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CATALOGUE  
MANUSCRIPTS IN EUROPEAN  
LANGUAGES

BELONGING TO THE  
LIBRARY OF THE INDIA OFFICE.

VOLUME II.

PART I:

THE ORME COLLECTION.

BY

S. C. HILL,

*Formerly Officer in Charge of the Records of the Government of India.*

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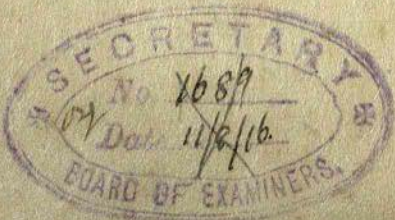
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## ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

- p. 150. 141-142. "There is no record of the contents of these volumes." But as regards No. 142 see Preface.  
p. xi.
- p. 215. 287. 7. Delete the words "Apparently this . . . Old style." Mr. H. Dodwell (Curator, Madras Record Office) shows, by a reference to Ranga Pillai's Diary, that the date of this letter is correct.
- p. 230. 288. 45. Mr. H. Dodwell suggests that Clive's present was a recognition of Mr. Fabricius's services in solemnizing Clive's marriage.
- p. 239. 290. 19. Add "The exact arrangement of the 26 guns carried by Company's ships at this time is given in the Log of the *London* for the voyage completed in 1756. See Marine Records in the India Office."
- p. 297. VI. 10. Add "The Journal, though attributed to Caillaud, refers almost wholly to the command of Carnac."
- p. 298. VI. 12. For [R.O.] substitute [? R.O. or Noble].
- p. 310. IX. 2. Add "The author was probably Ensign Brooks, who was dismissed by the Council of Madras for assisting Courtney in getting up a petition in his (Courtney's) favour by the soldiers of his Company. See Madras Consultations, 29 January 1711/12."
- p. 327. XII. 1. For "official" substitute "demi-official."
- p. 331. XIII. 27. For the last sentence substitute "The present return gives amongst the wounded the names of Lieuts. [Samuel] Cassells (died 13 Oct. 1757) and [Bernard] Holt (died 23 Oct. 1757). Holt's name is illegible in Colonel Wilson's authority."





## PREFACE.

THIS descriptive account of the Orme MSS., compiled by Mr. S. C. Hill, formerly Officer in Charge of the Records of the Government of India, appears as Part I of the Second Volume of a *Catalogue of Manuscripts in European Languages* belonging to the Library of the India Office. The *Catalogue* was contemplated in the Library about thirteen years ago, and a preliminary examination of the collections was maintained in progress; but the circumstances which have rendered the scheme practicable were not realized until the year 1911, when specialists were found willing to undertake the work, and the sanction of the Secretary of State in Council was given for the necessary expense.

Vol. I, of which one Part appears concurrently herewith, will deal with the various Mackenzie collections, while the remainder of Vol. II will be devoted to minor collections and individual MSS.

Concerning the manner in which the Orme Collection was formed and the object which it was intended to serve, I may content myself with a reference to Mr. Hill's Introduction. The collection came into the possession of the Library of the East India Company under the circumstances detailed in the following letter from Mr. John Roberts, by whom the presentation was actually made.

To the Honble The Court of Directors of  
The East India Company.

Gentlemen,

My late friend Mr. Orme the Company's Historiographer, left me by his will, a large collection of Maps, Manuscripts, and Pamphlets respecting East India Affairs—he frequently mentioned to me in his life time his wish, that they should be in the possession of the Company.

I have great pleasure in having the honor of presenting them.

I remain

Gentlemen

Your most obedient humble

Servant,

JOHN ROBERTS.\*

14 Apl 1801.

\* Chairman 1802-3. Letter received in Court the same day—no comment.—*Miscellaneous Letters Received*, Vol. 104, p. 166.





Orme died on January 13, 1801: the expression in his will, proved April 28, 1801, is merely as follows:—

"I give and bequeath all my manuscripts, charts, maps, and other papers concerning the East Indies to the said John Roberts."

The bequest was delivered to the Court of Proprietors of the H. E. I. C. on April 14 of the same year; and on December 2 it was passed on to the Library, where its receipt was recorded in the *Daily Account of Books and Curiosities received into the Library* in the following terms:—

"51 Vols containing 190 Tracts on the subject of India and the Company's Affairs from about the [year] 1750 down to the year 1788.—Printed.

"231 Vols in Manuscript of various sizes, chiefly bound in Velum [sic], containing a vast body of information upon the subject of India, in Copies which Mr. Orme had permission to make from the records and collections of others, and in original Documents, Commonplace &c., with many useful Indexes.

"8 Bundles of Letters, chiefly from Madras and Bombay, upon the subject of the Company's affairs in India.

"20 Rolls, consisting chiefly of foul and proof impressions of the Plates used for Mr. Orme's History.

"20 Rolls, containing sundry Maps and Plans.

"35 Books, containing Maps, Plans, and Views.

"4 Portfolios do. do.

"17 Rolls of Manuscript Plans and Maps, chiefly the originals of those engraved for Mr. Orme's History.

"N.B. The eight foregoing Articles were presented to the Library by John Roberts Esq., and are from the Collection of the Company's late Historiographer, Robert Orme Esq., F.A.S."

In a Memoir of Orme given in the *Asiatic Annual Register* (1802, Characters, pp. 54, 55.) the above list is repeated, with the addition of "Hindu Idols. Six figures in brass, representing some of the principal emblems of the divine attributes, according to their mythology."

The Memoir is dated "Library, East India House, 26th May, 1802," and signed "Charles Wilkins, Librarian."





A third list, presenting only verbal divergencies, will be found in the Introduction to the second edition (1805) of Orme's *Historical Fragments* (p. lxiv-lxv, note gg), in which introduction are also quotations from a number of letters, &c., found amongst Orme's papers, which do not form part of the existing collection.

The MS. portion consisted, as will be seen, of the following items :—

1. 231 volumes, chiefly bound in vellum ;
2. 8 bundles of letters ;
3. 17 rolls of maps and plans.

A comparison with the collection as it at present exists is to a certain extent facilitated by reference to two catalogues, one compiled in the Library, the other either in the Library or at least in the establishment of the East India Company.

The former of these, which is not dated, but is written on paper bearing the water-mark 1811, is described on its title-page as follows :—

Catalogue  
of the Manuscript Collection of Papers  
relative to Indian History made by  
Robt Orme Esq.  
Historiographer to the Honble. E. India Compy:  
from which he compiled his valuable  
History of the Military Transactions of  
the British Nation in Indostan ; and which by  
his Executor, John Roberts Esq.,  
were presented to the Library.

N.B. An Index distributed according to the connection of the subject with the several Presidencies, will be found at the end? Sheet 24.

In this catalogue the collection is divided into two sections (cf. p. xvii *infra*), namely

- (1) India, Vols. I-XIX ;
- (2) O.V., **1-332**, of which the last number, however, consisted merely of leaves taken bodily from Vols. VIII, IX, and XVII of "India."





The titles of the several papers in each volume, where, as commonly, there is a plurality of them, are given in full, and there is an index as described.

Two features of this catalogue call for remark.

The first is that, whereas up to No. **245** of the O.V. section the numbers are those of volumes, irrespective of the number of papers contained therein, from this point onwards there is a divergence, the heading "Vol." being applied to only a portion of the items, and the remainder being designated simply "No." Those which belong to the former class are **260-269, 279, 303-4, 330** = in all 14.

That the distinction was intentional is proved by the fact that in the case of certain of the volumes, namely, Nos. **266-9**, "No." is inserted in red ink, no doubt as a correction, under the abbreviation "Vol." Also the same distinction appears in a MS. *Catalogue of Books in Manuscript*—64 Vol.—belonging to Mr. Orme sent to Mr. Roberts, foll. 4, (now attached to the catalogue under consideration), which is certainly of earlier date. It will be noted that in the present catalogue also the numbers in Clarendon type denote partly volumes and partly individual papers.

The O.V. section would appear, therefore, to have consisted of  $245 + 14 = 259$  vols.—except that **244** is described in red ink as "parcel unbound"—to which we shall add the XIX "Vols." of India, making 278 in all, together with 73 "Nos."

But from these totals a deduction must be made in view of the second feature of the catalogue, namely, that in the enumeration certain figures are either passed over or left blank, i.e., unaccompanied by any title or description. These figures are

**44** \*;

**53**—contents stated by Mr. Hill;

**54**—now found, having been confused with **36**;

**68, 75**—contents stated by Mr. Hill;





89,\* 90,\* 94\*-100,\* 102\*-104,\* 106\*-111,\* 115,\* 132,\*  
133,\* 137,\* 138,\* 141\*;

142—Bombay Letters, May-August, 1694;

148,\* 149,\* 196,\* 198,\* 200,\* 201\*;

= in all 36,

a total which is not altered when Vol. 36, which is really missing, is substituted for 54.

Assuming, as is reasonable, that these are cases of deficiency in the collection, we find the latter to have consisted, at the time when the catalogue was compiled, of  $278 - 36 = 242$  "Vols." together with 73 "Nos." figures, which, as they fail to agree with the record of receipt into the Library, seem to call for some consideration.

As regards the missing numbers—to deal first with this point—there can be little hesitation in accepting the view (see *infra*, p. xiii) that they probably represent volumes which did not belong to Orme, and were returned by him to their owners. In the case of Vols. 68 and 75 this is substantiated. Further, there is positive evidence, in a MS. note probably dated 1802 (now attached to the catalogue under consideration), that Vols. 36, 44, 53, 68, 75, 89 were not received into the Library; likewise the negative evidence that none of them were among the volumes lent to Mr. Roberts at a later date (prior to 1811—see *infra*, p. xii). Nor is any difficulty, so far as appears, involved in the assumption that the cases where we are without positive information are of a similar nature.

We now come to the apparent superfluity presented by the  $242$  "Vols." +  $73$  "Nos." in comparison with the recorded receipt of  $231$  Vols. +  $8$  bundles of letters. Inasmuch as two volumes, 37 and 38, are proved by the above-mentioned MS. note to have arrived after the main bulk, namely, on April 2nd 1802, the number 231 should perhaps be replaced by 233. In either case the discrepancy may be tentatively explained as follows:—

Probably the highest number attached to a *bound* volume, at the time of receipt, was 240, since all those bearing higher





numbers have been bound in recent years: of the 19 (259 less 240) remaining "Vols." five, as we have seen, have only a disputed right to the designation, and others seem, upon inspection, better designated "Nos." Accordingly, we may reckon with  $240 - 36 = 204$  volumes, which, increased by the XIX volumes of India, and a portion only of the above-mentioned 19, will make 231 or 233, as required. Possibly a further special examination of the doubtful volumes might make clear which of them must have counted as such at the time of their delivery to the Library.

The 8 bundles of letters are, no doubt, among those described in the present catalogue.

What then of the 73 "Nos.", which will be increased in case the above reasoning is correct? Could they have lurked among the "8 bundles" or the other items of the presentation? This will hardly seem probable; and we are therefore driven to the assumption of an unrecorded donation, consisting chiefly of unbound papers, which may easily have resulted from a second gleaning among Orme's reliquiae. The above-mentioned list of 64 volumes belonging to Mr. Orme sent to Mr. Roberts bears, though undated, internal evidence of priority to the 1811 catalogue; and it is a fair conjecture that the books were despatched in connection with the second edition of Orme's *Historical Fragments*, which Mr. Roberts published in 1805. The additional "Nos." may have accompanied these 64 volumes upon their return.

The second catalogue, compiled apparently upon the occasion of a transference of the bulk of the collection to some other department, has a title-page as follows:—

List of  
Books and Unbound Papers,  
part of the Materials Collected by  
Mr. Orme,  
formerly Historiographer to  
the Honorable East India Company  
Received from the Library 27th Feb<sup>y</sup>. 1822.

