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THE HEARSEYS

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Lieut. General Sir John Bennet Hearsey, K.C.B.
in the uniform of the 2nd Bengal Irregular Cavalry.

THE HEARSEYS

Five Generations of an Anglo-Indian Family

BY

COLONEL HUGH PEARSE, D.S.O.

AUTHOR OF
'MEMOIRS OF ALEXANDER GARDNER, COLONEL OF ARTILLERY IN THE SERVICE OF MAHARAJA RANJIT SINGH'

WILLIAM BLACKWOOD AND SONS
EDINBURGH AND LONDON
MCMV

TO

A. M. P.

PREFACE.

It will be observed that there are inconsistencies of spelling in the pages of this book. The practice adopted has been, in the portions of the book written by members of the Hearsey family, to leave the proper names as written by them.

When writing in my own person I adopt the modern system of spelling Indian names, both of persons and places, making an exception in favour of the spelling of very familiar names, such as Calcutta, Lucknow, Cawnpore, which by common consent are written in their time-honoured form.

I have to thank the following ladies and gentlemen for their assistance: Mrs Carew and Mrs Lionel Hearsey, the surviving daughters of Sir John Hearsey; Mr Lionel Hearsey, the grandson of Major Hyder Hearsey; Mr A. D. Brock-

man, the grandson of Colonel Paris Bradshaw; Mr C. J. Hersey, who has devoted much time and trouble to the elucidation of the family history of the various branches of the family of Hearsey, Hersey, or Hercy; and Mr Walter Madge of the Imperial Library, Calcutta.

HUGH PEARSE.

KENSINGTON SQUARE,
October 1905.

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THE HEARSEYS.

CHAPTER I.

LIEUT.-COLONEL ANDREW WILSON HEARSEY.

The family of Hearsey is of undoubted antiquity, and branches of it have been established from very early times in various parts of England.

In the year 1745 Theophilus Hearsey, a Cumberland squire, took up arms for Prince Charles Edward Stuart, and led his family, tenants, and servants into the field.

Theophilus Hearsey and his eldest son, of the same name, were both present at Culloden, and were consequently attainted and their estates confiscated. They fled the country, joining the exiled Court on the Continent, where the elder Hearsey eventually died. Theophilus the younger remained abroad until the rigorous proceedings against Jacobites were relaxed, when he returned to England. He had had enough of war, and settled down quietly as a merchant

in the City of London, where he became rich and prosperous.

Theophilus Hearsey the elder had another son, Andrew by name, who died at Middelburg in Holland in 1752, leaving a daughter, Christian Mary, who married David Gavine, and two sons, Theophilus and Andrew, who returned to England. This, the third, Theophilus also became a London merchant and a loyal citizen. He appears in the 'London Gazette' in 1798 on appointment to the rank of Captain in the Camberwell Volunteers. Andrew Hearsey the younger obtained the command of an East Indiaman, and the family recently possessed a picture of his ship in hot action with a French frigate which he defeated. Captain Andrew Hearsey died in 1778, leaving a daughter, Christian Mary, who died in 1805, and a son, Andrew Wilson Hearsey, born in 1752, who became a loyal and faithful soldier of King George, entering the service of the Honourable East India Company in the year 1765, when he was appointed to a cadetship on the Bengal establishment. His first experience of active service occurred in 1768, when he was still a boy of sixteen years of age. The Company's forces in Madras being engaged in war with Hyder Ali of Mysore, and being much endangered by a threatened attack from the Nizam's dominions in the West, an expedition was sent by sea from Bengal to attack the Nizam, and so

relieve the anticipated pressure on the Madras army.

The Bengal expedition was at first commanded by Colonel William Smith, and, after his death, by Lieutenant-Colonel Peach of the 1st European Regiment, and among the junior officers who served those two gallant, enterprising, and forgotten worthies was Ensign Andrew Wilson Hearsey, whose first experience of active service lasted for two years. Colonel Smith landed at Masulipatam and marched boldly through the region then known as the Northern Circars, penetrating the Nizam's dominions to a point within eighty-six miles of Hyderabad. The Nizam trembled for his capital, and concluded a treaty of peace with the British, abandoning his alliance with Hyder, and ceding the Northern Circars to the Company. Colonels Smith and Peach achieved this striking success—the result of which linked together the Presidencies of Bengal and Madras—with a force of 350 European infantry, three battalions of Bengal infantry, five guns, and apparently no cavalry.

The expedition returned to Bengal in the year 1770, about which period Andrew Hearsey was gazetted to an ensigncy in England, though he had held the rank for nearly five years in India. In like manner he was promoted Lieutenant in India in 1770, but the promotion was not gazetted in London until three years later,

such delays being then the rule rather than the exception.

There is no record of Andrew Hearsey's doings during the ten years following the return of Colonel Peach's expedition from the Nizam's dominions, but in the year 1780 there began a period of incessant and arduous warfare in which he bore no unimportant part.

Two years previously Warren Hastings had, in the execution of what his opponents styled his "frantic military exploits," sent a Bengal column under Colonel Goddard to march across India to the Bombay Presidency, and there to operate against the Mahratta army of Sindhia. Goddard now required reinforcements, and to this end a force was despatched early in the year 1780, under Captain Popham, one of the boldest and most enterprising officers who ever served England in India.

Popham's force, with which Andrew Hearsey served, consisted of 2600 native infantry, with a company of European artillery, and again no cavalry. With this inadequate strength Popham achieved the most striking and unexpected successes, for, in the hot month of April, very shortly after he took the field, he captured by assault the strong fort of Lahar, situated fifty miles north of Gwalior, his force sustaining the trifling loss of 22 killed and 103 wounded. Popham then marched on Gwalior, one of the largest and

strongest fortresses of India, and believed at that time to be impregnable. Gwalior stands on the summit of a stupendous rock, the face of which is almost entirely scarped.

Popham lay before the fortress for two long and hot months, maturing his plans and straining the nerves and patience of the garrison to the utmost. At length, on the night of the 3rd of August, the opportunity came, and the troops selected for the assault proceeded to their destination, led by Captain Bruce, the brother of the African traveller, and an officer of well-known strength and courage.

First came two companies of sepoys led by four European officers, and closely supported by twenty English soldiers, gunners of the Bengal Artillery. This forlorn hope was again supported by 1200 men. The advanced party applied scaling ladders to the base of the scarped rock, 16 feet high, then to a steep ascent of 40 feet, and lastly to a 30-feet wall. Captain Bruce, with 20 picked sepoys, climbed up the battlements unseen and secured a lodgment. He was promptly followed by the remainder of the stormers; the bewildered garrison made but a feeble resistance, and by break of day the British flag floated over the renowned fortress of Gwalior. This surprising success was achieved with no more loss than 20 slightly wounded men.

Captain Popham's care and forethought in his arrangement for the assault were as noteworthy as the determination with which he engaged on

so critical an operation as the capture of a large and strongly garrisoned fortress with a small force far removed from its base. The stormers wore woollen slippers padded with cotton, in order that they might noiselessly traverse the rocky paths by which they had to approach the fortress. Early in the attack some of Captain Bruce's party of 20 men risked the failure of the enterprise by firing, contrary to orders. Bruce, however, held his ground, and was speedily reinforced by Popham, who himself commanded the main body of stormers.

After the fall of Gwalior, Andrew Hearsey was recalled from Popham's detachment, and was placed on duty with a second Bengal column despatched on yet another of Warren Hastings' "frantic military exploits." This was the force, commanded by Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse of the Bengal Artillery, which was despatched from Midnapore in Bengal in January 1781, to relieve Madras from the pressure of the army of Hyder Ali of Mysore, the most formidable foe yet encountered by the British in India.

The struggle between the British and Hyder Ali of Mysore, and Tippoo Sultan, his son, was comparatively a short one, for the kingdom founded by Hyder lasted only during his own time and that of Tippoo; yet the contest was very severe, and on several occasions brought the Madras Government to the verge of ruin. That Hyder, Tippoo, and their French allies

failed to crush Madras was brought about partly by the daring policy of Warren Hastings and his successors, and partly by the instability of the alliances between the rival native powers of southern India, who could never remain true to their combinations against the British for any length of time. Thus a careful study of the history of Hyder and Tippoo shows them at one moment closely allied with the Nizam, and almost immediately after fighting against him; and so it was that the weak and isolated settlement of Madras survived the perils which so frequently threatened its extinction.

The rise to sovereign rank of Hyder Ali of Mysore is one of the most interesting episodes of the disintegration of the Moghul empire, illustrating how a mere soldier of fortune could, in those piping times for adventurers, quickly weld together a rich kingdom supported by a powerful and formidable army.

Unlike some monarchs of his period, Hyder had a fairly authentic grandfather, a Persian soldier named Wali Muhammad, who is said to have migrated to India from Baghdad and to have settled at Ajmere. Here Wali Muhammad died in 1678, leaving four sons, the youngest of whom, named Fatah Muhammad, became a brave and capable soldier who ended an adventurous career as commander-in-chief of the Mysore army. Fatah Muhammad had five sons, the youngest of

whom was Hyder Ali, one of the stoutest enemies of England. Hyder first attracted notice by his gallantry and daring as a soldier in 1749, when serving in a subordinate capacity under his elder brother, whose troops had been sent from Mysore to take part in a struggle for the Nizamat between rival claimants. In this campaign Hyder not only showed his qualities as a soldier, but laid the foundations of his fortune by seizing a large sum of money which came in his way. In the subsequent campaigns in southern India, to the year 1755, Hyder took every opportunity—and there were many—of seizing guns and treasure and of increasing the number of his troops. In this year, moreover, he acquired a fixed status by being appointed military governor of Dindigul, a fortress in the Madura district, where he established an arsenal under the superintendence of French artificers. Hyder was now thirty-three years old according to some authorities, though others state that he was five years older.

In 1759 Mysore was invaded by the Mahratta army of the Peshwa, and Hyder was appointed commander-in-chief. By his skill and activity he speedily secured the retirement of the Mahrattas, and received from the grateful Raja of Mysore the title of Fatah Haidar Bahadur, which style he subsequently used on all grants made by him.[1]

[1] Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan, by L. B. Bowring, C.S.I. "Rulers of India" series.

In 1763 Hyder captured the state of Bednur, with a spoil of twelve millions sterling, and after various vicissitudes, during which he was several times reduced to the verge of ruin, he, in 1767, virtually declared himself ruler of Mysore. In the same year Hyder allied himself with the Nizam and commenced his long years of hostility against the English.

The story of this warfare, which practically occupied the remainder of Hyder's life, cannot be adequately told here. It must suffice to say that after short intervals of peace and long periods of war, Hyder invaded Madras in July 1780 at the head of an army of 83,000 men. The Madras Government was taken completely by surprise, and made no preparations for defence until Hyder was at their very doors. They then initiated a hurried concentration of their scattered troops, but, on the 10th of September 1780, sustained one of the most serious reverses which ever befell British arms in India. This was the destruction of a detachment commanded by Colonel Baillie numbering some 3700 men. The detachment was moving from the north to join hands with Sir Hector Munro, the Commander-in-Chief, at Conjevaram.

By an error of judgment on the part of Colonel Baillie, followed by deplorable inactivity on the part of Sir Hector Munro, the detachment was destroyed with very heavy loss, 700 Europeans alone being killed. Colonel Baillie and his troops

behaved with the utmost gallantry, but were hopelessly outnumbered, and their gun ammunition ran out.

Fortunately for British India, Warren Hastings was now Governor-General, and that great man at once rose to the occasion.

Despatching Sir Eyre Coote, the Bengal Commander-in-Chief, to Madras by sea, with the few European troops available, and directing him to assume command in the field, Hastings sent a large detachment of Bengal sepoys to march down the eastern coast of the peninsula of India. The detachment, which was commanded by Colonel Thomas Deane Pearse of the Bengal Artillery, consisted of the troops mentioned presently. It should be mentioned that they were sent by land instead of by the much shorter sea route, in consequence of the objection of the sepoys to travel by water.

The promptitude of Warren Hastings' action on hearing of the situation in Madras may best be estimated by his own writings on the subject, for there is little but incoherent and irrational abuse in the writings of his opponents.

"On the 23rd September 1780," he writes, "the Bengal Government heard of the loss of Colonel Baillie's detachment and the flower of the army, and of General Munro's precipitate flight from the face of Hyder." In another letter, written on the 28th of October 1780, Hastings writes: "It was yesterday moved and resolved

to put in orders a detachment of six battalions of sepoys and one company of artillery, to march by the way of Cuttac to the coast. Colonel Pearse, the commander of artillery, commands it. He is a man of bravery, and of great professional knowledge."

With this detachment, and under this commanding officer, Andrew Hearsey took part in the long and arduous operations of the Bengal detachment in Madras.

Colonel Pearse selected Andrew Hearsey to act as baggage-master to his column, and the duties which thus devolved on Hearsey, who was promoted captain on January 18, just as the expedition set out, were of the most onerous description. Some of the troops objected to travel southward by sea on account of caste difficulties, and although Colonel Pearse sternly suppressed an incipient mutiny, it was considered advisable to despatch the Bengal infantry by road. The column marched down the eastern coast of India, and in spite of cholera and other troubles, covered a distance of 645 miles in 64 days, no mean feat. The Madras army, however, which was so hampered by want of transport and supplies as to be often compelled to march with no more than one day's food in hand, complained bitterly of the "slow and stately movements" of the Bengal column.

Military affairs were in no flourishing state in Madras, for although the British troops and their

commanders invariably fought most gallantly in action, their strategical handling had been unfortunately defective, and the Madras Government had shown both timidity and parsimony when courage and a wise liberality of expenditure would have saved them their heaviest trials.

The destruction of Colonel Baillie's force and the inability of Sir Hector Munro to keep the field rendered the fall of Madras imminent, and it was as a forlorn hope that the veteran Sir Eyre Coote was then sent by sea from Bengal, with such European reinforcements as could be hastily collected, to restore the situation. Coote assumed the command early in November 1780, but found himself in most difficult circumstances, for his position with regard to Sir Hector Munro, a man who had rendered conspicuous services in his day, was no pleasant one, while the Madras Council took every opportunity of showing their jealousy and dislike of Bengal and all that pertained to it. Hyder had devastated the Madras Presidency almost to the walls of Fort St George, transport and supplies were almost non-existent, and for four months after his arrival Sir Eyre Coote was unable to leave Madras.

It now became imperative to divert the attention of the Mysore army from Colonel Pearse's infantry column, which was coming within reach of Hyder's immense force of cavalry, and Coote

sallied out from Madras and attacked Hyder in his fortified position at Porto Novo, some 120 miles south of Madras, and also on the coast. In the battle, which took place on the 1st of July 1781, the British won a complete victory, driving the Mysore army from its position with heavy loss.

This victory of Sir Eyre Coote saved the Madras Presidency for the time, but more remained to be done. Sir Eyre made a rapid march of 150 miles from Porto Novo and joined hands on the 2nd of August with Colonel Pearse's column of some 4000 men. The junction took place at Pulicat. Sir Eyre Coote, possibly with a view to distributing the ample Bengal transport among the ill-supplied Madras troops, then broke up the Bengal column, distributing the units among his own brigades. This action, which was in direct opposition to the orders of Warren Hastings, caused great dissatisfaction in the Bengal troops, and much ill-feeling arose between the officers and men of the two armies.

Among those affected by the redistribution was Captain Hearsey, who, having already the greater portion of the transport under his orders, was now placed by Sir Eyre Coote in the position of baggage-master to the whole army.

Thanks to his junction with the Bengal column, Coote now had an adequate force with which to attack his enemy, and he made use of it with great vigour and promptitude.

Hyder, who had lost an undoubted opportunity by allowing Coote to join hands with Pearse unmolested, now endeavoured to prevent the march of the united force to Madras, and advanced with the whole Mysore army to Pollilur, the spot where, a year previously, he had annihilated Colonel Baillie's detachment.

Here on the 27th August 1781 he fought a severe and indecisive action with Sir Eyre Coote, who, however, was able to hold his ground and, on the following day, to bury the remains of Baillie's officers and men.

Vellore, a fortress held by a detachment of our army, and situated about 60 miles south-west of Madras, was now in want of provisions, and Coote made a rapid march to assist it. Hyder again threw himself in the way, but in the battle of Sholingarh, fought on the 27th September 1781, was surprised and completely defeated.

This campaign showed the remarkable qualities of the commanders of both armies, for Hyder, who was seventy-nine years old, showed enterprise that would have done credit to a much younger man, while Coote, who was not much his junior, achieved great results with most inadequate means. Even after the acquisition of Colonel Pearse's transport his resources were very limited, and the support afforded by the civil authorities of Madras was of the most meagre description. Coote made frequent representations of the folly

of attempting to carry on war without adequate transport and supplies, and, after Pollilur, resigned his command as the strongest protest in his power. He was, however, persuaded to withdraw his resignation, and was no doubt rewarded by his striking victory of Sholingarh. Sir Eyre Coote was indeed a great soldier who shone in action, handling masses of troops with rare coolness and skill; but he was not less to be admired for the stern courage with which he ventured his army against a daring and numerous enemy at a time when he frequently could carry with him no more than one day's reserve of food. Under these circumstances Andrew Hearsey's services were of great value, and were handsomely recognised by Coote. At Pollilur and Sholingarh Hearsey had no less than 40,000 camp-followers under his orders, and his able disposition of this unwieldy command met with high commendation.

The Hearsey records state that, at Pollilur, Andrew Hearsey repulsed three attacks made on the baggage by Tippoo's cavalry. This feat may be explained by reminding the reader that the great mass of transport which followed an Indian army into the field was very defensible. When an action took place the baggage closed up and formed a solid mass, by no means an easy prey to irregular cavalry. The camp-followers being all armed, were able to offer a stout resistance to the enemy, and in the case of the Mysore army were

doubtless encouraged to do so by the fact that the troops of Hyder and Tippoo gave no quarter.

The battles of Pollilur and Sholingarh, and particularly the latter, impressed the Mysoreans considerably, but in October of the same year (1781) a detached force sent by Sir Eyre Coote, under command of Colonel Owen, to intercept a convoy of the enemy near Vellore was surprised and suffered heavy loss. Andrew Hearsey served in the force sent by Sir Eyre to extricate Colonel Owen's detachment, and also with the main army when it subsequently threw three months' provisions into Vellore. This task effected, the British army retired in the direction of Madras and was cantoned during the winter rains.

In January 1782 it again became necessary to relieve Vellore, which was in want of provisions, and the army advanced once more under Sir Eyre Coote, and after two sharp actions threw seven months' provisions into the place.

After the relief of Vellore affairs took an unfavourable turn, for a force of about 2000 men under Colonel Braithwaite was captured in the Tanjore district, and (in March) the French Admiral Suffrein landed a force of 3000 men at Porto Novo, which force presently captured Cuddalore, a fortress some thirty miles south of Pondicherry.

Sir Eyre Coote approached the Mysorean and French forces, and after alternate moves in advance and in retirement, fought the unsuccessful action

of Arni. This was the gallant veteran's last service. He withdrew his army to Madras, and in the following October left by sea for Calcutta, handing over the command of the army to Major-General James Stuart, although the latter had lost a leg at Pollilur but fourteen months previously. Those were hardy days. In the following April (1783) Sir Eyre Coote again left Calcutta to resume command of the army in the field, but died of apoplexy two days after his arrival at Madras. General Stuart, who was now confirmed in the command of the army in the field, presently attempted to recapture Cuddalore from the French. Severe fighting took place, and on the 13th June 1783 an attack was made on the entrenched position held by the French outside the fort.

The French were driven into the fort, but on the 24th June made a sortie in great strength, being vigorously repulsed with the bayonet. Among the French prisoners taken at Cuddalore during the sortie was Sergeant Bernadotte, afterwards King of Sweden, while an English officer of the 24th Native Infantry, also wounded and taken prisoner, was Captain David Ochterlony, afterwards the conqueror of Nepal. Cuddalore is a noteworthy action, for it was there that Bengal sepoys met and repulsed European infantry with the bayonet.

Andrew Hearsey, who had shared in every

action fought by the army under Sir Eyre Coote, took part in all the fighting about Cuddalore, which was of a critical nature, and distinguished himself by recapturing a large number of bullocks laden with grain for the army, which had been taken by the Mysore troops. He also again "repulsed an attack by a large number of Tippoo's cavalry on the baggage, killing and wounding several of the enemy." He was a man of decided views and uncompromising speech, and in the Hearsey records it is stated, presumably on his authority, that he "captured several head of the enemy's cattle laden with grain near Cuddalore, and would have captured many more but for the utter folly of General Stuart, commanding the army!"

Decidedly things did not go well under General Stuart, who was, however, so hampered by the Madras Government that little if any blame attaches to him: the English army before Cuddalore was dangerously weakened by war-losses and sickness, and it was perhaps well for us that the struggle with Mysore and its French allies ceased presently as regards the latter, in consequence of the Treaty of Versailles. Mysore also was inclined to rest. Hyder Ali had died about the same time as his valiant old adversary Sir Eyre Coote, and Tippoo, the son and successor of Hyder, concluded a treaty with England in March 1784.

The Bengal troops, restored to the command of Colonel Pearse, returned in the following month to

their own Presidency, where they were warmly welcomed by Warren Hastings.

The disputes between the Governments of Madras and Bengal had unfortunate results for Andrew Hearsey, for the Madras Government now refused to pay him the customary "perquisites and emoluments" of his double post of "Baggage Master and Grain Keeper" to the army recently in the field. The following petition to the Honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company tells the story plainly enough, and affords an interesting glimpse of the manners and customs of the Company in peace and war. The petition, dated February 1st, 1789, was rendered after several years of unavailing efforts. It runs as follows:—

TO THE HONOURABLE COURT OF DIRECTORS OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

THE MEMORIAL OF ANDREW WILSON HEARSEY, a Captain of Infantry upon the Bengal Establishment.

Humbly sheweth,—

That in the year 1782, during the period in which the late Lieutenant-General Sir *Eyre Coote* commanded the Company's army in the *Carnatic*, the Honourable *Select* Committee at *Fort Saint*

George were pleased to appoint Mr *J. Erskine* to be grain keeper to the said forces,—and who continued for the space of two months to execute such office,—at the expiration of which term, viz., on the 20th of *May*, he addressed a letter, dated in camp, to the General, in which he tendered his resignation, assigning for reasons his inability to give the satisfaction expected; and that the department in question required a person not only well skilled in the language of the country, but who was also perfectly acquainted with the customs and *finesse* of the natives.

That, in consequence of the resignation before stated, and of the desire repeatedly expressed by the *Select* Committee to Sir *Eyre Coote*, to recommend or to appoint some person to the vacant office, the General thought fit to nominate your Memorialist (who acted likewise as Baggage-master-general) thereto. That he accordingly accepted of such appointment, but under an absolute promise made to him by the Commander-in-Chief that he should be entitled to all perquisites and emoluments which his predecessors had respectively enjoyed.

That upon entering on the duties of his office, your Memorialist speedily perceived that the considerable losses and defalcations which had been experienced in that important department of the public service had proceeded in a much greater degree from mismanagement and neglect than

from the misfortunes and adverse circumstances incident to war; your Memorialist, therefore, made application to Sir *Eyre Coote*, requesting his permission to issue from the monies which should from time to time come into your Memorialist's possession, to the bullock-drivers, mestries, and other persons employed in that branch of service, such sums as would be sufficient to keep them from starving (between seven and eight months' arrears being then due to them), by which measure your Memorialist would not only be enabled to prevent in future the enormous deficiency which to that period had been sustained, but likewise effectually to ensure the preservation of an article upon which the success of our military operations, and even the existence of your army, did so materially depend. To this proposition the General was pleased readily to assent; directing, at the same time, your Memorialist to account, as well for all disbursements which should in consequence be made by him from, as for such surplus sums as might remain in his hands, of the monies received by your Memorialist for issues of rice.

