his defoys in Sundah and Carwar, 145. embaffador to Bombay, - 116. phoufdar, or governor on the main, - - - 108. relating to his COUNTRY. coasts, - - - - 119. country, 109. 110. 123. 268. frontiers, - - - - 114. mountains, - - - - 107. shores, - - - - 112. relating to his WAR. army, - - - - 124. force, - - - - 123. infantry, - - - - 124. See under Morattoes, after page 95. relating to his FLEET. admiral in chief, - - - 114. fleet, 98. 107. 110. 119. 145. gallivats, - - - - 126.
- SAMBAGI, brother of Sevagi, - 302.
- Sambole, the Siddee, admiral and commander in chief of the flate. The references include the mentjions that are made of him, either by his title of Siddee, or by his proper name. 31. 35. 38. 39. 41. 44. 53. 54. 55. 57. 64. 65. 66. 113.
- Sambrooke, fir Jeremy, - - - 272.
- Samorin, - - - - - 369. 370.
- Sampson, the, an East Indiaman, 213.
- Sam Ved, the word of God chaunted with music, - - - - 242.
- Sanganner, - - - - - 285.
- Sanguafcer, - - - - - 120.
- Sanorahs, - - - - - 254.
- Sanour, - - - - - 289.
- Sanscrit language, 211. 239. 243. 245. 249.
- San Thomé, 30. 48. 61. 173. 174. 176. 227. 228.
- Santogee, Santogi Kow, - 155. 156. 159.
- Saow, father of Sevagi, a powerful Zemindar. 170. 302. See Shah-Gi.
- Sarala, - - - - - 184.
- Sardancapalus, - - - - 466.
- Saris, captain, - - - - 324. 325. 326.
- Satara, purgunnahs of, - - - 184.
- Satarah, fortrefs of, 37. 111. 114. 119. 126. 155.
- Say, Mr. an interloper, - - - 127.
- SCHAH ABBAS II. - - - 20. 21. meant by Sophy of Persia. 21. See Shah.
- SCHAH JEHAN. See Shah Jehan.
- Schambal river, - - - - 20.
- Schewitzer, his voyage to India, - 275.
- Scindy, - - - - - 334. 340. 341.
- Scipios, the country of, - - - 466.
- Scott, - - - - - 3 S 2

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.

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 Aurangzebe 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 Buffo. 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. Buffo in the northern provinces, about Golcondah,
 x Aurengabad,

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.

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 Académies, 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 sound 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

INDEX.

ENGLISH envoy, - - - - -	271.	Eranning, captain, - - - - -	213.
factors at Drongom, 84. 143. 256.		Erwin, captain, - - - - -	212.
factory, - - - - -	26. 108.	<i>Erythraei maris</i> , - - - - -	218.
at Callicut, - - - - -	131. 370.	Essex, earl of, - - - - -	382.
Carwar, 37. 208. 258.		<i>Ephemy</i> , - - - - -	214.
Pettipolly, - - - - -	286.	Eumenes, the army of, - - - - -	459.
Surat, 13. 25. 199. 323.	212.	EUROPE, 13. 127. 166. 182. 193. 203. 204.	
329. 333. 343. 370.		206. 236. 303. 327. 367. 382. 385. 386.	
fleet or vessels belonging to the		387. 399. 411. 415. 418. 427. 430. 457.	
government of Bombay, 80. 81.		462. 470.	
goods, - - - - -	82. 87.	European commerce in India, - - - - -	48.
government at Bombay, 57. 72.		custom, - - - - -	427.
Madras, - - - - -	78.	defence, - - - - -	122.
Surat and Bom-	161.	factors in Bengal, - - - - -	426.
bay, 82. 126.		fortification, - - - - -	122.
329.		gunners, - - - - -	232.
governor at Madras, - - - - -	205.	imports into India, - - - - -	96.
Horse, the emperor's wish to have		markets, - - - - -	288.
a large one, - - - - -	365.	nations, - 34. 44. 344. 414. 415.	
in India, 88. 109. 111. 115. 117.		416.	
123. 157. 174. 234. 271. 273.		power, any, - - - - -	124.
276. 277. 278. 284. 310. 328.		settlements in India, - 125. 427.	
330. 331. 335. 340. 342. 343.		soldiers - - - - -	80.
344. 346. 349. 351. 353. 360.		travellers have rarely seen horses	
361. 366. 367. 368.		"at open pasture in India, 262.	
merchants, - - - - -	333.	women, - - - - -	464.
nation, - - - - -	44. 329. 360. 370.	Europeans in general, - 4. 30. 57. 77. 166.	
officer, - - - - -	188.	178. 179. 180. 191. 201. 210.	
pirates, - - - - -	329.	230. 236. 275. 299. 339. 349.	
presidency at Surat, 70. 83. 89.		412. 413. 417. 426. 427. 428.	
142. 121. 256.		460. 461. 462. 463. 464.	
president, Mr. Angier, - - - - -	33.	Dutch, - - - - -	48.
records, - - - - -	109. 303.	in the Dutch fleet, - - - - -	34.
salute, - - - - -	355.	English, - - - - -	33. 72. 79. 82. 130.
ships, - 200. 319. 320. 321. 326.		military, serving in India, - 230.	
327. 329. 332. 334. 336. 345.		Portuguese, - - - - -	122. 123.
349. 350. 351. 353. 354. 355.		Expedition, the, an East Indiaman, 336. 337.	
356. 357. 378. 380.		340. 358. 368. 375.	
strangers, - - - - -	319.	Fabulous histories of the Hindoos, 209. 210.	
subjects, - - - - -	123. 328.	Factors, 84. 116. 118. 125. 132. 143. 257.	
at Surat, - - - - -	122.	259. 277. 287. 329. 343. 344. 346. 356.	
trade, * 319. 322. 323. 328. 329.		357. 360. 362. 363.	
349. 357. 365. 370. 374.		Factories, 13. 25. 26. 37. 53. 115. 118. 125.	
wrecks, - - - - -	43.	131. 133. 137. 161. 174. 175. 199. 201.	
See <i>Angier, Bantam, Bombay,</i>		202. 204. 207. 208. 212. 256. 271. 277.	
<i>Carwar, Drongom, Surat.</i>		281. 303. 332. 333. 340. 363.	
English, Mr. John, agent of Persia, - 189.		Fakeer, - - - - -	240. 244.
Englishman, individuals, 35. 135. 150. 321.		Famines, - - - - -	405. 414.
327. 333.		Farewell, Christopher, a factor, - 360.	
Englishmen, some at Surat, - 123. 321. 322.		Faria de Souza, - 349. 355. 360. 361. 368.	
Enthronement of Sevagi, magnificent, 40. 43.		378.	
Epistolæ ab Hayo editæ, - - - - -	228.	Farmers, - - - - -	403. 404. 405.
		Farnesian Hercules, - - - - -	466.
		Ferara, - - - - -	

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,

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 Coffin 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 sluiced. 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 Champaign 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. Lisle cost the duke of Marlborough three months; yet Lisle 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.

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 Mysore, 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.

The

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 laid; 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.

“ 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.

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,

INDEX.

- Dugn**, chief judge of the province, 257. 400.
 401. 402. 443. 444.
Dunda Rajapore, 8. (meant by Hajapore, 9.)
 24. 31. 56. 70. 71. 96. 109. 110. 111. 112.
 199.
Dungaree, the sail-cloth of India, - 209.
Durbar, or public audience, 201. 374. 426.
 430. 435. 443. 444. 446. 447. 448. 450.
 452. 453.
DUTCH, the nation in general, 30. 176. 201.
 212. 213. 276. 280. 238. 361.
 -company, 176. 271. 278. 274. 277.
 278. 279.
 -company's villages, - 63.
 -directors on the business of Am-
 boyna, Bantam, and Macassar, -
 272.
 -directors, - 272.
 -factory at Cossimbuzar, - 201.
 Hughley, - 202.
 Patna, - 201. 202. 207.
 Surat, - 13. 25.
 -factory and factors at Vingorlab,
 - 53. 125.
 -fleet in India, - 30. 32. 41. 42. 48.
 120. 173. 176. 177. 212. 213.
 280.
 -forces, - 274.
 -government, - 276.
 -in India, - 47. 48. 118. 177. 201.
 206. 273. 275. 276. 457.
 -prize, - 33.
 -revolution, - 273.
 -settlements, - 176.
Duties, the Mogul's, on European imports,
 96. See Customs.
Eastern writers - 179.
EAST INDIA COMPANY, meaning the Eng-
 lish, 24. 118. 171. 181. See COMPANY.
East Indians, meaning the English compa-
 ny's ships, 41. 121. 132. See COMPANY.
East India merchant, the, an East Indiaman,
 137. 138. 212.
EAST INDIES, 82. 176. 177. 199. 220. 224.
 271. 277. 278. 457.
Echar. See Achar.
Eccogi, brother of Sevagi, 154. 298. 299.
 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305.
Edwards, Mr. Senior, merchant at Surat,
 356. 357. 363. 364.
EFFEMINACY of the INHABITANTS of IN-
 DOSTAN, - 455.
Egypt, - 172. 404.
Elephanta, island of, near Bombay, 111. 459.
Elephants, conspirators trampled to death by,
 105.
 two, fighting, separated by Au-
 rengzebe, - 170.
ELIZABETH Queen, - 341.
Elora, temple of, near Aurengabad, - 459.
Embassador, from the rebels at Bombay to
 Sambagi at Rairee, - 135.
 Sambagi's to Bombay, 116. 117.
 See Augce Pundit.
Embassadors, - 23. 44. 115. 116. 205. 232.
 284. 321. 328. 336. 337. 338. 340. 353.
 359. 362. 363. 364. 387. 389. 390. See
 Ambassadors.
Embassy to Sevagi, - 213.
Emir Jumrah, - 49. 62. 63. 154. 192. 231.
 232.
 his son, - 154.
Emoy, factory, - 118.
EMPEROR, meaning Aurengzebe, 18. 100.
 102. See Aurengzebe.
Emperor of the Moguls, fultan Acbar pro-
 claimed by Sambagi, - 106.
Emperors of Indostan, 187. 188. 189. 211.
 267. 359. 360. 361. 363. 364. 365. 371.
 373. 380.
Emperor's mother, - 361.
Empire, - 166. 191. 307.
ENGLAND, 29. 29. 34. 41. 118. 121. 129.
 130. 131. 132. 137. 138. 140. 177. 178.
 200. 208. 223. 233. 238. 277. 278. 280.
 320. 321. 322. 324. 327. 333. 335. 340.
 342. 343. 353. 356. 367. 370. 374. 381.
 382. 462.
 -councils of, - 273.
 -crown of, - 23.
ENGLISH admiral, - 355.
 -affairs, - 127.
 -agents, - 287.
 -army, - 237.
 -at Bantam, - 118. 274. 279.
 Bombay, - 31. 203. 223.
 -captains of the Bombay fleet, 87.
 -chief at Carwar, his death fore-
 told, - 200.
 -concerns in the Mogul empire,
 164. 178.
 -directors on the business of Am-
 boyna, Bantam, and Macassar,
 271. 272.
 -East India company, 26. 34. 35.
 36. 39. 62. 118. 210. 274. 277.
 278. 281. 282. 336.
 -English