Those Books or Papers the Titles of which are written in Red Ink are retained in the Library.





## ORME MSS.: PREFACE.

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Those Numbers stated to be "Wanting" perhaps did not belong to Mr. Orme, and though Classed and Numbered by him, they were probably returned to the Owners;—this appears to be the case in respect to Nos. 68 and 75.

For the *Contents* of those Numbers entitled "*Coromandel History*," and "*Coromandel Geography*," see No. 158 of this *Catalogue*; "*Bengal History*," "*Bombay History and Dependencies*," No. 159; "*Hindustan History*," No. 238.—No. 246 contains a *Table of Contents* of the several Numbers 1 to 88. No. 244 contains *Table of Contents* of Collection "*India*," Vol. I. to XVIII.—There are also several other *Tables of Contents* and *Indexes*, which see in the *Catalogue passim*. Nearly all the Bound Books have *Tables of Contents* prefixed.

This catalogue is much more meagre than the former one, giving to each item only a single brief designation (accompanied, however, by an indication of date). The items marked as wanting correspond precisely to those not described in the earlier catalogue, with the addition of No. 105, which, however, must have been only temporarily missing, as it still fills its place in the collection.

Accordingly the collection was in 1822 what it was in 1811.

At the present date all the vacancies noted in 1811 persist. There are also further deficiencies, as follows:—

- Nos. 187-195: [Orderly Books, Bengal and Coromandel];  
,, 229: "Index. Alphabetical";  
,, 230: "Index to Morrison on advantages of Mogul Alliance";  
,, 231-4, 236: "Indexes—Various";  
,, 241: "Index to Madras Country Correspondence"  
[Perhaps 221. 3, which see];  
,, 254: "Rebeiro, Dates, Ceylon, &c.";   
,, 261: "Mr. W. Methwold's Journal at Surat, 1635-6"  
[Transferred to Record Department, see "*List of Factory Records . . . preserved in the Record Department of the India Office, London*," p. 75, Surat, Vol. I;]





Nos. **282**: "History of Bombay" by J. Burnell, Esq.,  
Original MS. 1257 to 1710";

[Copy probably in VIII. 17, IX. 1.]

„ **286**: "Letters from Bombay to England. 33 Nos.  
from 1722 to 1731"

[Transferred to collection Original Correspondence, Record Department];

„ **294**: Imperf: Narrative entitled "Surat, Floris";

„ **297**: "Fair History 1780." Mogul Fragments;

„ **323**: "Reports of the Committee of Proprietors and  
3 Documents from the Committee, Mr. Orme  
Chairman";

„ **324**: "Index to (Orme's) History";

„ **330**: "Sale Catalogue of the elegant and valuable  
Library of Robert Orme Esq."

As regards these, it will be seen that Nos. **241, 261, 286**, are accounted for. No. **330** was probably not a manuscript, and it was, perhaps, at some time treated as a *mere* sale catalogue; possibly No. **323** also contained only printed papers, and Nos. **187-195** may likewise have been prints. Concerning the others there appears to be no sufficient basis for a conjecture. We have seen that the second catalogue was made on the occasion of a *transfer* of a great part of the MSS. from the Library to some other, unspecified, quarter. As between different departments of the East India House, the Library, the Examiner of Indian Correspondence, the Chart Office, such transfers seem at that date to have been not infrequent. (Even later, in the India Office, the whole Orme collection was during a period of years in the charge of the Record Department.) Hence it may be supposed that in the course of such a transfer the missing volumes became attached elsewhere. But actually in the known transfer of 1822 most of them were not included. It is to be hoped that some may hereafter be traced. Fortunately they would appear from their descriptions to be in most instances of relatively inconsiderable value.





## ORME MSS.: PREFACE.

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The following letter from Orme, which is now attached to the first catalogue, may be quoted in full, as containing some statements by himself concerning his collection:—

“My Dear friend,

My Manuscripts are divided into two Distinctions—  
One of all communicated to me with permission to be copied. These are in one Sett of Folio bound in Velum, up to No. 18. The other Distinction is of Original Manuscripts given to me—they are very many Volumes indeed. I think 145. they are of all Sizes mostly bound in Velum.

I send You a Specimen of each Distinction, 2 Volumes of the Copied in Folio, 10 Volume of the Original MS<sup>s</sup>.

I think all the Copied Manuscripts have Indexes.

And above 80 of the Copied have Indexes Likewise.

I shall likewise send [find?] 3 books of the Indexes to the Copied MS<sup>s</sup> as far as they have been done, divided into Bengal, Coromandel, Bombay, and General. I will send You these Books of Indexes, as soon as I find them. In the Mean time; Make what use you please of what I now send, and I will send You more to morrow.

Ever Yours,

R. ORME.

April 2nd 1794.

Alexander Dalrymple Esq.”

F. W. THOMAS,

Librarian.

August, 1915.





## INTRODUCTION.

### THE ORME MANUSCRIPTS.

THE Collection in the India Office Library, known as the Orme Manuscripts, is only a portion of the material collected by the historian Robert Orme for the preparation of his *History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan from the year 1745*. It contains, besides a few printed papers and maps, a very large number of manuscripts, partly originals or duplicates, partly copies made from manuscripts lent to him and—not always\*—returned to the owners, partly notes or extracts from official and other sources, and partly such of his own correspondence with friends or business connections as contained allusions to matters of public interest.

The Collection may be divided into two parts—

(1) The ORME VARIOUS or O.V. volumes, about 200 in number, containing chiefly originals or duplicates.

(2) The INDIA volumes, containing almost entirely copies of manuscripts, the originals of most of which are to be found in the ORME VARIOUS, though some,† and these not the least important, are copies of manuscripts which Orme returned to their owners.

The fact that Orme caused fair copies to be made of so many of his manuscripts suggests that he had in mind the preparation of a set of volumes of important papers which, though unprinted, might serve as a kind of Appendix

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\* See 287 and 288.

† e.g. The Eyre Coote Journals (VII. 3, 4; VIII. 2), the originals of which, I fear, are hopelessly lost.





to his *History*, of the same nature as the *Pieces Justificatives* attached to French *Mémoires*. Had this been done with care the results would have been very valuable, but Orme's copyists were hopelessly incompetent, and he himself did not take the trouble either to arrange the papers to be copied in any proper order, or to compare the copies, when made, with the originals. Consequently the value of the INDIA volumes consists almost wholly in the copies of manuscripts of which the originals have been lost.

As regards the contents of the ORME VARIOUS volumes, it must not be supposed that these are of anything like equal value. Putting aside the differences naturally arising from the capacity or authority of the writers, many of the papers are merely notes or indexes which, though they illustrate the care exercised by Orme in the preparation and collation of his material, add nothing to the general sum of information. A further large number are copies of, or extracts from, official papers which still exist elsewhere and are better consulted in the original. Even these have, however, some value, in that they often suggest to the student sources of information of which he would not otherwise have been aware. It is for this reason that every individual paper in the Collection has been noted in the Catalogue.

On the other hand, the positive value of the Collection is very great for the following reasons:—

(1) It contains a large number of documents, with an almost complete set of military journals, no other copies of which are known to exist. These are of special interest to the student of military history and biography, but they also contain much information regarding the geography and topography of the country and the manners, customs, and religion of the people. The historical information, beginning almost with the arrival of the British in India and extending beyond the first war with Haidar Ali, covers a much longer period than that actually dealt with in Orme's *History*.





(2) It contains copies of official and demi-official documents which have now been lost. This is particularly important because the seventeenth and eighteenth century official records of both the French and English East India Companies are frequently defective, and the demi-official correspondence, not being recognized as the property of the Company or the Government, was treated as the private property of the receiver and very often destroyed.\*

(3) It gives us much information about the very interesting personality of Orme himself, his motives in writing his *History*, the nature and style of the task which he proposed to undertake and his reasons for giving up the work.

With regard to the first two of these points sufficient indication will be found in the present Catalogue; it may, however, be interesting to bring together here a few of the facts which emerge from the papers in this Collection, but are not generally known, regarding Orme and his *History*.

In the unsigned *Life* prefixed to the 1805 edition of the *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire* we have a very pleasing picture of Orme in his retirement. He is there represented as living a quiet, happy life, enjoying the friendship and correspondence of the leading literary men of his time and honoured and consulted by great politicians as well as by the Company. His life in the East is but lightly touched upon, and that chiefly to call attention to his political insight and wisdom. No mention is made of his deadly quarrel with George Pigot, nor of his struggle with poverty and ill-health at home, nor of the share which he took in the internecine feuds which agitated the Directors and Proprietors of the East India Company in London, nor of the decay of his friendship with Clive. The writer of the *Life* had all Orme's papers at his disposal, so his omission to notice any of these matters was, in all

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\* A good deal of the secret history of the war with Haidar Ali is to be found in the Orme Collection. See Index under **Haidar-Ali** and **Smith (JOSEPH)**.





probability, intentional; but Orme, after all, was a public character, and some knowledge of his defects and weaknesses, as well as of his virtues, is necessary if we are to form a correct opinion of his relations with his colleagues. A great deal is to be gathered from the papers in this Collection.

In the first place, there was in Orme's character a touch of vanity which now and then seems to have led him into trouble. There is nothing very objectionable in the belief in his superior literary capacity which causes him to note, with apparent satisfaction, how often he was called upon to draft important public letters for the Madras Council,\* or for the Court of Directors,† or for Clive;‡ and it is amusing to see how his friends played upon this vanity by dubbing him "Cicero,"§ but it is not pleasant to find him drafting the charges under which Colonel Heron was brought before a court-martial, when one learns that he had been, if not Heron's particular friend, at least his agent at head-quarters.||

Like all his colleagues, whilst in India Orme had his ambitions. He had aimed at both rank and wealth, and his failure to secure either was due partly to bad health and partly to a certain weakness of character, on which his friends looked with dismay,¶ and which his enemies did not hesitate to describe openly as cowardice.\*\* To facilitate

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\* Letters from the Madras Council to Admiral Watson and Colonel Adlercron, III. 58, 59.

† e.g. Thanks of the Court of Directors to General Joseph Smith, 33. 25. The inscriptions on the monuments to Stringer Lawrence and Eyre Coote in Westminster Abbey were composed by Orme, see *Life* pp. xlviii and liii.

‡ Letter for Clive to Lord Bute, 207. 2.

§ Letter from James Repington to Clive, 283. 36.

|| Letters to John Payne, 28. 1 (1), 11 (1), and letters from Heron to Orme, 48. 1 (10). Orme had been Colonel Heron's fellow-passenger when the Colonel came to India in the "Warren." See Court's Despatch to Madras, 15 February 1754, paragraph 20.

¶ Letter from Clive, 28. 11 (11). Letter from Capt. Speke, 289. 27. Letter from Holwell, 293. 22.

\*\* See 28. 11 (11), and Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, II. 513.



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his accession to the governorship of Madras, he had entered into one of those unholy alliances, which were only too common between Directors in London and the Company's servants in India. He had agreed to supply Mr. John Payne\* with private reports on the conduct and character of his colleagues in Madras. This was as foolish as it was mean, for it was impossible to keep secret what he was doing. The fact that he was known to have acted as a spy—I use Orme's own word—upon his colleagues was the real reason of Pigot's enmity which brought about his own early retirement from the Company's service in India.† On the other hand, there is ample evidence of a kindly and generous spirit towards friends and dependants. This sometimes involved him in heavy expenses, which were difficult to avoid without incurring the accusation of meanness.‡ Above all, his private correspondence, as well as his *History*, shows how quickly he was fired to admiration by any tale of gallantry and daring, whether its subject was English, French, or Indian.§ It is to be regretted that no further information is to be found in connection with the charge of corruption brought against him by Pigot, more especially as the Court of Directors resolved that he had extorted large sums of money from the Nawab.|| Still the decision of the Court is not sufficient to convince one of Orme's guilt, when one remembers his comparative poverty at the time of his retirement,¶ the unscrupulous character of the Nawab, the submission of the charges against Orme through and by his enemies in the Madras Council, and, finally, the fact that the Court took no action on its own resolution.