That, by unremitting attention, at the risk both of life and health on the part of your Memorialist, aided by the support which he received from the Commander-in-Chief, your Memorialist was enabled to introduce such regularity and system into his department, as he flattered himself would have proved at once advantageous to his employers and

honourable to himself: the accounts of receipts and issues of rice, and likewise the army incidents, were so methodically arranged and adjusted, as that without delay the same might have been presented to commanding officers of corps, or to principals in office, for payment: the average loss and wastage of grain (which, during the period in which his predecessors conducted that department, amounted to ten per cent), after delivery thereof to the charge of your Memorialist, did not exceed three per cent though the army was marching the whole time,—and from which difference a saving of at least ten thousand pagodas accrued to the Company; and (which perhaps will be deemed of still greater consequence to the public service) your army was enabled to keep the field for several days longer than, but for the arrangements which had been so successfully introduced by your Memorialist, it could possibly have done.

These arrangements, however, were speedily counteracted, and, in effect, entirely superseded by the appointment which was made by your Government at *Madras*, on the 13th of *January* 1783, of Mr *William Jackson*, to control the accounts of grain, and to collect and receive all monies that were then, or which should afterwards become due to the Company, on account of issues of rice. This measure (which respect for the administration with whom it originated forbids your Memorialist from attributing to any other

motive than the public welfare), unfortunately, by rendering him dependent upon the will and pleasure of others, deprived him of those pecuniary resources which had enabled him occasionally to relieve the necessities of the bullock-mestries and drivers (whose pay by this time was eleven months in arrear), and which seasonable advances had tended to remove the temptation to alleviate their distresses by stealing rice, of which article the carriage could only furnish six days' consumption for the fighting men; thereby withholding every inducement to increase their number of cattle, and likewise deterring other persons from undertaking a service which subjected the parties engaged therein to such difficulties and distress.

But this check to the exertions of your Memorialist cannot be placed in a more striking point of view than by a reference to the letter addressed by Lieutenant-General *Coote* to the Governor-General and Council at *Fort William*, dated 25th *February* 1783, viz.: "That the good consequences to the movements of the army, and the real interests of the Company, by Captain *Hearsey's* able execution of his arrangements, were experienced in a degree exceeding my expectations; our marches were performed with greater facility, whilst our losses in bullocks and grain were considerably lessened: and as it appears that Captain *Hearsey's* conduct has met with General *Stuart's* approbation as well as my own, and as his ability, or integrity

in discharge of his trust, has in no respect been questioned, but, on the contrary, that his accounts have been esteemed clear and approved, I cannot but regret that it should have been thought necessary to make any change in his situation; and the more so, as being of a nature tending to an entire subversion of a very beneficial effect the service had derived from the former arrangement.

"It is foreign to my wish, at any time, to betray even the appearance of a desire to interfere with rules laid down for the internal economy of departments which may be considered more civil than military; but the matter at present being of a kind that involves the whole executive services of the army, and consequently my own credit, I hope I shall not be deemed unreasonable, or as acting out of character, by expressing my wish that it be recommended from this Board to the Government of *Fort Saint George* to place Captain *Hearsey* in the same degree of trust and authority in the office of grain-keeper as when first appointed."

In consequence of the preceding representation from your Commander-in-Chief, the Governor-General and Council, on the 27th *February* 1783, wrote to the Select Committee at *Fort Saint George* as follows, viz.:—

"Sir *Eyre Coote* has laid before us a letter addressed to him by Captain *Hearsey*, representing the difficulties which have arisen in his de-

partment of grain-keeper to the army from your appointment of Mr *Jackson* to be comptroller of the grain accounts and collector of all monies due for the rice delivered out; as it appears by the enclosed extract of Sir *Eyre Coote's* minutes on this subject, that the military operations in the *Carnatic* had been greatly assisted, and the movements of the army facilitated, by the management and attention of Captain *Hearsey*, and as we doubt not, in points that so materially affect this most desirable object, you wish to adopt the opinion and recommendation of the Commander-in-Chief, which his experience enables him to give, we transmit this paper to you, and beg leave to add our desire that you order the arrangements proposed by the General to be immediately carried into execution."

Before he proceeds, your Memorialist cannot avoid annexing to the flattering testimonies before mentioned, one which cannot fail of having great weight with your honourable Court, namely, the opinion of Lord *Macartney*, your late Right Honourable President at *Fort Saint George*, who condescended personally to compliment your Memorialist upon his exertions, and to notice the very small wastage which had been incurred since your Memorialist had possessed the office.

To the recommendation before stated from *Bengal*, it should seem no attention was paid by your Select Committee at *Fort Saint George;* on the

contrary, your Memorialist had the mortification to receive a letter from their Secretary, stating that the *Gunny-bags*, which had been uniformly enjoyed as a perquisite by your Memorialist's predecessors, and which were expressly promised to your Memorialist by Sir *Eyre Coote*, were disallowed by the Committee; and that the orders of your Commander-in-Chief, upon which your Memorialist's claim to the same was founded, were obviously invalid, and could not authorise a charge of such a nature.

Your Memorialist, in this place, would beg leave to observe that he accepted the office of grain-keeper at the particular solicitation of Sir *Eyre Coote*, and under his express promise that your Memorialist should receive all perquisites and emoluments which had usually been attached thereto; and of which the *Gunny-bags*, and an allowance of five per cent upon issues of grain were unquestionably a part. But admitting, for the sake of argument, that the perquisite of the *Gunny-bags* was with propriety disallowed, still such disallowance could not, upon any principles of reason or of justice, have been extended to the five per cent upon issues; such percentage having been allowed to your garrison storekeeper for rice conveyed from the shore to the store-room (a distance not exceeding 150 paces), and again afterwards to the agent upon receiving the rice, in order to forward the same to your Memorialist

for the use of the army; and which two allowances amounted together to an advance of no less than ten per cent upon the value of the grain previous to delivery thereof to your Memorialist in camp.

Your Memorialist presumes further to remark that although your treasury at *Fort Saint George*, in consequence of the enormous expenses necessarily attendant upon military operations, might perhaps have been nearly exhausted, and that although the extraordinaries of your army might have arisen to such a height as possibly to have required investigation and reform, yet, allowing every weight to those circumstances, your Memorialist cannot avoid conceiving it to have been a peculiar hardship upon himself to be denied the enjoyment of emoluments which his predecessors (however unequal to the duties of the department) had invariably received; and that, too, after the several commanders-in-chief had borne the most honourable testimony to his exertions for the public service, as having not only most materially facilitated the operations of the campaign, but, moreover, as having proved the means of saving, in consequence of the great reduction in the amount of wastages, nearly £30,000 sterling to the Company.

That, however, instead of admitting your Memorialist's claim to the perquisites in question, as founded on the uniform custom and usage of the

department, your Select Committee were pleased to state a balance against your Memorialist amounting to 1135 40 78 pagodas, and to demand immediate payment of the same. Your Memorialist accordingly transmitted to the acting secretary a draught upon his attorney in *Bengal*, payable, at sight, for the said balance, and then joined the detachment under command of Colonel *Pearse* upon his return to *Bengal*. But on the second day's march he was remanded to *Madras*, where arriving, he was given to understand that his draught would not be taken, and that he must discharge the amount in cash. Your Memorialist being obliged to return to the detachment before night, or to risk the loss of his baggage, he was reduced to the necessity of borrowing money upon the spot at no less than twenty per cent for the loan thereof for a few days, with which, having discharged the balance, he was permitted to rejoin the army.

Your Memorialist must, however, in justice to the Select Committee at *Fort Saint George*, add that they admitted of an appeal to your Governor-General and Council; but as they conceived the subject to rest exclusively with the Presidency of *Madras*, the honourable Board declined taking cognisance of such reference; in consequence of which resolution Major-General *Stibbert*, then Commander-in-Chief upon your *Bengal* establishment, addressed the Supreme Council as follows, viz.:—

"As I am well assured, and, indeed, have formerly reported to the Board, that Captain *Hearsey* executed the duties of his extensive department much to the satisfaction of the Commander-in-Chief, I think him entitled to every reasonable allowance and perquisite enjoyed by his predecessors, and therefore take the liberty of bespeaking the Board's interference in this matter so far as to see that justice be impartially rendered him."

The 12th *January* 1785, the Supreme Council were pleased to direct that the following extract of their minutes should be communicated to your Memorialist through the Commander-in-Chief:—

"The Board have passed their decision upon Captain *Hearsey's* claim, and see no cause from any of the papers now before them to repeal or alter their former determination; yet it seems to be attended with some circumstances meriting their consideration, so far as that it be recommended to the very particular attention of the Court of Directors for their examination of it on grounds and authorities from which we are precluded, Captain *Hearsey* having grounded his claim (to the five per cent, for allowances of wastage, and to the property of returned *Gunny-bags* as his perquisites) on the usage of the service, with the allowance of the Presidency of *Fort St George*. A reference to the grain-keepers employed under the appointment of the President and Select Committee of *Fort St George* will show

whether those emoluments were allowed them; it will also rest with Captain *Hearsey* to use other means, by his own inquiries, for the verification of his assertion.

"The Board therefore deem it but a just regard to an officer on their establishment to represent this claim to the Court of Directors, with the foregoing means of ascertaining the right on which it is founded, and with all humility to declare that, if the facts which he has asserted shall be verified by the result, he has a clear and unquestionable right to participate of the same advantages with the servants of *Fort St George* holding the same appointment which he held in the same service, though under different authorities; and to his attention the Board are further impelled by the recollection of other instances of similar discountenance shown to other officers acting in the general service in the *Carnatic* by the separate authority of the late Commander-in-Chief."

The 22nd of *February* 1785, the Governor-General and Council addressed your honourable Court as follows, viz.:—

"The consultation noted in the margin will point out a strong recommendation from your Commander-in-Chief in favour of a claim from Captain *Hearsey* as grain-keeper to the grand army in the *Carnatic* whilst under the command of Sir *Eyre Coote*.

"Captain *Hearsey's* own representation, which

accompanies that letter, will fully elucidate the subject, and prove to you our disinclination to interfere in the detail of transactions on the coast, however meritorious the case. Indeed, were we inclined to examine the grounds of his claims, we are prevented, through want of authorities, to ascertain them.

"We cannot, however, but consider it a just regard to an officer of this establishment to call forth your attention to this subject,—and as it is within your reach to ascertain the exact advantages which the Presidency of *Fort St George* have permitted their own servants, acting in similar situations, to derive, we recommend this case to your favourable consideration; and we must beg that you will permit Captain *Hearsey*, who was selected by your late Commander-in-Chief, Sir *Eyre Coote*, for his merit and active services, to reap the same benefits as have been enjoyed by others acting in the same capacity."

Flushed, therefore, with hopes arising from the very honourable and flattering recommendations before mentioned, your Memorialist embarked for *Great Britain*, where he arrived in the year 1786.

Unaided by personal influence, your Memorialist rests the success of his present application upon the justice and accustomed liberality of your honourable Court, and begs leave to conclude with earnestly requesting an investigation of the facts and circumstances which, in the preceding pages,

he has ventured to bring before you; and that the adjustment of his claims may be referred either to your Right Honourable Governor-General and Council in Bengal, or that such relief in any other mode may be afforded to your Memorialist as the merits of the case shall appear to your honourable Court to deserve.

And your Memorialist shall ever pray.

George Street, Blackfriar's Road,
Feb. 1, 1789.

Andrew Hearsey went to England to support his petition, but without avail. He never obtained a farthing of his claim from the Honourable Court of Directors, who apparently treated his case as simply a dispute between Madras and Bengal, omitting to consider whether the claim in itself was valid or not. While in England Captain Hearsey married Miss Charlotte Crane, a lady of good family, and a beauty and 'toast' of her day. The marriage took place at Walton-on-Thames in 1787, and while subsequently living at that place Andrew Hearsey was a frequent guest at the entertainments given by H.R.H. the Duke of York at Oatlands Park, an honour that was not appreciated by Mrs Hearsey. Captain Hearsey intended to retire, but was compelled to return to India by the failure of his bankers.

Several years of peace followed the treaty of March 1784, but in 1790 war was again declared against Mysore. Lord Cornwallis, who was now

Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, repeated the operation of sending a Bengal column by land to Madras, and with it marched Andrew Hearsey, still a captain in spite of his twenty-five years of Indian service and his many campaigns. The infantry of the Bengal contingent arrived at Conjeveram on the 1st of August 1790, and joined the "Centre Army." On this occasion the Bengal troops were left in their own brigades. Andrew Hearsey appears to have been sent in advance, for the family records state that he was present at the occupation of Coimbatore on the 21st of July; he also took part in the capture of Dindigul on the 22nd of August, and subsequently served at the capture of the very strong fort of Palaghat.

Captain Hearsey then joined the force commanded by Colonel Hartley and stationed on the Malabar Coast. This detachment was entrusted with the special duty of watching the movements of Hussein Ali, the Mysore general, who had under him some 8000 men, in addition to a large body of fanatical Moplahs. On the 8th of December Hussein Ali attacked the British detachment, which numbered only 1500 men with a few guns. Hussein Ali was signally defeated under the walls of Calicut, losing more than 1000 men killed and wounded and 2500 prisoners. Colonel Hartley's loss did not exceed 52 men.

At the end of the year 1790 Lord Cornwallis decided to take personal command of the army

in the field, and arrived at Madras on the 12th of December of that year. His intention was to invade Mysore and attack Seringapatam, and, thanks to the fact that the army was now commanded by one who could control the resources of the three Presidencies, there seemed to be every prospect of success.

Tippoo at first made but feeble efforts to check the advance of Lord Cornwallis's army, and Bangalore capitulated on the 21st of March 1791. Andrew Hearsey served at the siege of Bangalore, and also at the battle of Arikera on the 13th of May following, when Tippoo's whole field army was entirely defeated.

Arikera was close to Seringapatam, and the Bombay army, having marched through Coorgh, was ready to join hands with Lord Cornwallis and attack Tippoo's last stronghold, when unfortunately the British army came to an end of its supplies and was compelled to retire.

Lord Cornwallis devoted the remainder of the year to preparations for renewing the campaign with adequate means, and again took the field in January 1792 at the head of an army, followed by a supply train, the magnitude of which struck terror into the heart of Tippoo. The Nizam, who at this stage of the war had entered into alliance with the British, sent an army of 8000 men, "more gaudy than serviceable," to join Lord Cornwallis, whose own force amounted to 22,000 men, with 44 field-guns and 42 siege-guns.

Tippoo's position before Seringapatam was naturally formidable, and had been strengthened by a triple line of fortifications; but Lord Cornwallis, on coming in touch with the Mysore outposts, made a personal reconnaissance and attacked without the loss of a day.

The first storming of Seringapatam took place on the night of March 6, 1792, and after several hours of severe fighting the Mysorean position was captured, with a loss to the victors of 530 killed and wounded. Tippoo's casualties were estimated at 4000, but four times that number of men are said to have deserted his standards. Tippoo was soon reduced to the last extremity, and was compelled to submit to the severe terms dictated by Lord Cornwallis, which included the cession of half his territories and the payment of a war indemnity of three crores of rupees.

Lord Cornwallis acted with great liberality to his allies, giving them two-thirds of the ceded territory and of the indemnity, and the magnanimity of his public conduct was even excelled by the generosity with which he gave up his own share of the prize-money for the benefit of those who served under him.

The Bengal detachment had now accomplished its duty, and marched for its own Presidency about the end of September. Andrew Hearsey, still a captain, returned also, this being the fourth occasion on which he completed this long and weary march.

Promotion, so long delayed, came at last fairly rapidly, but unfortunately too late. Hearsey became a major on March 1, 1794, and was given command of the 8th Native Infantry, then stationed at Jaunpore. On November 25, 1797, he was promoted lieutenant-colonel, and was appointed the first English commandant of the then very important fort of Allahabad.

Andrew Hearsey, who had been accompanied to India by his wife and children, died at Allahabad on the 10th of July 1798. Shortly before his death he lost a large sum of money, for which he had made himself liable in order to assist a relation, and as will be seen in the autobiography of his son, Sir John Hearsey, he consequently left his widow and children in bad circumstances. Andrew Hearsey's tomb still exists in one of the old graveyards of Allahabad, and bears the following inscription:—

To

the Memory of

LIEUT.-COL. A. W. HEARSEY,

WHO DEPARTED THIS LIFE

THE 10TH JULY 1798,

AGED 46 YEARS.

THIS MONUMENT IS ERECTED

IN TOKEN OF REGARD

BY HIS AFFECTIONATE WIDOW,

CHARLOTTE HEARSEY.

Colonel Andrew Wilson Hearsey and Charlotte his wife were the parents of a son who became Lieutenant-General Sir John Bennet Hearsey, K.C.B., and of three daughters, who all married officers in the army, viz. :—

Charlotte, who married Colonel Paris Bradshaw;

Marion, wife of General William Broome Salmon; and

Sophia, wife of Colonel Francis Hall.

William Salmon, the husband of Marion Hearsey, attained the rank of General, retired, and lived in England. He had two sons, both soldiers, and a daughter, whose tragic death is described in Sir John Hearsey's autobiography.

Some account of Colonel Paris Bradshaw, the husband of Charlotte Hearsey, will be found at the end of Chapter III.

Francis Hall, the husband of Sophia Hearsey, had an adventurous but short career. At the time of his marriage he was an officer of the 14th Light Dragoons, but having a Byronic aspiration to succour oppressed nationalities he and a brother officer named Devereux joined the Chilian revolutionary army as volunteers. Francis Hall received the rank of Colonel, and met his death in a tragic manner. He had made overtures to a discontented faction in a town garrisoned by Royalist troops, and had arranged a night surprise during a festival. The

town guard was bribed, and Hall with a party of about a hundred men presented himself at the gate, which was thrown open to him and his party. After entering they found to their dismay the street lined by troops, and they were taken prisoners to a man. Colonel Hall's head was cut off and placed over the gate. Colonel and Mrs Hall had an only son, John Francis Williams Devereux Hall, who was a Colonel in the Indian army and a famous shikari, who on one occasion shot three tigers single-handed and on foot.

MAJOR HYDER YOUNG HEARSEY.

HYDER HEARSEY, a near relation of Lieutenant-Colonel Andrew Hearsey, was born in India in the year 1782, and, by a strange fancy, was given the name of Hyder of Mysore, the arch-enemy of England. His second name is believed to have originally been "Jung," which, combined with Hyder, was a truly warlike designation, but he subsequently anglicised it into Young.

Hyder Hearsey, in spite of his name, lived, however, to be a loyal and devoted servant of King George and his successors, and to perform notable service for them.

After being educated at Woolwich, Hyder

Hearsey, through the influence of his guardian, Colonel Andrew Hearsey, then recently appointed Commandant of Allahabad, was in 1798 appointed aide-de-camp to Saadut Ali Khan, the last Nawab Wazir of Oudh, and father of Ghazi-ud-din Hyder, the first ruler of that province who bore the title of king.

When Hyder Hearsey, a boy of sixteen years of age, entered Saadut Ali Khan's service, the latter was in exile at Benares, his succession to the office of Nawab Wazir of Oudh having been interfered with. His rights were, however, shortly afterwards recognised by the Governor-General, Sir John Shore, and he was installed at Lucknow.

Hyder Hearsey did not find life at this capital to his fancy, and in 1799 he entered the Mahratta service and was appointed as a cadet to one of General Perron's regular infantry regiments. He had a good knowledge of the French language, and Perron made him his aide-de-camp, and for a time treated him fairly and even generously. Young Hearsey had not long to wait for active service, for he joined Perron's staff shortly after the latter was ordered by Sindhia to take charge of the fortresses of Delhi and Agra. It may be mentioned parenthetically that the custody of the unfortunate Shah Alam, the Mogul emperor, was, so to speak, thrown in with the command of Delhi.

Perron had been obliged, from motives of policy, to obtain possession of Delhi by means of bribery, for though he had ample military resources it was not considered expedient to bombard the city, and so to offend the blind emperor. There was, however, no such motive for a gentle course of action in the case of Agra, and Perron marched suddenly from his headquarters at Aligarh and arrived before Agra on the 17th of February 1799.

The town was taken by surprise and fell at once, but the fort held out during a siege of fifty-eight days. At the end of this time the north-east bastion was mined and blown up, and the garrison surrendered on condition of being allowed to march out with the honours of war.

Perron's casualties amounted to 600, and the capture of Agra at this small cost was no mean feat, for the fortress was in those days of immense strength, and was defended by 4000 men.

Hyder Hearsey pleased General Perron by his services during the siege of Agra, and was promoted to the rank of ensign. A few months later he received further promotion to the rank of lieutenant, and was appointed Deputy-Commandant of the fort of Agra,—a strong mark of the confidence felt by the French General in the young Anglo-Indian, who was, it should be remembered, still a boy of seventeen.

General Perron subsequently made Hyder Hearsey Deputy-Quartermaster-General of the

Mahratta army, and for a time treated him and his other English officers impartially. Early in 1801, however, a change came over Perron's conduct. He was now in a position of great power, and, perhaps naturally, began to dream of a re-establishment of French power in India and the expulsion of the English.

In his admirable book, 'The European Military Adventurers of Hindustan,' Mr Herbert Compton thus summarises the short-lived greatness of the French Commander-in-Chief of the Mahratta army: "Perron was now at the zenith of his career. He had brought all Hindustan into subjection, and was supreme within the boundaries of Sindhia's northern possessions. From Kotah in the south to Saharanpur in the north, from Jodhpur in the west to Koil in the east, his power was paramount. An enumeration of the territories Perron governed at this time, and the countries and states he dictated to, will give an idea of the enormous extent of his influence. In the vast Jaidad[1] he held, which included the richest districts of the Doab, he enjoyed the rights and privileges, and lived in the state and dignity, of an actual sovereign. The Subahs, or Governorships of Saharanpur, Panipat, Delhi, Karnol, Agra, and Ajmir, were directly under his control; he drew their revenues and ordered their government.

[1] *Jaidad*—a feudal grant of land, the revenues of which furnish the pay and maintenance of an army or any lesser body of troops.

He directed the politics of, and received tribute from, the Rajahs of Jaipur and Jodhpur, and many lesser Rajput chiefs. . . . Within Hindustan proper he owned the monopoly of the salt and customs duties, the two most valuable sources of revenue that existed, and enjoyed the exclusive privilege of coining money, and his annual revenue was estimated at £1,632,000 sterling."

Perron, who had entered India as a sailor before the mast, was intoxicated by his astonishing success. He was, in all but the name, an independent sovereign; and, as in India there were at this time no limits to the ambition of a brave and capable soldier, he now took the step which seemed to him best calculated to crown the edifice of his career.

Perron summoned to him French officers from all parts of India, particularly those who had been thrown out of employment by the success of Lord Wellesley's policy at Hyderabad, and bestowed on them all the higher commands of his army. This step naturally disgusted the English and Anglo-Indian officers who had faithfully served De Boigne and Perron himself, and had proved their quality as fighting men in innumerable battles and sieges.