INDEX.

- Casoor**, the emperor's general, - - - 211.
Calbergu, - - - 152. 289. 290. 292. 293.
Calcutta, presidency, - - - 3. 118. 284. 285.
Lalliana, the famous, of the Periplus Maris
 Erythraei, - - - 218.
Calicut, - - - 33. 174. 325. 369.
 English factory there, - - - 131. 371.
Cambay, factory, - - - 48. 336.
 gulph, - - - 219. 352. 362. 361. 368.
 369- 372.
 ports, - - - 25. 104. 172. 322. 323.
Cananore, - - - 325. 333.
Canara, - - - 52. 60. 234.
 queen of, - - - 52. 60.
Canarins, their language, - - - 210. 211.
Candahar, - 14. 21. 171. 337. 340. 359. 381.
 See **Kandahar**.
Candies, - - - 209.
Candish, kings of, 211. 225. 256. See **Vindy**.
Canning, Mr. - - - 333. 363.
Cannon. See **Seyagi**, under the mentions
 relating to his warfare.
Cape Comorin, 21. 227. 231. 333. 356. 458.
Cape Jacques, - - - 337.
Cape of Good Hope, - - - 362. 375.
Capitation tax, levied by **Aurengzebe** on the
 • **Hindoos** and foreigners, 74. 75. 96. 106.
Capuchin friars, - - - 229. 230.
Capuchins of **Surat**, - - - 173.
Captains of **East India ships**, - - - 121. 131.
Captive kings, - - - 159.
Caranjah island, near **Bombay**, 126. 141. 218.
Cardamums, - - - 209.
Carnatic, the, 30. 61. 62. 63. 64. 66. 68. 69.
 92. 95. 105. 111. 115. 155. 156. 157. 159.
 160. 177. 222. 224. 233. 234. 235. 270.
 297. 301. 304. 306. 399.
 mountains, - - - 61. 155.
Carrack, a **Portuguese ship**, 376. 377. 378.
 380.
Carré, Mr. - - - 29. 173. 174. 199.
Carron, Mr. the **French director general**, 173.
 206.
Carwar, - 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 52. 111. 123.
 124. 177. 178. 200. 208. 222.
 233. 234. 268.
 English factory there, 52. 131. 208.
 233. 258. 286.
 river, - - - 227.
 territory, - - - 145.
Cary, river, - - - 133.
Cashin, - - - 342. 384. 385.
Cashmire, - - - 187. 189. 240. 267.
Caspian sea, - - - 196. 390.
- Cassia**, - - - 385.
Cassia lignum, - - - 209.
Catholic princes, - - - 388.
Catrou, the **jesuit**, - 4. 168. 169. 178. 179.
 182. 260. 288.
Catwall, oppressions committed in the, 452.
 453.
Cavalry of **India**, - - - 262. 418.
Caucasus, mount, - - - 457. 462.
Caves of Raivee, a proverbial symbol of east-
 ern wealth, - - - 92.
Cavy Callas, - - - 305. See **Cablis Cawn**.
Cawn Buksh, son of **Aurengzebe**, - 143. 150.
 266.
Cazee, or the **Mahomedan judge ecclesiasti-**
cal, - - - 403.
Ceremonies and politeness of the **Moors**, 425.
Ceylon, island, 30. 32. 42. 198. 207. 208. 271.
Chacit Khan, the uncle of **Aurengzebe** and
 son of **Asiph Jah**, 11. 12. 14.
 129. 171. 185. 137. 188.
 189. 190. 192. 194. 281.
 his wife incited **Aurengzebe** to
 destroy **Sevagi**, - - - 14.
Chagah, a rock inaccessible to assault, taken
 by a paper kite, - - - 11. 192.
Cha Jehan, - - - 232. See **Shah Jehan**.
Chaldaic language, - - - 242.
Chaly, - - - 174.
Chamberlain, **Aurengzebe's**, - - - 102.
Chamondyle, - - - 356.
Chan Chanan, - - - 363. 372.
Chandergherri, - - - 61. 62. 224. 228. 299.
 government, - - - 227. 299.
 king, - - - 227. 228. 229. 231.
Channel of Gingerah, **Sambagi** resolved to
 fill it up, - - - 110.
Chanock Job, some account of, - - - 281. 282.
 283. 284.
Chardin, the traveller, - - - 48. 51. 106. 218.
 219. 274.
Charlemagne, - - - 430.
CHARLES the second, king, sent a squadron
 with a regiment to take possession of the
 island of **Bombay**, - - - 23. 271. 280.
Charles the second, an **English man-of-war**
 of 80 guns, - - - 137. 138. 139. 285.
Charles, the, an **East Indiaman**, 375. 376.
 377. 380.
Charter of the **East India Company**, **March**
27th 1668, - - - 24.
Charters and acts of parliament of the **East**
India company, - - - 127.
Chaul, belonging to the **Portuguese**, 12. 22.

INDEX.

- Nourdabar*, - - - - - 257.
Nourgal, purgunnah, - - - 286. 287.
 Nouichirvan, king of Persia, - - - 182.
Nunny gaut, - - - - - 197.

 Oderic, friar, of Priuli, flourished in 1330, - - - 216. 217.
 Omrah, Omrahs, 14. 21. 68. 159. 233. 240. 307. 359.
 Ooffer Khan, - - - - - 156.
 Oppression of the government of Indostan, - - - 450.
 Orankoy, principal lords of Bantam, - - - 118.
 Ordeal trial, in boiling oil, - - - 200.
 Origin of famous men and places, always an object of curiosity, - - - 229.
 Origin of the company's establishment at Bantam, 1603, - - - 277.
 Bengal, 1636, - - - - - 128.
 Bombay, 1662, - - - - - 23.
 Broach, 1616, - - - - - 371. 372.
 Calcutta, - - - - - 118. 284. 285.
 Callicut, 1616, - - - - - 371.
 Madras, 1640, - - - - - 62. 229. 250.
 Surat, 1608, - - - - - 288. 319.
Orixa, - - - - - 5.
 Orme, Mr. his original manuscripts now in the library of the honourable East India company, - - - 171. 239. 281.
Ormepore, - - - - - 372.
Ormus, - - - 217. 337. 358. 359. 382. 386.
 Osiander, the, an East Indiaman, - - - 327. 375.
Oude, province of, - - - - - 415.
Oudipore, - - - - - 99. 373.
Oumtkour, - - - - - 289.
 Ovington, believes a prediction, - - - 200. 267.
 Oupnekhat of M^r. Anquetil du Perron, translated out of the Sauserit language, meaning, the secret not to be revealed, - - - 239. 240. 243. 244. See note LI. page 238. to 250.
 Oxenden, Mr. Henry, 48. 44. 88. 136. 213. 214. 215. 222. 260.

 Paets, Adrian, - - - - - 272.
 Pagan, militia at Bombay, - - - 33.
 Pagodas, meaning temples, 73. 75. 133. 226.
Pakonda, - - - - - 226.
 Palankin, sent by the king of Golcondah to Sevagi, covered with plates of gold, &c. 60.
Pahar, river, - - - 63. 158. 160. 226.
Palikondah, - - - - - 226.
 Palm tree of India, - - - 470. 471.
Pancura, - - - - - 209.