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\* Letter to John Payne, **28**. 1 (1).† See Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, II. 513.‡ See Letter to Robert Wood, **222**. 27.§ e.g. The story of the defence of the Choultry, near Madura, by Muhammad Yusuf Khan, **28**. 11 (3).|| See Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, II. 519.¶ His income was only £400. See Letter to Joseph Smith (**202**. 29), and letter to William Hosea (**202**. 110).





Turning now to Orme's great *History*, we find his reasons for undertaking the work detailed in the introductory remarks to his *Revolutions of Carnatica* :—

"I mean it not as a reflection on any persons, when I say that I could find no one who could give me an account [of the origin of the war between the French and the English] succinct and coherent enough to satisfy me. Particular employments receive general Events as Amusements and as Amusements they are lost in the succession of new ones." \*

At first out of mere curiosity, and without aspiring to the dignity of an historian, Orme set himself to collect facts and to weed out fiction, but it was not long before he realized that he was living in a heroic age, in which the English and French, few as were their numbers in India, occupied the front of the stage in what was a gigantic struggle, not between two mere trading Companies, but between two great European nations striving for the monopoly of the East.† In his position as a servant of the English Company it was not for him to criticize the political conduct of his employers in any direct fashion, but it was open to him, by a detailed narrative of military events, to produce a picture from which the intelligent observer could judge for himself.

Of all history the most difficult to write is contemporary history. Apart from personal bias for or against particular men or measures, the writer is too near his subject to obtain a correct or comprehensive view. To a certain extent this difficulty is obviated if the writer be an outsider

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\* See II. 29.

† Cp. "Bien que limité à des opérations d'achat, le commerce n'en soulevait pas moins des rivalités entre les diverses nations européennes. . . . Aussi toutes les luttes et toutes les guerres du XVIII<sup>e</sup> siècle furent-elles, à leur origine du moins, des guerres commerciales ; on ne combattait pas pour la suprématie, mais pour un monopole." A. Martineau. *Les Origines de Mahé*.





who is ready to avail himself of expert observation, comment, and advice. Thus, whilst almost all the political pamphlets written by the Company's servants in Orme's time are little better than *ex parte* statements, and therefore hopelessly misleading, it was possible for Orme, though a mere civilian who had probably never seen a shot fired in anger, to compose a military history which was the admiration of all soldiers. It was for reasons of this nature that Orme determined to write not a history of the British in India but a history of their military transactions.

It will, I think, be found on consideration that Macaulay's criticism of Orme, in his review of Sir John Malcolm's *Life of Lord Clive*, is somewhat superficial. He says:—

“Orme, inferior to no English historian in style and power of painting, is minute even to tediousness. In one volume he allots, on an average, a closely printed quarto page to the events of every forty-eight hours. The consequence is that his narrative, though one of the most authentic and one of the most finely written in our language, has never been very popular and is now scarcely ever read.”

As Macaulay's only objection is to excess of detail, it is of some interest to know whether Orme had any reason for his choice of style. His friend, Richard Smith, after reading the first volume, wrote to Orme that the style reminded him of Thucydides. Orme replied:—

“Your comparison of it with that of Thucydides is a proof that you have read Thucydides with great attention and my *History* with great partiality: you are right in supposing that I had the Grecian in view. I had so often heard and read such great commendation of his work that I had formed many conjectures of his manner of writing before I perused him, which was, as I shall always remember, in the beginning of the year 1755, soon after I arrived last at Madras. When I had read two books I said to myself, is it possible to write history in any other manner, and





every hour's progress confirmed me more and more in that opinion. Thus far he was undoubtedly my master, but from that time to this I have not read ten pages in him, for, during the whole time I was composing, I never sought for ideas, plan, style or arrangement but in my own subject."\*

As a matter of fact, Orme's first attempt at writing history was his *Revolutions of the Province of Carnatica*,† which he composed in the years 1751 and 1752, i.e. *before*, if his recollection be correct, *he ever read Thucydides*. He cannot, therefore, be said to have consciously modelled his style on that of any standard writer; but, as Thucydides did, and as every true historian must do, he "sought for ideas, plan, style or arrangement" only in his "own subject." In fact the historic treatment of a subject will always differ from the artistic, more proper to fiction than to history, by the apparently disproportionate attention which it must pay to particular details of no great intrinsic importance when the subject is looked back upon as a whole. In fiction these may be cut down, modified or even omitted, but the writer of history is not concerned with the ultimate result or with the artistic presentation of some single person or subject but with a faithful record of events, in which even the minor actors receive due mention and are not submerged by some striking or popular personage, whose success has in fact often been due to the suggestion or actual performance of his subordinates. To be just and true to life, the historian—especially the contemporary historian who is perforce ignorant of ultimate results—must, I think, indulge in detail, and, though this may diminish the popularity of his work when he treats of a subject

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\* Letter to Richard Smith, 1 Feb. 1766 (222, 149). Cp. "I therefore very contentedly took events just as they happened, and have described them with an Impartiality which no man alive can question." II. 29.

† See 59. 1.





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with which his Public has little or no connection, this is not a misfortune that he will very greatly regret. It is perhaps safe to say that, if the history of India had been as much studied in English schools as that of Greece, Orme would have been at least as popular as Thucydides, and that Macaulay would not have needed to lament that he was scarcely ever read. As a matter of fact, in the three years following the publication of his first volume, Orme sold no less than 900 copies,\* which would not be a bad sale for a book of this character even in the present more enlightened times.

Having formed his conception of what and how he wished to write, Orme's next difficulty was to obtain material. It is probable that he knew nothing of Persian† and was therefore unable to consult directly the chief Indian writers, but this would be of slight importance in dealing with contemporary events, for his position as a Member of the Madras Council gave him access not only to the Madras English records but also to the translations preserved of all the Governor's and Council's correspondence with Indian princes and chiefs, whilst on his return to England he obtained permission‡ to consult, at the India House, similar papers connected with other parts of India and the East. To this he added a lively correspondence with retired or present servants of the Company, with officers who had served or were actually serving in the field, and with persons of all kinds who had visited places of which he might make mention in his *History*. All of these were only too eager to supply him with information, and he would have found some difficulty if he had attempted to recognize adequately all the assistance which he had received. But he made no such attempt. His maps bear in general

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\* Letter to John Caillaud, **222**. 151.

† In **41**. 13 we find that Sir William Jones furnished him with explanations of "Persic terms."

‡ Not without difficulty. See Letter to Clive 21 Nov. 1764 (**222**. 143).





the name of the maker, such as those of John Call and of a few others, but on only one\* of these maps does he express his obligation. On this account Orme has sometimes been accused of ingratitude.† In his private correspondence, however, he shows very freely his appreciation of the services rendered him,‡ and, when it is remembered that most of those who assisted him were personally concerned in the events which he describes, it will be immediately recognized that any public mention of their assistance would only have invited criticism, and would probably have excited angry feelings in men who, though they might make no objection to conclusions and opinions privately arrived at by Orme, would have been affronted if they had had reason to suppose that these had been suggested by their colleagues or subordinates or even by people with whom they were not upon good terms. Further, most of the men who gave him the greatest assistance, like Dalton, Call and Clive,§ were men of action without any hankering after a literary reputation, and such men would much prefer a record of their deeds to any acknowledgement of personal service. As one of his friends quoted :—||

“Ille se profecisse sciat cui Cicero valde placebit.”

How carefully Orme dealt with the material which he accumulated has been frequently noted in the present Catalogue.¶ Here it is sufficient to say that, had the whole of his correspondence been preserved, we should probably have

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\* A map by James Rennell. See 69. 1.

† e.g. In Mr. Charles Dalton's *Memoir of Captain John Dalton*, Preface, p. i.

‡ On Dalton's Journal Orme notes :—“No communication has been of so much use to me as this.” See 15. 6.

§ I ought perhaps to add John Caillaud, who is believed to have re-drafted Lawrence's Journal before it was edited by Cambridge. See 13. 1 (2).

|| See 288. 36.

¶ See Index under Orme :—*Method in dealing with materials for his History.*





been able to quote chapter and verse for every statement which he makes in his *History*, but either much has been lost or else Orme trusted to his memory for many details of which his papers furnish no corroborative evidence. Occasionally we find a statement in contradiction to what we know, positively, to have been the fact. For instance, the story of the sudden idiocy of Omichand on learning the deception which had been practised upon him in the matter of the forged treaty is a pure myth.\* In other cases we find a statement of Orme contradicted in his own papers. For instance, Dr. Wilson, in his journal,† denies positively that the Tanjorean general Mankoji gave any promise of protection to Chanda Sahib before the latter placed himself in his power. But such instances as these are very rare. They prove, not that Orme is untrustworthy, but that it is absolutely necessary for the student of history to have access to the original sources from which even the most careful historian may have drawn his information.

A more serious matter than the commission of slight inaccuracies is individual bias for or against particular persons. Orme shows very little of this except with regard to Clive. I think no one could gather from the perusal of his *History* that Orme had any particular reason for disliking Governor Pigot, or, in fact, that he had for him any feeling but the highest admiration and respect, yet it was Pigot's enmity which put an end to Orme's career in India.‡ In the first volume of the *History* Clive is evidently Orme's hero. Himself a somewhat timid man, with no great fondness for the military § yet irresistibly attracted by deeds of courage and daring, in Clive he found an instance of a civilian who, by his native genius, could—or so Orme

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\* See Orme's *History* (1861 reprint), II. 182.

† See II. 26.

‡ See Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, II. 513.

§ Letter to Lord Holderness (17. 8), letter to Payne (28. 1 (1)), and letter to Richard Smith (222. 188).





thought—when he devoted himself to military affairs, out-shine in their own sphere the best soldiers of the day. Conscious of his own ignorance in military matters and unable, as a rule, to find purely military men who could write an intelligible account of their own exploits—John Dalton was a notable exception—men like Clive and Call were the very persons he wanted to advise him. He writes to Clive\* :—

"I have wrote Mr. Walsh that I shall write your history, but it must be done at your elbow, and so must that I have already wrote be revised by you, for John Call gave me t'other night a description of the battle of Covrepauck, which was as like my battle of Covrepauck as I am to the Mufti at Constantinople. I write to write truth and not to flourish periods. To comprehend the truth well is in all circumstances a work of labour, but, that accomplished, all the rest is as easy as to write a letter to your taylor."

In order to be sure of avoiding mistakes, Orme submitted the proofs of his *History* to Clive and other friends, such as Maskelyne and Richard Smith.† This precaution had admirable results, and his descriptions of battles are so excellent that they can be easily followed without the assistance of any plans, a great achievement for a civilian, even when we remember that the small numbers of men engaged in those ancient fights rendered them much less complex than battles on the grander modern scale. Richard Smith, a good soldier though inordinately vain, asserted that all the qualifications required in an historian were possessed by Orme, "whose labours may guide and instruct both the ensign and the general,"‡ and Bussy, the most

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\* See **293**. 10. For a very bad example of military description see **14**. 28; but, in general, where military writers fail is that they do not make sufficient allowance for the ignorance of civilians in regard to military terms and expressions.

† See **222**. 143 and VII. 19.

‡ Letter from Richard Smith, **37**. 15.





eminent of French soldiers in India in the time of Orme, wrote\* :—

“I see by my perusal of your History of the Indian Wars that you stand in no need of further information, for you treat of events like a man who is well acquainted with his subject and who is also quite impartial, the two qualities which are essential in an historian.”