Among those who took their discharge from Perron's army at this juncture were Captain Hyder Hearsey and Captain Hopkins, the latter being a most gallant and experienced soldier, the son of a colonel in the Company's service.

Hearsey and Hopkins at once entered the service

of George Thomas, the Irish adventurer who, as is well known, had succeeded like Perron in carving for himself a kingdom from the ruins of the Mogul empire. Thomas, like Perron, arrived in India as a sailor. This was in the year 1781 or 1782, about a year after Perron's arrival. Unlike Perron, Thomas had no powerful fellow-countryman to give him a start on the upward path; but, after a series of marvellous adventures which cannot be detailed here, he conquered in 1797-1798 the district of Hariana, the capital of which was the town of Hansi. Hariana covered an area of nearly three thousand square miles of country, and at Hansi, in Thomas's own words, "I established a mint and coined my own rupees, which I made current in my army and country.

"As from the commencement of my career . . . I had resolved to establish an independency, I employed workmen and artificers of all kinds, and I now judged that nothing but force of arms could maintain me in my authority. I therefore increased their numbers, cast my own artillery, commenced making muskets, matchlocks, and powder, and, in short, made the best preparations for carrying on an offensive and defensive war, till at length having gained a capital and a country bordering on the Sikh territories, I wished to put myself in a capacity, when a favourable opportunity should offer, of attempting the conquest of the Punjab, and aspired to the honour of

planting the British standard on the banks of the Attock."

The ambitions of Thomas and Perron were in fact similar. Each desired to be a king, or at least the viceroy of great dominions added by them to the possessions of their sovereign. Thomas aspired to conquer the Punjab, and he might well have done so, for the Sikhs had not yet been welded into a nation by Ranjit Singh, and were but a weak and disunited race, established in independent communities among a hostile Mohammedan population. Perron went further. He aspired to the mastery of the whole of India, and to carry out his design the destruction of Thomas soon became necessary to him; for such was the daring and ambition of Thomas, that it seemed quite possible that he might at any moment divert his aim from the Punjab to Delhi, and attempt to seize the person of the Emperor and with it the control of the empire from Perron, and Perron's nominal master, Sindhia.

Sindhia had contemplated disposing of Thomas by gentler means, and had proposed to him to enter the Mahratta service. Thomas, however, after the English fashion of his day, hated the very name of Frenchman, and refused to serve with Perron, and it was no doubt partly on account of this antipathy of his that Hyder Hearsey and Hopkins joined Thomas when they found themselves no longer wanted in Perron's

service. Unfortunately, they entered the English (or Irish) Raja's army very shortly before his downfall.

After a final attempt to secure the junction of Thomas's troops with his own, Perron declared war against Thomas at the end of August 1801, and deputed Bourguien, one of his principal officers, to conduct the operations.

Bourguien was strengthened with 60 guns and 6000 Sikh cavalry, as the chiefs of this race looked upon Thomas as their most dangerous enemy, and cheerfully joined in the combination against him. A fierce campaign now took place, in which Thomas showed great activity and gallantry. On the 27th of September 1801, Thomas, with whom were Captains Hearsey, Hopkins, and Birch, defeated Captain Louis Ferdinand Smith, an English officer who had remained in Perron's service, at Georgegarh, and two days later he fought at the same place a most bloody but indecisive battle with Bourguien himself. Hearsey was absent from Thomas's army on this occasion, having probably been sent to Hansi for reinforcements.

Captain Hopkins, who showed great gallantry and skill, was unfortunately mortally wounded at the moment when victory was in the hands of Thomas. Bourguien's troops then rallied, but neither side was able to make a decisive advance, and both held their ground until sunset.

It is estimated that Bourguien had 8000 men in action and Thomas 5000. The casualties were extraordinarily heavy, those of Bourguien being at least 2000, while Thomas probably lost nearly as many. Out of seven European officers engaged in the attack under Bourguien, two were killed and two wounded; while Thomas, who had only two officers with him, lost one of them.

Bourguien's troops were now dispirited and exhausted, and had Thomas attacked on the following day all might have gone well and the history of India might have been changed; but this was not to be. At the critical moment the fatal weakness of the great adventurer asserted itself, and Thomas gave way to drunkenness.

Hyder Hearsey rejoined a day or two after the battle, and found himself left to decide what was to be done—a grave responsibility for so young a man, for he was still but nineteen years old. He decided to make a stand where he was, and with that object set about fortifying Thomas's camp. This was a fatal decision, but the writers who have condemned it appear to have been ignorant of, or to have forgotten, Hyder Hearsey's extreme youth.

Reinforcements at once began to join Bourguien's army. Colonel Pedron, one of Perron's French officers, came up with four battalions; the Begum Sumroo sent two battalions, and five more were sent by Perron from Hessing's brigade at

Agra. Five thousand horse also came up, and in a short time Thomas was completely surrounded.

Georgegarh, the scene of the battle and now the locality of Thomas's entrenchment, was some sixty miles, as the crow flies, from his headquarters at Hansi, and when Thomas recovered his wits the situation was desperate. He held out doggedly for six weeks, but no help came. Supplies and forage were exhausted, and by the 10th of November it became clear that Thomas's only chance of re-establishing his fortunes was to break through with his mounted men and authorise the remainder of his force to make the best terms for themselves that they could.

This was done. At about nine that night Thomas, accompanied by Hyder Hearsey, Captain Birch, and two European sergeants, headed 300 brave horsemen and successfully charged through Colonel Hessing's five battalions. Bourguien quickly launched the whole of his cavalry in pursuit, and after some confused night-fighting, Thomas's escort was dispersed. Hearsey, Birch, and the sergeants, however, stuck to him, and after covering 120 miles in their circuitous route, the little party of white men safely reached Hansi.

Thomas lost all his guns and camp, and his soldiers, having laid down their arms, were offered service by Perron, but refused it with contempt. Several of Thomas's native officers, who had been a long time in his service, "rent their clothes and

turned beggars, swearing that they would never serve as soldiers again."

Bourguien now proceeded to follow Thomas to Hansi and to attack his town and fort there. Thomas divided the defences of the town into three sections, one of which was commanded by Hyder Hearsey, one by Captain Birch, and the third by Elias Beg, a native officer. The attacking force was likewise divided into three columns, and the very interesting narrative of the siege given in the memoirs of Colonel James Skinner shows that, to a considerable extent, the fighting resolved itself into personal encounters between the leaders of the two sides and their followers.

Bourguien's first column, commanded by a Lieutenant Mackenzie, attacked Hyder Hearsey, James Skinner's party attacked Captain Birch, and Robert Skinner (the younger brother of James) attacked Elias Beg. Such was Indian war in the heroic days of the European adventurers. Bourguien himself, who was by no means heroic, is said to have occupied a strategic position in the background.

On the 10th of December the town of Hansi was stormed and captured after a gallant defence, Thomas losing 500 men out of 1200, while Bourguien's losses were probably double that number.

Thomas was now driven into his fort, which was bombarded for ten days. His situation then becoming untenable, Thomas was compelled to

capitulate, and on the 20th of December 1801 his extraordinary career came to an end.

The sad story of Thomas's disgrace after his dignified and impressive conduct at his first meeting with his conqueror is melancholy reading. The banquet to which Thomas and his officers were invited by Bourguien degenerated into an orgie, and ended by Thomas drawing his sword on a sentry who barred his path. The faithful Hearsey prevented a further catastrophe, and thus ended his brief and ill-starred connection with George Thomas.

After the surrender of Hansi and the collapse of his power Thomas carried the wreck of his fortune to Benares. He died at Barhampur on the 22nd of August 1802, while on his way to England. Thirteen months later his enemy Perron, "with a lie on his lips, and his trembling hands squandering gold to bribe the soldiery he dared not trust, fled from his kingdom, followed by the execrations of his troops and the exultant denunciation of his fellow-countrymen."[1]

The fall of Thomas left Hyder Hearsey in an awkward situation. He endeavoured first to obtain employment in the armies of Jaipur and Jodhpur, but Perron or Sindhia prevented this. Hearsey therefore determined to take a leaf out of Thomas's book and to set up his own standard as an independent chief. He had made a rep-

[1] Compton's 'European Military Adventurers of Hindustan.'

utation for courage and enterprise, and having selected the district then known as Mewat as suitable to his requirements, he soon collected a force of five thousand men, which he held ready to use in favour of the first power which might make a satisfactory bid for his alliance.

Mewat was a tract of country which, during the Mogul period, formed part of the Subah or Government of Agra. It lies south of Delhi, and includes part of the existing British districts of Muttra and Gurgaon, and a considerable portion of Ulwar and some of Bhurtpore.

Hearsey found the inhabitants of Mewat, and those who joined his standard there, amenable to his rule, and was gradually consolidating his control over the country when an event occurred which altered the whole political character of India. Lord Wellesley, who had long seen that tranquillity and safety were impossible for the British power in India while the Mahratta power was the dominant factor in the decaying Mogul empire, decided on the destruction of the power of Perron. In the Governor-General's instructions to General Lake, the Commander-in-Chief, the following objects (among others) of the operations were laid down :—

1. The seizure of Perron's *Jaidad*.
2. The taking of the person of the Emperor, Shah Alam, under British protection.
3. The reduction of Perron's army.

Perron was, in fact, the object of the operations of Lake's army, and there was indeed no other organised hostile army in what was then Hindustan. Perron's *Jaidad* was an independent French State in which he "dictated with the authority of a sovereign," and his army constituted a menace to the British dominion in India.

This menace might, it was anticipated, be at any moment accentuated by the influence of Napoleon. Clearly Perron had to go. A proclamation was now issued calling on all officers of English or Anglo-Indian birth who might be serving in the armies of Perron and the Indian States to abandon their employment and join the British service. Among those who threw in their lot with their own countrymen was Hyder Hearsey, and in token of the high though irregular position which he held, it is noteworthy that the pension of eight hundred rupees a month allotted to him by Lord Wellesley was one of the largest given to the British-born officers of native states. This is the more remarkable, as Hearsey belonged to no state at this moment, but his services were evidently worth having. He was still only twenty-one years of age, but in the East men mature rapidly.

Lord Lake's advance towards Aligarh, Perron's headquarters, began in August 1803, and about the same time Hearsey began operations on his

own account by attacking a Mahratta fort. With his customary ill-luck he was dangerously wounded in the head in this operation.

In accordance with the terms of Lord Wellesley's proclamation, Hearsey shortly afterwards disbanded his force of five thousand men,' with the exception of one regiment of cavalry, which he was permitted to bring in to General Lake's army. The command of this regiment was left in his hands, and with it he served at the capture of Agra, the relief of Delhi, and the battle of Deig, seeing much hard fighting.

Towards the end of the Mahratta 'war Hearsey was sent with his regiment to Bareilly to subdue certain zemindars in that district who were inclined to give trouble. By the end of the year 1805 Hearsey had completed this task, fighting a decisive action against the rebels in the neighbourhood of Kareli, an estate which subsequently became his own property, and is in the possession of his family to this day.

During the early days of the British dominion in India it was most difficult for persons of European birth or descent to acquire landed property. The East India Company set its face consistently against the practice, desiring that its servants should have no permanent interests in the territories which they administered. It was not, in fact, till the year 1835 that it was legal for British subjects to acquire landed property

in the Company's dominions proper; and, at all times, the acquisition by Europeans of property in native states was strongly objected to.

The position, however, of Hyder Hearsey was in this respect peculiar, for about the period of which we now write he had married Khanum (princess) Zuhur-ul-Nissa, a daughter of one of the deposed princes of Cambay. This lady, together with her sister, had been adopted as his daughters by the Emperor Akbar II., the successor of Shah Alam. The princes of Cambay had been driven from their dominions, which are situated in the province of Guzerat, north of Bombay, and had sought the protection of their suzerain, the Emperor of Delhi. Owing to his military weakness the Emperor was unable to reinstate the Nawab and his brothers in their dominions, but gave them an asylum at the faded court of Delhi, and, as has been said, adopted the Nawab's daughters. The elder of these ladies became, under very romantic circumstances, the wife of Colonel William Linnæus Gardner, while the younger married Hyder Hearsey. The marriages of the princesses of Cambay to Gardner and Hyder Hearsey were in all respects most formal and binding ceremonies, and the honourable position of these ladies was fully recognised in the Mohammedan world.

In consequence of their marriages, Colonel Gardner and Hyder Hearsey acquired consider-

able estates under firman from the Emperor, Gardner settling down at Khasgunj, a place sixty miles distant from Agra, while Hearsey made his home at Kareli near Bareilly, in Rohilkhand.

Gardner, who, like his brother-in-law, was a chivalrous and romantic character, was naturally sensitive to any comment on his marriage, and on one occasion published the following statement in an Indian newspaper :—

"A Moslem lady's marriage with a Christian by a Kazi is as legal in this country as if the ceremony had been performed by the Bishop of Calcutta, a point lately settled by my son's marriage with the niece of the Emperor, the Nawab Mulka Humanee Begam. The respectability of the females of my family amongst the natives of Hindustan has been settled by the Emperor many years ago, he having adopted my wife as his daughter; a ceremony satisfactorily repeated by the Queen on a visit to my own house at Delhi."

Gardner married his princess at Cambay, whither he had been sent, early in his career, by Holkar on a diplomatic mission. Their marriage was a very happy one, and they both lived to a ripe old age, the Begam only surviving her husband a few days. They were buried in one tomb. Their son, James Gardner, made an equally romantic marriage with Nawab Mulka Humanee Begam, one of the fifty-two children of Mirza Suliman Sheko, brother of

the Emperor Akbar II. This lady had already been married to a prince of the royal house, but "love found out the way." The princess was released from her chains and permitted to marry the man of her choice.

Colonel William Linnæus Gardner was a nephew of the first Lord Gardner, and one of the descendants of his marriage with the Princess of Cambay married a cousin of the Gardner family, who was in the line of succession to the peerage. The issue of this marriage were the almost entirely native claimants to the title of Lord Gardner.

This digression may be excused on account of the relationship by marriage between Colonel Gardner and Hyder Hearsey, whose marriage was also a happy one.

The brothers of Hearsey's Begam followed his fortunes, and are believed to have served with him in Mewat; and they subsequently took part in his Kumaon expedition in 1815, which will be described in its place.

The next public service of Hyder Hearsey after the subjection of Rohilkhand was of a pacific nature. During the years 1807-1808 the Indian Government sent out various expeditions to execute surveys of their newly-acquired territory, and, among others, a party composed of Captain F. V. Raper, Lieutenant W. S. Webb, and Captain Hyder Hearsey was despatched to survey the upper waters of the river Ganges. It was at this time

uncertain where the sacred river rose, some stating, correctly, that it had its source at Gangotri in Garhwal, while others believed, on native information, that the apparent source at Gangotri was but the mouth of a tunnel which pierced the Himalayas and conducted the waters of Mother Ganges from the holy lake of Mansarowar in Tibet.

Hearsey, Raper, and Webb set out from Bareilly in April 1808, and made an accurate survey of the Ganges and of the mountain region through which it flowed, and definitely settled the fact that the main source of the river was at Gangotri.

In the course of their three months' journey they visited Hardwar, Deo Prayag, Srinagar, Karna Prayag, Nanda Prayag, Joshimath, Badrinath, in fact all the sacred places on the main stream of the Ganges that the time at their disposal permitted them to reach. The "Prayags" or confluences of the Ganges and its tributaries are all sacred, the most holy of all being the Prayag at Allahabad, where the Ganges receives the Jumna.

The travellers made their way through Garhwal without much trouble, though that province was at the time of their visit suffering under the very harsh rule of the Gurkhas, who had conquered it five years previously. Hearsey and his companions encountered in Garhwal the Gurkha Governor, Hasti Dal Chautariya by name, and it is a family

tradition among the Hearseys that Hyder Hearsey saved Hasti Dal's life when he had been attacked and nearly killed by a bear. He then cured Hasti Dal's wounds. As will be seen, this incident had a curious sequel.

In 1809 the Gurkhas advanced yet further from their mountains and invaded many tracts of country which either belonged to the East India Company or were under British protection. Among other regions so occupied was a portion of the Terai bordering on Oudh, and Hyder Hearsey was now commissioned to raise a force and clear this country of the invaders. Hearsey performed this service with complete success, fighting three actions with the Gurkhas at a place called Barrum Deo. The district which he had reconquered from the Gurkhas was sold to Oudh for the sum of £1,000,000 sterling and the small province of Handia near Cawnpore.

About this time Hyder Hearsey became acquainted with the exiled Raja of Tehri or Garhwal, who was living in very straitened circumstances at Bareilly. The Raja, who was the representative of the Chand family who had reigned for many centuries over Garhwal, was the heir of Raja Pradhuman Sah, who was driven from his dominions by the Gurkhas of Nepal in 1803. Pradhuman Sah had made a valiant attempt to reconquer his dominions, but was defeated and slain near Dehra in January 1804. His successor, Sudarsan Sah,

entirely despaired of ever regaining his lost country, and one day offered to sell part of it to Hyder Hearsey for a sum of money, of which he was urgently in need.

The speculation seemed a rash one, as every indication pointed to the desire of the British Government to avoid war with the Gurkhas. Hearsey, however, was, as we have seen, of an enterprising character and absolutely fearless, and was seized with the idea that sooner or later he might find a means to reconquer Garhwal for the Raja and himself. He concluded a bargain with the Raja in a deed of which the following is a true translation. Certain eccentricities and varieties of spelling remain uncorrected.

TRANSLATION of the DEED of SALE of the Pergunnas Doon and Chandee executed by Raja SOODERSUN SAH in favour of Major HYDER YOUNG HEARSEY.

I, RAJA SOODERSUN SAH, son of Raja Hurdut Sah, grandson of Raja Aleep Sah, great-grandson of Raja Hurdut Sah, do hereby solemnly declare that whereas Pergunnas Doon and Chandee were settled on my ancestors (without there being any co-parcenery rights with any other person) by the Firmans of His Majesty Emperor Aurungzeb (may God shed heavenly lustre on his grave), at this present time being in a sound and healthy state

of mind, and not being swayed by the false persuasions of others, but of my own free-will and accord, do hereby sell the above Pergunnas, with all the rights accruing therefrom, such as Revenue, Sayer, Firewood, and all other Zemindari rights, together with the Imperial Firmans, to Captain Hearsey in consideration of rupees 3005 (three thousand and five), the half of which will amount to one thousand five hundred and two rupees eight annas only (1500-2-8).

I hereby acknowledge to have received the whole of the aforesaid sum in full from Captain Hearsey; the whole sum has been paid by him, and I have received and made use of it. I also acknowledge to have put Captain Hearsey in possession of the above Pergunnas, together with the Imperial Firmans relating to them. Nothing is due to me from him (not a dam,[1] not even a diram). If I or any of my successors or heirs should set up a claim for any balance of the above-mentioned sum, it should be rejected as false, and no cognisance whatsoever should be taken of it; I myself alone am responsible for this act.

With this view I have executed this deed in order that it may serve both as deed of sale and a receipt for the above-mentioned sum of money;

[1] Here will be recognised the "tuppenny dam" introduced into the English language by Field-Marshal the Duke of Wellington, who no doubt picked up the phrase during his Indian service. The harmless "dam" is now, by false analogy, usually written with a final *n*, thereby sadly changing character.

also that it may be made use of as documentary evidence in case of any litigation.

Written this day, the 22nd June 1811, corresponding to 30th Jumadul sanl 1226 A.H. and 17th Asadh Fusli and Bikramajeet Sumwut 1818

(*Signed and Sealed*)

RAJA SOODERSUN SAH.

Witnessed by

(*Signed*)

CHUNEE LALL, MOONSHEE, son of Diara Sahaie.

THAKOOR DASS, in charge of Office Records.

To conclude the strange but true story of Hyder Hearsey's purchase of Dehra Dun and Chandee, it will be convenient to anticipate the course of events, and record here that after the Gurkha war of 1815 the British Government reinstated the Raja of Tehri in part of his dominions, where his descendants still dwell. The Raja was put in possession of Tehri proper, that part of his dominions that lay west of the Alaknanda river. The lands to the east of that river, comprising Dehra Dun, Chandee, and the present district of Garhwal, were retained by the British Government.

Hyder Hearsey, whose services in the war were fully recognised, brought his purchase formally to the notice of the Government, and, as appears from the following deed, sold his Purgunna of Chandee to the East India Company, and promised to sell

the Dun Purgunna to the Company whenever the region in which it lay came into its possession. This it did within a few months of the sale.

TRANSLATION of the DEED of SALE of the Pergunna Chandee executed by Major HYDER YOUNG HEARSAY in favour of the RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

I, HYDER YOUNG HEARSAY, Major, a resident of the town of Bareilly, do hereby solemnly declare that whereas all the villages detailed below belonging to Pergunna Chandee, Zillah Moradabad, province Shajahanabad, which under the Imperial Firmans of their most Magnificent Majesties, Mohomed Shah, Aurungzeb, and Alumgeer Shah (may God illuminate their graves) were settled on and held for generations by the ancestors of Soodursun Sah, and which have been sold to me by the aforesaid Raja, I now at this present time being in a sound and healthy state of mind, and not being swayed by persuasion or force, but of my own free will and accord do agree to sell all the said villages detailed below to the Right Honourable the East India Company (may their glory rise) in consideration of the annual sum of rupees 1200 (one thousand two hundred), half of which equal 600 rupees current coin. This sum to be made payable to me and my heirs and successors from generation to generation in perpetuity com-

mencing from the first day of January 1812 A.D., corresponding with the 3rd Margh 1219 Fusl., and 15th Ziulhujj 1226 Hejera. And from that date all the rights and interests thereof, Dhakillee as well as Khariji, small as well as great, all the produce of fruit-bearing and other trees, also Julkur and Bunker lands Jheels and jhaburs, all revenue accruing from grazing contracts, bamboos, timber. Kutha, lime, wax, honey, lac Kundas and bunslochun and all other rights, with the exception of mosques, graves, public roads, bye-paths, and all such like public properties.

The Honourable East India Company have purchased the villages mentioned in this deed in a fair and honourable manner, and they have been made over to them and are now in their possession.

After the execution of this deed nothing is owing to me from the said East India Company. I have made over to the Government officials the Imperial Firmans together with the deed of sale executed in my favour by Raja Soodursun Sah. Although the Imperial Firmans are for both the Pergunnas Dhoon and Chandee, yet I have only sold the Zemindarrie and the rights and interests accruing thereon of the Pergunna of Chandee. But I here promise that when the Pergunna Dhoon shall come within the possessions of the Honourable East India Company I will sell the villages belonging to it to the aforesaid Company.

With this view I have written this deed to serve as documentary evidence in times of need.

Below is a detail of the villages of Pergunna Chandee and their boundaries.

(*Signed*) Major HYDER YOUNG HEARSEY.

Witnessed by

(*Signed*) Major Rogers, Adjt. 42nd N.I.
Capt. Bullock.
Capt. Boder.
Goolam Ali, Moonshee.
Lieut. Hamilton.
Chunie Lall.

The above-mentioned deed was executed on the 28th day of October, A.D., 1815, corresponding with 1223 Fuslee in the month Kartik equivalent to 1233 Hezeria on a Saturday.

(True copy of translation.)

A. W. HEARSEY, *Captain,*
Retd. List.

N.B.[1]—The original authenticated copy of above is in possession of L. D. Hearsey, Kheri, Oudh.