Pannela, near Daman, - - - 55. 71. 259.
Pannela, of Viziapore, 7. 8. 9. 22. 77. 84. 87. 95. 96. 104. 105. 114. 155. 158. 161. 163. 183. 295.
Panwell, - - - - - 70. 71. 237. 238.
 Papa tree, - - - - - 470.
 Paper kite, Chagnah taken by one, 11. 193.
Parkar. See *Nagar Parkar*.
Parnala, - - - - - 183. 184.
Parnel, - - - - - 183.
Parnela, - - - 182. 259. 270. See *Pannela*.
Parnir, - - - - - 183.
Paropamisus, mountains, - - - 457.
 Pass, passports, - - - - - 129. 135.
Pate, - - - - - 379.
Patna, city, - - - 4. 201. 202. 207. province, - - - - - 399.
Patri, - - - - - 172.
 Pautkaes, - - - - - 209.
 Pavilions of Aurengzebe, - - - 102. 266.
Pawlee Gur, a fort and town, 104. 105. 267. 268. 269.
 Pelham, the, an East Indiaman, - - - 420. 436. 454.
Penar, river, - - - - - 63. 226.
Penigondah, a castle, - - - 226. 227.
Peninsula of India, - - - 5. 69. 227.
Penn, river, 22. 24. 38. 70. 72. 88. 111. 116. 126. 237.
Penukonda, - - - - - 226.
 Pepper, - - - - - 209.
 Pepper-corn, the, an East Indiaman, - - - 326. 375.
 Pepwell, captain of the James, - - - 376. 377.
 Percollaes, - - - - - 209.
 Periplus Maris Erythraei, imputed to the second century, - - - 218.
PERSIA, 20. 21. 32. 42. 68. 139. 149. 172. 177. 195. 217. 293. 321. 336. 337. 342. 357. 358. 381. 382. 383. 385. 386. 387. 415. 416. 457. 458. 459. government of, - - - 219. gulph of, - 13. 45. 82. 219. 319. 337. 360. horse, - - - - - 262. 293. king of, 150. 182. 292. 359. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. ports of, - - - - - 358.
 Persian, Persians, - - - 21. 337. 338. 359. 422. geographers, - - - 196. version of the Oupnekhat, in the British Museum, - - - 239.
 Persian historians, - - - 180.
 Persian language, 169. 180. 236. 239. 245. 264.
Peru,

INDEX.

- MORATTOES** in WAR. - - - - -
- boats, - - - - - 124.
 - cavalry, - - - - - 91. 92.
 - detachments, - - - 160. 161.
 - foot, - - - - - 123.
 - generals, - 155. 160. 161. 235.
 - horse, 84. 123. 157. 169. 225.
 - 226. 262.
 - troops, mentioned or implied, -
 - & 119. 146. 160. 161. 302.
 - 303.
- Moses**, the books of, - - - - - 241. 244. 253.
- Mosques**, - - - - - 75. 152. 215. 216. 293.
- Moudgal**, purgunnah, - - - - - 286. 287.
- Mountain** rat, Sevagi compared to, - 263.
- Moufafir Khan**, - - - - - 294.
- Moufaphabad**, circar (i. e. Dabul), - 184.
- Mouzafernagar**, circar, - - - - - 289.
- Mullahs**, or priests, - - - - - 216.
- Mujmah al Barbain**, i. e. the uniting of both seas, - - - - - 238.
- Multan**, province, - - - - - 76. 190.
- Mumlaza Zemani**, the most exalted of the age, - 187. 188.
- Munchuas**, boats, - - - - - 80. 82.
- Munderas**, - - - - - 357.
- Munshi**, author of *Alumguirname*, - - 166.
- Munshi Mahommed Kafir ben Mahommen Amin**, - - - - - 166.
- Munsubbar**, - - - - - 402.
- Munfurally Cawn**, - - - - - 415.
- Muscato**, - - - - - 45. 120. 127. 150. 337. 338.
- Muscovite empire**, - - - - - 399.
- Mussulmanism**, - - - - - 459.
- Mussulmen**, - - - - - 255. 293. 294.
- Muxadavad**, the capital of Bengal, 405. 449.
- Myfore, Mysore**, kingdom, 63. 141. 155. 156. 157. 175. 234. 301. 399.
- Nabichadourouk**, circar of, - - - - - 183. 184.
- Nabob**, - 157. 202. 343. 344. 349. 351. 353. 354. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 416. 424. 440. 441. 444. 447. 448. 449. 451.
- Nabobship**, - - - - - 415.
- Nadir Shah**, - - - - - 167. 168. 237.
- Nagar Parkar**, a village, - - - - - 334. 336.
- Naib**, Nabob, - - - - - 400.
- Naigues** or lieutenants, - 154. 227. 231.
- Naiques**, - - - - - 228. 231. See Naigues.
- Naldourouck**, circar, - - - - - 289. 296.
- Naramquere**, - - - - - 335.
- Narangi Pundit**, Sevagi's general, - 223.
- Narransinay**, - - - - - 221. 222.
- Narvingah**, - - - - - 231.
- Narwaal**. See the fabulous history of the Hindoos in note xxxix. page 209. 210.
- Nassereddin**, flourished in 1261, the Tables of, - - - - - 217.
- Nassir**, or *Nassick Tirméck*, - - 113. 143. 285.
- Nasurabad**, - - - - - 286.
- Native powers of India**, - - - - - 193.
- Navarette**, father, - 91. 200. 203. 204. 205. 206.
- his credulity, - - - - - 200.
- Navigators of India**, - - - - - 57.
- Naucari**, - - - - - 263.
- Naysary**, - - - - - 372.
- Nazerbeg**, the Persian, - - - - - 338. 339. 358.
- Nazir Buchtur Chan**, a man of letters, author of *Mirat Allum*, - - - - - 167.
- Nazir Jing**, - - - - - 415. 427.
- Necromancies**, the missionaries abound in them, - - - - - 200.
- Negapatam**, - - - - - 227. 228. 231.
- Negotiations**, 81. 83. 101. 106. 116. 140. 151.
- Negotan**, river, - 38. 72. 81. 82. 83. 87. 88. 107. 111. 112. 113. 114. 117. 126. 238. 268.
- Nelore**, - - - - - 30. 63. 227.
- Nerbeddah**, river, 5. 145. 205. 210. 287. 343.
- Nerengal**, - - - - - 286.
- Nergounda**, - - - - - 289.
- Neriad**, a mart, - - - - - 334. 343.
- New-Holland**, - - - - - 457.
- Newport**, Christopher, captain of the Expedition, - - - - - 375.
- New Years Gift**, an East Indiaman, - 375.
- Niccannees**, - - - - - 288.
- Nizamalmuluck**, or regulator of the country, 170. 171. 225. 398. 399. 424.
- Noah**. See the fabulous history of the Hindoos, in note xxxix. page 209. 210.
- Nobavah Mounir**, or splendid intelligence, - 168.
- Nohuda**, supra cargo of the *Rehemy*, - 326.
- Noor Jehan**, empress, or light of the world, 186. 187.
- Mabli*, the light of the seraglio, 186.
- 365.
- Northern coast** above the *Concan*, - 77.
- provinces of *Coromandel*, - 3.
- territory dependant on *Goa*, meaning under *Bassein* and *Daman*, - 145.
- Nases cut off** in outrage, - - - - - 112.
- NOTES to the HISTORICAL FRAGMENTS**, - 165.
- Nourdabar*,

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 plan. 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 in 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."

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 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

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.

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

INDEX.

41. 80. 109. 111. 123. 126. 173. 211. 214.
222. 325.
- Chaul*, Upper, belonging to Sevagi, - 65. 72.
109. 122. 173. 325.
subadar, or governor of, - 72.
- Chaul rizer*, - 214.
- Chaumont, Mr. the ambassador from Louis
xiv. to the king of Siam, - 274.
- Childie, Mr. the English envoy, - 271.
- Child, sir John, president of Surat, 129. 131.
132. 134. 139. 233. 234.
sir Josiah, - 272. 273.
- Chillambarum*, - 228.
- Chilli, the hottest of all vegetable productions
used for food, - 469.
- Chingul Muldafs, son of Wagirah, - 501.
- China*, - 203. 382. 415. 425. 457.
junk, - 203.
sea, - 203.
- Chinapatam*, on which was raised Fort St.
George and town of Madrafs, 1640. 62.
229. 230.
- Chinese, - 461.
- Chingarore*, - 234. See *Tanjore*.
- Chinglapett*, - 228.
- Chingy*, - 234. See *Gingee*.
- Chitigau*, - 458.
- Chitore*, city, a great rajahship, 74. 76. 85.
98. 99. 100. 107. 142. 182. 251.
rajah of, - 75.
rajahs of, - 6. See *Ranali*.
- Chittayett*, - 160. 161.
- Chorasan*, - 387.
- Chont, the fourth part of the revenue, - 45.
- Christendom, princes of, - 335. 386. 388.
- Christian militia at Bombay, - 33.
- Christianity, favourable in the cause of li-
berty, - 430. 454.
its glories, - 454.
- Christians, 45. 203. 205. 321. 348. 388. 434.
458.
- Chronology of the Hindoos*, - 210.
Morattoes, - 211.
- Chumbul*, river, - 188. 307.
- Chunderseecker, Dr. - 282. 284.
- Chupra*, - 84. 256.
- Churchill's collection of voyages, - 291.
- Cincinnati, the country of, - 406.
- Circar of Nabichadourouk, - 183. 184.
- Circars, or governments, 183. 184. 210. 285.
- Circassian, wife of Aurengzebe, - 85.
- Civil cases of Indostan, - 438.
- Clarendon, Lord, - 272.
- Climate of India, - 211. 407. 408. 425.
- Cloth, the staple of the trade of Indostan,
409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 472.
- Cochin*, - 207. 370.
- Cochineal garments, too splendid for the
sanctity of a Mahomedan, - 251.
- Cocoa-nut tree, - 408. 470. 471.
- Coello, Anthony, - 205.
- Coffees, - 56. 240. 460.
- Cognally*, - 174.
- Coja Nazar, Mocrib Cawn's officer, 343. 344.
- Colar*, a breed of horsts there, - 262.
- Colbert, the French minister, - 173.
- Coleroon*, river, - 62. 69. 304.
- Commerce, the spirit of - 127.
of India, - 414. 438.
- Commission of the king against pirates, 138.
- Commissioners appointed to govern the island
of Bombay, 24.
on the affairs of
Bantam and Ma-
cassar, 271. 272.
- Comore*, island of, - 376.
- Comorin*. See *Cape Comorin*.
- COMPANY, meaning the English East India
company, of which, even when expressed,
the references are inserted under this head
OF COMPANY; as are the references of
ENGLISH, when meaning the COMPANY,
24. 26. 34. 35. 36. 39. 62. 88. 118. 127.
128. 130. 131. 135. 136. 230. 235. 270.
271. 272. 273. 279. 319. 329. 337. 341.
343. 364. 381.
- COMPANY, their charter, March 27th 1668,
24.
charters and acts of parlia-
ment, - 127.
commerce, 229. 230. 273.
company, new, - 136.
establishment of Surat, 288.
fleet or vessels at Bombay,
82. 83.
- [For other particulars con-
cerning this fleet, see
under the article of
BOMBAY.]
- governments of India, 127.
interests, - 127.
investment, - 161. 222.
licence, - 128.
marine, - 380.
property, - 139.