In spite, however, of Bussy's testimony, it would appear that Orme's admiration of Clive's early exploits developed a tendency to exaggerate—at any rate, in the first volume—his merit and to give him the whole credit for the success of battles or operations at which he was present even in a subordinate capacity. Thus he ascribes to his initiative the attack upon Arcot, though this expedition was first suggested by that least military of Indian princes, Muhammad Ali, Nawab of the Carnatic, who was in dire need of money and knew that the Arcot district was very rich, and though Clive himself was so ignorant of the political value of his achievement that he was saved from the fatal mistake of a retirement only by the remonstrances of Saunders and Pigot.† So also Orme ascribes to Clive the bold and risky crossing of the Coleroon, which resulted in the defeat of Auteuil and the surrender of Law, whereas the idea was most probably that of Lawrence, the force despatched being placed under Clive only because of his reputation amongst our Indian allies.‡ Evidently Orme never recognized, as Clive himself did,§ how much Clive owed to the military example and teaching of Lawrence. Dazzled, like the native chiefs, by Clive's capture and defence of Arcot, he expected

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\* Letter from Bussy, 31. 5.

† See 287. 24, 43.

‡ See II. 12, 35 (12) and III. 28.

§ As shown by Clive's refusal to accept a sword of honour from the Court of Directors unless a similar compliment were paid to Lawrence. See Gleig's *Life of Lord Clive*, Chapter VI. See also 288. 24.





everything from his hero. In 1751 he wrote to Stephen Law :—\*

"This military genius [i.e. Clive] is too well known to us and too much dreaded by the enemy not to let us expect that if he goes to Trichinopoly matters must be concluded immediately."

Fortunately for the English, Lawrence returned to India in time to take command of the expedition.

As Clive was only 26 and Orme only 23 when the letter to Stephen Law was written, there is some excuse for what was, after all, simply the hero-worship of a young man for one who was but a few years older than himself. The intimacy of the two men was very close. During Clive's absence in the field it was Orme who looked after his private business as well as his interests at head-quarters. So again, later on, when in 1756 it was proposed to send an expedition to Bengal, Clive and Orme acted in unison in the Council, and it was apparently on Orme's suggestion that Pigot chose Clive to take command,† and when Clive went it was to Orme that he entrusted the care of his wife and of his private affairs. Then comes the first hint of difference. Clive refuses to return to Madras, and, worse still, refuses to send back the Madras troops. Orme suspects that his unexpectedly great success has turned his head, and that he is carried away by his desire for wealth and his passion for fighting.‡ However, explanations are forthcoming. Clive's departure to Bengal had cleared the way for Orme's possible accession to the governorship of Madras,§ and the breach is healed. Orme returns to England, whither he is followed not long after by Clive. The old friendship is renewed, and in 1763 the first volume of the *History* is

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\* See II. 50.

† Letter to John Payne, 28. 1 (4), see *Life*, p. xxi.

‡ Letter to Payne, 28. 11 (4).

§ Court's letter to the Madras Council, dated 8 March 1758. See Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*, II. 513-14.



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produced, probably in close collaboration, but gradually the equality of friendship disappears. Clive assumes, or is suspected of assuming, the airs of a patron,\* and Orme's private letters to his friend Richard Smith show an ever increasing dislike. Still, the collaboration on the *History* continues, but publication is delayed, and it is not until after Clive's death that at last, in 1778, the second volume appears. It contains nothing which would show this undercurrent in Orme's life, and passages in the first draft, which might have been interpreted unfavourably to the dead hero, are carefully deleted.† This was not, I think, due to any sense of compunction, but to that fine good taste of which we see proof in Orme's habitual omission of the names of young officers when they come to grief. Truth requires mention of the fact, but is satisfied with the insertion of the officer's rank.‡

As, with the exception of his treatment of Clive, there is no sign of personal bias in Orme's *History*, so I think—I have quoted the opinion of Bussy—there is little trace of national prejudice, and this at a time when national prejudice was very strong. Orme had been a prisoner in the hands of the French,§ but he does not seem to have retained any unpleasant recollections of that experience. Several of his personal friends and business connections were French. During the war he now and then used his influence to secure the exchange of French prisoners|| who had been brought to England, and during the intervals of peace he paid more than one visit to France, staying with, amongst other friends, the great Bussy, of whom he was evidently a strong admirer. Of Dupleix, the ablest and most dangerous enemy of the English in India, though he naturally rejoices in his defeat, Orme always speaks with respect, and he never

\* See 202. 9.

† See 164(a). 1.

‡ See 25. 4 and III. 6, and also Orme's *History*, I. 344, for the case of Captain Grenville.

§ See 293. 42.

|| See 222. 119.





indulges, either in his *History* or in his private correspondence, in any of that vulgar vituperation of an enemy which caused Stringer Lawrence to be so hated by the French,\* nor do we find any of that insular prejudice which made even so good-natured a man as Joseph Smith write:—

“I hate Frenchmen from the same reason that they don't love us. Our interests are incompatible, and it's as much impossible for a Monsieur to have views of Honour towards the English as it is for a Dutchman to give us the Spice Islands.”†

In conclusion, we come to the reasons why Orme, who had published his second volume in 1778, though he lived to 1801, held the post of Historiographer‡ to the East India Company and had accumulated ample materials, did not continue his work beyond the year 1761,§ except in so far as his *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire*, originally intended as an introduction to a fourteenth book,|| may be considered as a continuation. These reasons have, I believe, never been publicly stated and seem to be mainly two.

In the first place, owing perhaps to his efforts to be impartial, hardly any one of the actors in his story was fully satisfied with Orme's description of his exploits. Bussy, Eyre Coote, and Dalton were exceptions. The

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\* See 287. 113 and 288. 22. In a letter from M. de Maudave to the Madras Council (Military Consultations 15 Sept. 1763) Lawrence is referred to as “one of the commanders of your troops more known in this country by the childish hatred he affects against the French than by his exploits.”

† Letter from Joseph Smith, 10. 6.

‡ I believe this title was never formally bestowed on Orme, but see *Life* prefixed to his *Historical Fragments*, p. lxiv.

§ The writer of the *Life* says (p. xxxvii.) that Orme's “second volume carries on the general history from the calamity which befel the English Settlements in 1756 to the peace of 1763.”

|| See 298(a). 4 and 298(b). 1.





approval of Bussy has already been mentioned. Coote writes :—

“Many a military man besides myself can thank Providence for the success which has attended his labours; but there are very few indeed whose lot it has been to have them recorded by such an able and judicious pen as Mr. Orme’s.”\*

In the second place, the subject had not only ceased to be attractive, but was actually becoming repellent. Orme writes :—

“I have wrote one book which comprises the loss of Calcutta, and I have looked forward into the subject far enough to see that the Bengal transactions will not do my countrymen so much honour as they have received from the first volume. There has been an amazing apathy in all those whose merits I have commemorated. I question whether there is a single individual, excepting Dalton, who thinks I have done him justice. What then must I expect of ill will when Truth shall command me to blame. However, I go on but am not so solicitous to publish hastily.”†

Later on he explains himself more fully :—

“Parliament in less than two years will ring with declamation against the Plunderers of the East.† . . . I do assure you Old Lawrence has a reputation in England which may well be envy’d (with all its fortunes) by that of Clive. It is these cursed presents which stop my *History*. Why should I be doomed to commemorate the

\* See 63. 15 (2). Eyre Coote wrote this in 1777, whereas the second volume, in which his own exploits were described, did not appear until 1778. I think it probable that Orme submitted the proofs of this volume to Coote before publication as he had submitted those of the first volume to Clive.

† Letter to Richard Smith, 1 Feb. 1766 (222. 149).

‡ The Parliamentary attack upon Clive began in 1772, when General Burgoyne moved the appointment of a Select Committee to inquire into the Affairs of the East India Company. See Gleig’s *Life of Lord Clive*, Chap. XXIX.





ignominy of my countrymen, and without giving the money story, that has accompanied every event since the first of April 1757, I shall not relate all the springs of action, that is I shall be a Jesuitical Historian, two terms which Voltaire says are incompatible, for no Jesuit could ever tell a true tale, much less write a true History.”\*

It must have been a relief to Orme to turn from Bengal in order to tell of the glorious defence of Madras and of Coote's triumphant campaign against Lally. There he stopped.

As is well known, Orme returned from India with only a very moderate fortune. His stay in the East had been short but still long enough, at that time, for a man in the position which he had occupied, to accumulate, in what were considered not only legitimate but also quite respectable ways, very large sums of money; but, whatever his weaknesses may have been, Orme was wise enough to foresee the fatal effects of the receipt of presents by the Company's servants. His opinion was that which had been held by Thomas Saunders, the man whose common sense and sturdy courage had baffled all the genius of Dupleix, but whose unpleasant manner, and still more unpleasant habit of being always in the right, had made him extremely unpopular amongst his countrymen. Saunders had noted an unseemly eagerness in the younger men to take advantage of the pecuniary possibilities of military success, and when Clive wrote to tell him of the warm reception given him by the native bankers and merchants of Arcot and of their desire to make him a present, he replied,† in reference to the reception:—

“When you consider that these People were entirely in your Power 'tis nothing extraordinary”;

and in reference to the present:—

“If the merchants have a mind to make you a present, I have nothing to say to the contrary, but take care there

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\* Letter to Richard Smith, 18 Nov. 1767 (222. 189).

† Letter from Saunders to Clive, 6 Sept. 1751 (287. 39).





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be no compulsion, and what particularly deserves your regard is to keep a watchful eye over your people that they are not guilty of oppression."

It is always difficult, even when dealing with one's own countrymen, to ascertain the real motives from which an inferior or a dependant makes a present to a superior; it is impossible when one has to deal with foreigners. Saunders shrewdly guessed that when Indians offered presents to his officers it was either from fear of oppression by them or by their subordinates, or as a bribe to overlook some wrongdoing. In either case the receipt of a present was objectionable, and one can only regret that Saunders did not prohibit it absolutely, as Clive himself was subsequently forced to do in Bengal. That Orme was not uninfluenced by the atmosphere in which he found himself is shown by a letter to John Payne, in which he writes:—

"I know not whether such double dealing may square with the politics of Europe, but in Asia nothing but dissimulation will do."\*

On the other hand in 1767 he wrote to Joseph Smith to avoid the receipt of presents

"as the bane of every reputation in India."†

The decisive reason then why Orme laid down his pen was the disgraceful conduct of many of the successors of Saunders, Pigot, Lawrence, and Coote. He had lived amongst heroes in an Age of Iron, and had told their story in language which did honour both to himself and them; it was not fitting that he should describe how lesser men thought that in the misery of the country they had found an Age of Gold.

S. CHARLES HILL.

16 July 1915.

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\* See 28. 11 (10).

† See 222. 187.



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## INDIA OFFICE LIBRARY.

## ORME MSS.

N.B. The Titles or Headings of the various Manuscripts are taken, in general, verbatim et literatim, from the Manuscripts themselves, or from their endorsements, or from the Tables of Contents, but new serial numbers have been given. In the notes the names of places have been generally, but not always, written according to the orthodox spelling.

## PART I., O.V.

1. Vellum-bound volume lettered *Guerre de Lally*. 31 × 19.5 cm. [vii], 190.

pp. i-vii. General subject. *Coromandel History*. Title in English with note by Orme. Title in French. *Épître dédicatoire. Avis au lecteur*.

1, pp. 1-190. *Mémoires du tres honorable george pigot écuyer et gouverneur pour sa majesté britannique dans les Indes Orientales*. Original. Duplicate of 73. 1 and XIV. 4. To this manuscript Orme prefixes the following note:—  
“Memoires of Governor Pigot by Nicolas, Officer Major Partizan, who was made prisoner in ——. This book begins with the Loss of Calcutta, 1756, and continues to the Embarkation of Lally for Europe, March 10th 1771 [i.e., 1761]. I have extracted the contents which are entered in the small Quarto of Commonplace entitled Delhi and Indostan [see 134. 94]. I have, as a more pertinent Title, called this book *Guerre de Lally*.” At the end is a further note:—  
“June 21st 1774. Finished reading this extravagant book and making notes of extracts. . . . Some use may be derived from these extracts. The whole book proves the most violent animosity in the writer to Lally and the highest devotion to Pigot.” The notes referred to by Orme in the above quotation are marginal notes, consisting partly of brief summaries of the paragraphs and partly of comments on the statements contained therein. They illustrate the care with which Orme studied his authorities.