There is no satisfactory explanation of the failure of the East India Company to complete the pur-

[1] Note by Mr L. D. Hearsey of Kheri, the present representative of Major Hyder Young Hearsey.

chase of the Dun, for which Hyder Hearsey would have evidently accepted a moderate sum. Dehra Dun is now very valuable, and Hyder Hearsey's descendants have for many years endeavoured vainly to obtain a consideration of their claim for a completion of the purchase.

The contention of the Hearsey family is, that by buying Chandee from Hyder Hearsey, whose title to it was the same as that to the ownership of Dehra Dun, the East India Company recognised the validity of his ownership to both properties.

The Hearseys state also, and the fact can easily be ascertained, that the Company did not retain the Dun by right of conquest from the Gurkhas, but in virtue of Hyder Hearsey's purchase from the Raja. In support of this contention they assert that, in the treaty of Segowlie, dated the 2nd of December 1815, all the actual conquests made by the British Government in the contest with the Gurkhas, and retained by them at the close of that war, are distinctly mentioned and enumerated, and that Dehra Dun is not amongst them. They therefore maintain that the Government of India did not obtain the Dun by conquest, but by the agreement which the said Government entered into with Major Hyder Hearsey on the 28th of October 1815, which agreement the Government has to the present moment failed to carry into execution.

The Indian Government has uniformly declined

to discuss the ownership of Dehra Dun with the representatives of the Hearsey family, but the official view of the matter appears to be represented by the following statement, which appears on p. 680, vol. xi., of the 'Gazetteer of the North-West Provinces':—

"In the year 1811 Sudarsan Sah had promised Major Hearsey to grant to him the Dehra Dun and *taluka Chandi*, should he procure the restoration of the country then occupied by the Gorkhalis. Major Hearsey now (1816) brought forward this claim, but it was rightly held by both the Raja and the Government that, as the conditions precedent to the grant had not been fulfilled, Major Hearsey had no claim, legal or moral."

Sudarsan Sah is, later on in this portion of the 'Gazetteer,' clearly indicated as having been Raja of Garhwal in 1811 and 1816, and as the person who was reinstated in a portion of his dominions at the conclusion of the Gurkha war.

The whole narrative in the 'Gazetteer' reads like a lame official apology for the treatment of Hyder Hearsey. It may be pointed out, moreover, that Hyder Hearsey's claim on Dehra Dun was not supported by a conditional grant from the Raja, as asserted in the 'Gazetteer,' but by a deed of sale, the validity of which had most surely been recognised by the Government when they purchased Chandee from Hyder Hearsey (not from the Raja) on the 28th October 1815.

We must now revert to the story of Hyder Hearsey, whom we left in the year 1811 living on his property near Bareilly. He was now a rich and prosperous man, irrespective of his speculative purchases of Chandee and Dehra Dun. It is clear from his correspondence with the Government of India that he took every opportunity of urging on them the necessity of driving the Gurkhas back to their mountains, and while waiting for that event to come about Hearsey made another very bold expedition through the provinces of the lower Himalayas, from which the Gurkhas had expelled the legitimate owners.

Early in 1812 Hearsey undertook to accompany William Moorcroft in a journey through Kumaon and Garhwal to Western Tibet, with the special object of visiting Lake Mansarowar, formerly believed to be the source of all the sacred rivers of India. Moorcroft was a native of Lancashire who had been educated as a surgeon. Finding that veterinary surgery was much neglected in England, Moorcroft turned his attention to that science, being thereto encouraged by John Hunter.

Moorcroft carried out his veterinary studies in France, and, after making a considerable fortune by the practice of his profession in London, most of which he lost by an unfortunate investment, he accepted an offer from the Court of Directors of the East India Company to go out to Bengal as superintendent of their military stud. He

went to India early in the year 1808, and soon formed the conviction that the native breed of horses in India, then of poor quality, could best be improved by an infusion of the blood and bone of the Turkoman horse of Central Asia. Moorcroft, who was a man of many interests, also desired to be instrumental in promoting commerce between India and the neighbouring countries, and he was also desirous of serving his country as a geographer.

To a man with these aspirations, the friendship of Hyder Hearsey was no mean acquisition, and it was undoubtedly thanks to Hearsey's tact, knowledge of native manners and customs, and widespread influence that the two travellers achieved their remarkable exploration of Western Tibet and returned safely to India.

A summary of Mr Moorcroft's account of his journey, in company with Hyder Hearsey, to the sacred Lake Mansarowar is to be found in vol. xii. of that rare publication, 'Asiatick Researches,' published at the 'Calcutta Gazette' Offices in the year 1816. The summary was made by Mr H. T. Colebrooke, the President of the Asiatic Society (to use the modern spelling), and certain details of general interest, omitted by Mr Colebrooke from considerations of space, are still extant in Hyder Hearsey's notes on his journey, and will be found in the following pages.

Mr Colebrooke, an acknowledged authority of the period on Indian exploration, states in his introductory remarks that the journey to Tibet was "undertaken from motives of public zeal, to open to Great Britain means of obtaining the materials of the finest woollen fabric. The arduous and perilous enterprise in which Mr Moorcroft, accompanied by Captain Hearsey, engaged, and which was prosecuted by them with indefatigable perseverance and admirable intrepidity, undismayed by the difficulties of the way and the dangers with which the jealousy of the Nepalese beset them on their return, and undeterred by hardships and privations, and in Mr Moorcroft's instance by frequent illness, has in the result not only accomplished the primary object which was in view, but has brought an interesting accession of knowledge of a never before explored region; and has ascertained the existence, and approximately determined the situation of Manasarovara, verifying at the same time the fact that it gives origin neither to the Ganges nor to any other of the rivers reputed to flow from it. Mr Moorcroft . . . found reason to believe that the lake has no outlet.[1] His stay, however, was too short to allow of his making a complete circuit of it; and adverting to the difficulty of conceiving the evaporation of the lake's surface in so cold a climate to be equiva-

[1] This was, however, a mistake.

lent to the influx of water in the season of thaw from the surrounding mountains, it may be conjectured that, although no river ran from it, nor any outlet appear at the level at which it was seen by Mr Moorcroft, it may have some drain of its superfluous waters, when more swollen and at its greatest elevation, and may then, perhaps, communicate with Rawan Lake, in which the Sutlej takes its source, conformable with the oral information received by our travellers."

Returning to Hyder Hearsey's notes of the journey, we find that the travellers crossed the British frontier of Rohilkhand and entered Kumaon, then occupied by the Gurkhas, on May 9, 1812, disguised as Gosains, or Hindu pilgrims. They were accompanied by no less than fifty-two natives—mostly hill coolies, no doubt, but including an Afghan soldier of fortune named Gholam Hyder Khan,[1] who had long been attached to Hyder Hearsey, and two pundits, or educated natives, who had been engaged as surveyors.

Moorcroft states that Hearsey undertook the survey of the entire route traversed, and Harkh Dev, one of the pundits, paced the road, two of his ordinary steps measuring exactly 4 feet.

From May 9th to 24th the travellers went over ground that had been explored two years pre-

[1] Gholam Hyder Khan afterwards accompanied Moorcroft on his ill-fated expedition to Bokhara, and was the only member of it who returned to India.

viously by Colonel Colebrooke, brother of the editor of the 'Asiatick Researches,' but on the latter date they left the Badrinath road at Joshimath in Garhwal, and thence travelled over unexplored ground to the village of Niti, which they reached on June 4. At this point the Tibetan authorities began to make difficulties about further progress, pointing out "that this was a road by which pilgrims to Mansarowar seldom came; that we were armed; that we had many people; that report said that we were either Gorkhalis or Firingis come with designs inimical to the Undes; and that measures had been taken accordingly." (Undes, or Hundes, was the name applied to Tibet by the travellers.) The disguise as Gosains had, then, not been altogether successful, as might have been anticipated, and nothing but the great tact, patience, and courage shown by the travellers enabled them to complete their journey to the sacred lake. The Tibetans have from time immemorial shown the greatest aversion to any visits by Europeans from India, while the hill states of Kumaon and Garhwal were at this time in the hands of the Nepalese, whose policy was most hostile to the English. The Gurkha war, which broke out two years later, was in fact already brewing. Moorcroft and Hearsey explained to the headman of Niti that "for pious and humane reasons we wished to visit the Lake of Mansarowar; that

for defraying our expenses we had brought certain articles from our country for sale; that we had for our own defence certain arms which we were willing to leave in his keeping during our stay in the Undes."

This declaration seemed to give satisfaction, but the travellers were requested to await for a period of fifteen days until the reply of the Tibetan rulers of that province could be received.

After many days of fruitless and wearisome negotiations, it at length became clear that the delay was entirely caused by the headmen of the Niti villages themselves, the authorities on the Tibetan side of the pass having no means of stopping the travellers if the Niti headmen chose to introduce them to their northern neighbours. The sacrifice of a bottle of brandy, "made into punch and well sweetened," was not without effect in a heated debate which took place on June 23, but the ascent of the pass did not finally take place until the last day of the month.

Travelling slowly and gradually, establishing friendly relations with the chiefs and priests of the province, Moorcroft and Hearsey reached the town of Daba (some twenty miles over the border) on July 3. They had experienced considerable difficulty in traversing the Niti Pass, the road being of the roughest description.

They describe Daba as "perched upon the top of a rock which juts out towards the river with

an irregular declivity, and surmounted by the highest eminence in the whole line which defends it from the north-west." They add that at Daba they found a few cultivated fields, which were the first that they had found in Tibet. The river referred to is the Tiltil, a tributary of the Sutlej.

There were three persons of importance at Daba —styled by Moorcroft the Lama, the Wazir, and the Deba, or head zemindar.[1] The wazir was absent on business towards Mansarowar, and his son represented him. Hyder Hearsey's notes, which are more plain-spoken than Mr Moorcroft's narrative, run as follows:—

"After breakfast this day (July 4) Umar Singh sent word to us to come and pay our respects to the wazir's son, in council assembled with the lama and the son of the deba. We proceeded about nine o'clock, attended by the pundit and three or four other servants, carrying the presents for these people. The presents consisted of three yards of superfine scarlet broadcloth, some sugar and spice, all arranged on a brass plate. We first entered a gate over against which was fastened a very large and handsome dog — something of the Newfoundland breed. The entrance stunk very much of him.

[1] It appears that the terms "wazir" and "deba" were incorrectly used, the former not being a Tibetan word, while *deba* is merely a respectful suffix.

"We then had to stoop to enter another door—filthy enough, stench abominable. We then proceeded up a few steps of earth and stones, all broken. We turned to the right and entered a small ante-chamber, to the right of which was the women's room. A greasy, filthy purdah was then lifted up and we entered the parlour. Here we found a clean mirzai or poor woollen carpet spread for us in the centre of the room. In front was a vacant seat, opposite to which our presents were placed. On the right sat the lama on a cushion; before him was placed a kind of tea-poy (three-legged table), on which were two wooden varnished plates painted and gilt. There was also a fire-pan. The old gentleman appeared about seventy years old, had a shrewd countenance, said very little, and eyed us all the time. He was dressed in a coarse woollen red garment—the manufacture of the country—greasy and dirty in the extreme. This was the bishop of this see.

"He had another priest sitting to his right, more black, more filthy, and more ugly than himself. Opposite to me sat the son of the deba, a dark but sensible, though rather heavy-looking person, aged about twenty-nine or thirty. He had a paper in his hand at our entrance, as if in the act of writing. He was seated on a leather cushion stuffed with wool, over which was a carpet; before him was a sort of small table on which were two of the wooden plates before

mentioned, a china cup, an inkstand, a wooden pen, and a knife. To his right lay a long silver pipe. He was dressed in a red-, blue-, green-, and yellow-striped woollen gown."

It appeared that the paper was a letter to the commander of Gortope (or Gartok),[1] a neighbouring seat of government, explaining that Moorcroft and Hearsey really were harmless pilgrims, and not the dreaded Firingis, and requesting that they might be permitted to proceed to Lake Mansarowar. Suspicions were again aroused on the following day by the discovery that Hearsey wore half-boots of an English pattern—a curious slip on his part, which his fellow-traveller records with obvious relish, adding that he himself had taken the precaution of having turned-up toes added to his own shoes.

On July 8 an answer to the deba's letter was received from Gortope, which was conveyed to the travellers on the following day. It was to the effect that the governor had been informed three years previously that some Europeans were about to come into the country. He therefore desired to see the travellers.

Moorcroft and Hearsey accordingly set out from Daba on July 12, and after a six days' march reached Gortope, which they found to be a large

[1] Gartok has quite recently been visited by Captain Ryder, R.E., a member of Sir Francis Younghusband's Tibet Mission.

encampment of blanket tents in clusters. The deba, however, had a small house, surrounded by a fence about four feet high, and to this residence the travellers were at once summoned. The interview was a long one, and the council, similarly composed to that at Daba, was at first distrustful, but the travellers were at length enabled to allay all suspicion as to their being Europeans.

On the following day, July 18, trade relations were established, and the Kashmirian vakil, or agent, of the Raja of Ladak, who was at Gortope, expressed a desire to open a commerce with Hindustan.

By July 22 Mr Moorcroft was on friendly terms with the deba, who, when asked what articles he would like brought up for him from India, said that "a sword and a necklace of large pearls of a rose colour, pear-shape, and free from flaws or irregularities, would be most acceptable." Evidently an enlightened man, the deba, and a shrewd man of business too, for Mr Moorcroft adds that he gave a sketch of the necklace which he desired, which in Moorcroft's opinion would cost about two thousand rupees, but the price of which the deba estimated at three or four hundred. The deba then gave the travellers leave to visit Mansarowar, but ordered them to confine themselves strictly to the usual pilgrim road, and to return by the Niti Pass.

It is worth mentioning that Hearsey was in-

formed by the vakil of the Raja of Ladak that the *Ooroos*, or Russians, had long been in the habit of trading with that country, and had, in the last three years, pushed a lively trade into Kashmir by means of agents. The Ooroos had not yet visited Ladak in person, but the déba of Daba asserted that caravans of five or six hundred of them, on horseback, had come to the fair of Gortope. In a later conversation the Ladak vakil said that a few Russians had been in Kashmir, and the statement regarding the numbers who had visited Ladak is hardly credible.

The travellers left Gortope on July 23, and on August 2 arrived at "the Lake of Rawanhrad, a large sheet of remarkably blue water, said . . . to communicate by a river with the lake Mansarowar." On August 5 they came in view of the latter holy lake, and on the following day halted on its banks. The travellers remained for two days exploring the shores of the lake. Mr Moorcroft describes Mansarowar in the following terms: "In form it appeared to be oblong, the sides of the east, west, and south nearly straight; that of the north, and especially to the north-east, where there is a plain at the foot of elevated land, indented and irregularly tending to the east. The angles were not sharp, or its figure would have approached nearer to a square than to any other; but it may be considered as an irregular oval. Its breadth from south to north I estimate

at about 11 miles, its length about 15. The water, except where disturbed by the wind near the beach, where it is sandy, is clear and well tasted. No weeds are observable on its surface, but grass is thrown upon its banks from the bottom. The middle and sides farthest from the spectator reflect green, and, taken altogether, it has a noble appearance, whether in an agitated or a quiet state." Mr Moorcroft discovered a number of caves, inhabited by religious recluses, and mentions that one of the nuns, struck by pity, no doubt, at his haggard and worn appearance, offered him hospitality, but "with the most cordial salutation and expression of thanks by dumb show" he took his leave and went on with his survey. Mr Hearsey, meanwhile, cut Moorcroft's name and his own on a stone, and left it in a secure place—an excusable act under the circumstances. The religious community mentioned by Moorcroft still inhabits the shores of Mansarowar.

The return journey was begun on August 8, and on the 22nd the party again reached Daba, where the children received them as old friends. The travellers had some difficulty in obtaining transport to carry them back over the mountains, but eventually left Daba on August 26, and by September 3, after an arduous journey, were delighted to see trees once again. Their worst troubles were, however, to come, for after an

interesting march through the hill country, during which they resumed their European dress, the travellers were arrested by the Gurkha rulers of Kumaon.

On October 9th, Banda Thapa, a chief who had communicated by letter with the travellers four days previously, met them by appointment at Chandpur. Banda Thapa, "a stout old man of seventy, and altogether not superior in his appearance to one of the zemindars of Ghazipur,"[1] inquired why Messrs Moorcroft and Hearsey were travelling through Gurkha territory, and particularly why they had disguised themselves. The travellers replied that it was the custom for travellers to disguise themselves, and that by no other means could they have entered Tibet. They asked if any complaint had been made as to their conduct, and on receiving satisfactory assurance on that head, pointed out that hundreds of Nepalese were allowed to travel at their pleasure through the Company's territories.

Banda Thapa took his leave, apparently satisfied, but on October 15th the travellers were finally arrested and placed under a military guard. They were informed that the local authorities were in consultation as to what should be done with them, and it transpired later that their arrest was in fact ordered by letter from Khatmandu, the Nepalese capital. Moorcroft, who was armed at the moment

[1] Moorcroft's residence in India.

of arrest, was treated with great violence, and his arms were pinioned. Hearsey was held by several men, but not bound. The pundits and other followers of the party were shackled to wooden blocks. Moorcroft acted with great courage and firmness, and after a time secured his own release and that of his servants.

Hyder Hearsey writes with great indignation of the manner in which he and Moorcroft were treated, but as the Gurkhas had been ordered by their rulers to arrest the party, who obviously declined to stop when requested to do so, it is hard to see how violence could have been altogether avoided. After various communications with Bam Sah, the Gurkha governor of the Almora district, and Amar Singh, the commander-in-chief of the Gurkha army, Moorcroft and Hearsey were released on November 1st. The pundits, however, still remained in irons until November 5th, when a letter arrived from the Maharaja of Nepal, directing that the whole party should be set at liberty and escorted into British territory.

So ended this adventurous journey, the first occasion on which English travellers from India traversed the Himalaya mountains into Western Tibet, and visited the sacred lake of Mansarowar, the great plain between the Himalayas and the Kuen-lun mountains, and the upper waters of the river Sutlej.

Gholam Hyder Khan, the faithful attendant

who shared the dangerous journey of Moorcroft and Hyder Hearsey to Lake Mansarowar, also accompanied Moorcroft in his last journey to Balkh and Bokhara in the years 1819-1825. It will be remembered that this journey ended in the death of Moorcroft and his European companions, Trebeck and Guthrie, together with nearly all their Indian servants. Gholam Hyder Khan, however, escaped and returned to India, bearing with him a journal of his route. From this journal and from Gholam Hyder Khan's accurate memory of what befell the travellers, Major Hearsey compiled an interesting account of Moorcroft's last journey, which appeared in the 18th volume of the 'London Asiatic Journal.'

In his notes to Gholam Hyder Khan's journal, which are very voluminous, Hyder Hearsey states that Mr Moorcroft had wished Hearsey to accompany him in his second journey, but that the project fell through on account of a difference of opinion as to the best route to follow. Major Hearsey wished to go first to Bombay, and thence *viâ* Bushire in the Persian Gulf, through Yezd and Meshed to Bokhara. This was to be the starting-place for various trading parties, which were to proceed to India by different routes in order to test the facilities and advantages of each. Hearsey himself was to remain as agent with the Amir of Bokhara, and Mr Trebeck as commercial agent in Persia. Major Hearsey states that his plan would

have been adopted by the Indian Government, but that Moorcroft unfortunately rejected it. He writes: "This was the most feasible plan, and would have been sanctioned by the Government, and a new channel opened by which an immense trade for goods of English and Indian manufacture would have found their way into the heart of Tartary, and India would have been furnished with a strong breed of horses for their cavalry and horse artillery at about half the value they are now obliged to pay for a poor set of brutes.

"Meer Ameer Hyder, the King of Bokhara, through my assistance and that of a few officers, could have put his artillery and army upon a better footing, so as to enable it to oppose those hordes of Usbecks and Calmucks who might be impelled by Russia to attack him whenever she had an intention of invading India; and by entering into terms of amity with him, a vast trade in European articles would have been carried on, to the benefit of Persia and Bokhara, and the military establishments of those nations put upon a footing to encounter any inroads of their northern neighbour."

Most of these ambitious designs of forming buffer states between Russia and India have fallen to the ground. Bokhara has long formed part of the Russian Empire, Persia and Afghanistan alone remain, and the problem of maintaining their independent existence is perhaps the most

pressing of the many hard tasks which time has imposed on our statesmen. Students of history may amuse themselves by imaginings as to what might have been, had our undecided policy in Central Asia been converted from an early period into determined efforts to establish friendly political and commercial relations with Persia, Afghanistan, Bokhara, and the other independent Mohammedan principalities which formerly encircled the northern borders of India. As it was, Hyder Hearsey remained in India, and Moorcroft, with his young and inexperienced companions, died obscure deaths, victims to "the great game of Central Asia."

During the year 1813 the constantly increasing aggressions of the Gurkhas became unendurable, and in May 1814 it was seen that war was inevitable, and an army was ordered to take the field in the autumn. Lord Moira, afterwards Marquess of Hastings, the Governor-General, decided to make use of an adequate force, and over 30,000 men were collected near the frontier, and formed into four divisions. The First Division, under Major-General David Ochterlony, was intended to attack the western extremity of the Nepal frontier. The Second Division, commanded by Major-General Robert Rollo Gillespie, was to occupy Dehra Dun and besiege the fortified Gurkha post of Jaithak. The Third Division, under Major-General John Sulivan Wood, was ordered

to march from Gorakhpur through Bhutwal and Sheoraj to Palpa; and the Fourth Division, which was the strongest, and was commanded by Major-General Bennet Marley, was to march through Makwanpur to Khatmandu, the Gurkha capital.

To cut a long and humiliating story short, it may suffice to say that the Second Division was the first to move, and met with a succession of disasters. General Gillespie himself, a gallant and impetuous soldier, who had highly distinguished himself at Vellore and in Java, was killed in an assault on the small post at Kalanga, five miles from Dehra, at the very outset of the campaign. Gillespie was succeeded in command of his division by Major-General Martindell, who was defeated at Jaithak in December 1814, and brought to a standstill.

General Ochterlony, with the First Division, showed more caution than Gillespie, but his progress was unexpectedly slow. Eventually Ochterlony, after six months of arduous fighting in the mountain region where Simla now stands, reached a position whence he could so effectually co-operate with the motionless Second Division as to compel Amar Singh Thapa, the Gurkha Commander-in-Chief in the western districts, to capitulate.

Amar Singh had made a most gallant defence against a force of more than double his own strength, but it must be remembered that the

country was extremely favourable to the force acting on the defensive, and that this was the Indian army's first experience of mountain warfare. Ochterlony's success in some degree made good Gillespie's failure. But worse was to come. The Third Division assembled at Gorakhpur in November 1814, but did not advance for two months. After making a very short advance, and suffering very slight losses, General J. S. Wood declared his force to be inadequate to the task assigned to it, and, early in May 1815, withdrew into cantonments at Gorakhpur. Seldom has a British force attempted and achieved so little.

The Fourth Division was scarcely more successful, although General Marley found the way prepared for him by the vigorous action of Major Bradshaw, the officer commanding on the Saran border.

As will be seen in the autobiography of Sir John Hearsey, who shared in Bradshaw's exploits, the latter had cleared the frontier of the Terai, and had established a chain of defensive posts. General Marley neglected to strengthen these posts, which were consequently surprised by the Gurkhas. Marley, who had previously prepared to advance into the hills, now lost heart, and finally (on the 10th of February 1815) took the deplorable step of abandoning his division.