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

n) There is probably an error in this date.

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 on 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) Bemlapatnam, 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

INDEX.

- Chirety garden*, - - - - - 282.
- Ghour, Gour*, a territory near Daman, - 27.
- Gifford, Mr. president of Madras, - 115.
- GINGEE**, country, 115. 121. 136. 137. 154.
156. 159. 161. 228. 231. 234.
301. 302. 303. 304. 305.
fort, - 63. 64. 69. 115. 155. 158.
governor, - - - - - 299.
- Ginger produced easily in the gardens of
India, - - - - - 469.
- Gingerah*, governor of, - - - - 54. 57.
island and fort, 9. 24. 31. 32. 36.
38. 44. 48. 52. 54. 55. 56. 57.
64. 65. 70. 71. 72. 78. 82. 110.
112. 119. 199.
- Gladman, Mr. John, of the council Bombay,
139.
- Globe; the, an East Indianian, 375. 376. 380.
- GOD**, bar, - - - - - 133.
city, - 21. 23. 34. 35. 37. 38. 40. 45.
52. 53. 60. 111. 120. 123. 124. 125.
127. 132. 133. 134. 175. 176. 177.
178. 197. 203. 204. 205. 220. 224.
225. 227. 229. 292. 334. 360. 368.
376. 379.
government, or council of, 23. 122.
140. 145.
harbour of, - - - - - 133. 329.
island, - 40. 210. 224. 225. 291. 322.
northern territory of, meaning of
Bassein and Daman, - 145.
territory of, adjacent to, - 21. 122.
205. 264.
viceroy of, - 23. 122. 123. 133. 205.
344. 345. 348. 349. 351. 333. 355.
356. 360. 361. 368.
- Goeck*, - - - - - 144. 286. 287.
- Gocurn*, in the Carnatic, - - - 177.
- God, the words of, - 240. 241. 242. 439.
- Codaveri*, river, - - - - - 157.
- Goen, Rickloff Van. See Rickloff.
- Goes John, Lord of Abamade, - 272.
- Gogo*, - - - - - 138. 346. 352. 361. 369. 372.
- GOLCONDAH**, army, 48. 62. 152. 177. 231.
cavalry, - - - - - 147.
city and fortrefs, - 29. 30.
31. 58. 148. 152. 153.
172. 188. 197. 231. 257.
296. 297.
city and fortrefs taken, 153.
king, 30. 31. 48. 51. 62. 63.
91. 141. 147. 148. 150.
151. 152. 153. 154. 156.
- GOLCONDAH**, king, 176. 225. 232. 233. 237.
kingdom, - 5. 7. 10. 61. 62.
91. 141. 147. 148. 150.
151. 157. 159. 188. 289.
290.
territory, - - - - - 292.
- Gold, acquired a hundred degrees of excel-
lence in receiving the name of Noor
Jehan, - - - - - 186.
mahurs, - - - - - 104. 186.
Sevagi publicly weighed against, 43.
214.
and silver ornaments marks of pop-
pery, - - - - - 410.
- Goldsberry, captain, - - - - - 213.
- Golgot*, the company's factory there, 281. 283.
- Gombroon*, - - - - - 175. 177. 218. 219. 272.
- Gong, meaning a town, - - - - 256.
- Gospels, the, - - - - - 241. 244.
- Goulchomabad*, - - - - - 285.
- Goundkoul*, - - - - - 286.
- Gour*. See *Ghour*.
- Governers of Ahmedabad, Noor Jehan, ap-
pointed, - - - - - 186.
- Government of Indoffan, nature of, - 397.
- Governor of Masulipatam, detested by his
people, - - - - - 157.
- Grabs, 46. 53. 78. 80. 83. 87. 88. 111. 120.
124. 145.
- Grand, Abbé le, - - - - - 198.
- Grand Signior, - - - - - 387.
- Grantham, sir Thomas, commander of the
ship Charles the second, - 138. 139. 140.
- Guadel*, - - - - - 337. 338. 375.
governor of, - - - - - 338. 339.
- Guduck*, - - - - - 144. 146. 286.
- Guilaur*, - - - - - 192. 240.
- Guinea stuffs, - - - - - 288.
- Gundaixa*, - - - - - 335.
- Gundavie*, - - - - - 320.
- Gungah, Gunga*, river, - 113. 143. 285. 286.
- Gustavus Adolphus, Sevagi compared to,
174.
- Guzerat*, - 9. 11. 14. 15. 74. 103. 142. 186.
188. 190. 210. 361. 465.
ship, - - - - - 327.
- Gymnosophists, - - - - - 459. 472.
- Hague*, the king sends commissioners there,
280.
- Halhed, Mr. N. B. his translation of the
Oupækhat in the British Museum, - 239.
- Ham, the son of Noah. See the fabulous
history of the Hindoos in note xxix.
209. 210.
- Hammedrow,

INDEX.

- Dabul*, - 184. 206. 291. 323. 324. 325.
Dacca, - 281. 404. 412.
 Dalrymple, Mr. Alexander, 198. 219. 238.
Damagan, an ancient city in Persia, 196.
Daman, Damam, 21. 22. 27. 28. 41. 53. 55.
 71. 93. 115. 126. 129. 141. 173. 175. 206.
 218. 221. 264. 331. 341. 343. 360. 368.
 369.
D'Anville, Mr. 182. 183. 184. 217. 218. 226.
 238. 257. 258. 290. 334. 335. 458. 459.
Darab, Sultan, elder brother of Aurengzebe,
 49. 73. 166. 187. 188. 189.
 190. 191. 238. 239. 240.
 his prayer to Ruder, - 245.
 his preface to the *Oupnekhat*,
 240.
Darkehay, - - - - - 184.
Darling, the, an East Indianman, - 375.
Danapuram, - - - - - 63.
Dando, - - - - - 264.
Darcor, - - - - - 286.
Darwar, citadel, - - - - 144. 286.
David, - - - - - 253.
Davis, commander of an East Indianman, 137.
Debere Chan, - - - - - 191.
DECAN, 5. 6. 7. 9. 11. 12. 13. 16. 17. 19.
 20. 21. 28. 51. 52. 56. 63. 93. 99. 100.
 101. 106. 109. 142. 152. 170. 171. 181.
 183. 188. 192. 208. 210. 221. 226. 233.
 234. 257. 258. 285. 286. 289. 290. 292.
 293. 294. 306. 307. 398.
Decan, son of *HIND*. See the fabulous history of the *Hindoos*, in note xxix. page 209. 210.
Decir, - - - - - 27. 110. 197. 202.
De Graaf, the Dutch surgeon, 176. 201. 202.
 207. 250.
Deira Sirang, Sevagi's admiral, - 70.
Dekkan, - - - - - 210. See *Decan*.
De la Haye. See *Haye*.
DELHI, 3. 4. 7. 13. 14. 15. 17. 18. 19. 20.
 21. 50. 51. 52. 64. 67. 73. 75. 89. 91. 120.
 151. 152. 156. 159. 185. 188. 189. 190.
 191. 192. 193. 196. 202. 211. 236. 284.
 306. 307. 398. 399. 400. 402. 416. 421.
Delhire, *Delire Khan*, lieutenant-general to sultan *Azim*, 18. 21. 26. 27. 28. 69. 84. 86.
 100. 106. 119. 106.
Delisle, Mr. - - - - - 198.
Dellon, the physician, - - 174. 175. 203.
Demy-rodé, - - - - - 356.
Deoughir, - - - - - 171.
 Deputation, from Bombay to *Ramnaut Cawn*,
 117.
 Deputy-governor of Bombay. See *Mr. Ward*,
 131. 132. 139.
Defoys, chiefs of lesser note, - 35. 37. 145.
Device, Abdul stabbed by a, - - 7.
Deulgong, - - - - - 257.
Dharians, the sect of, - - - - 253.
Dialcan (*Idal Caun*), king of *Viziapore*, 225.
 Diamond mines the property of the sovereign,
 414.
Diamonds, from the mine of *Raolkondah*,
 226.
Diodorus Siculus, his account of an Indian woman, who burnt herself with the corpse of her husband, 459.
 Directors of the East India company, - 130.
 Dissimulation of the Indians, - 428. 431.
 Divine unity, - - - - - 241.
Diu, island, 46. 173. 340. 341. 361. 369. 372.
Diul, port, - - - - - 325. 340. 358.
Diyssinde, - - - - - 358. 359. 375.
Djoumer, fortrefs, - - - - 184.
Doab, country, - - - - - 190.
Dobst, king, - - - - - 247.
Dog, poison offered to *Sambagi*, proved on one,
 105.
Dogs, *Sambagi's* limbs and body devoured by dogs, by order of *Aurengzebe*,
 164.
 sent as presents to the emperor, 380.
Dongong, Drangom, Dorongom, - 84. 143.
 256. 257.
Don Jeronimo de Azevedo, viceroy of *Goa*,
 348. 351. 253. 355. 356. 360. 361. 368.
 379.
D'Orleans, *Pere*, jesuit, - - - 178.
Doutabad, - - - - - 154. 170.
Doumer, - - - - - 289.
Dove, one of the *Bombay* grabs, - 80.
Dow, Mr. Alexander, - 167. 179. 180. 185.
 192. 193. 195. 196. 251. 373.
Dowlet Cawn, *Sevagi's* admiral, 70. 71. 80.
 83. 87. 98. 114.
 his fleet, - - - - - 80.
Downton, captain *Nicholas*, 326. 343. 345.
 346. 347. 349. 350. 352. 353. 354. 355.
 356. 360. 370. 373. 375.
Dragon, the, an East Indianman, - 327. 330.
 375.
Dress, in *Indostan*, - - - - 410.
Drugdás, a rajpoot, - - - - 269.
 Duan,