2. Vellum-bound volume lettered *Mémoires de Lally*. 1-96 (22.5 × 19 cm.) ; 97-159 (22 × 18.5 cm.). Pages 90-98 blank.

p. 1. *Table of Contents with note by Orme*.

1, pp. 88-9. *Mémoires de M. le Comte de Lally, lieutenant général des armées du roy, commandant en chef dans l'inde, dédiés à monsieur de lérý, gouverneur général pour le roy de tous les établissements français dans les indes*





**2** *orientales*, by Nicolas, officier major partisan. Original cont. (see 134. 96). Copied in XIV. 2. There is a copy of this paper, in the same handwriting, in the *Bibliothèque Nationale* (at Paris). *Nouv. Acq. Fr.* 9362. These memoirs cover the period from "Lally's arrival at Pondicherry, April 27th 1758, to April 4th 1761, the day that the English began to demolish the Church of the Jesuits after they had taken possession of Pondicherry, January 15th 1761," and therefore overlap a part of the period dealt with in 1. 1 above. They are extracted below in 31. 20 and 158. 4.

2, pp. 99-159. *Mémoires de ce qui s'est passé de plus remarquable à la coste coromandel, depuis le 15 janvier 1761, jusques au 1er janvier 1763, dédiées à monsieur pigot, Equier, pour sa majesté britannique et gouverneur général de tous les établissements anglais dans les indes orientales*, by "Nicolas, officier major partisan." Original. Copied in XIV. 3. Written, according to Orme, in the beginning of 1763. Extracted below in 31. 21. In this paper (p. 138) it is stated that Claud Martin (afterwards Major-General in the English service) deserted from the French service before the fall of Pondicherry owing to an insult which he and his commanding officer suffered at the hands of M. Gadeville. The reputation and subsequent career of this officer render the story very improbable.

**3.** Vellum-bound volume lettered *Shires in Bengal*. 31.5 x 20 cm. [iii], 31.

pp. [i-iii]. *Table of Contents*.

1, pp. 1-31. *Bengal Geography*. Original (see 134. 96). Copied in XVII. 36-39. A list of the towns and villages in the Parganas of the Provinces of Midnapur, Burdwan and Hughli, of one Pargana in the Province of Balasore, and of two in that of Ingelee (Hijili).

2, p. 31. *Explanation of the Nulla's et Rivers in the different Purgannas*. Original.

**4.** Vellum-bound volume lettered *Various*, containing a number of manuscripts on paper of various sizes. [iii], 150.

pp. [i-iii]. *Table of Contents arranged according to Countries*. Some of the papers having no headings, the latter are taken from this Table.

1, pp. 1-57 (32.5 x 20.8 cm.). *Journal of military operations from September 1761 to 11 January 1764*. Kept by Captain, now Major, Grant, who gave it to me. Apparently original. Copied in XIV. 6. Gives a general account of affairs in Bengal, including (p. 1) the wreck of the *Fateh-Islam*; (p. 5) the first expedition to Manipur under Lieut. Swinton. Major Adam's campaign; (p. 7) the native method of catching elephants; (p. 23) a letter dated 27 July 1763 from



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4. Capt. George Wilson, regarding the troubles at Patna, and cont. (p. 41) an account of the massacre at the same place.

2, pp. 59-60 (31×19.5 cm.). *A return of officers belonging to the Coast of Choromandel. August 1770. Copy. Re-copied in XVI. 3.*

3, p. 63 (39×31 cm.). *A return of European Military on the Madras Establishment, specifying how the two regiments are stationed according to the late arrangement, and also showing where the overplus's and deficiencies are, Collected from the Returns for August 1770. Copy. Re-copied in XVI. 2.*

4, p. 65 (31×19 cm.). *Account of the French squadron in 1757. Erroneous. Copy. Re-copied XVI. 6 (2).*

5, p. 66 (31×19 cm.). *The weight of shot in the English and French ships engaged, 16 April 1776. Copy.*

6, p. 67 (32.5×19.5 cm.). *Account of the French and English squadrons in 1758 and 1759, which Mr. Pocock made out for me. It is written in his own hand. He gave it to me April 1774. Apparently taken by Pocock from D'Aché's Mémoire of the French and English ships in the action of 29 April 1758. Copied in XVI. 6 (1) in the Index to which volume Orme says the paper was corrected for him by Admiral Pocock.*

7, pp. 69-83 (32×20 cm.). *An account of the Island of Bourbon in 1763. Possibly original, at any rate in Smith's handwriting. Re-copied in XVI. 12. Given to Orme by Richard Smith.*

8, pp. 85-87 (32×20 cm.). *Observations on the Road from the Gaut (ford or passage) of Mahaveh (on the Jumnah) between Eleabass and Etava, to Burgur, by — in —, given to me by B. G. Smith. Possibly original. Copied in XVI. 20, where it is stated to be by Ensign Davy. By B. G. Smith Orme means Brigadier-General Richard Smith.*

9, pp. 89-92 (32×20 cm.). *Description of Burgur Fort, S.W. of Eleabass, by [Ensign Davy], given to me by G. Smith. Apparently in the same hand as No. 8 above. Re-copied in XVI. 21.*

10, pp. 93-95 (32×20.5 cm.). *Etat contenant le denombrement des Familles et le Tribut de chaque Province de la Chine sous la Dinastie des Ming, fondée en 1639 et éteinct en 1664, publié par le nommé Leang, au bas d'une partie [?carte] général de cet Empire, et traduit par l'Eveque d'Ecorinde. Copy. Re-copied in XVI. 5. This paper contains also the number of the people in China in the years 755, 1015, and 1084 respectively.*

11, 97-103 (32×20 cm.). *Letter, dated Telwarrah Gaut, River Nerbuddah, 2 April 1768, from Samuel Howe Showers to Colonel Richard Smith. Original. Encloses an account of*





4 Bandongur (Badamgarh), and a map of the road from Rywar cont. to Bandongur. The letter and the account have been mixed up in the fair copy in XVI. 18.

12, pp. 105-106 (30.5 × 18.6 cm.). (1) *Distances measured by a Perambulator from Murlydur's Garden at Bankypore.* Copy. Re-copied in XVI. 27.

(2) *Latitudes of Calcutta, Chinsurah, Burdwan, Cassimbuzar, Murshudabad, Nawabgunge, Gowah, English Bazar, Mauldah, Purneah, Modduban, Patna, Mungheer, Benares, Allahabad, Lucknow, Oud, Doudnagur.* Copy. Re-copied in XVI. 28.

13, p. 106 (30.5 × 18.6 cm.). *Heights of the Mountains at the Cape of Good Hope.* Copy. Re-copied in XVI. 29.

14, pp. 107-110 (32.5 × 20.5 cm.). *Of the Affghans, Pitans, Rohillas, Durannees, Abdallies, Balougies, and of some of their tribes, in Mr. Hosea's handwriting, given to me by Brigadier-General [Richard] Smith.* Copied in XVI. 32.

15, pp. 111-114 (33 × 20.5 cm.). *Proceedings and executions at St. Helena for a Riot, in a petition to Parliament. From 1683 to October 1685.* Apparently a copy, though the signatures are in a different hand to the rest of the paper. A petition from the daughters of one John Colson, who, with others, had been hanged by the Governor for creating a riot against the authority of the East India Company.

16, pp. 115-140 (32 × 20.5 cm.). *A Journal of the Proceedings of the Land Forces, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Clive on the Expedition to Bengal.* Copy. Given to Orme by Mr. Anson out of Lord Anson's papers. Re-copied in VII. 24, where it is stated to be by one of Clive's family. Part of this paper is certainly by Edmund Maskelyne, Clive's brother-in-law, as, up to 18 February 1757, it corresponds exactly with 20, 4, which is definitely stated to have been written by him. Printed in Hill's *Bengal* in 1756-57, III. 30.

17, pp. 141-143 (32.5 × 19.5 cm.). *Clive's letter to his father giving an account of his Expedition, dated Camp near Calcutta, February 3rd 1757, with a postscript, dated Camp, near Churnagore, April 16th 1757.* Given to me by Mr. Anson out of Lord Anson's papers. Apparently in the same hand as No. 16 above. Printed in Hill's *Bengal* in 1756-57, II. 335.

18, pp. 145-147 (40.6 × 28.5 cm.). (1) *A general return of all the troops under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Clive, February 19th (? 22nd) 1757.* Copy. Re-copied in XIII. 47.

(2) *A general return of the sepoys.* Copy. Re-copied in XIII. 47.

19, pp. 149-150 (37 × 22.5 cm.). *Lally's approach to Madras. Some account of it by Mr. A. Dalrymple at the*





4. *time, November 1758. In two different hands and apparently cont. a copy.*

5. Vellum-bound volume lettered *Feritsha*. 32.5 × 20 cm. [iii], 120.

p. 1. *Table of Contents*.

1, pp. 7-111. *Abstract of the contents of Feritsha's History, translated by Dowe, and of the continuation by Dowe—taken from the heads of the Chapters and the marginal titles. Copy.*

6. Vellum-bound volume lettered *Various*, containing a number of manuscripts on paper of various sizes. [i], 72.

p. [i]. *Table of Contents*.

1, pp. 1-29 (38.5 × 25 cm.). *Letter, dated Calcutta, 10th March 1761 from Mustapha to William McGuire. Original. Forwards a translation of Mustapha's account of himself and of his attempt to make his way from Calcutta to Pondicherry. (This account, dated 16 August 1759, is imperfect.) Copied in XVI. 22. In a marginal note Mustapha says: "These papers were not translated before they had been perused in original by Messieurs Vansittart and Hastings [? Warren Hastings] whilst I was still a prisoner at Calcutta upon my parole, 1760." They have been printed in Dalrymple's Oriental Repertory, II. 213.*

2, pp. 31-34 (37 × 34 cm.). *Inventory of Ordnance and Ordnance Stores taken at Chandernagore, March 23rd 1757. Copy.*

3, pp. 35-39 (37 × 23.5 cm.). *Letter, dated Calcutta, 2nd of January 1768, from Mustapha to Luke Scrafton, in London. Copy. In reference to certain imputations cast upon his character in Scrafton's pamphlet, entitled Observations on Mr. Vansittart's Narrative, published apparently in 1766. On p. 16 of the Observations occurs the following passage:—"The men here said to be put to death for their attachment to us had no sort of connection with us. Coja Hadee was, a month or two before his death, engaged in a project to introduce the French, which was detected by the seizing of his agent, one Mustapha, on his way to M. Bussy, commander of the French forces in Golconda, which Mustapha was thrown into prison as a spy, where he remained many months, but afterwards became one of Mr. Vansittart's agents for his inland trade." Mustapha, or Haji Mustapha, was also known under the name of Raymond, under which name see Buckland's Dictionary of Indian Biography.*

4, pp. 41-43 (38.5 × 24 cm.). *Proceedings of a General Court Martial, composed of Sepoy black officers, held at Allahabad, the 13th of June 1766 on a Sepoy and his accomplices who had killed his sister, his brother's wife,*





**6** *and a slave for adultery.* Apparently a copy. Re-copied *cont.* in XVI. 34. Orme includes (see Table of Contents) this paper under the general heading of Manners and Religion of Indostan. It certainly illustrates the character and passions of the class concerned.