Major-General George Wood was sent up from

Calcutta to assume command of the Fourth Division, but contented himself with making a futile demonstration along the frontier. "Thus, of the four operations included in the plan of campaign, three had proved lamentable failures, which not only frustrated the intentions of the Government but also to a considerable extent lowered the English name and prestige throughout India."[1]

Finding that his four divisions were making but little progress towards Khatmandu, and that it would be necessary to recast his plans, Lord Moira decided in December 1814 to make a diversion by attacking the province of Kumaon, which was believed to be weakly held by the Gurkhas. This diversion was to be attempted by two small bodies of irregulars, commanded by Hyder Hearsey and his brother-in-law, Lieutenant-Colonel William Gardner. Both Gardner and Hearsey were placed under the political control of a cousin of the former, the Honourable Edward Gardner, an Indian civilian who was now appointed Commissioner of Kumaon. Having regard to the generous character of the Governor-General, it may fairly be assumed that this rash, indeed desperate, enterprise was suggested by Gardner and Hearsey themselves. They were both absolutely fearless men, and Hearsey had been led by his observations in Kumaon and Garhwal during his journeys

[1] Cardew's Sketch of the Services of the Bengal Native Army. Calcutta: 1903.

in 1808 and 1812 to form an unduly low estimate of the fighting powers of the Gurkhas. For this error of judgment he was now to suffer.

Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner at this time commanded a body of mounted Frontier Police, which to-day form a regiment of Indian cavalry, and preserve the name of Gardner in their title, "2nd Lancers (Gardner's Horse)." Gardner was directed to raise 3000 men at Kashipur in the Moradabad district, and Hearsey to raise 1500 Rohillas at Bareilly and Philibhit, in which region he had much property and influence.

The plan of campaign was for Gardner to advance into Kumaon by way of the Kosi Valley, while Hearsey was to move from Philibhit up the Kali river and to enter the district of Kali Kumaon by the Timla Pass, and Lord Moira thus proposed to divide the two theatres of war, that on the Sutlej and that near the Gandak rivers. The projected invasion of Kumaon, if successful, would cut off Amar Singh, who was fighting Ochterlony on the Sutlej, from his only line of retreat.

Hearsey speedily raised his 1500 men, but the Bareilly Rohillas bore no very high reputation, and the time allotted for preparing the small force for the field was all too short. The raising of Hearsey's contingent took one month; less than a month was given to training; in the third month of its existence the contingent was actively engaged with the Gurkhas; and on the last day of that

month its career came to an abrupt end. The course of events was as follows: In the middle of February 1815 Hyder Hearsey advanced from Philibhit, thus entering Kumaon from the east, and on the 18th February he captured two forts which blocked his road to the Timla Pass. He continued his advance successfully, and on the last day of the month he occupied Champawat, the ancient capital of Kali Kumaon, and drove the Gurkhas across the Kali and so cleared them out of that province. His next intention was to advance on Almora in order to combine with Colonel Gardner, who was making for that place, then the Gurkha capital of Kumaon.

Now, however, the inadequacy of Hearsey's force made itself felt. He had no guns and no more ammunition for his infantry than his men had been able to carry, in addition to seven days' rations and their baggage. Worst of all, he was compelled to divide his force, for it was necessary for him to guard his flank by holding the line of the Kali river.

Hearsey detached 500 men under Lieutenant Martindell, his only European officer, to surround the fort of Kutulgarh, which was held by 400 Gurkhas; with 300 men he formed a chain of small posts to guard his line of supplies from Philibhit; 300 men held the line of the Kali river; and deducting sick and wounded there only remained about 300 effective men with

Hearsey at Champawat, at which place he was forming a depot of supplies for a further advance. So passed the month of March.

Gardner, it may here be stated, had advanced by way of Ranikhet, moving over very difficult ground, but avoiding the positions fortified by the Gurkhas in his direct line to Almora. At Ranikhet he was reinforced by 850 men on the 22nd March, and then advanced on Almora and took up a position facing that stronghold.

Hyder Hearsey was now all anxiety to join Gardner, but on the 31st March he received intelligence that 500 Gurkhas had forced the Kali at a point some fourteen miles from Champawat. He at once made a night march, with only 270 men, and attacked the Gurkhas in the early morning of the 1st of April. At first Hearsey and his small party held their own, and he lost no time in sending orders to Martindell at Kutulgarh to come to his assistance.

Before Martindell could come up, however, at about three in the afternoon, 1500 more Gurkhas, under Hasti Dal Chautariya and a Sirdar named Jeyroka, crossed the river and attacked Hearsey.

Early in the fight which followed Hearsey was severely wounded in the thigh; one of the Cambay princes (his brother-in-law) was killed, and Gholam Hyder Khan, his old follower from Mewat, was also wounded. The Rohillas, seeing their officers fall and fearing annihilation, now broke and fled.

The Gurkhas then advanced, and, according to their custom, beheaded the dead and wounded. When, however, they were about to kill Hyder Hearsey, he was fortunately recognised by Hasti Dal, who saved his life and took him as a prisoner to Almora, and there treated him like a brother in gratitude for what Hearsey had done for him previously.

The second Cambay nawab escaped, it is said, by sitting on his shield and sliding down a precipitous slope; and Gholam Hyder Khan, who was wounded by an arrow through both thighs, also got away.

Hyder Hearsey remained a prisoner in Almora until the 27th of April 1815, when that fortress surrendered. Colonel Gardner had been unable to capture it, but had been reinforced by a considerable body of troops under Colonel Nicolls, who assumed command of the whole force and brought about the fall of Almora. In these operations the services of Colonel Gardner were conspicuous, and Hearsey also was employed by Hasti Dal as a negotiator and did useful service.

After the surrender of Almora and the termination of operations in Kumaon, Hyder Hearsey returned to Bareilly, when he was joined by the faithful Gholam Hyder, who soon recovered from his wounds. Hearsey was less fortunate. His wound was very severe, and owing to unskilful treatment and his captivity at Almora he never

thoroughly recovered from its effects, though he lived fifteen years after receiving it.

Early in 1816 there was a general spirit of discontent in the Bareilly district, the Rohillas resenting the irksome tranquillity to which they found themselves condemned by British rule. The magistrate of Bareilly, also, was very unpopular, owing to a reserved disposition and discourteous manners. A riot occurred on the 16th of April, and two days later 5000 Mohammedans from the neighbouring towns had flocked in and were in open rebellion.

The magistrate's available force consisted of 270 men of the 27th Native Infantry, 150 of the provincial battalion, and two guns, for which there was no officer. Hyder Hearsey at once volunteered to take charge of the guns and did good work with them.

On the 19th of April a regiment of irregular cavalry arrived, and reinforcements of infantry were also on the way to Bareilly. On the 21st the insurgents suddenly attacked the troops, hoping to overwhelm them before the infantry could arrive. The small party of the 27th Native Infantry was surrounded, but held out doggedly, and the cavalry, gallantly handled and led by Captain Cunningham, made a most effective charge. This charge, together with the fire of the infantry and of Hearsey's guns, dispersed the insurgents, who left between 300 and 400 dead

on the ground, with a large number of wounded and prisoners.

For this service Hyder Hearsey was thanked in "Governor-General's Orders," and was presented with a sword by the Government of India. He was also promoted to the rank of major in the Company's service.

Gholam Hyder Khan, who as usual was close to his master, was severely wounded in the head by a musket ball, which was never extracted. In spite of this dangerous wound he, at Hyder Hearsey's request, attended Mr Moorcroft in his last journey, remaining away from his family for a period of seven years and nine months, and undergoing great hardships.

After the death of Moorcroft and his European companions, Gholam Hyder found his way back to India, where he finally rejoined Hyder Hearsey, and passed the remainder of his life under Hearsey's protection.

In the year 1820 Hyder Hearsey, together with his kinsman John Bennet Hearsey, witnessed a dreadful accident which occurred at Hurdwar on the Ganges during the great annual fair and pilgrimage. He describes the occurrence in the following words:—

"The stone steps leading down to the bathing-place being very precipitous, broad at top and narrow below, the multitude, striving who should get first to bathe at the propitious moment, made

a sudden rush and swept down the Gurkha guard; and above three hundred and seventy men and women, beside the guard, were jammed together, quite entangled in a most extraordinary manner, and died a most horrible lingering death. Being dark, the multitude still went over the heads and bodies of those who had first fallen, impelled by the crowds following them. At break of day I was present, and beheld a shocking sight. I strove to drag out many that were alive and below, and their bodies nearly immersed in water; but it was impossible, and the dead bodies had first to be dragged away from the top. By 9 or 10 A.M. the fermentation from the heat and moisture was so very great that those few who were extracted alive were covered with blisters, and but few of them lived. The greatest number who perished were Bairagis and Gossains, who, wearing long hair, were seized by others below them, and this extraordinary entanglement took place. There were also a few very fair Sikh women amongst the killed."

Major Hearsey represented the cause of the accident, and the Marquis of Hastings at once ordered a broad and safe bathing-place to be made, since which there have been no more accidents.

After the disturbances at Bareilly a period of nearly unbroken peace commenced in Upper India. The Burmese War of 1824, however, proved a

somewhat difficult task for the Indian army; and an incipient mutiny which took place during the same year at Barrackpore created an impression among some of the Indian princes that British power was on the wane.

Unfortunately for himself Durjan Sal, a cousin of the young Raja of Bhurtpore, acted on this belief and raised the standard of revolt, deposing his youthful chief and seizing the throne. Sir David Ochterlony, now Resident at Delhi, prepared, on his own initiative, to deal with this rising, but was harshly checked by Lord Amherst, the Governor-General. This humiliation caused the death of Sir David, whose honourable career ended within two months of the public reversal of his action. Ochterlony's intended policy was however immediately justified, for Sir Charles Metcalfe, his successor, so strongly urged on Lord Amherst the necessity of crushing the rebellion of Durjan Sal, that the Governor-General presently assembled an army of 21,000 men under Lord Combermere, the Commander-in-Chief in India.

Bhurtpore, which had successfully defied the assaults of Lord Lake in 1805, quickly fell before this overwhelming force. The garrison are said to have lost no less than 8000 men in the assault, which took place on the 18th of January 1826, while the British casualties amounted to about 1500 killed and wounded during the siege and assault.

Bhurtpore was Hyder Hearsey's last campaign. The old warrior promptly emerged from his retirement, forgetting his wounds and any grievance which he might justifiably have entertained towards the Indian Government. Enough for him that an English army was in the field. After the fall of Bhurtpore Hearsey was elected by the officers of the army to represent their interests as Assistant Prize Agent, and they could have paid him no higher compliment.

This duty accomplished, Hyder Hearsey returned to his home at Kareli, where he lived in great state and happiness until his death in the year 1840.

By his wife, the Princess of Cambay, who survived him about ten years, Hyder Hearsey left two sons, whose services will be mentioned elsewhere, and a daughter, who married her kinsman, General Sir John Hearsey.

After Hyder Hearsey's death the Princess managed his estates, and was much loved by the people. She was buried in a walled enclosure in the garden of Kareli, and the enclosure is still tended by the villagers, who on certain days place flowers upon her tomb and lights in the niches of the surrounding walls. In the vicinity of her father's house in Phuleilganj, near the gate of the Taj at Agra, she had a well dug, over which there is a tablet, but the house itself is now in ruins.

Hyder Hearsey had three sisters, who, after the custom of their family, all married soldiers, their husbands being respectively General Sir William Richards, K.C.B.; Major J. O. Clarkson, 21st Bengal Infantry; and Major Arthur Owen, 26th Bengal Infantry.[1]

THE FAMILY OF MAJOR HYDER YOUNG HEARSEY.

The eldest son of Major Hyder Hearsey and Princess Zuhur-ul-Nissa was named William Moorcroft, in honour of the unfortunate explorer who accompanied Hyder Hearsey to Lake Mansarowar in the year 1812.

William Moorcroft Hearsey entered the King of Oudh's service in 1836, and was constantly employed in field service against various Rajas and Zemindars who declined to pay their contributions to the Lucknow treasury. It was by means of these punitive expeditions that the revenues of Oudh were collected; and the result of such a system on the unhappy population may advantageously be studied in the pages of Sir William Sleeman's 'Tour through Oudh' by those who believe that native states are better off under their own rulers than under the British Government.

[1] Anglo-Indian Worthies. By Herbert A. Stark and E. Walter Madge.

The European officers who served the kings of Oudh were, as a rule, of a very low class; but it is acknowledged that Captain Hearsey and his brothers were men of high character, who held aloof from the foreign adventurers who brought so much discredit on the Oudh service. During one of the many miniature campaigns in the Sultanpur district, Captain Hearsey was wounded at the reduction of the Fort of Ramghur. This incident occurred in the year 1845.

After the annexation of Oudh, Hearsey was employed in the suppression of Thuggee and other forms of highway robbery and murder in the Oudh Terai, a district where his family influence was very strong; and in the year 1852 he was appointed to raise and command the Oudh Frontier Police. With this force Captain Hearsey did excellent service against the organised bands of robbers who infested the Terai in common with other parts of Oudh. The Terai was a region peculiarly suitable to these marauders, who could find secure shelter from any ordinary pursuer in its recesses; but in Hearsey they had an enemy whose knowledge of the jungle was as intimate as their own, and who had sources of information that were denied to any ordinary English officer. Thanks to these advantages, Hearsey hunted down evil-doers with great success, among the robber chiefs captured by him being Makram Singh and Abdul Singh, two of the principal Dakoit leaders.

It is stated that Captain Hearsey was offered Makram Singh's weight in gold if he would wink at his escape.

On the commencement of the Mutiny in Oudh Captain William Hearsey was appointed to the Intelligence Department by Sir Henry Lawrence, and was one of those who were opposed to the unfortunate expedition to Chinhut which Sir Henry is generally believed to have sanctioned contrary to his own better judgment. William Hearsey was present in this disastrous affair, and served throughout the subsequent defence of the Residence at Lucknow as commander of No. 2 Sikh Square. Captain Hearsey was again wounded towards the end of the siege while endeavouring to reach Sir Colin Campbell's force in disguise in order to lead them to the Residency. This task, as is well known, was then successfully undertaken by Mr William Kavanagh, a civilian, who received the Victoria Cross for his courage and devotion.

During Sir Colin Campbell's later operations at Lucknow Captain Hearsey served as Intelligence Officer to Sir James Outram, with whom he had remained during Sir James's occupation of the Alam Bagh position. Captain Hearsey subsequently served with General Colin Troup's column in the pursuit of Ferozeshah, and in the suppression of the rebellion in the Sitapur and Lakhimpur districts.

Captain William Hearsey was the father of

Mr Lionel D. Hearsey, the present owner of the estates of Major Hyder Hearsey.

The second son of Major Hyder Hearsey was named John Bennet, after his brother-in-law the General. Like his elder brother, John Hearsey entered the King of Oudh's service in the year 1836, and served, prior to the annexation, in the local service, which, as has been explained, amounted practically to the forcible collection of revenue.

On the outbreak of the Mutiny, Captain John Hearsey was stationed at Sitapur—a station in Oudh where almost all the Europeans were murdered. The narrative of Captain Hearsey's experiences, compiled by him for the information of the Government, is given in full. It need hardly be pointed out that Hearsey owed his escape partly to his indomitable courage and partly to his local knowledge and influence, and his power of successfully assuming native disguises.

FROM CAPTAIN J. B. HEARSEY,
OUDH MILITARY POLICE,
TO CAPTAIN G. HUTCHISON,
MILITARY SECRETARY TO CHIEF
COMMISSIONER OF OUDH.

LUCKNOW, 22*nd June* 1858.

SIR,—I beg leave to submit, for the information of the Chief Commissioner, a brief narrative of the events which transpired at Seetapore, and came

under my immediate notice, during the late outbreak of the troops on the 4th June 1857, particulars of which I had forwarded to the late Major-General Sir Henry Lawrence, K.C.B., some days after the occurrence; but I am not aware if the document ever reached its destination. Before proceeding with the detail, I must not fail to premise that, having lost my diary and other valuable papers in the attack made on our party by the followers of the Dhouraira Rance on the banks of the Mohan river, I am unable to conform to exact dates, consequently this statement has been written entirely from memory. To account for my absence from the headquarters of my regiment for such a lengthened period, I am obliged to revert to the 12th of December 1856, when I received instructions from Mr Jackson, the Chief Commissioner, to join him at Mullaon, in order to accompany him in his tour through the Oudh provinces. I remained with him till his return to Byramghat, *en route* to Lucknow. This was about the 11th of February 1857.

Information having been received that Fazul Ali, a noted dacoit, under the administration of the late Oudh Government, and who had taken refuge since the annexation on the frontiers of the Nepaul Turraee, had attacked and cut up two of our outposts near the borders of the forests, I was directed by the Chief Commissioner to proceed forthwith and join Major Daly, C.B., and the

late Mr C. Boileau, Deputy Commissioner of Gonda, and in concert with these officers to adopt measures for the apprehension of this noted outlaw. Some time after this Major Daly, C.B., having obtained command of the Guides, left Oudh, and was succeeded by Captain G. W. Boileau, of the 2nd Oudh Local Infantry, in command of the troops employed on the frontiers.

About the beginning of May, Fazul Ali, his brother Cassim Ali, and two other leaders being killed in an attack made on the outlaws in the Deaokhur Valley in Nepaul, I received permission to return and join the headquarters of my regiment at Seetapore, but, previous to doing so, I was directed by the late Major-General Sir H. Lawrence, K.C.B., through Captain Boileau, to explore the first range of the Nepaul hills, opposite the Pudnaha district, in the Oudh Turraee, and find out some suitable place for a sanitarium. Full particulars of the locality and observations on the climate and temperature made during my stay at Dhooleekote and Rajkanra hills I forwarded to the Chief Commissioner from Nanpara, copies of which, I regret to say, were lost with my diary.

After an absence of upwards of five months, I returned to Seetapore on the 30th of May 1857, where I was informed by the late Mr Christian, Commissioner of that division, of the unsound state of the 41st N.I. In the evening of the

same day I met several officers belonging to that regiment, amongst the number the late Colonel Birch, commanding. I mentioned the circumstance to him, and he appeared much vexed at the aspersion cast on the corps.

The 10th Oudh Irregular Infantry being supposed to be perfectly loyal, had been removed from their lines and encamped close to the late Mr Christian's compound ditch. The 9th Oudh Irregular Infantry, 41st Regiment N.I., and the wing of the 15th Irregular Cavalry remained occupying their quarters. My detachment of about 250 Military Police, including those on duty, two days after my return were placed in Captain Barlow's house and compound, previous to which they were in a tope of mangoe trees close to the treasury.

Three or four anonymous letters written in the Hindee character were brought by some men of the 10th Oudh Irregular Infantry, stating it was the intention of the 41st N.I. and the 9th Oudh Irregular Infantry to make a simultaneous rise and murder all the European and Christian community in the station, but no date was fixed for the intended massacre. One sepoy, I believe, was promoted to havildar for his exemplary conduct in apprising his commanding officer of the existence of these machinations.

About the 2nd of June 1857 I received pay for the month of May, and which I disbursed to all

those that were present at Seetapore, depositing the remainder in the quarter guard, as the late Mr Christian had informed me that he had directed the detachments of the 2nd Military Police from Mohumdee, Mullaon, and the neighbouring districts to join the headquarters of their regiment. I am particular in mentioning these circumstances, as all communications had ceased to exist, consequently I was unable to forward the muster-rolls and pay-abstracts to the civil auditor for that month.

On the morning of the 4th of June, memorable for the fearful tragedy, I met the late Mr Christian at Captain Lester's quarters; he had come in to say that Major Apthorp of the 41st N.I. had just informed him his regiment was on the point of breaking out into open mutiny, but *that he*, the late Mr Christian, was going to see the officer commanding, who had that morning returned from Peernugur with the right wing, and ascertain the facts. On his return he told us that the colonel still thought his corps perfectly loyal, and had assured him there was no danger; however, to guard against surprise, he directed the late Captains Lester and Dorin, as also myself, to take every precautionary measure. He directed me to increase the strength of the guard at his house, where all the ladies and children had taken refuge. I accordingly sent a strong party of the military police, and some twenty najeebe soldiers,

men from the new levies that I was raising in conformity to orders received from the Chief Commissioner on my arrival at Seetapore. An hour had scarcely elapsed when a man came in to inform us that four companies of the 41st N.I. had left their lines, and were on their way to plunder the treasury and release the prisoners from the jail. I instantly went back to the house where my men were quartered. Dividing them in two parties, I posted them in such positions as to command the two roads leading into the civil lines, and with a Soobadar and about forty men took up an advanced post near a tree some distance from the house. Shortly after I saw the late Mr Christian and Mr Thornhill ride up towards the treasury. They had not been away more than a minute when firing was heard in that direction. They cantered back to the place where I was standing and informed me that Colonel Birch and Lieutenant and Adjutant Graves had been shot by the mutineers of their regiment, and that we might presently expect an attack from them. Reports of musketry were heard in the lines of the 9th Oudh Irregular Infantry, and a sepoy of the military police came running breathless from there saying Captain Gowan and Dr Hill had been killed. This appears to have been a signal for a general rise of all the irregulars, inclusive of the wing of the 15th Cavalry and the military police, for I saw some men of the

latter going away to join the 9th Oudh Irregular Infantry, on which I begged of the late Mr Christian and Mr Thornhill to hurry home and get the ladies and children away, as *now* our only chance of safety was in flight across the river towards the belt of jungle which is intersected by ravines.

They immediately went to the house, but could scarce have had time to make any arrangements when I saw the 10th Oudh Irregular Infantry give a shout and charge into the compound. I left my post and was hastening towards the spot when Ruganath Singh Soobadar and six men seized and forcibly carried me away to the tree. Here I was detained; Serjeant-Major Rogers, his wife and son, arriving at this crisis, were also placed in custody. By this time some twenty-five other men came up and surrounded us. Almost all these, I beg to say, including the Soobadar, had belonged to my former regiment, the late 8th Oudh Irregular Infantry, but had been transferred to the military police after annexation.

The cruel work of carnage in the civil part of the station had been commenced by the 10th Oudh Irregular Infantry, but all others as they arrived in succession joined in the ruthless slaughter without exception or distinction. The din created by continued discharge of musketry for some time, the shouting of men, and general conflagration of the houses and buildings, baffles

all description; in fact the whole place appeared like pandemonium.

About 2 P.M. we were removed from under the tree to the late Captain Barlow's house, which had not been burnt till that time. Whilst there my kidmutgar came in and informed me that he had seen poor Miss Jackson and another lady concealed in a bush on the other side of the river. I instantly started up, but Soobadar Ruganath Singh and the men would not allow me to leave the house. However I earnestly begged, since their intentions appeared friendly, and to save my life, either to enable me to effect the rescue of these ladies or perish in the attempt, on which some men ran out in the direction pointed and in a very short time brought in Miss Jackson and Mrs Greene, the latter wife of Lieutenant Greene, second in command of the 9th Oudh Irregular Infantry.

Towards evening I obtained a covered cart called a Bhylee belonging to one of my servants; in this I put the two ladies, Serjeant-Major Rogers, his son and wife, and assuming a native disguise, accompanied by some of the men, I marched towards the camp of the mutinous troops, which was pitched on the parade ground and topes adjoining. Owing to the confusion which prevailed I succeeded in reaching the neighbourhood without detection, and put up under a tree near the military police.

This measure I was obliged to adopt by the advice of Soobadars Ruganath Singh and Madhoo Misser, who represented that any attempt on my part to escape at that critical moment would be fraught with imminent danger, as numberless parties of marauders from the regiments were out in pursuit of fugitives and plunder, and that I should wait till it was dark and that they would arrange about my departure.