far distant from intelligence. When I hear of my son's arrival at Spithhead, 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 *ſçavans*, 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. Fullarton, 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 the

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 Lench 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 Acbary, 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 Dânesî, 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.

INDEX.

- Mastiff dog, intended for the Mogul,** - 356.
Masulipatam. See *Metchlepatam*.
Matchlocks, - 38. 66. 417.
Matelief, the Dutch Admiral, - 271.
Matora, - 184.
Matura, - 189.
Matzuyher, general of Batavia, - 277.
Maubabat Cawn, - 170.
Maunds, - 257.
Mauritius, isle, - 176.
Mauzum, Mahomed, sultan, son of Aurengzebe, generally called sultan Mauzum, 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 28. 29. 31. 51. 68. 75. 76. 77. 93. 99. 101. 103. 104. 107. 110. 132. 133. 134. 142. 144. 146. 147. 148. 150. 151. 168. 179. 193. 196. 224. 265. 266. 267. 286. 307. 308.
Mazagong, 32. 42. 57. 64. 66. 70. 71. 96. 97. 98. 100. 107. 109. 113. 117. 121. 135.
Mecca, called the Port, - 13. 250. 325. 361. 371. 383.
Mechanics of the Hindoos, - 405.
Medapore, - 372. 373.
Medi Jaffier, the governor of Mocha, - 327.
Medicean Venus, the form of the Indian women afford the finest hints of, - 406.
Meere Mahumet Tuckey, - 326.
Meirdah, - 107.
Mekran, - 337.
Mekker, circar of, - 257.
Meleck, governor of Thana, - 217.
Melee Amber, - 363.
Men, women, and children, sold for slaves, 39. 96.
Meneses, Don Manuel de, - 376. 377. 378. 379. 380.
Merchant's Hope, the, an East Indiaman, 375.
Mersje, circar, - 184.
Merick, a strong fort, - 114. 119.
Metchlepatam, Masulipatam, 41. 62. 120. 156. 172. 204. 206. 212. 213. 229. 272. 273.
Mher ul Niffa, or the sun of women, wife of Shere Afkun, 186. See Noor Jehan, and Noor Mahil, - 172.
Miana, a town in Persia, - 272.
Middleton, Lord, - 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 328. 337. 343. 345. 375.
Mighty Secrets. - 245. See *Oupnekhat*.
Mihie, river, - 104.
Mildenall John, - 341. 342.
Military art, in Indostan, - 417.
Military at Bombay, 130. See Bombay garrison.
Military transactions of the British nation in Indostan, - 3. 6. 235. 281. 297. 415.
Militia of Bombay, 114. See Bombay garrison.
Milk, the supposed amertam or nectar of the gods of India, - 469.
Milton, the poet, quoted, - 406.
Minchin, captain, - 80.
Mirat Allum, or the mirror of the world, 167.
Mirat ul Waridat, or the mirror of occurrences, - 167.
Mirdsje, - 294.
Mirza Amin, secretary to Aurengzebe, - 167.
Cassim, author of Rose Namma, - 167.
Hoffein, son of Afiph Jah, - 187.
Mifti, son of Afiph Jah, - 187.
Morad, - 187. See *Chaest Khan*.
Mirzas, or lords of the provinces of Indostan, 252. 385.
Mirzequ, river, - 52. 95. 164.
town, - 35. 52. 174. 175.
Misery, Siddee, - 113. 114.
Misore. See Mysore.
Missionaries, the, abound in necromances, 200.
Mocha, - 321. 324. 325. 326. 327.
Mocrib Cawn, governor of Surat, - 320. 322. 323. 341. 343. 345. 346. 356. 360. 366.
Mogdounabad, - 294. 295.
Mogdoun Sayed Mahomed Guefouderage, a pir, or saint, - 294. 295.
Mogedine, sultan, son of Mahomed Mauzum, 151.
MOGUL meaning Aurengzebe, when personally acting or affected, - 27. 31. 40. 61. 91. 109. 116. 128. 129. 133. 149. 155. 157. 158. These references are likewise included under Anrengzebe.
MOGUL, when meaning the emperor in general as king or sovereign, - 7. 10. 32. 35. 36. 39. 43. 44. 54. 55. 57. 59. 61. 63. 66. 74. 91. 105. 112. 114. 115. 123. 128. 133. 141. 142. 143. 145. 146. 149. 157. 160. 168. 177. 202. 204. 205. 215. 222. 223. 232. 297. 306. 319. 320. 322. 323. 328. 329. 332. 333. 341. 345. 346. 356. 362. 364. 366. 367. 368. 372. 373. 386. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 412. 414. 415. 438. 457. 458.
MOGUL.

“ 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 *Maffulipatan*, 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.

With

INDEX.

- Smirna fleet, the Dutch, - - - 280.
 Society, the, an interloping ship, - 129.
 Socorolla, Secretary to Sultan Currom, 374.
Socotra, - - - - - 324. 343. 362.
Solapore, fort, - - - - - 144. 146.
 Sonaffees, - - - - - 254.
Sooloo, island, - - - - - 49.
 SOPHY of Persia, meaning Shah Abbas II.
 21. 336. 337. 381.
 family - - - - - 265.
 Soubah. See Supah.
 Spain, king of, - - - - - 376. 386. 388.
 Spaniards call America India, - - 264.
 Spanish language, - - - - - 366.
 Spiciera, Victorio, a Florentine, 382. 383. 384.
 Spies, Sevagi's, - - - - - 19. 37.
 Squadron, the English, - - - - 23. 33.
 States General, - - - - - 271. 273. 280.
 Starkey, Mr. Andrew, - - - - - 333.
 Steele, Richard, - - - - - 343. 357. 381.
 Stuffs, of India and Persia, - - - 269.
Suali, 206. See Swally.
 Subadar, great, - - - - - 299.
 Subadars, or governors of Upper Chaul, 55.
 72. 269.
 Subagi, meaning Sevagi, 204. 205. 206. 207.
 Subah, - 11. 186. 190. 221. 285. 398. 399.
 400. 402. 424. 427.
 Subahship, - - - - - 399.
 Subahs, or provinces of the Decan, 93. 183.
 398.
 Suhuji, 304. Son of Eccogi. See Shaw-Ji.
 Sujah, Sultan, brother of Aurengzebe, 49.
 50. 73. 106. 128. 187. 190. 192. 219.
 Sultan. See Achar, Azim, Currom, Maw-
 zum, Sujar.
 a pretender, - - - - - 68.
 Sultan Alaoudin, - - - - - 294.
 Sultan Parviz, second son of the emperor,
 363. 372.
Sultanpour, - - - - - 171. 293.
 Sultan Togoul Schah, - - - - - 294.
Sumatra, - - - - - 340.
Sundah, near Goa, - - - - - 35. 38. 52.
 Rajah of, - - - - - 124.
 territory, - - - - - 145.
 Sunderland, Lord, - - - - - 272.
 SURAT, city, 4. 10. 12. 14. 15. 22. 24. 26.
 27. 28. 30. 31. 32. 35. 37. 38. 41. 45.
 47. 52. 55. 58. 71. 72. 77. 82. 85. 87.
 89. 91. 107. 109. 114. 115. 118. 120.
 121. 122. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130.
 132. 135. 137. 143. 146. 149. 172.
 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 194.
 199. 202. 204. 206. 207. 210. 212.
 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 233. 234.
 257. 259. 263. 267. 268. 319. 320.
 321. 322. 323. 324. 327. 328. 329.
 333. 334. 336. 337. 340. 343. 344.
 346. 347. 349. 354. 355. 356. 357.
 360. 361. 363. 364. 365. 368. 370.
 372. 373. 375. 381. 415.
 SURAT, chief, - - - - - 238.
 Company's broker there, - - - 72.
 English factory, 108. 287. 327. 331.
 336. 340. 344. 364. 374. 375.
 trade, established there, 186.
 first establishment of the Company
 there, - - - - - 329.
 government of, 8. 48. 73. 82. 96. 219.
 322. 333. 343. 360. 364. 369. 373.
 governor of, 12. 23. 25. 29. 39. 40.
 41. 48. 52. 55. 65. 70. 89. 93. 108.
 129. 135. 199. 256. 374.
 merchants, - - - - - 332.
 port of, 25. 30. 33. 34. 35. 40. 41.
 42. 49. 64. 65. 98. 115. 125. 126.
 131. 133. 135. 137. 138. 140. 325.
 327. 330. 333. 342. 347. 348. 353.
 368. 381.
 Prefidency, 23. 24. 82. 98. 107. 108.
 112. 116. 117. 128. 131. 132. 135.
 137. 138. 139. 221. 229. 256. 258.
 286. 287.
 President's guard of Europeans, - 82.
 records, 199. 233. 236. 256. 259.
 260. 267.
 river, - - - - - 327. 328. 330. 347. 353.
 ships, - - - - - 345.
 trade of, - - - - - 364. 374.
 well of, - - - - - 361.
 Surman's garden, - - - - - 282.
Surrunna, - - - - - 335.
Swally, 23. 89. 146. 328. 332. 343. 344. 345.
 346. 347. 349. 350. 351. 353. 354.
 357. 362. 368. 369. 380.
 channel of, - - - - - 350.
 hole, - - - - - 350.
 marine, or shore of, - - - - 89.
 road of, 132. 135. 139. 206. 323.
 327. 330. 331. 343.
 Sybarites, - - - - - 466.
 Syriac language, - - - - - 242.
 Tachard, father, - - - - - 274. 275.
 Tack, the Dutch admiral, - - - - 276.
 Tallah walls, - - - - - 269.
 Tamerlane, - - - - - 421. 458.
 Tamerlane's historian, - - - - - 286.
 TANJORE, country, 61. 62. 154. 228. 231.
 234. 298. 299. 300. 302. 303. 304.
 TANJORE,