5 (37.5 × 23.5 cm.). (1) pp. 45-47. *Pergunnahs in the Province of Corah, by Ensign Davy.* Original. Copied in XVI. 25. This and the following three papers were given to Orme by General Richard Smith (see p. 47, note by Orme). No. (2) is misplaced and should be read after No. (4). The papers are correctly numbered in the volume.

(2) pp. 49-56. *Observations on the Delhi Road from Corahjehanabad to Atuwah, by Ensign Davy.* Original. Copied in XVI. 14.

(3) pp. 57-64. *Observations on the Southern Road from Allahabad towards Corah, by Ensign Davy.* Original. Copied in XVI. 15.

(4) pp. 65-72. *Observations on the Cross Roads, from the high road to the Southern Road, and thence to the Jumna, by Ensign Davy.* Original. Copied in XVI. 16.

**7.** Vellum-bound volume lettered *Rennell's Survey from Jillingee through the Creeks to Hobby-Gunge and to Dacca, 1764*, consisting of a single continuous Journal, the parts of which are written on paper of various sizes. [i], 63.

p. 1. *Contents.*

1, pp. 1-63. *Journal of an expedition from Jelingeel for the discovery of the nearest navigable River or branch of a River leading from the great River Ganges to Rangafulla Creek (from May 19th to July 26th 1764, by Reynel [James Rennell], who at the same time made a map of his Survey).* Original (see 134. 96). Copied in XVII. 40. This differs materially from the copy published in the *Memoirs of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Vol. III, No. 3, pp. 8-24.*

(1) pp. 1-16 (32.5 × 21 cm.) 19 May to 10 June 1764.

(2) pp. 17-35 (31.5 × 19.5 cm.) 10 June to 7 July 1764.

(3) pp. 37-58 (30 × 20 cm.) 7 July to 5 August 1764.

(4) pp. 59-63 (31 × 20 cm.) Abstract of the Journal from the 8th of July to the 26th, inclusive.

N.B. It was in reward for this Survey that Rennell was engaged as a Surveyor by the Bengal Government. See their letter to Court dated 26 Nov. 1764, para. 48.

**8.** Vellum-bound volume lettered *Various*, containing a number of manuscripts on paper of various sizes. [ii], 120.

pp. [i-ii]. *Table of Contents.* Arranged under Provinces.

1, p. 1 (24.5 × 21 cm.) *The Descendants of Timur to Shah Alum.* Copy. Duplicate of 23. 1 below.





8 2, pp. 3-20 (24×13 cm.). *Journal of a Survey along the cont. Eastern bank of the River Gomty from Lucknow to Mahomedy*, by S. H. Showers. Probably a copy. Re-copied in XIII. 63.

3, pp. 21-23 (23×18.5 cm.). *Letter from King George the Third to the Nabob Mahomedally*. Copy. Re-copied in XVI. 35. This letter is to be found in the *Madras Military Despatches*, where it is dated 6 February 1768. The King congratulates the Nawab on the grant by the Mughal of a *farman* for the Nawabship of the Carnatic, accepts "with satisfaction" the white stone sent by the Nawab and sends him a lion.

4, p. 25 (24.5×18.5 cm.). *Stages between Allahabad and Chitterpoor by W. Hosea*. Copy. Re-copied in XVI. 26.

5, pp. 27-29 (23.5×18.5 cm.). *From Allahabad to Seva Gott of Bandangur and other forts in those parts*, by H. S. Showers. Copy. Re-copied in XVI. 33.

6, pp. 31-40 (23×18.5 cm.). *Anecdotes of Sheer Shaw*. Possibly original. Copied in XVI. 7.

7, pp. 41-43 (23×18.5 cm.). *Anecdotes of Selim Shaw*. Possibly original. Copied in XVI. 8.

8, pp. 45-48 (23×18.5 cm.). *Sultawn Mahmud Addely*. Possibly original. Copied in XVI. 9.

9, p. 49 (23×18.5 cm.). *Genealogy of the Afghan family who usurped the throne of Hindostan*. Possibly original. This is the genealogy of Farid or Sher Shah, who became master of Delhi in 1542.

10, pp. 51-54 (23×18.5 cm.). *Mr. Stuart's account of the battle between Hydra Ally and the Morattoes*. Apparently a copy. Re-copied in XIII. 64. The pages are bound out of order. Describes the Battle of Chinakurali, near Seringapatam, 5 March 1771. (See Wilks' *Mysoor*, II. 147). By Stuart, Orme means John Stewart (1749-1822), for whose life see *Dictionary of National Biography*, also *The life and adventures of the celebrated Walking Stewart, including his travels in the East Indies, Turkey, Germany, and America by a Relative*. (India Office Library, Tract No. 22.)

11, pp. 55-56 (23×18.5 cm.). *Remarks from on board his Majesty's ship "Tyger."* (1) *The Taking of Budge Bugee*. (2) *The Taking of Calcutta*. Copy. Printed in Hill's *Bengal* in 1756-57, Vol. III., p. 6.

12, pp. 59-62 (23×18.5 cm.). *Remarks on board his Majesty's ship "Bridgewater."* (1) *The Taking of Hughly*. (2) *Wednesday, January 12th 1757, at Bandel*. (3) *The attacking the Nabobs army in camp*. Copy. Printed in Hill's *Bengal* in 1756-57, Vol. III., p. 13.

13, pp. 63-65 (23×18.5 cm.). *Remarks from on board his Majesty's ship "Tyger."* *The Taking of Chandernagore*. Copy. Printed in Hill's *Bengal* in 1756-57, Vol. III., p. 8.





**8** 14, pp. 67-103 (20.5×16 cm.), *Mémoires de l'origine et cont. établissement de Sikhs*, 3<sup>me</sup> partie, suite de *Mémoires de Pattans et Jats*. Possibly original. In French. Copied in XV. 12. Unfortunately this paper is not dated, but Orme notes that he received it in 1772.

15, pp. 105-110, pp. 105-106 (19.5×15.5 cm.), pp. 107-108 (19.7×19.4 cm.), pp. 109-110 (25×15.5 cm.). *Anecdotes of the Shah Zadah, Gazudi Khan, Sujah Khan, and Mahomed Kouli Khan, Scubadhar of Allahabad*, by Gen. Rich. Smith. Apparently original. Copied in XVI. 24. The Shahzada was Ali Gauhar, afterwards known as Shah Alam. The account commences with the year 1758.

16, pp. 111-113 (20×14.5 cm.). *Description de Sitha-counde ou Fontaine de Sitha Femme de Rama*. Possibly original. In French. Copied in XVI. 30. Sitakund is a well-known hot-spring near Monghyr.

17, pp. 115-118 (19.5×14.5 cm.). *Abrégée de l'Origine des Siques*. Probably a copy. Re-copied in XVI. 31. In French.

18, pp. 119-120 (20×14.5 cm.). *De nomine Indiae, Regno imposita*. Apparently original. See **23**. 14 (3) below. In Latin.

N.B. Orme (see **298** (a). 4) states that he intended to make use of this volume in the 14th Book of his *History*: the existing work contains only thirteen books, at the end of the last of which Orme proposes to resume the narrative of affairs in Bengal. From his mention of this and other volumes as the basis of his 14th Book, and from the fragment which exists, it appears that Orme intended to insert a preliminary description of Indostan Proper (i.e., the territory of the Great Moghal) and of its affairs, in order to explain the situation in Bengal. Later on he decided to publish this separately. See his *Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire, &c.*, 1782.

**9**. Vellum-bound volume lettered *Du Gloss's Surveys in Behar*, 1766, 1767. 38×26 cm. [i].

p. [i]. *Table of Contents*.

1, pp. 1-34. *Abstract of Journal containing the Proceedings of Lewis Faelix Degloss, Captain of Engineers and surveyor in Coarse (sic) of Survey in the Province of Subah Bahar. Commencing November 29th 1766. Assistants on Survey: Mr. John Edwards, John Barnard Chausour, John Gerofflée, Francis Sydra*. Stated to be an original MS. in **134**. 96. The signature (*autograph*), it may be noted, is Luis De Gloss and not Du Gloss. Copied in XVII. 35.

(1) pp. 3-16. Journal from September 28th 1766 to October 6th 1767, dated from Mongheer.





9 (2) pp. 19-23. Journal from September 28th 1767 to cont. December 16th 1767.

(3) pp. 27-34. Journal from December 17th 1767 to March 1st 1768.

10. Vellum-bound volume lettered *Gen. Jos. Smith*, containing a number of manuscripts on paper of various sizes. Stated in 134.96 to be the original MS., but apparently this applies to only some of the Smith papers. [ii] 284.

pp. [i-ii]. *Table of Contents*.

1, pp. 1-4 (22.7×18.3 cm.). *Letter, dated Masulipatam, 15 December 1766, from General Joseph Smith to Orme*. Original. Promises to forward him material for his History, as has hitherto been done by Caillaud.

2, pp. 5-28 (38×24 cm.). *Letter, dated Fort St. George, 5 November 1767, from General Joseph Smith to Orme*. Original. Narrates the events of the campaign against Haidar just concluded. Smith refers to a letter which he wrote from Tangabadra in March 1766 (i.e., 1767), but which Orme says he cannot find and does not recollect; probably it is the letter which has been copied in XI. 13 (p. 3039), so I presume that Orme found it later.

3, pp. 29-32 (37.7×23.7 cm.). *Letter, dated Tirriapagudda, 8 October 1767, from Joseph Smith to Colonel John Call*. Copy without signature. Protests indignantly against Call's remarks regarding the conduct of the army under his command.

4, pp. 33-39 (38.5×24 cm.). *Letter, dated Camp near Tirpitoor, 8 January 1768, from General Joseph Smith to Governor Charles Bouchier and Council*. Copy. Duplicate of 64. 1. Gives some details of the campaign against Haidar, and says that the army is sufficiently strong for all requirements as regards numbers, but that the absence of any arrangements for the supply of provisions renders it helpless.

5, pp. 41-47 (38.5×24 cm.). *Letter, dated Camp at Kistnagurry, 13 March 1768, from General Joseph Smith to Governor Charles Bouchier and Council*. Copy. Gives details of the campaign against Haidar Ali.

6, pp. 51-62 (22.5×18 cm.). *Letter, dated Camp near Ouscotah, in the Maisore Country, 8 August 1768, from General J. Smith to Orme*. Original. Gives details of the campaign, and especially of Captain Mathews's clever surprise of Mulbagal; complains of the behaviour of the Madras Government, and mentions the growing power of the Marathas:—"I hate Frenchmen from the same reason that they don't love us. Our interests are incompatible, and it's as much impossible for a Monsieur to have views of Honor





10 towards the English nation as it is for a Dutch man to give  
*cont.* up the Spice Islands"; mentions the disgraceful evacuation  
of Mangalore.