The native officers of the 41st Native Infantry and the other regiments, notwithstanding the precaution above related, having by some means received information that my life had been spared, sent a deputation saying that "as *they* had murdered all their officers, it was imperatively necessary that the military police must either follow their example or deliver me up a prisoner to them." On this being refused, the mutineers, apprehensive of causing dissension at so early a period, directed that the point in dispute should be settled by punchait or arbitration of a certain number of native officers from each regiment at 9 P.M.

Soobadars Ruganath Singh and Madhoo Misser came and informed me of this circumstance, recommending an immediate departure, it being very near the time and the night perfectly dark. Before the assembling of the council I was enabled to leave. Placing the two ladies, Mrs Rogers,

and her son on my elephant, the serjeant-major and myself mounted on horseback. We left for the north about 9 P.M. Madhoo Misser, Soobadar, and fifteen men accompanied us as an escort. My arms, which had been taken away at the commencement of the massacre by Soobadar Ruganath and six men, were restored, but the rest of my property to a very considerable amount fell into the hands of the mutineers.

We travelled all night, and by sunrise arrived at the village of Oael. I was refused admittance into the fort by Raja Unrood Singh's people, but as the ladies were suffering much from fatigue and want of sleep I sent a man begging permission to be allowed to rest ourselves for a couple of hours only; even this request, though trifling enough, was also denied. With much difficulty I obtained two of his followers in order to secure us a safe passage through his district. Accompanied by these (the Soobadar and men having left us here) we pushed on towards the north and reached a small fort near the Chowka river late in the evening. After a night's rest we crossed over and marched to Baragawn. During the night the elephant broke loose and disappeared, in consequence of which accident I was obliged to halt for two or three days. Whilst at this place I received a letter from the late Mr H. Gonne, who had been informed of my flight, mentioning that

himself and Captain Hastings had been joined by Messrs Brand and Carew from Shajehanpore, and that they were going down to Calcutta. He wished me to meet him at Mullapore without delay, as he had boats in readiness for the trip.

A day previous to this I had written to Raj Annunt Singh, uncle to the Dhouraira Raja, who sent down his elephant, a native Palkee, and two Tats. These were found awaiting our arrival across the Oorra river, and we continued our march to Mutteeara village, the place of residence belonging to the Rajah. We remained here about ten hours, and in the evening, accompanied by Raj Annunt Singh, went down by the river Kowreeally and reached Mullapore next day, where we met the late Mr H. Gonne.

The party now consisted of eleven persons, as follows: Miss Jackson, Mrs Greene, Mrs Rogers, Mr H. Gonne, Captain Hastings, Mr Brand of Shajehanpore, Mr Carew of Shajehanpore, Serjeant-Major Rogers, 2nd Military Police; Mr Brown, writer in Mr Gonne's office; J. Sullivan, step-son of Serjeant-Major Rogers; and myself. Boats having been kept in readiness, we got on board during the night on our way to Calcutta. Arriving at Rampore on the second day we were kindly received by Thakoor Gooman Singh, who, after giving rest and refreshments in his place, informed us that a passage down by the river would be

very unsafe owing to the Ghats being narrowly watched by the mutineers. Mr Cunliffe and some others who were going on to Lucknow from Baraich had been murdered whilst crossing at Byramghat only the day previous. This disheartening news made us retrace our steps by land towards Mutteeara. On arrival Fuckerooddeen Khan, the Government agent, received us, and in the name of the Ranee and the young Rajah gave every assurance of safety and protection, telling the late Mr Gonne that on the approach of any danger we should have timely notice, and boats would be kept in readiness to send the party across into the jungles, where we would be perfectly safe from pursuit.

We remained at this place for nearly two months. At the end of that period, in the early part of August, about 300 men of Girdhara Singh's regiment arrived from Lucknow, sent by the rebels then surrounding the garrison in the Baily Guard [1] to take us in. For two days we remained armed and kept watch the whole night, refusing to go; but finding that Fuckerooddeen Khan and the Ranee would neither assist nor allow us to escape, we began to suspect treachery. At last, seeing no other alternative, and as a last resource, a sort of compromise was made with the leader of these mutineers. Bunda Hassan, of Tumbour, and the

[1] The Residency.

party, after nearly a week's delay, marched towards Lucknow. Fuckerooddeen Khan, with 400 men of the Ranee's, was also sent. On our second march from Mutteeara, Thakoor Dabee Singh, a respectable zemindar in the Dhouraira Rajah's service, came in the evening and confirmed our former suspicions, saying the Ranee and the Government agent had formed a collusion with Bunda Hassan and deliberately sold us to the rebels, and that the agreement signed by the latter allowing us to retain our arms would be violated on arrival at Esanuggur.

This alarming piece of intelligence put the party on their guard. We held a consultation, and flight was decided upon. Next evening, finding an opportunity, a few valuables were secured; amongst the number I carried my diary and some other papers. We placed the two ladies and the serjeant-major's wife on the late Mr Gonne's elephant, and mounting our horses, fled towards Khyreegurh, *en route* to Rajah Koolra' Singh's place, Kullooapore. Travelling all night, and till 2 P.M., the party reached Bunbeerpore, a village in Rajah Rundhooj Saha's district. Here we dismounted to have refreshments and give our jaded animals some rest. Whilst at meals several villagers came running in to give notice that about 300 men of Dhouraira sent in our pursuit by the Ranee were within a short distance. In-

stantly leaving the village and proceeding farther to the north we arrived on the banks of the Mohan river about an hour before sunset, but could not get the ferry-boat. The late Mr Gonne proposed going up the stream two miles to the west, where, he said, the Kowa Khairaghat might be found fordable. This also proved a failure owing to the river having risen much. In the midst of a dense high grass and tree jungle, drenched to the skin from the pouring rain since leaving Bunbeerpore, the position of the party, especially that of the poor ladies, was uncomfortable to an extreme degree. Whilst deliberating how to get across, suddenly a shout was raised. Our pursuers, under cover of the brushwood, had gained upon us. Fastening the horses in a neighbouring hollow we took up positions behind trees; presently the enemy opened a fire of matchlocks and commenced advancing, but very cautiously, as they knew we were all armed with good double-barrelled rifles. When within fifty yards I obtained a glimpse of the leader and fired; the shot took effect, which checked their further proceeding. Meanwhile the ladies who had continued mounted on the elephant, and Mr Carew with them, went off towards the west when the firing commenced. The rest of the party also retired; the late Captain Hastings and myself remained back to bring up the rear. We followed the tracks of the elephant

for a considerable distance, but from the nature of the ground and the approaching darkness the traces became more and more indistinct every moment, and the late Captain Hastings suggested: "It is more than probable that Mr Carew has taken the ladies to Rajah Rundhoodh Sahaee's place, for he always used to speak of him as a very great friend; therefore it was useless our following, as, owing to the cause above mentioned, we should never be able to overtake them, but very likely fall a prey to tigers or wild elephants." This made us decide upon taking shelter in a patch of grass on the banks of the river.

The horses and property left in the hollow were of course plundered when the enemy came up to the spot, as for safety's sake we were obliged to abandon all.

The late Captain Hastings and myself not being able to overtake either the elephant or the other members of the party, swam across the river about 8 P.M. and remained under a tree during the night. Next morning we pushed on towards the direction of Kullooapore. Barefooted, and with scarcely any clothing, we reached the village of Sonapatha about 4 P.M. in the afternoon. This place belongs to Raja Koolraj Singh of Pudnaha. His karenda or headman supplied us with food and gave the loan of two tats,[1] which enabled us

[1] Ponies.

to prosecute our journey. Here we met Mr Brand and Serjeant-Major Rogers; these also had swam the river in company with Mr Brown, the writer, but unfortunately before the latter could gain the shore an alligator pulled him in. Exhausted and footsore we reached Kullooapore late in the evening, where the late Mr Gonne joined us on the day following.

Having learnt from Serjeant-Major Rogers that the two ladies, Mr Carew, Mrs Rogers, and her son were still in the forest, we got Raja Koolraj Singh's uncle to send out parties in that direction. In the evening they came back after a fruitless search. Although disappointed in the first instance we halted for two days, sending out men well acquainted with every part of the jungle; but these also, I regret to observe, returned without gaining any satisfactory information. The Dhouraira Ranee's followers meanwhile, having learnt of our being at Kullooapore, came across the river and were within a mile of the place when intelligence was brought during the night. We fled towards the forest of Seeshapanee and remained concealed there for a couple of days. On the third a jemadar of Raja Koolraj Singh's took us to Bulchaura, and from thence to Dhooleekote in the Nepaul hills. From the effects of the deadly climate and recent sufferings the whole of the party, now reduced to five persons,

were laid up with jungle fever. The Raja showed every kindness and attention; he furnished us with clothes, food, and shelter; the latter, though merely a *grass hut*, was prized as the greatest comfort, for during the past week our only canopy had been the heavens, and this during the most inclement part of the season.

Some days after our arrival at Dhooleekote we heard a report about the ladies and the others that had got separated on the banks of the Mohan from the party, having fallen into the hands of the Dhouraira people and been taken back to Mutteeara, from whence they had been forwarded on to Lucknow. Further particulars regarding the facts of their fate we did not hear, nor had we the means to ascertain. The late Mr H. Gonne, after twelve days' sickness, died of the jungle fever at this place. For upwards of three months our party, now diminished to four, continued to reside on these hills, after which we came down to Bulchaura with the Raja and his family and lived in the Turraee. To avoid observation or inquisitive inquiries of the people belonging to the plains, our reed hut was constructed in a very remote part of the forest, far from any habitation. It is needless to mention our sufferings, both mental and physical, notwithstanding the Raja's kind attention during our stay in this unhealthy place,

where the late Captain Hastings died on the 28th of December 1857. About the latter end of this month the Raja received an order, signed by Shurood Doulah, saying that the durbar had received authentic information from the Ranee of Toolsheepore that he still gave protection to five Europeans in his district, and that he must either send them in or their heads without delay. Moreover, a letter which I had received from Mr Wingfield, Commissioner of Goorakpore, sent through the Raja of Bulrampore, made us decide upon leaving our retreat for that place, the road being now practicable through the Nepaul hills. Mr Brand and Sergeant-Major Rogers, being still weak from continued illness, were sent by the Raja to the nearest military post in Nepaul, called Dyluck, and from thence to be forwarded on by the authorities to Bootvul.

Being anxious to reach in time to accompany Jung Bahadoor's force into Lucknow, I made a short cut. Travelling along by the bed of the Bubbye, I managed to make to Seerreegoant, which is three marches from Sulleeana. On arrival a party of hill men just arrived informed me that the pass of Bootvul was blockaded by 20,000 rebels led by Gooroopershad of Nepaul, and that several relations of Jung Bahadoor, who were in command at Palpa and Peuthana, had been put in confinement by the Goorkha

regiments. This startling news was confirmed by the karenda of the Ranee of Seerreegoant, which induced me to return to Bulchoura.

Oudh and Rohilkund being still in possession of the rebels, I was unable to make my way direct to Lucknow; therefore, assuming the disguise of a native trooper in want of service, I marched towards Burrumbeao. Passing through a great portion of the Oudh Turrace, and undergoing many hardships, I ultimately reached the place in twelve days, where I met General Krishndooj of Nepaul. He received me most kindly and enabled me to proceed. On the 29th of January 1858 I arrived at Loohooghat, and from thence after a tedious journey across the hills, *viâ* Nynee Tal, Mussoory, Meerut, I reached Lucknow.

On the 12th of April 1858 I received instructions from the Chief Commissioner of Oudh to place myself immediately under the orders of Captain Bruce, Chief of Police, and on the day following, in conformity to further orders, was directed to accompany his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to Rohilkund. As head of the Intelligence Department I remained with him throughout the campaign. Accompanying is the copy of a letter, No. 1027, which I have the honour to append.

In conclusion, I beg leave to state I have re-

ceived three advances—viz., one at Loohooghat, one at Nynee Tal, and one at Lucknow, since leaving Seetapore, but have received neither compensation for the losses I have sustained nor my pay accounts settled from the 1st of June 1857. The pay abstracts and muster-rolls for the issue of the month of May 1857, as mentioned before, were all destroyed, together with the other regimental papers, by the mutineers on the day of the outbreak.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient Servant,

J. B. HEARSEY, *Captain*,
Commanding 6th Regiment Oudh Military Police.

On reaching Sir Colin Campbell's army, then attacking the city of Lucknow, John Hearsey was appointed to the Intelligence Department. He subsequently was appointed extra aide-de-camp to Sir Colin, and in that capacity was present at the capture of Shahjehanpur and Bareilly.

Major Hyder Hearsey had a third son, named Hyder, who also served the King of Oudh. Hyder Hearsey, the younger, was employed with his brothers until the annexation of Oudh, but he did not then take service with the Honour-

able East India Company, being at the time in bad health. He died before the Mutiny.

Major Hyder Young Hearsey had one daughter, Harriet, who married her kinsman, Lieutenant-General Sir John Hearsey, then Captain Hearsey, in the year 1832. Mrs Hearsey died in London in 1848, and is buried at Kensal Green.

CHAPTER II.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF SIR JOHN HEARSEY.

I WAS born at Midnapore, an infantry station in the Province of Orissa in Bengal, on the 21st of September 1793. My birth took place during night time under the following circumstances. At that time my father had a large Newfoundland dog, whose name was Ocean. He had round his neck a large and heavy collar with my father's name inscribed on it. This faithful creature used to sleep on a raised terrace on the eastern side of the house. The shade of the house in the afternoon made this terrace a pleasant place on which the family could enjoy the cool air of the evening, chairs being arranged for people to sit on and a carpet spread for the children to play upon. The terrace had a light wooden railing fixed round its edge. On the night and at the hour of my birth a fearful noise was heard from this terrace. My father, on proceeding to the verandah opposite, found that the Sepoy sentry had quitted his post and had sought shelter within

the east entrance-hall of the house, cringing behind the door. My father asked him what was the matter and what had caused the noise. The man replied that a tiger had sprung on the dog Ocean and was tearing him to pieces. My father seized the man's musket and rushed to the spot, where he saw the animals rolling on the ground and fighting with each other. There was light enough to distinguish them, and my father soon put an end to the contest by thrusting his bayonet through the heart of the supposed tiger, which proved on examination to be a large and powerful panther. This animal had attempted to seize the dog by the throat, but the strong collar had prevented its fangs meeting. The faithful dog had seized the panther, and in struggling with each other they came against the light railing round the terrace, which giving way, they both fell to the ground. In this position my father found them, and, as described above, put an end to the contest. Our poor dog Ocean was so torn by the panther's claws and fangs that he only survived a few days. Thus I came into the world during a scene of contention, predicting, I suppose, a life of danger and adventure.

At the time of my birth my father, Lieut.-Colonel Andrew Wilson Hearsey, commanded the "Gullasir Ka Pulton," or the 9th Native Infantry, stationed at Midnapore. He was ordered in 1795 to Chunar, and in 1797 again marched from that

place to Allahabad, where, as Lieut.-Colonel, he commanded the fort and station. At the age of three years I was sent to England with my youngest sister, who was two years older than myself. My father saw us on board ship, and then returned to Allahabad. We were consigned to the care of his mother and sister. My father died on the 10th of July 1798, at the age of forty-six, from the effects of an accident whilst riding an unbroken horse.

My sister and I had a long voyage to England, and on our arrival took up our residence with my grandmother and aunt at their house opposite the Old Manor House School for Boys in Kennington Lane, under the management of a Mr K——. When sent to that school I was not five years old. The year after my father's death my mother, his widow, embarked for England. My father left no money, having paid heavy sums to release a relation from the debtors' jail in Calcutta. This person had been ruined by his partner (an American), who absconded with all the property belonging to my father's relation. The consequence was that my mother was left with merely the money from the sale of his effects and from Lord Clive's Fund, her income amounting only to £80 a-year. His children, three daughters and myself, had the benefit of the Orphan Fund to educate us. My mother was nearly eight months on the voyage from Calcutta to England, the ship meeting with

very bad weather and being nearly lost. She soon settled in a house in the suburbs of London. She had all her children for a short period with her, and when the holidays were over we were again sent to school.

During the interval between my arrival in England and that of my mother I had been very harshly treated at Mr K——'s school, and had been made into a regular household drudge; nor had I received any kindness or protection from my grandmother and aunt. My mother's advent, however, put an end to all this, and I was then treated like the other boys. Such hard treatment is often the fate of children consigned to the care of relations, who only take charge of them for the sake of the money paid for their board and education! Perhaps the hardships I underwent did me a good turn, for I undeniably became very hardy.

Early in the year 1803 a Colonel Despard was tried for high treason, and, being found guilty, was sentenced to be hanged, drawn, and quartered at Horsemonger Lane Jail. I had a great wish, as most boys would have, to witness this execution, and stole away from the school for that purpose. I was there early, but was soon surrounded by a crowd, knocked and pushed about. I lost my cap, my clothes were all torn, and, with many bruises, I was thankful to find my way back to school.

In the course of this year my mother removed to Portman Place, Edgware Road, residing at No. 9 during the remainder of the time that I was in England. My education had been sadly neglected at Mr K——'s school, and, at the age of thirteen, I was taken home by my mother and was educated by private tutors. With these gentlemen I made great progress. In 1806 or 1807 my brother-in-law, my eldest sister's husband, became connected with one of the East India Directors, Mr C. C——, and procured for me a civil appointment in the Bengal Presidency. But as my mother could not afford to send me to be educated at the Civil College at Haileybury, she was obliged to decline the offer. Mr C. C—— then presented me with a cavalry cadetship, which was accepted; and in 1807 I embarked in the Honourable East India Company's ship *Sovereign*, and sailed with a fleet of seven vessels from Portsmouth to Calcutta on the 14th of April of that year. Our small fleet was convoyed by H.M. Frigate *Thetis*, commanded by Captain M——. We sighted the island of Madeira towards evening, I think on the eighth or ninth day after our departure from England. I had on board a chest containing books, clothes, &c., for my cousin, Ensign Bradshaw, H.M. 77th Regiment. The 77th formed part of the garrison of that island, which had been taken under the protection of the British to prevent its falling into the hands of the French.

As we passed the small rocky island it fell dark. Our captain wishing to get a few pipes of Madeira wine, our ship stood close to the Bay of Funchal, and I took this opportunity of sending the chest to my young cousin. The captain of the *Thetis* frigate had observed the near approach of our ship to the shore. He did not intend that any of us should touch at the island; and, as the *Sovereign* at that time was lying to, he fired a blank shot to warn us to rejoin the fleet. A lantern signal was made for the boat to return immediately. A delay was thus caused, and the *Thetis* sent a cannon ball across our bows. This proceeding carried with it a fine of £5 to the captain of the ship. The boat returned with the pipes of wine, and, as our ship was the fastest in the fleet, we soon rejoined it. I had suffered from sea-sickness from Spithead to this island, but some oranges and other fruit being brought on board, I was permitted to partake of them, and the sickness left me. The fleet stood over in the direction of South America, towards Cape Frio, for the purpose of getting the trade-winds, which we attained, and soon made our way to the equator. Here, as usual, we had baffling winds, calms, and squalls.

On regaining the trade-winds beyond the equator, H.M.S. *Thetis* signalled that the senior naval officer of the East India Company was to take command of the fleet; and, wishing us by

signal a speedy voyage, left us. Captain Graham, commanding the Honourable East India Company's ship, *William Pitt*, assumed command of our small fleet of seven vessels. After rounding the Cape we took the Mozambique Channel and sighted the island of Johanna, but had no communication with it. Light winds, squalls, and rain were experienced, and we made slow progress. On clearing the Mozambique Channel we pursued our way towards the Bay of Bengal. One day the passengers were amusing themselves with feats of strength and agility, and a bet was laid with Captain W—— of H.M. 59th Regiment that he could not go by a single rope, hand over hand, from the quarter-deck to the main-top. His feet were not to touch the rope. He managed to go three-parts up it when, his strength failing him, he came down the rope with a run so quickly that the palms of his hands were much lacerated. I had accustomed myself, with the midshipmen of the vessel, to climb about the masts, yards, and ropes of the ship, so that the muscles of my arms were very much developed. In fact, Captain Campbell, who commanded our vessel, had directed the sailors to tie me to the yards to frighten me and deter me from going aloft. But it was of no avail, for one day afterwards he observed me capping the main-royal. When Captain W—— had failed in his attempt, I ran forward to the rope and said I'd do it, and making a leap as

high as I could, I caught the rope and was, a few minutes after, safe on the mizzen-top, cheered by the passengers on deck. One of the young lady passengers, my cousin, Mary d'Auvergne,[1] swooned for fear I should fall. This and other feats caused the passengers to apprehend that I should one day fall overboard and be drowned, or otherwise lose my life. A bet was laid between two of them that I would never see the shores of India. The ship sped merrily along, and we sighted the coast below Pondicherry. As we neared it, the word was passed for me to come on to the quarter-deck. I was called to the gangway and asked if I could see anything on that side at a distance. I replied in the affirmative, and said that I supposed it was the eastern shore of the Peninsula of India, when the person who interrogated me turned to a fellow-passenger saying, "I have won the bet, and you owe me £5." We anchored in the roads of Madras, and I amused myself by going in the Massulla boats through the surf on errands for the young ladies, to fetch them fruit, parrots, fans, and other Indian articles. We had cargo for Madras and discharged it; then, after a stay of four or five days, up anchor, and we pursued our way towards Calcutta. This was in the first week of September, and on the 12th of that

[1] Miss Mary d'Auvergne and Sir John Hearsey were first cousins, their mothers being sisters.

month a pilot brig was observed, and we laid to for the pilot to come on board. On approaching the estuary of the Ganges we saw a wall of at least ten feet high of discoloured water rolling towards us, and it appeared to me as if the ship would be driven on a sandbank or into shoal water; but I found that it was merely the excess water of the Ganges pursuing its way to the ocean. We made a pleasant voyage up the Hooghly River. In those days there were no steamers, so all hands were employed in tacking to avoid dangerous sandbanks as we sailed along from reach to reach of that noble river. We anchored off an avenue of trees then called Respondentia, stretching from Chandpal Ghat to Fort William. We had not been there an hour before my cousin, Miss Mary d'Auvergne, and I perceived three palanquins coming towards the place where the ship was moored; and a friend of my father's, a Mr Surgeon Phillips, came on board and asked for us. He took us on shore, and we jogged along in these, to us, strange conveyances to his quarters in Fort William. We arrived there just before tiffin, and having eaten that meal, Miss d'Auvergne and I went to the large windows overlooking the square, where the troops of the garrison assembled to drill. We were astonished to see large cranes with enormous bills and a pouch under them stalking about the roads of the Fort, and expressed our surprise at their tameness. They

are called by the European soldiers "Adjutants" from their mode of walking about. They are exceedingly ravenous, and are the scavengers of Calcutta, devouring all sorts of putrid substances, and dead bandicoots, rats, kittens, puppies, and reptiles of all kinds. To give my cousin and myself a surprise, Dr Phillips threw out of the window to one of these large birds the remains of a small leg of mutton. The bird, with its wings wide open, ran and took it up in its large bill; but, having caught the bone crosswise, he could not get it down his throat, and kept throwing it up into the air so as to catch it lengthwise. The crows, which are most abundant, and very bold and intrusive, flew round about his head and attempted to get the leg of mutton as the "Adjutant" tried to put it into a proper position for swallowing it; and, enraged at these pests, he kept snapping at them with his huge bill, and at last caught one, and in a minute feathers and all vanished down his throat. After this he pouched the leg of mutton. This was indeed a wondrous sight for new-comers, and gave us an inkling of what strange things we might see in India.