INDEX.

- Hamedrow, Sambagi's principal general, 114.
 Hamilton, Mr. 200. 267.
 Haramcores, the buryers and burners of
 dead bodies, 465.
 Hargee, Hargi Rujah, 64. 115. 116. 155. 156.
 158. 159. 160. 299. 303.
 Harji, Hargi Pharfang, a person of great
 quality, 105. 269.
 Harris, Mr. Bartholomew, believes a pre-
 diction, 200.
 Hastings, Warren, Esq. 210.
 Hawart, 62. 153. 212.
 Havildar, 402.
 Hawkins, captain William, of the Heſlor,
 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 337. 342. 363.
 375.
 Haye, Monsieur-de la, 30. 32. 48. 173. 174.
 176. 177.
 Hayus, 228.
 Hazari, commander of one thousand horſe,
 170.
 Heſlor, Eaſt Indiaman, the firſt Engliſh ſhip
 which came to Surat; in Auguſt 1608, 318.
 321. 353. 355. 375.
 Heer Gerrard Hooft, 272.
 Hegira, 186. 244.
 Heinfus, Lord Anthon, 272.
 Hell, Mahomed the prophet in hell with his
 father the devil, 217.
 Helmets, in the temple of Elephanta, 449.
 Hendoo, from whence Indian, 460.
 Herbert, Sir-Thomas, 372. 373.
 Hereditary lords of the land of Viziapore,
 144.
 Heretic, 206.
 Hidalgos, or gentry, 355.
 Hidden book, the moſt ancient - 244. See
 Oupnekhat.
 Hide, captain, 213. See Hyde.
 Hieronimo Xavier, a jeſuit, 360.
HIND, India. See the fabulous hiſtory of
 the Hindoos in note xxix. page
 209. 210.
 the ancient ſect of, 241.
Hindoo, Hindoos, 56. 73. 74. 75. 76. 86. 125.
 180. 182. 209. 210. 249. 250. 254.
 255. 261. 285. 293. 294. 348.
 gods; Sevagi the champion of, 90.
 239.
 marriages, 162.
 merchants, 335.
 powers, 76.
 princes, 6. 305.
- Hindoo** races, 210.
 rajahs, 14.
 foreigners, 40.
 theology, 239.
 worſhip, 99.
Hiſtory and management of the Eaſt India
 company, 300.
 Hodgee Comal, the governor of Guadel's
 phyſician, 339.
 Hog, the, given to a judge to obtain juſtice,
 445.
HOLLAND, ſtates of, 30. 47. 169. 176. 209.
 272. 275.
 Hollanders, the Javans could hardly bear
 them, 275.
 Hope, an Eaſt Indiaman, 350. 351. 352.
 355. 356. 357.
 Horatii, the country of, 466.
 Horſe merchants, 226.
 Horſes bred in India rarely ſeen at open
 paſture 261. 262. 418.
Hubely, - 34. 35. 36. 44. 137. 144. 208. 286.
Hughley, - 202. 250. 281. 282. 283.
Hundry, iſland, 78. 87. 96. 98. 107. 108.
 126.
 Hunter, frigate, 82. 131. 139.
 Huſſulbookum, or injunſion, 332.
 Huſſars of the ſea, 112.
 Huſſein Ally, a general of Aurengzebe, 110.
 113.
Huttany, a mart, 86. 137. 258.
 Hyde, commander of the ſhip *Preſident*, 120.
 213.
Hyderabad, 20. 58. 147. 152.
 Jathier, nabob of Bengal, 4.
Jafnapatam, 207.
 Jaghires, or feiſs, 171. 221.
Jamboo, 118.
 James, the, an Eaſt Indiaman, 375. 377. 380.
 JAMES the firſt, king, 319. 336. 359.
Janagar in Soret, 373.
 Janiffaries, 384. 387.
Japan, 324. 457.
 emperor of, 441.
 Jar of oil given by the plaintiff to a judge to
 obtain juſtice, 445.
 Jarrici theſaurus, 228. 261.
Jaunbaſſer, 372.
Java, iſland of, 118. 270.
 principalities, 118.
 Javans, forty thouſand ſlain in different en-
 gagements with the Dutch, 275.
 Ibrahim

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.

In

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.

Remarks

found he was appointed from England to be a writer in the Company's 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.”

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 also 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 (except,

(*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 500l. 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.

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 (*1*), 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,

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

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

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 note, 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 Abdalla 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, Mangerelpore,* and *Ormepore*; as also out of
 “ Manda,

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

Devecotah, 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 (1).

In another Instruction for Count D'Arché, 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

(1) 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.

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 Aurgabad 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 Sebah-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.

INDEX

- Barara, duke of**, - - - - - 382.
Feridabad, near Agra, - - - - - 167.
Ferishta, - - - - - 167. 179. 209. 210.
Ferouzeabad, - - - - - 289.
Ferouzgur, circar, - - - - - 290. 296.
Feyjoo, his description of the rat of India, - - - - - 263.
Fictitious revolt of sultan Mauzum, 20. 195.
Piefs, or Jaghires, - - - - - 57. 221.
Finch, William, - - - - - 320. 321.
Firouz Schah Bamani, - - - - - 295.
First Cause, the deity, in the Hindoo theology, - - - - - 239.
Flacour, the French agent, - - - - - 175.
Fleet of Bassein, - - - - - 141. See *Bassein*.
 Bombay. See *BOMBAY*.
 the Dutch, in India. See *DUTCH*.
 the Mogul's, expressed or meant, 114. 116. 133. See under *Mogul*.
 the Siddee's, - 82. 88. 98. See under *Siddee*.
Fleets, the Mogul's and Siddee's united, 29. 31. 35. 54. 69. 70. 119. 133.
Fletcher, lieutenant, - - - - - 130. 131. 140.
Floating platforms, - - - - - 57.
Footmen, enured to travel in Sevagi's army, - - - - - 92.
Forbin le Chevalier, - - - - - 275.
Forms of Justice, abuse of the, - - - - - 448.
Fort St. David, - - - - - 298.
Fort St. George, - - - - - 62. 229.
Forts, - - - - - 116. 117. 126. 137. 160. 221.
FRAGMENTS, - - - - - 4. 165. 181. 195. 220. 237. 292. 299. 365.
FRANCE, 29. 30. 137. 172. 173. 174. 175.
Franciscan, - - - - - 203. 205.
Frazer, Mr. - - - - - 4. 166. 167. 168. 238.
Frederic, - 224. 225. 226. 227. See *Cesar*.
Frederic.
French, agent, - - - - - 175.
 army in India, - - - - - 237.
 company, - - - - - 174.
 director of Surat, 33. 38. 173. 206.
 directory, - - - - - 206.
 factory, - - - - - 174. 175. 204.
 men, - - - - - 229. 342.
 padres, - - - - - 230.
 possessions in the northern provinces of Coromandel, - - - - - 3.
 settlements, - - - - - 174. 176.
 ships, - 32. 33. 137. 174. 175. 206.
 surgeons, - - - - - 199.
 trade, - - - - - 174. 175.
Freres, - - - - - 217. 230. 333. 341.
Fruit-trees in India, furnish a delicacy and nourishment, - - - - - 470.
Fryer, the physician, - 177. 178. 194. 195. 197. 208. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 258. 260. 262. 263.
Fryke, the surgeon, in the Dutch company's service, - - - - - 275. 277.
Funeral pile of Sevagi; his attendants, animals; and wives burnt with his corpse, - - - - - 90. 260.
 of Sevagi's eldest son, - - - - - 15.
Gallian, - 44. 46. 53. 54. 55. 58. 70. 71. 81. 97. 110. 111. 116. 117. 120. 126. 141. 143. 211. 216. 217. 218. town of, its ancient magnificence, - - - - - 215.
Gallivats, vessels for swift sailing, 24. 46. 53. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 88. 98. 107. 109. 111. 112. 113. 114. 116. 117. 126. 134. 135.
Gamron, - - - - - 273.
Gandersee, - - - - - 373.
Gandicotah, - - - - - 62. 141. 232.
Ganges river, - - - - - 190. 201. 286. 404. 449.
Ganjam, - - - - - 156.
Garcilassa della Vega, - - - - - 470.
Gary, captain, originally a Greek, 135. 136.
Gaul, - - - - - 459.
Gaut, Gauts, 21. 22. 27. 38. 44. 46. 57. 104. 111. 113. 116. 122. 126. 132. 141. 142. 143. 158. 161. 184. 197. 208. 210. 211. 267. of *Devit*, 110. 111. 197. 262.
Geastoudin Khan, father of Nizamalmuluck, - - - - - 146.
Gentil, Mr. 17. 146. 148. 149. 171. 237. 292. 302. 306.
Gentiles of India, - - - - - 195.
Gentoo—Gentoos, 70. 157. 397. 401. 403. 410. 421. 422. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 437. 438. 439. 440. 442. 443. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.
 bankers, - - - - - 449.
 different methods of inheritance amongst them, - - - - - 441.
 king of Chandergherri, 61. 62. 224. 225. 228. 229. 231.
 language, - - - - - 210.
 princes, - - - - - 397. 435. 439.
 prince's army, - - - - - 202.
 sovereignty, - - - - - 299.
Germany, emperor of, - - - - - 388.
Ghates, - - - - - 197. See *Gauts*.
Gheriah, - - - - - 26. 53.
 Ghiretty