7, pp. 63-64 (22.5×18 cm.). *Letter, dated Camp near Chittaputt, 21 February 1768, from General J. Smith to Orme. Original. To introduce Mr. Sadleir.*

8, pp. 65-80 (38.5×24 cm.). *Letter undated, from General J. Smith to the Court of Directors. Copy. Gives some account of Haidar Ali, eulogizes the military genius of Muhammad Yusuf Khan, and details the chief military events from the time of his own arrival on the Coast (September 1766) to 9 October 1768.*

9, pp. 81-86 (38.5×24 cm.). *Letter, dated Camp near Mulleavakul, 9 October 1768, from General J. Smith to Council of Madras. Copy. Gives details of the campaign against Haidar Ali.*

10, pp. 87-90 (38×24 cm.). *Letter, dated Camp at Venatagerhy, 19 November 1768, from General J. Smith to the Council, Madras. Copy. Gives details of the campaign against Haidar Ali.*

11, pp. 91-110 (38×24 cm.). *Letter from General J. Smith to the Council of Madras, ———. Copy. With remarks on their Minutes of Consultation, 28 November and 31 December. Discusses his conduct of the campaign against Haidar, the Council's mistake in placing Colonel Wood in command, and their many other faults. See 64, 6.*

12, pp. 111-153 (38×24 cm.). *Letter, dated Camp near Chittiput, 24 February 1769, from General J. Smith to the Council of Madras. Copy. Duplicate of 64, 7. Forwards the opinions of thirty-two officers concerning draught and carriage bullocks. This letter, as do others, shows pretty plainly how intolerable was the interference of Colonel Call, as the favoured adviser of the Council, in the affairs of the army in the field. It is also useful, as it gives the Christian names of a number of somewhat junior officers.*

13, p. 155 (22.5×19 cm.). *Letter, dated Camp near Chittaput, 1 March 1769, from General J. Smith to Orme. Original. To recommend Captain Adair.*

14, pp. 157-168 (22.5×19 cm.). *Letter, dated Madras, 26 June 1769, from General J. Smith to Orme. Original. Sends a number of papers; says that the Council have found out the folly of the plans devised by "the wise and all able politicians John Call and the Chevalier St. Lubin," and have tried to place the burden of their failure on Smith himself. Gives certain details of Haidar's advance on Madras, and the disgraceful manner and terms of the Peace which the Council had concluded with him; "Hastings is coming and bears a good character. The Lord send amongst us some men of*





10 spirit, for they were never more wanted than at this juncture."

15, pp. 169-179 (22×18 cm.). *Letter, dated Madras, 2 February 1770, from General J. Smith to Orme.* Original. Says that Haidar has, under the late Treaty, asked the Council's assistance against the Marathas; "the Governor (Charles Bouchier) resigned two days ago. Under that man's government I suffered much, and to the last moment."

16, p. 181 (23×18.5 cm.). *Letter, dated Madras, 5 October 1770, from General J. Smith to Orme.* Original. To recommend Captain Capper.

17, pp. 185-192 (32×19.5). *Letter, dated —, 12 October, 1770, from General J. Smith to Orme.* Original. Mentions the infamous action of the Madras Council in keeping back his own letters defending his conduct in the field, so that the Court of Directors had condemned him unheard; Eyre Coote has threatened, in disgust with the Council, to leave the country; Sir John Lindsay's arrival has caused much confusion, and he and the Nawab are constantly together.

18, pp. 193-220 (23.5×19 cm.). *Letter, dated Viperi Garden, 29 January 1771, with Postscript of 6 February, from General J. Smith to Orme.* Original. Says that the Nawab, encouraged by Sir John Lindsay, behaves as if he were independent of the Council, and is openly on bad terms with Governor Du Pré; Council undetermined whether or no to assist Haidar Ali against the Marathas; great power of the latter. "No man was ever more disposed to be on a friendly footing with Du Pré than myself, but as every line of the General Letter was written with his own hand, surely the sentiments must be his own, and was he to swear the Sun stood still his Council would also swear it did not move."

19, pp. 221-228 (23.5×19 cm.). *Letter, dated Madras, 20 March 1771, from General Joseph Smith to Brigadier-General Richard Smith.* Original. Chiefly private, but with some reference to the attack made by the King of Tanjore on the Maravans.

20, pp. 229-238 (38×23.5 cm.). *A sketch of Hyder Ally's Life.* Copy. Duplicate of 72, 18 below, which is stated to be by Thomas Parkinson.

21, pp. 239-241 (37×23.5 cm.). *Letter, dated Fort St. George, 2 August 1771, from Colonel Patrick Ross to Governor Du Pré.* Copy. As Chief Engineer offers his services in the field.

22, pp. 243-272 (37×23.5 cm.). *Letter from Colonel Ross to a friend with his Journal of the Siege of Tanjore.* Copy.

23, pp. 273-274 (37.7×22 cm.). *Extract of a letter from Trichinopoly, dated 16 February 1772.* Gives an account of the explosion of the Powder Magazine.





10. 24, pp. 275-284 (37×22.5 cm.). *Correspondence between*  
*cont. Lieutenant-Colonel Patrick Ross and Captain Henry*  
*Montresor. Copy. From 11 February to 15 March 1772,*  
*regarding certain military plans supposed to have been left*  
*at Madras by Colonel Call, which would have been useful in*  
*the siege of Tanjore.*
11. Vellum-bound volume lettered *Indexes*. Stated in 134, p. 357, to be  
originals. 152:  
p. 1. *Contents.*  
1, pp. 5-101 (36.5-22.5 cm.). *Coromandel History. Index*  
*of proper names of persons and places in the first volume,*  
*first edition, of Mr. Orme's History.*  
2, pp. 105-128 (23×18.5 cm.). *East Indies in General and*  
*Extra Hindostan. Imperfect Index to Hamilton's Voyage*  
*to the East Indies.*  
3, pp. 129-136 (20×16 cm.). *Geography of Indostan in*  
*general. A few names of principal places extracted out of*  
*a book, which I do not recollect. Names of the principal*  
*towns of Indostan—imperfect.*  
4, pp. 137-150 (22.5×18.5 cm.). *Indostan History. Heads*  
*of a Manuscript book written by myself relating to*  
*Indostan.*
12. Vellum-bound volume lettered *Bengal from 1636*. Containing a number  
of manuscripts on paper of various sizes. [iii], 172. (Page 89 is  
repeated.)  
pp. [i-iii]. *Table of Contents*. Arranged under Provinces.  
1, pp. 1-10 (31.5×19.5 cm.). *A brief account of the rise*  
*and progress of the Honble. East India Company's privileges,*  
*together with their losses of them, and their present case as to*  
*Customs, February Anno 1684. Stated in 134, 96 to be the*  
*original MS. It is there described as "Bengal from 1636."*  
Re-copied in VII. 12. "Extracted from a Book entitled  
Fort St. George Letters received from the 28th of July 1687 to  
the 18th of February 1687/8." This paper ascribes the origin  
of the Kingly favour towards the English to Surgeon Gabriel  
Boughton, and contains a copy of the Parwana of 1680.  
2, pp. 13-16 (32×20 cm.). *Abstracts of letters from Bengal*  
*1676 to 1687. Copy. References to the up-country factories*  
*of Patna, Hugli, Malda (establishment of), Cossimbazar,*  
*Dacca and Rajmahal, the establishment of factories by the*  
*French, and the constant interference with trade by the*  
*Nawab and his officers.*  
3, pp. 17-23 (32×20 cm.). *Fort St. George Copy Book of*  
*Letters received from the 28th July 1687 to the 18th February*  
*1687-8. Copy. Re-copied in VII. 11.*  
(1) Consultations at Higellie, 8th June 1687. Peace con-  
cluded with the Moorish general Abdul Samad.





12 (2) Translate of a *parwana* from Navob Shawsta Cawn  
*cont.* [Shaista Khan] received from Dacca the 21st July an. 1687.

(3) Abstracts of letters to Bengal 21st December 1683—  
20th December 1699.

(4) Letter from Mr. Charnock, &c., Council of Bengal,  
dated at Little Tanna, August 26th 1687, to the Governor and  
Council of Fort St. George, to whom they were then  
subordinate.

(5) Letter from Mr. Charnock, &c., Council to the Gover-  
nor and Council of Fort St. George, dated at Chuttanutti,  
1st January 1687-8, asking advice as to whether Hugli may be  
abandoned and a new factory built.

4, pp. 25-51 (32×20 cm.), (1) p. 25. *List of Books received  
from Bengal concerning Mr. Surman's Embassy to the  
Mogul's Court, out of which some extracts have been taken.*  
Copy. Re-copied in VII. 10.

(2) pp. 29-46. *Extracts from the Consultations held by  
Mr. Surman, &c., Council in the Negotiation of the Mogul's  
Court.* Copy. Re-copied in VII. 6.

(3) pp. 49-51. *Extracts from the Fort William letters  
received from Mr. Surman at the Mogul's Court.* Copy.  
Re-copied in VII. 6.

N.B. See Dr. C. R. Wilson's *Early Annals of the  
English in Bengal, Vol. II., Part II., The Surman Embassy.*

5, pp. 53-65 (22.7×18.5 cm.). *Remarkable events and  
circumstances in the Company's affairs at Bengal, from  
1685 August 29th to 1708 January 20th, extracted by me at  
the India House.* Partly in Orme's handwriting. Re-copied  
in VII. 9.

6, p. 69 (22.5×18 cm.). *Wrongs committed on the English  
by the Moguls' subjects from 1661 to 31st July 1683.* In  
Orme's handwriting. Copied in VII. 5.

7, pp. 70-72 (22.5×17.5 cm.). *More extracts concerning  
Mr. Surman's Embassy and the Phirmaunds to May 30th  
1716.* In Orme's handwriting.

8, p. 73 (38×20.5 cm.). *Consultations of Surman's Em-  
bassy from December 31st 1714 to 21st of January 1715.* In  
Orme's handwriting.

9, pp. 75-77 (23.2×18 cm.). *More extracts concerning  
the Embassy from January 1st 1714/15 to October 22nd 1715.*  
In Orme's handwriting.

10, p. 79 (37.5×19.7 cm.). *More extracts concerning the  
Embassy from July 7th 1715 to June 15th 1717.* In Orme's  
handwriting.

11, pp. 81-87 (37.7×20 cm.). *Phirmaund for Bengal,  
Behar and Orissa as obtained by the [Surman's] Embassy*  
In Orme's handwriting. This has been frequently printed.  
Re-copied in VII. 7.





12. <sup>o</sup>12, p. 89 (37.7×20 cm.). *Return of Surman's Embassy cont. with news and Jaffier Cawn of Bengal.* In Orme's handwriting.

13, pp. 89 (bis)–95 (37.5×19.5 cm.). *Abstracts of letters from Bengal, from January 18th 1741/2 to January 4th 1754.* Copy. Refer chiefly to the invasions of Bengal by the Marathas. The English forced by the Nawab to pay heavy compensation for the capture of two Armenian ships.

14, p. 97 (20.3×16 cm.). *Note, dated Berkley Square, 18 January 1768, from Mr. Edmund Maskelyne to Orme.* Original. Copied in XIII. 60. Encloses No. 15 below.

15, pp. 99–103 (22.5×18 cm.). *History of Job Channock taken from Sebram, an Indian Doctor, grandson to his Physician, Chunderseecker.* In Maskelyne's handwriting. Copied in XIII. 60. Printed as a note to the *Historical Fragments*, p. 281. See *Diary of William Hedges*, Vol. II. (Hakluyt Society, Publications. LXXV.), pp. xevi–xeviii.

16, pp. 107–109 (32×20 cm.). *Memorandums of a conversation with Edward Stephenson, Esq., who went in the Embassy to Furuckseer; taken on the same day I visited him, January 17th 1765.* In Orme's handwriting. See XV. 2. States that in "Indostan" all land not held by the Hindu rajas is either *khalsa* or *jagir*, Muhammadans are subject only to the law of the Koran as interpreted by the *Kadi*, the tribute of the Rajas and Nawabs paid direct to the *Diwan* of the Mughal, the great power of this officer.

17, pp. 111–132 (23×18.5 cm.). *Of a Vacqueel and English Resident at Delhi.* Possibly original. Copied in VI. 13 (4) and XIII. 53. Probably by Captain Thomas Fenwicke.

18, pp. 135–153 (32×20 cm.). *A Scheme or Project for the conquering of Bengal.* Possibly original but not signed. Copied in VI. 11. In the Table of Contents this is stated to have been "written by Col. Scott in 1753."