I remained with my father's friend until the 1st of October (1807), when I joined the Cadet College at Baraset, near Calcutta, to study the native languages. Fortunately I had an end room with four windows, on the ground-floor, allotted

to me, so that I could get plenty of air and light. These windows had Venetian doors that opened outwards, which I could close at night, yet still get the air while retaining my privacy. The door opened on to a corridor or central passage extending the whole length of the barracks, and giving entrance to all the other rooms. It being the end of the rainy season, on cloudy days the temperature was cool; and, having bought an old single-barrelled fowling-piece, I used to amuse myself in going along the edge of the paddy fields shooting snipe. I had to walk four or five miles out into the country to be successful, for all birds in the vicinity of the barracks had been driven away.

As there were more than four hundred youths and young men at Baraset just liberated from school, and considering themselves independent officers and gentlemen, it may easily be imagined that many *fracas* took place among them, frequently ending in duels. On one occasion a young subaltern from a regiment at Barrackpore was shot dead; and in another duel a young man was wounded near the ankle, which caused lameness for a long time. I must mention that eight months was the period allowed for the cadets to pass in the Oordoo, or Court language of Hindostan, a *mélange* of Hindee, Persian, and Arabic. This was the dialect used by the nobles and princes of Hindostan. I usually studied by

candle-light, as my days were passed in sport, and I was often disturbed by the young men who saw me thus employed. They threw clods into my room, which frequently hit me or my moonshi, or broke the shade of my lamp and put out the light. I had to go and shout that to do this was cowardly, and that if I recognised the offender I would most assuredly call him to account for it. One close night, being disturbed in this manner, I ran hastily to the open Venetian window and caught a glimpse of one of the cadets endeavouring to hide himself near the wall of the barrack. I said, "I know who you are, and you shall hear from me to-morrow morning"; and thus saying, shut the Venetian window. About two minutes afterwards the door leading into the corridor of the barracks opened, and a young man came smiling in, saying, "So, as usual, you are studying at night." In him I recognised the offender, and seizing the thick quarto volume of W. Gilchrist's Dictionary, I rose from my chair and struck him down with it, telling him to quit my room, and that I should be ready to give him the satisfaction due from one gentleman to another on the morrow. He never called upon me, for he must have known that he was in the wrong and had brought the blow upon himself. I must say that in such a place, crowded with all kinds of tempers and dispositions, it was necessary for a young man to show that

he was not devoid of spirit to prevent himself from being insulted.

I got on well with my studies after this, and an examiner coming from the college at Fort William to test such students as came forward to be examined, I sent in my name, and was so fortunate as to be second on the list of those of my class who passed. To reward the cadets who behaved well at Baraset, and who passed their examination in the language at the end of eight months, Government presented the successful candidates with 120 rupees, and a sword with an inscription upon it. My friend Dr Phillips and his wife were highly pleased at my success, for they had always shown me great kindness during the period of my stay at college. They wrote flattering letters to my mother and other relations in England, and I received by return of post blessings from those I loved the most. The money helped me to buy my outfit as a cornet of cavalry, and to pay the hire of a "budgerow," a kind of boat used for voyaging up the river Ganges from Calcutta to Cawnpore. The journey by this route usually took from three to four months.

The college at Baraset was a most riotous place, and I was not sorry to leave it. In fact, the congregation of such a number of devil-may-care young men at a place only sixteen miles from Calcutta, whither they used to gallop

at early night after roll-call, creating disturbances at the different beer-shops and inns, was considered a pest to that city; so much so that the Chief Justice at that time at Calcutta said that if any of them were caught by the police and were found guilty, he would hang or transport them. One cadet actually was sentenced to be transported for setting fire to a small hut, his own property, in order to drive away a party of servants who were in it, and who were beating their tom-toms and making a noise which prevented his sleeping.

I stayed with Dr Phillips until I had hired a budgerow for myself, and a boat for my servants and for cooking. The latter was not large, and had a thatched roof. It also served to put extra baggage in. Just before I left Calcutta Dr Phillips asked me if I had any objection to have a companion with me, a young man of the name of P——, a Scotchman. He had been at Baraset eighteen months, and could not pass the examination during that period. The rules of the institution did not allow students to remain longer, so he had been sent away with what we used to call a "stupid certificate." I could not say nay to my friend Dr Phillips, though I disliked the person thus forced on me. He was of a morose disposition, and of an unhappy temper. After his luggage and servants joined mine in the boats, then moored at Chandpalghat, we embarked about

the 12th of April 1809 and set out on our voyage up the Ganges to Cawnpore, *en route* for Muttra, where I was ordered to join the 8th Native Light Cavalry.

P—— was to go no farther than Benares, where the corps he had been posted to was stationed. My having P—— as a companion was the most unfortunate thing that as yet had happened to me, as the sequel will show. The Hooghly, I must mention, has two streams joining it to the main streams of the Ganges, and a passage up one of them was the shortest cut to the Ganges; but, the dry season having set in, they had not depth of water in them to carry our boats through, so we were perforce obliged to go the roundabout way through the Sunderbunds (which in English means "The Beautiful Forests"). The navigation is very tortuous; there are no villages; the bushes come down to the very edge of the channels, and in those days were the haunts of tigers and other wild animals. We were therefore obliged to anchor in midstream at night to avoid being attacked by those ferocious beasts.

One afternoon, just before dark, a violent storm occurred. We cast anchor, took in sail, and made the boat snug. A large country trading-boat was sailing a hundred yards immediately in advance of us under a very large sail. The rope got knotted or entangled, and the boatmen could not lower the sail. The wind blew with such force that it

sent the bows of the boat under water, so that the boat filled and began to sink. The crew of seven men climbed up upon the mast, and the stream or tide running down presently brought the sinking vessel near to our budgerow. As it approached I shouted to the crew to quit the mast and swim to our boat. They did so, and we got on board the manjee or headman of the boat and three of the crew. The other three got ashore. One of these men who came on board had a serious jagged wound on the calf of his leg. This I washed, and with sticking-plaster joined the lips of the wound, and then bandaged it. I desired my crew to give them dry waist-cloths, which is all these people wear, and to give them food and make them comfortable. Their boat gradually disappeared under the water. The next morning I sent the small canoe or dingy to fetch the other three men from the shore. We then set sail and proceeded on our voyage. The rescued men told me that they had friends and relatives at a market-town on the banks of the main stream named Bughwan-Jallah, and as we were to pass it, they remained with us; and in the course of a week we entered the main stream of the Ganges. The wound in the man's leg had healed. I assembled the rescued men on the deck of my boat, and told them that now they had come to the village of their relatives and friends I would put them on shore, and they could write to the owner of the

vessel they had been navigating and inform him of its loss. At the same time, taking from my small store of money £1, I gave it to their headman, telling him that it was all I could spare. He counted it, and then with indignation and contempt cast it on the deck, saying, "Is this all you can give me as the value of our boat and cargo and goods and chattels!" He had fully expected that because I had saved their lives I should remunerate them for their whole loss. I said not a word, but, collecting the money, put it into my pocket, directing my crew to land them at the market-town and leave them there. No doubt this conduct arose from ignorance, but to a youth of less than sixteen years of age such ingratitude was very shocking and disheartening. Our servants had gone to the market to bring us fruits and other things that we required, and the wind being fair, we hoisted sail and continued our voyage.

From time to time my companion P—— showed his bad temper, and frightened and disgusted our servants by abusing and cuffing them. One day, the wind not being aft, which is the quarter whence these cockle-bottomed boats sailed best, we were slowly making way on a slant of wind, the boat being kept near the bank by the crew working at the tow-ropes. Otherwise she would have been carried across to the other side of the broad river and would have stuck upon a sand-bank, whence it would have been difficult to have

got her off. P——, apparently not aware of this, insisted that the men with the towing-rope should come on board, thinking that, as the wind was strong, the budgerow would make more progress with the sail alone. The manjee or headman of the crew, who was at the rudder, remonstrated, but it was of no avail—he was forced to obey the order he received. No sooner were the crew on board and the sail hoisted than the boat was carried away from the bank towards midstream. The vessel heeled over fearfully. I was below in the cabin, and finding the water was coming in at the Venetians, and that we should be swamped if it continued to do so, I rushed up on deck and let go the rope of the sail. The boat righted immediately. P—— had in the meantime been very angry with the steersman, and in a moment of uncontrollable passion seized hold of a billet of firewood and struck the man over the head with it. The man fell prostrate and senseless near the rudder. When I got to them I found P—— in a state of extreme apprehension. I told him to throw water over the head and face of the man, and I ran down to get some vinegar and brown paper. With the former we rubbed his forehead, and the latter I lit and put to his nostrils, and after a few minutes there were signs of returning animation. I spoke seriously to P—— upon this incident, and the fright he had received restrained him in some measure from such passionate excite-

ment. That day our cooking-boat did not reach us, and we went minus our dinner. This caused very great ire in my companion. The next day the boat with our servants and cooking apparatus joined us. Unfortunately P—— got on board a short time before I did, and with a cane beat the manjee and some of the crew. They had heard of his having stunned the headman of the budgerow, and the consequence was that they became alarmed, and at the next large village or market-town that we came to they all deserted the little boat. Luckily I had given a small present to the manjee of the budgerow, and promised a small gift to each of its crew, and had told them that I would not allow Mr P—— to beat them. This kept them steadfast in our service. We now had to take the cook-boat in tow, there being no crew to manage it. This caused double work to the budgerow men, for I was obliged to put some on board the small boat. I again spoke to P—— seriously about his beating the crew of the vessel. However, this did not put an end to the vile habit he had got into. On quitting Calcutta he could get no servants to go with him. I got some of the relatives of my own servants to take service with him. These he used frequently to shake and cuff. My servants spoke to me about it, but his passionate temper used to carry him beyond bounds. One day he punished them rather severely. The consequence was that the kitmutgars, bearers, and such people took an

opportunity of robbing us and absconded. I had not many valuables, but my father's gold watch, chain, and seals, and some little jewellery given to me by my sisters, a bag of 100 rupees, and a portion of my uniform were stolen. A short time after my other Mohammedan servants, cooks, and table attendants went off, and we were left without a single domestic.

I had stored on board the cook-boat and budgerow a quantity of biscuits, and I had also bamboo cages in which poultry were kept, and one or two hutches of rabbits. We removed all our baggage from the cook-boat to the budgerow, and left the former at a town called Kulna in charge of the police.

I had about me a few rupees, with which we managed to buy water-melons and large jack-fruit, some of these being as large round as my body. These latter were good eating when ripe.

At the first place from which a letter could be sent I wrote to Dr Phillips, telling him of our misfortunes, and that my sirdar and khansama had left us and had robbed me. I grieved much at the loss of the watch and chain belonging to my father. I sent Dr Phillips a minute description of the watch and the chain and seals, as the doctor's sirdar bearer had got these servants for me, and had given security for their honesty and good behaviour.

We proceeded on our voyage, and getting tired

of eternally eating water-melons and biscuits, we determined to cook something as a change for our dinner. I must remind you that we were now in the hot month of May. I had brought with me an iron stand on legs, on which we placed charcoal or little pieces of wood, and putting a kettle or cooking-vessel upon it, we could manage to cook a stew or roast a fowl or duck. I said I would kill a fat rabbit and prepare it to make a stew or curry. This I could do without exposing myself to the rays of the burning sun, for I could place the above cooking apparatus in the verandah of the cabin and make the stew in a saucepan in it. P—— could not do this with a duck which he was going to roast, the spit being too long and the iron receiver too large, so he was obliged to sit upon the deck in the shade of the sail to take his part in our culinary operations. I got on splendidly with my stewed rabbit, but P——, sitting on deck, was every now and then exposed to the sun as the vessel changed its course in following the bends of the river. I watched him mopping his forehead, and every now and then asked him how his roast duck was getting on; when all of a sudden I saw him stand up, spit and duck in hand, and swearing an oath that he would not be a slave to his guts any longer, he swept the spit and duck round his head and threw them into the river. I shouted with laughter, and said that as he had failed in his contract he should not partake of my

stew. He rushed down into his cabin, threw himself upon the couch, and recovered his temper in the cool shade of the cabin. Of course I was not so cruel as not to let him have a portion of my dish, which he declared was most delicious.

In this manner we proceeded but slowly to Monghyr. Here, luckily, I had a relation, a Captain Nugent, at Fort Ader, to whom I wrote a note, telling him of our utter want of servants, comfort, and money. He came to us and took us to his house, where we stayed with him for four or five days. He hired another small boat and servants for us, and made P—— promise, upon his word of honour, that he would not lift his hand or abuse any servant. He then advanced me 100 rupees as a loan, and we resumed our voyage once again comfortably.

The stream of the Ganges runs very swiftly by the rocky fortress of Monghyr, and as you approach Colgong you pass a rocky islet more than 100 feet above the river, on which some Mohammedan religious mendicants or fakirs have made their abode. In the rainy season it is difficult for boats to approach it, but in the months of April and May it is high out of water. We sped on our way to Baghulpore. Here, at that time of year, a long sandy island is divided by a rapid and deep channel from the town and its vicinity. At that time a Dr Glass resided on the main shore in a large, substantially built,

brick, flat-roofed house. He was a retired medical officer of our army. His sons had estates and indigo plantations in the neighbourhood.

I stopped at this place, and Dr Glass kindly invited me to stay with him for a short time. I had an eruption on my feet, caused by the brackish water of the Sunderbunds, which I was told frequently caused that sort of skin disease. This was soon cured by some kind of caustic wash, and I amused myself during the week we stayed with Dr Glass in admiring the flowers and partaking of the delicious fruits in his orchard. I also visited his sons, and bathed in the large tank or lake near their bungalow. You may feel surprised when I tell you that when I came out of the tank I was covered with leeches—I could not get rid of them until I applied salt to the spots to which they adhered. Their bites caused intolerable itching, and when I scratched them became troublesome sores. However, they soon healed, and I amused myself by going out with the young men sporting, our game being wild duck, jungle fowl, and snipe. I made the acquaintance of a young man of about my own age, named Blood, who was intended to be an indigo planter.

One hot day Blood proposed that we should swim across the canal or streamlet to the sandy island mentioned above. We did so, the rapid stream carrying us down. We swam abreast

about twenty yards from each other, and when we had got into the centre of the stream an enormous alligator came up between us, showing his horrible head and teeth and the rough skin on his neck. Blood shrieked and swam down stream. I steadily went on my way, splashing water on the alligator and shouting. This may have saved us from being seized, or perhaps the animal was only a fish-eating alligator. We both got safe to the sandy island, but the question was how should we get back again, for neither of us felt inclined to run the risk of being devoured by a crocodile; but our dinner-hour was approaching, and we both felt very hungry. This gave us resolution, and determining to keep close together, we plunged in and got safe back. My chum P——, finding himself in excellent quarters, made himself as agreeable as he could, and after spending a week at this hospitable mansion, we again proceeded on our journey.

Our voyage up the Ganges was slow; the wind was contrary and very hot, and we suffered great inconvenience from it. It was tedious work tacking all the way to Patna and Dinapore. At this latter station I paid my respects to General Toone, who was commanding the Dinapore Division. He asked me to dine with him, and told me that he had known my father during the earlier period of his service. General Toone was a cavalry officer. Amongst other matters, he advised me strongly,

on my arrival at Benares, to pay my respects to General M'Donald, who was then commanding the Benares Division of the army. Next morning we continued our progress.

One afternoon, the wind being against us and the heat almost unbearable, the men tacking the boat were knocked up, so we fastened the budgerow to the large stakes driven into the sand for that purpose just within the entrance of a bayou (a strip of water running for some distance up a channel in the sand). I felt a great inclination to have a swim and bathe, and just about sunset I put on my bathing drawers and went to the bow of the boat, and taking a header, swam up the centre in a deep channel to the shallow water. There my servant met me, and I had a good wash. My companion, witnessing my enjoyment, determined to follow my example.

I had just returned to our budgerow with my dressing-gown on when I saw him preparing to go into the water. I warned him that the channel was deep in the centre, and advised him, if he could not swim, to go up on shore and enter the stream on the shallow side, until he got as deep as he wished. He replied, "The channel is very narrow, and I can swim well enough to cross it anywhere." I went along the plank put out from the budgerow for landing, but had scarcely got into the cabin when I heard a distressing shriek and my companion's servant calling out that his

master was drowning. He had gone into the water a little distance in front of our budgerow. I came on deck, and the servant pointed to the channel where he had seen his master disappear. I ran along the short deck and took a header from the bow and dived to a place where I had seen the water disturbed. Fortunately, the impetus carried me to the spot where he had sunk, and luckily in rear of him. I caught him by the loins and pushed him into shallow water, where the servants and some of the crew had assembled to help in taking him out. He was much confused, but not quite insensible, and in a few minutes began to breathe regularly. We rubbed him with towels till he was restored to consciousness. I then asked him why he had deceived me by telling me he could swim: he replied that, finding the water much deeper than he imagined, he lost confidence and sank. I left him to the care of his servants and went and dressed myself, and he made no more attempts to enter deep water again after this.

In due course we reached Benares, where the infantry corps to which P—— had been posted was stationed. The morning after our arrival he was up early, as the cantonments were a considerable distance from the river, and he had to walk to the adjutant's bungalow to report himself, and to ask the adjutant to take him to his commanding officer to pay his respects. This he did, and the colonel invited him to reside with him till

he could accommodate himself with quarters, saying that in a few days, no doubt, he could get a share of a bungalow with some of his brother officers. At about 10 A.M. he sent to the budgerow for his servant, with orders to make up a bundle of clean linen and take it to him. I took this opportunity of writing a note begging him to send for the small quantity of baggage belonging to him, so that I might leave the unsavoury and crowded ghat (or wharf) as early as possible. His reply was, "There was no hurry, and he would do so at his convenience." Considering that he was in a nice cool house, and that I was fully exposed in my budgerow to the hot winds, moreover that I had paid for his passage and board up to Benares, I thought this reply showed the deepest ingratitude. I wrote to him that I would stay there till the next day, as I wished to visit the General commanding, and that if he did not send for his trunks by the next afternoon I would leave them on the bank under the care of the Ghat police.

The next morning I was up early, and took great pains in putting on my full cavalry uniform —viz., long boots, heavy laced jacket, cross belt, sash, leathers, and spurs; and with my large cavalry sword (a present from Government, with an inscription on it), I left my boat in the full pride of my uniform to walk through the town of Benares. I was quite a sight to the population of that place, who streamed out of the bye-lanes

to have a peep at me. I constantly asked the straight road to the cantonments, and when I had gone a little more than half-way I found the heat of the morning in the month of May—dressed as I was in such heavy clothing—quite exhausting. However, I struggled along, hoping to come to the end of my journey. On quitting the suburbs of the town I was directed to the bridge built across the Berna River, from which Benares takes its name. Here I was told that the house the General dwelt in was still one mile farther, the whole of the houses of the civilians being situated between the bridge and the cantonments. The iron cavalry helmet with the bear-skin and feather made my head ache, so I carried it in my hand and continued my way bareheaded. This being in the month of May, the heat was dangerous, but mopping my forehead I hastened towards what was pointed out to me as the General's quarters.

When I arrived there I was completely saturated with perspiration: my fine lace jacket was even wet through. On entering the gate of the compound I walked up to the verandah and sent in my card. An officer with one arm (whose name I do not now recollect) came to receive me, and I told him I was in progress by river-route to join my corps, and had come to pay my respects to General MacDonald, having been informed by General Toone that it was my duty to do so.

The officer appeared surprised at my state of exhaustion from the heat, and asked me to go into a dressing-room and wash the dust off my face and hands. I did so, and taking off my dress jacket and silk stock, I spread them on a chair to dry. My shirt was dripping with perspiration. Whilst doing this the officer who had taken my card said that General MacDonald would be pleased to see me and have my company at breakfast, which was being put upon the table. "But," said he, seeing the state I was in, "have you brought no change of linen with you?" I replied in the negative, as I had no idea that the cantonments were such a distance from where my boat was moored. "Oh," he said, "I think we can get you a change of clothing, which will make you more comfortable." So by the time I had washed myself the sirdar bearer came in with some clean linen clothes. I was at that time a little under sixteen years of age, exceedingly thin, lithe, and tall. I had with some difficulty removed my long boots and leather continuations, and wiping myself down with a towel, I commenced dressing. When I pulled on the linen trousers I found them a foot too short for me. I looked up at the servant and then at the trousers: the fellow's face was in a broad grin. I must tell you that this room was separated from the reception-room by Venetian doors. I heard a noise—I looked in that direction, when I saw three or four faces of officers, and

amongst them that of the General, laughing at my distress; in fact, they were making what is called a "griff" of me. I saw through it at once, and pulling off the clothes sent me I again put on my own, wet and unpleasant as they were, and taking my sabre under my arm and with my helmet on my head, I stalked most indignantly out of the house. I had not gone far on my return journey when I was overtaken by the General's staff-officer in a "palanquin," with an empty one following him. It was with some difficulty that he induced me to go back, and I decidedly objected to return to the General's house; so he took me to his own house and did all he could to make me comfortable. I had breakfast with him, and asked him to let me have materials to make my report officially through the staff-officer to the General. After I had rested awhile I returned to my boat in a "palky." The weather was *cruelly* hot, and I am only surprised that I was not laid up with fever from the way I was exposed to it. In the evening P—— sent a small native bullock-cart for his luggage, and next morning I was only too happy to unmoor and set sail on my up-country journey. Nothing of any material consequence occurred during the remainder of my passage to Cawnpore, which I reached at the beginning of July.

I had a cousin, a Captain Williams, in his Majesty's 3rd Dragoons. I wrote a note to him, and he immediately came and drove me to his house

in his buggy. My property was then removed from the boats, and the remainder of the hire paid to the manjees. I was very glad to be once more in a house and free from the intense heat of the sun. I stayed with my cousin for about a week, and wrote to my brother-in-law at Lucknow, who was Assistant to Colonel Collins, the Resident at that place. I frequently dined at the mess of the 3rd Dragoons, and was introduced to Colonel Gillespie, famed for his intrepidity in attacking the mutineers at Vellore with a small body of dragoons. He had escaladed that fortress and carried it in spite of a stout resistance, inflicting heavy punishment on the mutineers. In due time I received an answer to my letter from Lucknow, my brother-in-law Bradshaw informing me that I must lay a dak of bearers from Cawnpore to Lucknow, and that the journey would take fourteen hours. He told me to start from Cawnpore, and to cross the river Ganges at sunset, when I should be with him at breakfast-time the next morning. A servant or hurkara would be waiting to show me the nearest way to his house and the Residency. After a short delay the postmaster informed me that the dak was laid by "palky" at the different stages on the road, and that all would be ready that evening. I arrived safely in Lucknow, and was indeed happy to be welcomed by my loved eldest sister, who introduced me to her husband. She had two children: a son named Paris, about

four years old, and a daughter, Mary Ann. I found her husband a gentleman of the old school; he must have been about fifteen or twenty years senior to my sister, and was exceedingly prosaic. In those days he wore powder and a pigtail. He received me very affectionately, and a spare room in the house near the Residency gateway was allotted to me. Little Paris was my constant companion during my stay to the middle of September, for which I was granted leave in General Orders. I was not idle. A moonshi was hired, and I studied the Persian language with him six hours a-day, and got well grounded in it. The time passed very happily, and when September arrived I began to prepare for my journey to join the 8th Regular Native Light Cavalry, then at Muttra under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Richard Frith; and about the middle of the month I bade adieu to my relatives.