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

Mando, Gandersee, 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 possesions: howbeit, the Mogul has received herebut, as an annual tax or tribute, no less than one million two hundred and threescore thousand mamoorders (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

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 *Ecossaise*, 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 fondi 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 (n).

In

(n) 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 when

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 Holdernessee, 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. Duvalear, 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 Holdernessee, 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

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.

INDEX.

- Ibrahim Khan, captain-general of the king
 of Golcondah, 147. 148.
 152. 156. 159. 290. 297.
 not trusted with the govern-
 ment he had betrayed,
 159.
- Idal Cawn, - - - 225. See Dialcan.
- Jehangire, or lord of the world, - 185. 186.
 187. 188. 319-341. 359. 373.
- Jemidars, - - - 281.
- Jenneah, town, 16. 26. 27. 46. 47. 195. 197.
 262.
- Jenneah Gur, fort, - 16. 17. 22. 24. 47. 170.
 177. 195.
- Jesswont Sing, the Maha Rajah, of Joudpore
 or Marathar, when mentioned either by his
 name or title, 11. 18. 74. 75. 90. 103. 190.
 196.
 his letter to Aurengzebe, 252.
- Jesuits, - 61. 168. 169. 227. 228. 261. 321.
 322. 360. 365.
 travellers, - - - 61.
- Jesus, the followers of, - - - 253.
- Jettapore, town, - - - 64.
- Jew, Bandarra, a notorious one, - 203.
- Ignorance, and the love of wonder, con-
 verted to their own conceits, - 200.
- Imāun or prince of Muscat, - - - 45.
- Imposter. See Sultan, a pretender.
- INDIA**, 21. 23. 36. 38. 56. 57. 91. 95. 123.
 127. 165. 166. 168. 171. 172. 173. 178.
 179. 180. 193. 195. 198. 203. 209. 211.
 216. 227. 229. 233. 235. 236. 264. 273.
 275. 322. 325. 326. 334. 341. 347. 367.
 379. 380. 407. 408. 415. 416. 432. 434.
 457. 459. 467. 468. 470. 472.
 house, keeper of the records there,
 181.
 languages of, - - - 263.
 many resources to prevent the in-
 habitants of from perishing by
 famine, - - - 470.
 of the human frame in, 462. 464.
 peninsular of, - - - 458.
 plough of, a slender instrument,
 468.
 principalities of, - - - 35.
 proper, - - - 264.
 seas of, - - - 45. 319. 346.
 word, - - - 21.
 worth the enquiry, in what parts
 good horses are bred, - 262.
- Indian—Indians, - 412. 413. 414. 425. 459.
 460. 461. 463. 464. 466.
 469. 471. 472.
- Indian—Indians, colour of, - - - 460.
 devotee, Sambagi dressed
 in the fantastic orna-
 ments of a wandering
 Indian devotee, - 164.
 extraordinary tumblers,
 463.
 hair of, - - - 460.
 muscular strength of, 463.
 stature of, - - - 464.
- Indo-Scythia*, - - - 459.
- INDOSTAN**, 3. 4. 29. 49. 50. 74. 99. 145.
 166. 187. 241. 254. 255. 286. 397. 403.
 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414.
 417. 421. 422. 423. 425. 429. 433. 437.
 438. 439. 440. 442. 443. 445. 447. 452.
 457. 458. 459. 460. 462. 464. 467. 471.
 battle in, - - - 419.
 climate of, - 407. 461. 467.
 empire of, - - - 397. 407.
 government of - 401. 448.
 labourer of, - - - 463.
 people of, 399. 407. 413. 419.
 442. 446. 454. 467. 468.
 471.
 politics of, - - - 430.
- Indus, river, 5. 51. 52. 67. 74. 236. 295. 334.
 336. 337. 340. 358.
 a race of strong horses are bred
 near, - - - 262.
- Infidels, - - - 203. 204. 205.
Ingelee, - - - 282. 283.
- Inheritances in Indostan, - - - 438.
- Inquisition of Goa, burnt prisoners, 123. 129.
- Interlopers, - - - 127. 129. 130. 137.
- Interloping ships, - - - 127. 128. 129.
 trade, - - - 129.
- Investment at Broach, 1683, - - - 288.
 Carwar, 1683, - - - 209.
- Invisible fiends, Navarette's house assaulted
 by, - - - 200.
- Joghies, - - - 254.
- John, Dr. S. an assistant to the council
 Bombay, - - - 139.
- Jore, Siddee, - - - 8. 9.
- Joudpore, a great rajahship of Indostan, 11.
 18. 74. 76. 90. 100. 103. 104. 107. 142. 251.
- Joseph, captain, - - - 375. 376. 379.
- Jownbasser, - - - 373.
- Jpahan, 150. 172. 196. 219. 220. 292. 337.
 340. 359. 381. 390.
- Italy, - - - 382. 459.
- Judge, his manner of deciding causes in
 Indostan, - - - 445. 446.
 Judge,

" 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

INDEX.

- Judge of the admiralty court, Bombay, 140.
 Judger Bede, Darah's prayer to Ruder ex-
 tracted from, - 249.
 Juggut Grow, guardian of mankind, - 253.
 Julius Cæsar, Sevagi compared to, - 174.
Jumbascer, a mart, - 334. 372.
Jumna, river, - 15. 190.
 Junke, - 379.
 Justinian, - 182.
 Justice! Justice!—the cry of the plaintiff at
 the Durbar to obtain attention, 444.
 forms of, observed in India, 445. 447.
 Jyasing, rajah of Abnir, 13. 15. 18. 20. 74.
 75. 191. 195. 196.
- Kæmpfer*, his account of Echar's escape to
 Ispahan, - 292.
 Kajan, - 408.
Kakna, river, - 289.
Kalbergâ, - 289. 293. 294. 295. 296. See
 Calberga.
Kaliani, - 289. 296.
 Kaloon, an instrument out of which the In-
 dians smoke tobacco, - 443.
 Kaloundgi, rajah, - 171.
Kamiran, - 286.
Kandahar, - 14. 21. See *Candahar*, 171.
Kandjoli, purgunnah, - 296.
Kanjouni, - 289.
Karimour, - 289.
Karoli, - 286.
 KATHERINE, princess of Portugal, queen of
 Charles the 2d, - 23.
Kaukourni, - 289.
 Keeling, captain, established factors at Ban-
 tam in 1609, - 277. 370. 375.
 Keigwin, captain of the military of Bombay,
 80. 82. 83. 130. 131. 137. 138. 139. 305.
 Keiffwa Puntolo, - 155. 156. 157. 158. 159.
 Kellidar, or governor of a fort, - 285. 402.
 Kemat Tybat, or remarkable sayings of Au-
 rengzebe, - 166.
Kenary island, 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 87. 96.
 97. 112. 130. 135. 256.
 Kerr, Mr. Alexander, - 180. 181.
 Kerridge, Mr. - 333. 342. 363. 364.
 Khan Jehan Behadoqr, - 146.
Kidwah, near Allahabad, - 190.
 Kine permitted to be killed, - 75.
 KING, meaning of England, 130. 131. 138.
 280. 321. 322. 328. 333. 336. 362. 363.
 364. 367. 380.
 his ministers, - 280.
- KING, of Golcondah, - 30. 31. 59.
 of the Pitans, - 49.
 of Viziapore, - 34. 35. 60.
 meaning the Great Mogul. See Mo-
 gul.
 Kings of Golcondah and Viziapore, captive,
 159.
 library at Paris, - 168. 169.
 mahomedan, - 40.
 vessels, - 29.
 Kingdom, a new one raised by Sevagi, - 95.
 Kissing a letter from Aurengzebe, occasions
 the death of the governor of Surat, - 199.
 Kongoy, a Bramin, - 294.
 Koran, 239. 240. 241. 242. 244. 245. See
 Alcoran.
Koudouni, - 289.
Koundelgora, - 184.
Krishna, river, - 159. 184.
Kutch, river, a race of horse bred there, 262,
 334.
- Lahore*, province, 51. 159. 190. 321. 462.
Lakmir, - 286.
 Lands of Indostan, - 403.
 Lancaster, fir James, - 277.
 Language of the Morattoes, - 210. 211.
Lar, the governor of,
 province, - 359.
 Lascars, - 80. 82.
Laureebunder, in the river Indus; - 334. 335.
 Laws of Indostan, - 437.
 Legislation orientale of M^r. Anquetil du
 Perron, - 168. 236.
 Liberty favourable in the cause of Christia-
 nity, - 430.
 Lieutenant, one of the Bombay marine, 79.
 Lighthouse on Kenary, - 78.
 Linen manufacture, 408. 410. 411. 412. 416.
Lisbon, - 175. 376. 379.
 Litigious contentions of the Moors and Gen-
 toos, - 442.
London, the English and Dutch decisors met
 there, - 272. 274.
London, the, an East Indiaman, - 213.
 Louis xiv. sends an embassy to the king of
 Siam, - 274.
 Lucas, fir Samuel, - 23.
 Lucky day, - 101.
Lyon, the, an East Indiaman, - 375.
- Macao*, - 203.
Macassar, - 271. 273. 277. 278.
 king of, - 277.