19, pp. 155–172 (33×20.5 cm.). *Account of the Jemindarry of Calcutta written by me, R. O., for Mr. Robbins at Fort St. George. May 19th 1751.* Original. Copied in I. 15. In 45 p.a. this paper is described as "Account of the Jemin-darry of Calcutta as it was administered in 1752, composed by R. Orme at the request of Benjamin Robins at Fort St. David, May 1752." It describes the duties of the Zamindar or European Magistrate of Calcutta, and shows how much he was in the hands of his native assistant, who was commonly known as the Black Zamindar. From a letter dated 8 November 1754 in the India Office Records (*Miscellaneous Letters received*, Vol. 38) from Orme to Mr. John Payne, it would appear that this account was prepared for the information of the latter. In the same volume there is a duplicate of this account (Vol. 38, No. 71 (a)).





13. Vellum-bound volume letterfaced *Coromandel Journals*, containing a number of manuscripts on paper of various sizes. These are stated in 134. 96 to be original. [ii], 194. (Between pages 114 and 115 are 22 blank pages.)

pp. [i-ii]. *Table of Contents*.

1, pp. 1-92 (38.5 × 25 cm.); (1), pp. 1-88 *Colonel Lawrence's account of his wars beginning with the history of the province from 1730—continued to September 1754. This is the Journal as originally written, not as afterwards published by Mr. Cambridge*. Probably in Lawrence's own hand, specimens of which may be seen in 237. 13 *et seq.*

(2) pp. 89-92. *Sketch of the Island of Seringham*.

N.B. This paper is an almost verbatim copy of part of MS. 195 in the King's Library, British Museum, which bears, in the same writing as the Text, the inscription "An account of the war in India, written by Captain John Caillaud, in a letter from Colonel Lawrence to Sir John Mordaunt, from the beginning of the troubles in 1752 to the cessation of arms in 1754." This inscription explains Dalton's inquiry (see postscript to his letter of 9 February 1763, 15, p. 333) as to who wrote the account of his wars which Lawrence published in Cambridge's *Account of the War in India*, though if Cambridge used the King's Library copy his version shows a good deal of editing.

2, pp. 93-113 (37.5 × 23 cm.). *Continuance of a Journal of the army under Colonel Lawrence from the 21st of April 1753 to October 11th 1754*. Original. Copied in V. 4. As this is almost certainly in Lawrence's handwriting, there appear to exist three, if not four, versions of Lawrence's Journal in whole or in part, viz.: (a) 13. 1 (1); (b) 13. 2; (c) King's Library MS. 195; (d) Cambridge's version.

3, pp. 115-131 (37 × 22.5 cm.). *An account of the Proceedings and Examination of the Affair concerning Poniapah, Linguister to Stringer Lawrence, Esq., Commander of the Honble. East India Company's Forces, &c., &c., &c., in April 1754 taken by Captain [John] Caillaud*. Apparently original. Copied in V. 5. Records the unravelling of a clever plot contrived in April 1754 by Poniapah [i.e., Punniyappan], the Brahman interpreter of Major Lawrence, for the ruin of Muhammad Yusuf, Commandant of the sepoys in his army.

4, pp. 133-193 (22 × 18 cm.). *Journals of Caillaud's Marches, 1761-1762*. These four journals (i.e. 1-3 and 5), says Orme, "describe the country, the towns, villages, and roads, and whatever else remarkable, and are extremely curious," and therefore "although belonging to History are likewise put to Geography." Probably original.

(1) pp. 133-142. *A Journal of the marches of the English army under the command of Captain Caillaud (now*



**13** Colonel), September the 7th to the 19th, 1761, from New Town cont. near Fort St. David to Galiepporam, near Temerry. Copied in III. 46.

(2) pp. 143-146. *Journal of the Rout of the army from Galiepporam to the siege of Velloor from September 19th to October 1761.* Copied in III. 47.

(3) pp. 147-169. *Continuation of the proceedings. Reduction of Nellore, march to Udegherri, return from Udegherri to Arcot and Timerry, from February 12th to April 13th 1762.* Copied in III. 48.

(4) pp. 171-178. *Journal of the siege and taking of Arni by Colonel Calliaud from April the 26th to May 9th 1762.* Copied in III. 49. In the index to that volume, Orme says he has a map given him by Sir Robert Fletcher in 1763, but this map is missing. See, however, Brit. Museum Addl. MS. 15739 (11).

(5) pp. 179-193. *Journal of marches after the siege of Velloor from Velloor to Nellore, from the 15th of January to February 11th 1762.* Copied in III. 48.

N.B. The last three journals were used by Orme in his "Map of the Coast of Coromandel from the River Gadevari to Cape Comorin," inserted in his *History*. (See Edition 1763, p. 33.)

**14.** Vellum-bound volume lettered *Coromandel Historical, N.J.*, containing a number of manuscripts on paper of various sizes. Stated in **134**, p. 357, to be originals. [iii], 190.

pp. [i-iii] 190. *Table of Contents.* Arranged under Provinces.

1, pp. 1-2 (38×25 cm.). *Titles of the officers of Government explained by Paupa Braminy.* Copy. Re-copied in I. 2 (4). The titles mentioned are Nabob, Divan, Phousdar, Killedar, Mansubdar, Zemindar or Zemidar, Polligar, Bugshi, Amaldar, Havaldar, and Cauzee. See *Historical Fragments, &c.*, 1805, pp. 400-403.

2, p. 3 (38×25 cm.). *Of the Justice administered in Carnatica, by Paupa Braminy.* Possibly original. Copied in I. 14. The writer says that under Muhammadan rule the administration of justice is very speedy unless the culprit has influence with the judge; where the ruler is a Hindu of high caste the decisions of the courts are "attended with some consideration, equity, mercy and grandeur," but where he is a Hindu of low caste or a Pathan, Rohilla or Deccani Shaik, they are "attended with most dishonourable, malicious, base, gross or mean circumstances."

3, pp. 5-59; pp. 5-12 (37.5×23 cm.); pp. 13-48 (34×20.5 cm.); pp. 49-59 (38.5×25 cm.). *History of the Province of Arcot from 1709 to the death of Anaverdekan, 23rd July [1749] or The state of the Province of Arcot alias Paucyeen-Ghaut Carnatica.* Possibly original. Copied in I. 2 (1) and (2).





14. Orme states (45, p. 5) that this was composed by "Paupa Braminy" at his request in 1752. Papaiya Brahman (Rayasam Venkatachalam Papaiya Brahman) served as Company's Interpreter at Madras in the time of Governor Morse (*vide* Madras Cons. 29 January 1753), and afterwards as clerk or agent to Mr. Orme. The paper gives an account of the quarrel between Sadatulla Khan, Nawab of Arcot, and Nizam-ul-mulk, Subadar of the Deccan, the rebellion of Chanda Sahib, his imprisonment by the Marathas and release by the influence of Dupleix, and the overthrow of the Nawab Anwaruddin by Chanda Sahib and the French, which exploit earned the French the title of the "Invincibles." Extracts from this paper have been printed in Colonel Love's *Vestiges of Old Madras*.

4, pp. 61-63 (38.2×24 cm.). *From Hussain Doast Cawn or Chunda Saheb at Arcot upon his going to Tritchenopoly. Recd. Sept. 18th 1740. Copy. Re-copied in I. 2 (5).* In 45, p. 65, Orme describes this paper as a letter "addressed to Richard Benyon, Governor of Madras, giving an account of his own proceedings during the irruption and wars with the Morattoes, in which the Nabob Doast Ally Khan was killed, until Chunda Saib returned to Tritchanopoly."

5, pp. 65-66 (38.5×24.5 cm.). *From Shamarow Vakeel at Arcot. Recd. May 13, 1740. Copy. Re-copied in I. 2 (6).* Describes the preparations made by the Nawab Dost Ali Khan to resist the Marathas.

6, p. 66 (38.5×24.5 cm.). *From Gullam Mahommud, old Vakeel [at Arcot], with news recd. May 13, 1740. Copy. Re-copied in I. 2 (7).* Narrates a few events subsequent to the defeat of the Nawab Dost Ali Khan at Damalcheruvu, 20 May 1740.

7, pp. 67-68 (36.5×22 cm.). *To Subdar Alley Cawn Nabob at Arcot, June 10th 1740. Copy. Re-copied in I. 2 (8).* The Madras Council condole with Safdar Ali on the death of his father at the Battle of Damalcheruvu.

8, p. 68 (36.5×22 cm.). *From Nabob Subder Alley Cawn at Arcot, recd. June 17th 1740. Copy. Re-copied in I. 2 (9).* Acknowledges receipt of the Governor's letter.

9, pp. 71-72 (37.8×23 cm.). *From the Vakiel in the Camp, recd. Oct. 18th 1742. Copy. Re-copied in India I. 33.* It is printed in Wheeler's *Madras in the Olden Times*, pp. 601-2. Sends news of the installation of Murtaza Ali as Nawab at Arcot.

10, pp. 73-74 (38.5×26 cm.). *Account of the death of Seid Mahomed Cawn, June 1744, by Paupa Braminy. Copy. Re-copied in I. 2 (3).* States that Saiyid Muhammad was murdered by a Pathan officer "Eadil Khan" in supposed collusion with Murtaza Ali Khan, Kiladar of Vellore, and, possibly, with Anwaruddin Khan, Nawab of Arcot.



14. 11, pp. 75-76 (38.5×25.5 cm.). *Governor* [Nicholas] cont. *Morse's letter to the Nabob Anwaradean Khan, dated Sept. 26th 1746.* Copy. Re-copied in I. 28. Reminds the Nawab that, in accordance with his wishes, the English had refrained from attacking the French, and requests him to prevent the French from attacking Madras.

\* 12, pp. 77-79 (23×19 cm.). *Some account of Chunda Sahib from 1736 to his return into the Carnatic in 1749.* Copy. Re-copied in III. 17.

(1) From the St. Thomé Vackiffdar, mentioning the death of Chanda Sahib's son Abid, and his alliance with Muzaffar Jang.

(2) From "Sheikh Jee" (an officer of horse with Clive at Arcot), who says that Chanda Sahib's ransom, required by the Marathas, was provided by a gosain (*goswami*) of Sittara. The usual story is that it was guaranteed by Duplex. (Orme, *History*, I. 124.)

13, p. 81 (19×18.5 cm.). *Account of the murder of Seid Mahomed, by Captain Maskelyne.* Apparently original. Copied in II. 3. In 45, p. 73, it is stated that this account was written by Maskelyne as it was related to him at Arcot when he was Commandant of the garrison in that town.

14, p. 83 (18.5×16 cm.). *Letter undated from R. Orme to Paupa Braminy (with the latter's reply) regarding the name of the posthumous son of Safdar Ali.* Original. Copied in III. 19. The boy was named Ali Dost Khan.

15, p. 84 (18.5×16 cm.). *Of the Siege of Chinglapett and attack of Vandewash. A note taken by me at Madras.* Original.

16, p. 85 (23.5×14 cm.). *Letter from Paupa Braminy to Robert Orme regarding the names of the Deputy Nawab and Diwan of Arcot.* Original.

17, p. 87 (20×21.5 cm.). *Dates of Nizam Al Mulk—Coja Abdulla—Anwaradean Khan—Mahomed Sied Cawn, from March 1743 to June 1744 from Paupa Bramin.* Copy. Re-copied in I. 2 (10). Given to Orme by Papaiya Brahman in 1752 (see 45, p. 71).

18, pp. 89-90 (39×18.5 cm.). *Account of the Kings of Tanjore from 1680 to 1749.* Copy. Re-copied in I. 27. Deals chiefly with the accession of Pratap Singh, 1748-1763.

19, pp. 93-94 (39×18.5 cm.). *Kings of Trichinopoly from 1509 to 1732.* Copy. Duplicate of 31.1. Re-copied in I. 22. A brief chronicle of the succession of the Kings of Trichinopoly down to Minakshi Rani, who was dethroned by Chanda Sahib in 1736. In 45, p. 5, Orme says that this memorandum was "composed by a Bramin at Tritchano-poly, given by him to Colonel Joseph Smith, and by Smith to me."