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 Hindû 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.

INDEX.

- Madagascar*, - - - - - 174. 176. 376. 379.
Madrabad, - - - - - 330.
MADRASS, - 48. 62. 63. 115. 116. 168.
 - - - - - 205. 212. 213. 229. 230.
 - - - - - 231. 232. 233. 235. 270.
 - - - - - agency, - 118. 229. 230. 290.
 - - - - - council, 116. 299. 302. 303.
 - - - - - founded in 1640. - - - 230.
 - - - - - government, - 136. 157. 160.
 - - - - - - - - - 161. 281. 306.
 - - - - - governor of, - - - - - 296.
 - - - - - records, 229. 230. 231. 233.
 - - - - - - - - - 235. 290. 296. 302. 303.
 - - - - - - - - - 304.
Madura, country, - 61. 228. 231. 299. 301.
Mahammadnagur, circar of, - - - 287.
Mahapour, - - - - - 286.
Maha Rajah, - - - - - 300.
Maha Rajah, Jesswant Sing of Joudpore, 11.
 - - - - - 90. 103. 190. 191. 196.
Mahim, channel of, - - - - - 33. 71. 81.
 - - - - - fort, - - - - - 71.
Mahmoodie, the, an Indian ship, - - - 325.
Mahmud, son of Sebah-takin, - - - 459.
Mahobet Caun, - - - - - 371. 372. 373.
 MAHOMED, the founder of the religion, 164.
 - - - - - 201. 217. 240. 253. 265. 422. 449. 459.
Mahomed, eldest son of Aurengzebe, - 189.
 - - - - - - - - - 189.
 - - - - - Jelaul ul Deen Akbar, - - - 253.
 - - - - - Kazm, the same as Mirza Cassim,
 - - - - - 167.
Mauzum, son of Aurengzebe,
 commonly called Sultan Mau-
 zum. - - - 17. See Mauzum.
Noor ul Deen Jehangheer, 253.
Sadick, commander of Aureng-
 zebe's army, - - - - - 160.
Shah, - - - - - 167. 267.
Shuffa, of Delhi, author of the
 Mirat ul Waridat, - - - 167.
 Mahomedan, Mahomedans, 56. 73. 96. 108.
 - - - - - 124. 147. 162. 163. 180. 210.
 - - - - - 211. 215. 217. 231. 239. 250.
 - - - - - 251. 254. 255. 265. 305. 379.
 - - - - - - - - - 457. 468.
 - - - - - blood, - - - - - 122.
 - - - - - cavalry in India, - - - 91.
 - - - - - descent, - - - - - 56.
 - - - - - empires, - - - - - 458.
 - - - - - government, - - - - - 217.
 - - - - - king of Viziapore, - - - 61.
 - - - - - kings, meaning of Viziapore
 and Goldondab, - 40. 225.
 Mahomedan power, - - - - - 16.
 - - - - - princes, - - - - - 440. 459.
 - - - - - prophet, - - - - - 250.
 - - - - - religion, - - - - - 288. 250.
 - - - - - states, - - - - - 91.
 Mahomedans in India, as well as in Turkey,
 credulous in alchemy, - - - 200.
 Mahomedanism, - - - - - 293. 437.
 Maison Professe, Paris, the jesuits' library
 there, - - - - - 168.
Maitche, - - - - - 294.
Malabar, coast of, 32. 42. 77. 120. 200. 203.
 - - - - - 207. 211. 220. 272. 273. 333. 399.
 - - - - - pirates, - - - - - 33. 361.
Malabars, - - - - - 361.
Malay islands, - - - - - 457.
 - - - - - nations, - - - - - 460. 461.
Malacca, - - - - - 203.
Malim Gany, - - - - - 332.
Malkar, circar, - - - - - 289. 290.
Malquer, - - - - - 147. 283.
Malva, province, - 19. 20. 74. 76. 142. 251.
Matwaner, river, - - - - - 184.
Manar, - - - - - 207.
Mandal, - - - - - 184.
Mando, - - - - - 373.
Mangalquin, - - - - - 289.
Mangalore, - - - - - 175. 227.
Mungerelpore, - - - - - 372.
Maukael, - - - - - 289.
Manouchi, 153. 164. 168. 179. 195. 224. 232.
 - - - - - 235. 236. 237. 251. 260. 266. 267. 283.
 - - - - - 290.
Man/gewaka, - - - - - 62.
 Manufactures of Indostan, - - - 409. 413.
 Manuscripts of Eastern writers, - 166. 167.
 - - - - - 168. 169. 171. 180. 183. 193. 208. 210.
 - - - - - 221. 222. 237. 257. 258. 285. 286. 289.
 - - - - - 290. 293. 301.
Mapatan, - - - - - 184.
Maravars, - - - - - 227.
Mareli, purgunnah, - - - - - 286.
Marhat, son of Decan. See the fabulous his-
 tory of the Hindoos in note xx x. page
 209. 210.
 Marriages of the Hindoos contracted by the
 parents during the earliest infancy of their
 children, - - - - - 162.
Marts, English, 40. 47. 64. 84. 86. 293. 334.
 - - - - - 415. 416.
Marcar, rajah of, - - - - - 251.
Marwar, - - - - - 85.
Masilpatam, - - - 273. See Metchlepatam.
Mallinberg, the, an East Indiaman, - 213.
 Mastiff

That he was a bad paymaster, and made use of subterfuges 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 Comedie 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 Caffé, ou L'Ecoffaisé, 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 célébré 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

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.

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 Muxadayad; that there should be at least a battalion of 800 Europeans, with as many sepoy's 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

Devecotah,

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 unfailing reproach, of the author who begins to learn to write: none of those trivial maxims which fill up the void of the action.”

Monf. 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 *Ecoffaife*.”

“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 *endecours* 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

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

The *Qu'est ce* is a string of questions concerning M. Palissot 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 Palissot; 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 Palissot's play. I heard Palissot 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 *Cotin*. He then draws a parallel between the *Clouds* of Aristophanes and the philosophers of Palissot; 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 Frejon on the stage, under the name of Frelon, in the *Ecoffaise*.

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

A parallel of that comedy with the *Clouds* of Aristophanes, the *Mechant of Grillet*, and the *Femmes Sçavautes* of Moliere.

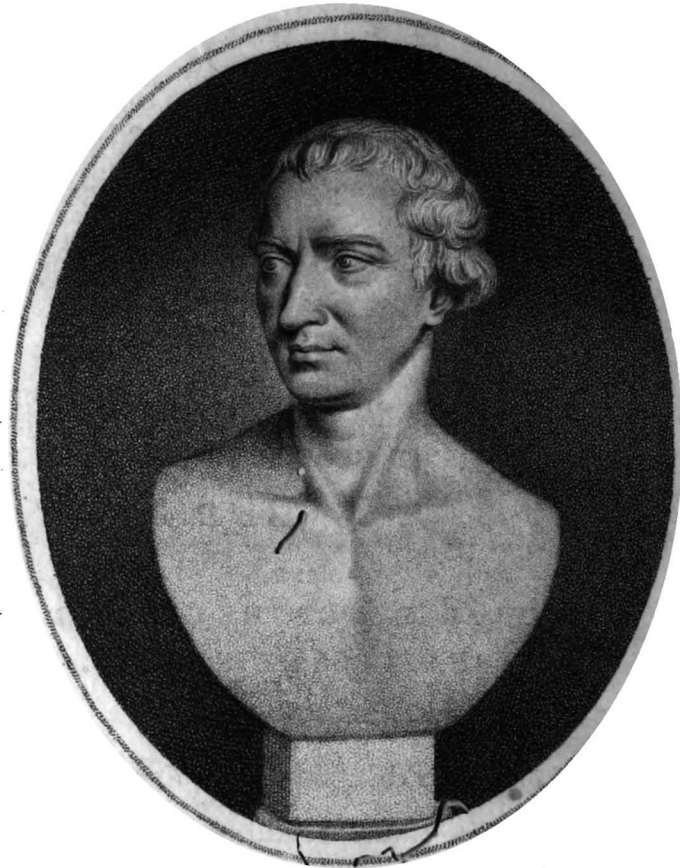
This parallel is rendered long by the exposition of four pieces, and is intended to prove that M. Palissot is nothing indebted to Aristophanes, Moliere, or Grillet; and, above all, that his comedy is very well written.

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 *Egis* 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



ROBERT

ORME, F.A.S.

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From a Bust Executed by



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