My camp consisted of a single pole tent for myself and a small one for my servants. These were loaded on an elephant that Bradshaw had borrowed for me. I had a large Toorkee horse to ride on, and with a "palky" and bearers I commenced my journey. Of course the usual table servants, bhistie, khalasi, bearer, and grooms had been hired as my attendants.

My route lay from Lucknow by Baryer Mhouw, crossing the Ganges near Meezanka Serai. My first two marches to the bank of the river were

performed without any incident worth noting, excepting that I found the elephant was very slow. He appeared to be an old animal. He had to swim the Ganges, which was rather wide and rapid at the end of the rains. The consequence was that my tent barely arrived in time for me to sleep in. The day was passed mostly in my "palky," which was placed under the shade of a grove of mango trees. I amused myself with my pellet-bow, shooting at the squirrels and parrots, also knocking down a ripe mango now and then, for I was a "dab" in its use. During the night the mahout reported to me that his animal was ill. I ordered him to give the usual medicines for the ailment that had attacked it, and determined to halt the next day to allow the creature to recover. But it was fated that I should be put to much inconvenience. The elephant died during that night. I immediately wrote a note and sent it off by a messenger to Bradshaw, telling him of my misfortune, also that I had sent to the town for a bullock-hackery. This was indeed a sad event: made roads there were none in those days, and the cart-tracks were in a fearful state just after the rains. My marches were usually from twelve to fifteen miles a day. The "palky" preceded me by a few miles, so that if rain fell I could canter on and overtake it, but this rarely occurred. My tent I lost sight of, and it was scarcely ever pitched again during the

remainder of the march. Camels were not to be had for hire, and my dwelling night and day was my palanquin placed under the shade of the trees. Thus I continued on my journey to Agra. At Shekohabad I passed a small encampment, and on inquiring I found an officer of the name and rank of Major Gardner[1] employed in raising a regiment of police horse for the purpose of putting down dacoitie or brigandage in the Agra district. I did not see him; but in crossing the Jumna at Agra in a large ferry-boat a native bullock-carriage crossed with me, and a native lady with a fair and handsome face and with beautiful eyes peeped through a small opening in the curtains to ask my servants the name of the gentleman who was crossing over at the same time. When they told the lady my name it elicited a slight exclamation of surprise from her, for she was the wife of Major Hyder Hearsey, my cousin. She knew that I was in India, but was not aware that I was travelling up to Muttra. She was on her way to her relatives, who resided at Taj Gunj, a village close to the celebrated Taj-Bibi-ka-Rosa or the tomb of Nur Mehal. We chatted during the passage across. She went on to her destination and I proceeded to Sekundra, in which place is situated the tomb of the great Akbar.

The palace had been partly destroyed, but the large gateway and corridors gave shelter to his

[1] William Linnæus Gardner. See page 190.

Majesty's 24th Dragoons, then commanded by Colonel Neil: they had occupied them as a temporary shelter from the rainy season just passed. A great many old ruined Mohammedan buildings were scattered about the place, mostly tombs. These had been taken possession of by the officers as dwelling-houses, and by adding a small room on either side and a thatched verandah they were not uncomfortable dwellings. I had my "palky" placed in a tomb in a very tumble-down state, and had disposed myself to stay in the shelter of it for the remainder of the day. Having taken a hasty breakfast, curiosity prompted me to go over the building.

I had scarce entered it when I was met by a trooper in his undress, who asked me if I wanted his master. I told him my name and rank, and that I was on my journey to Muttra, adding that I had taken shelter in the shade of what I supposed to be a deserted building, and was sorry for the intrusion and would seek some other place where I could be protected from the burning rays of the sun. I then ordered my servants to move my "palky" to the shade of a few trees about fifty yards off. I had not been long there before a servant came with a note, written by Captain Battye of the 24th, inviting me to go over to the messhouse and take luncheon with the officers. I replied that having just come off my march my clothes must be very dirty, and that I would not

like to make my appearance at their mess without putting on proper apparel. In reply to this a short note came to say they did not expect *any ladies*, and told me to come over as I was. I went, and was received very kindly, and the captain asked me to come over in the evening and dine there as his guest. The country at this time was a perfect nest of gangs of robbers and thieves, and I heard many anecdotes of the daring acts of these people. The officers were obliged to sleep with loaded pistols under their pillows. On one occasion an officer was disturbed at midnight, and seizing both his pistols went out of the door of his house, when, perceiving two men get out of his windows and run towards where he was standing, he shot them both dead. Of course a legal inquiry took place, and the verdict returned was justifiable homicide. I was invited to take possession of a room in one of these curious buildings, where I was able to put on my uniform comfortably and attend at the 24th Dragoons' mess-house, and I passed a very pleasant evening. Next morning I continued my journey, and in three days' stages reached Muttra.

CHAPTER III.

On arrival at Muttra I went to the adjutant of the 8th Cavalry, whose name was Stearn Reid, and he accompanied me to the commanding officer, Colonel R. Frith, to whom my brother-in-law had written a letter of introduction asking him to be kind to me, they being old friends. Colonel Frith invited me to occupy a room in his house. I did so, and became his guest. The building he lived in was apparently an old tomb or mosque like those of Sekundra, roofed with cupolas, and with rooms added all round it: these additions were roofed with grass thatch. It was built on a sandy ridge, and below the ridge for 500 yards was a swamp or jheel which was a favourite haunt of wild-fowl and snipe; and being close to the colonel's house, it was left unmolested. I was not then rich enough to buy a fowling-piece, and used to walk along the edge of the rushes with a pellet-bow and a bag of pellets, the latter carried by a servant, and I have often struck down cranes and other water-birds, rather to the astonishment of the domestic, for I must tell you that I was

expert in the use of that bow, having had great practice with it on my way up the river. Of course, I had to attend both riding-school and drills on foot whenever they were ordered. During the day I continued my studies in Persian, and Colonel Frith engaged an old man as my preceptor or munshi, to whom I paid thirty rupees a month. I had not been long there before General Orders were issued for the 8th Light Cavalry to march from Muttra to Cawnpore, on the triennial relief of the regiments. I had therefore to prepare for this move, and hired camels to carry my tent, camel-trunk, and couch. We left Muttra on the 15th October, and went by the regular marches down the Doab. The journey took us one month. I had not been long at Cawnpore before I found my name in General Orders as posted to the 6th Light Cavalry as cornet. That regiment had been ordered down from Meerut, where it had been cantoned, to Kalpee on the Jumna, and thence to Chattapore, to form a portion of the force assembling there to be employed under General Martindale. This force was to act against the freebooter or Pindaree chief, Amir Khan, who had made a demonstration from Rajputana to plunder the Nagpoor territory which then belonged to the Bhonsla, one of the great Mahratta chiefs. Lord Minto, who was then the Governor-General, wished to conciliate the Bhonsla, and to show him that the British could be of great service in pro-

tecting his country. He had therefore directed the assembly of a considerable force under General Martindale, and another from the Madras Presidency under General Sir Barry Close, which was to move towards Kimlasa so as to cut off the retreat of this notorious depredator, who would thus be hampered in front by the Bhonsla's troops and harried in his rear by the two forces that had been concentrated for this purpose. I prepared immediately to march from Cawnpore to Kalpee, and got rid of all articles that were not necessary for a campaign. Amongst these was a new cocked hat with feather, in a tin case (for such in those days was the head-dress for full uniform of the 8th Light Cavalry), and Cornet Nicholson having a new folio Persian dictionary by Richardson which I was anxious to get, made an exchange with me—the book for the cocked hat. I made room for this volume, large and heavy as it was, and it was of great use to me in my studies of the Persian language. At a village called Chickranda, on a rainy night, I was disturbed by thieves. I awoke my servants and the rascals fled; luckily I was not robbed. I had to cross the Jumna on a ferry-boat with my baggage to get to Kalpee, a small fort on a very high bank overlooking the river on that side and commanding the town of Kalpee. This fort I found was filled with native houses, but from the top of the gateway you had a good view of the town and its vicinity. The

next day a young officer arrived there and had a tent pitched not far from mine. He also had been posted to the 6th Light Cavalry, and was the next senior to me. We of course became acquainted; his name was E. B. He was several years senior to me in age; he had enjoyed a good classical education, but he was fond of a good bottle of port after dinner. I had brought with me twelve bottles of port wine, half of which he did me the honour to imbibe the first evening he dined with me, yet it seemed to produce no inebriating effects, for he was up and on his pony by the early dawn. Three days after our arrival the 6th Light Cavalry marched into camp on the opposite side of the Jumna, and the next day it crossed over. It was under the command of Major R. Houstane, who afterwards became General Sir R. Houstane, K.C.B., and was for many years commandant of the college at Addiscombe. Of course Brown and I reported our presence to the adjutant, and we then joined the corps (December 1809).

We received a ceremonious reception from our commanding officer, and I found myself posted in orders to the 4th troop, commanded by Captain Humphrey Howorth, to whom I paid my respects. I was then taken by the adjutant to the different officers' tents and introduced to them, and joined the mess of the corps. Long before daylight the next morning the first trumpet summoned

me up. I had to tell off the troop the moment it was mounted and had fallen in, and to march it to its place in the column of the regiment, reporting to Captain Howorth the number of men and horses present, then taking my post in the centre of the squadron. The native regular cavalry regiments had only six troops, eighty horses to each troop. We made the regular marches to Chattapore, where General Martindale's force was being assembled. Here we halted for a week or ten days, and I was ordered to attend riding-school and all parades and drills.

The army that had assembled consisted of two light field-batteries of 9- and 6-pounder guns drawn by bullocks, three regular regiments of native cavalry—the 1st, 5th, and 6th—formed into a brigade under the command of Colonel Fawcett. Each regiment of cavalry had with it two light 6-pounder guns, which served for flying artillery. These guns were commanded by the senior lieutenant or cornet without a command. The names and rank of the officers of the 6th Light Cavalry Regiment were as follows: Major R. Houstane, commanding; Captain Fry, Captain Howorth, Captain-Lieutenant Western, Lieutenant Craigie, Lieutenant Arnold (this officer was acting as paymaster at Muttra, and not present; he was the son of the famous General Arnold of the American War), Lieutenant H. Thompson, adjutant; Lieutenant Cock; Cornets Ryves, Ward,

Roxborough, R. W. Smith, Brown, and Hearsey. The infantry of the force consisted of H.M.'s 53rd Regiment, under the command of Colonel Maberly, and six regiments of native infantry. These corps were formed into three brigades. We had also a corps of Pioneers. When all was settled, and every person appointed to the army had joined, the order was received to advance, and we moved up the Hirapur Ghat on the highest steppes of Central India. I suppose it must be at least 500 feet higher than the plain on which Chattapore stands. The ascent was very heavy, the ground being cumbered with boulders composed of iron ore—the whole ascent covered with brushwood and trees. We saw a number of very primitive crucibles and kilns for extracting the iron ore, which is then beaten up into irregular pigs of iron and is sent to the town of Mirzapore (a large town and mart on the Ganges) for sale. The army progressed daily till we came to a small town called Kirwee, not very far from Kimlasa, which is a large walled town. Here the army halted, and communication was opened with the force from the Madras Presidency commanded by General Sir Barry Close. We were expecting every day that the forces would unite and move on for the purpose of cutting off the famous Pindaree chieftain, Amir Khan.

This freebooter had advanced with a horde of horsemen for the purpose of marauding in the

country of the Bhonsla. It appeared that Lord Minto, the Governor-General, was anxious to form a treaty with that chieftain, so as to induce him to consent that a subsidiary British force should be stationed at his capital and be paid for by him for its defence. In order to show him that the British protection would be effectual, the armies of Close and Martindale had been sent to cover his country from depredation. Amir Khan Pindaree had seized a large town in Central India called Sironghi, intending to make it his capital, and thence to threaten the states all round with hostility. He was encouraged and supported in these plundering expeditions by the Mahratta states of Holkar and Scindia. Amir Khan, now finding himself and forces likely to be cut off, beat a retreat by rapid marches towards Rajputana.

General Barry Close took possession of Sironghi: as there was no intention of following Amir Khan into Rajputana, the armies retired towards their own presidencies, and ours, the Bengal force, formed a standing camp in Bundelkhund, at a place called Tehree,—a territory belonging to a small independent rajah, — a very pretty spot. Here we remained all the hot season of 1810 in camp, and it *was* hot. It was the first hot weather I had ever spent under canvas. In the middle of May 1811 the army was broken up, and the 6th Light Cavalry was ordered to Muttra, and we had a very hot march to that place, where

we arrived just as the rains commenced. Thus ended my first campaign without my seeing a shot fired in earnest.

At this station I bought my first bungalow. The ground, or compound as it is called, had two bungalows upon it: one consisted of one room and an open verandah round it, the other was of an oblong shape, with three small rooms, and three servants' houses at the end of it. The former I made into a reception-room, and the other into a sitting-room, reading- and writing-room, and bedroom. The houses for my servants stood about twenty-five yards distant, and formed a square with mud walls in which were my stables, with two stalls for my charger and pony. The latter was a smart Galloway, which I used for my morning rides and shooting excursions. I had to attend every morning at the riding-school and other drills, and at the end of two months I was dismissed as "au fait" with both. My greatest delight was in cultivating a garden in the grounds, for from boyhood I was always fond of horticulture and floriculture. Time passed happily, my leisure being employed in reading, writing, and studying. In the evening I went to mess, for we had a very good one. My pony took me to and from there, as it was three-quarters of a mile from my house.

During the latter end of the hot winds, or the beginning of June, the second squadron of the

corps under the command of Captain H. Howorth was sent to Agra for the purpose of putting down a system of brigandage carried on by a body of mounted depredators called Cossacks (or Kazzaks). These people had strong, mud-walled forts on the bank of the Chambal River, at no great distance from Agra. One of them was called Munsteala and the other Manora. A party of infantry and artillery, with one troop of ours under Lieutenant Cock, was ordered to march to these places and reduce them. The other troop was left at the cantonment of Nowela, where we were so fortunate as to occupy the Government bungalows, which had been erected for the riding-master and sergeant-major of artillery. This was a great comfort, for the weather was extremely hot. In our march from Muttra we were one morning exposed to a most violent hail-storm. The hail was as large as marbles, and it was driven so forcibly by the wind against the horses and ourselves that the animals would not face it, but turned their tails towards it and remained with their heads down till the storm had passed. The hailstones smote us with great force, making us smart even through our clothes. On the walls of the fort at Agra vast flocks of pigeons made their nests: hundreds were killed by the hailstones and fell into the ditch; they were taken out by the lower caste of natives and eaten. Even the hedges round the officers' compounds, and the soft bark of the trees, were

scored by the hailstones, and many of the tender branches were cut off. We remained at Agra until the two forts on the banks of the Chambal had been taken possession of, the garrison of both having fled when the artillery had almost made practicable breaches. The squadron was subsequently ordered to Muttra, where we arrived after three days' hot and disagreeable marches. Nothing of interest occurred excepting in connection with the Brahminee bulls of Muttra, which I must tell you are let loose on the community as calves when a Brahmin or Hindu of high caste dies, and which are permitted to roam about as they will —nay, they are even allowed to devour the grain or vegetables brought to the market for sale, the vendors not being allowed to strike them, and can only drive them away by shouts. They also roam into the fields and browse over them, and when they grow up to bulls of full size they become very dangerous to the population, running at and goring them if they are not quick enough in getting out of their way. The cantonment is but a short distance from the town of Muttra, which is thought to be a very holy place. Here the bodies of high caste Hindus are sent to be burnt and the ashes thrown into the Jumna. Complaints were made of the danger that natives and Europeans suffered of being attacked by these animals. They belonged to nobody, and proclamation was made through the towns of Muttra and Goverd-

han, and other sacred places in the vicinity, that if the bulls were not driven away or sent across the Jumna they would be destroyed, the safety of the community being endangered by their being permitted to roam at large. No heed was given to this notification, and to prevent our servants and ourselves being longer molested by the bulls, the officers formed themselves into squads, with guns and spears, to drive them to a distance from the cantonments across the river. This was fine sport, as they repeatedly charged the horsemen, and there were several narrow escapes. However, this had the desired effect, for the natives, not wishing the animals to be killed, had them driven off to a long distance, from whence they were not likely to return.

In the year 1812, during the rains, an unpleasant circumstance occurred between myself and another cornet of the 6th Light Cavalry somewhat senior to myself, a young man with an exceedingly disagreeable temper, well educated, but of an unhappy sneering disposition. His house was next to mine, and he frequently came over to my place asking me to go out with him on different excursions. On one of these occasions we were joined by an Ensign Cayley. We had taken our guns with us with the intention of going down by the sands of the Jumna for the purpose of getting shots at wild geese, ducks, and kulan (these are delicious eating). We spied the small boat that

belonged to the post-office and was used for the purpose of carrying the letters and mail-bags that came to and fro between the town and cantonments. On this boat we all got and paddled down stream, but the birds were too wary to let us come near them. My companions inclined to be sportive, and began to amuse themselves by rocking the boat, which was little better than a canoe, from side to side, the water every now and then coming over the side of the boat. We were in deep water about twenty yards from a sand-bank. I begged of them to desist, as a little more water and the boat would sink, and we should have to swim to shore. They thought that I was alarmed and began to do it all the more, upon which I quietly took off my shoes, coat, and neck-cloth. They asked me what I did that for. I replied, to enable me to swim more easily when the boat sank, especially as the current at that place was strong. I quietly said, "I hope, young gentlemen, that you can both swim, as I cannot help you if the boat goes down." They looked at each other astonished and somewhat alarmed, and acknowledged to each other that neither could swim. They then began hastily to bail the water out of the boat with their hats, and asked me to assist them, as the boat was evidently in a sinking state. I quietly declined to do so, and said that as they had filled the boat for their pleasure they might take their time in emptying it, for I was

quite ready at any time for a swim. In the course of half an hour the boat was bailed out and dry again. When they put ashore I said I would walk home, and they had to pull the boat up stream to where they found it, and I quickly made my best way home. This little affair created an ill-feeling on the part of B—— towards me, which he showed at times in sneering remarks, which, if not addressed to me, were aimed at me. Of these I took no notice. One evening during the rainy season I was detained at the mess longer than I wished in consequence of a heavy fall of rain, having only my pony on which to return to my bungalow: the senior officers had mostly buggies or palanquins, and could go back to their houses without getting wet. Unfortunately only B—— and myself were left in the mess-room, both of us young men, I very passionate and he very vindictive. I must tell you for the elucidation of what follows that certain regulations had formerly been in force in our mess, which a majority of officers, at a mess meeting, had abrogated. The regulations were most liberal at all times. The wines, sherry, and pale ale were paid for by all officers whether they partook of them or not, so that the juniors on small allowances could always partake of them at a small expense. B—— commenced speaking on this subject, and said that he thought it illiberal on the part of the senior officers to cancel that rule. I made no reply to him, as I

did not wish to have any argument on the subject, when he put the question to me direct, "Are you not of the same opinion?" I said no, I was not, for I did not wish the seniors to pay any portion of my expenses at the mess, as I could not afford to drink either wine or beer, and if I felt fatigued by over-exercise I found a little weak brandy and water restored me. He answered, evidently enraged, "Then, sir, you insinuate that I am mean enough to do the contrary?" I made no reply, and he added, "You're no gentleman for making such an observation, and I consider it most impertinent on your part to have done so." On this I rose from my chair and went towards him; he also stood up and said to me, "You're an impertinent ——." The last words were scarce out of his mouth when I struck him, and he fell prone on the ground. He rose and seized a chair, apparently with the intention of felling me with it. I again knocked him down and left him on the ground. Quitting the mess-house, I mounted my pony and rode home. This proceeding on my part was exceedingly wrong, but, as I before said, I was very passionate, and I could not put up with his insolent language. Early the next morning I was awakened by being shaken by the shoulder, and on rising up found Cornet B—— standing by my bed. He addressed me, saying, "Did you not push me down in the mess last night?" I replied, "No, sir; I knocked you down twice for being

very impertinent to me." He said, "Oh, very well, I know what I am to do." I immediately dressed and had my pony got ready, and went off to an elderly person in our corps, Dr Impey, an Irishman, and detailed the whole circumstances to him, saying that I didn't think that B—— could have been sober, he having asked me if I had not pushed him down. I added that if Dr Impey would kindly act as my friend I would leave the matter entirely in his hands. I soon after received a note from Lieutenant FitzGerald, as B——'s friend, demanding an explanation of what had occurred the preceding night. I referred him to Dr Impey, who had undertaken to act as my friend on this occasion. The two gentlemen talked the matter over and agreed that we should both be sent for and reasoned with on our conduct, as we were but boys. Impey wrote me a note to meet him at the messroom as soon as possible. I immediately went to him. FitzGerald and B—— were both waiting for me. Our friends had decided that we were both in fault; that B—— should not have used insulting language to me, and that I ought not to have struck him. Impey asked if I was willing to apologise for having done so. I replied, certainly, provided Cornet B—— expressed his regret for having insulted me. On these terms the matter was arranged. B—— first expressed his regret at having used improper language, and I said I was very sorry that I had lifted my hand to strike him.

This quarrel thus was adjusted. It was never to be spoken of or mentioned to anybody. So ended our first disagreement, but it bore a blossom which fruited afterwards.

Time passed on with the usual routine of military life. At the latter end of the year 1812, in consequence of a body of Pindarees having made a demonstration to invade and overrun the district of Mirzapur (a very rich tract on the right bank of the river Ganges), the regiment was suddenly ordered down from Muttra to the city of Mirzapur, and we went by forced marches down the Doab and crossed the Ganges at that town. Thence we proceeded onwards to Hilliah, a large village some ten or twelve miles on, leading up by the Katra Pass to the province of Rewa. We encamped at Hilliah, and had with us two corps of Light Infantry. Here we remained watching the passes on the frontier. A body of Pindarees had actually come down that pass before our arrival, intending to make a dash and plunder the rich town before mentioned. These marauders were not aware that a regiment of Light Infantry was stationed at a small cantonment named Tara, and it so happened that when some distance from this cantonment they heard firing of musketry early in the morning, the regiment of infantry being at practice with blank cartridge, the officer commanding (Colonel Tetley) being as ignorant that these marauders were so close to his post as they

themselves were, until they heard the firing, that a force of infantry was posted there. We remained at Hilliah till the month of June 1813, and had our spies in the province of Rewa and along the range of the Vindhya mountains to give us quick intelligence of any attempts by the Pindarees to invade the Mirzapur district. The Rewa Raja was called upon to give the reason why he had not sent information that these plunderers had passed through his territory to invade British territory, as by treaty he ought to have done. During the rainy season of that year (1813) the regiment was ordered to the cantonments of Sultanpur-Benares, situated about four miles from the fortress of Chunar, but on the opposite side of the river, and about fourteen miles from the town of Benares and on the same side of the river. At this place I hired a house, and I and two other brother-officers chummed together. They were R. Wood Smith and Thomas Wilkinson, the latter of whom joined the corps soon after our arrival. The rains were not quite over when the squadron to which I was attached, under Captain Howorth, was ordered again to Hilliah to take post there and watch the passes. I must tell you that there was a river with a very rocky bed in that place, and in many parts of it were pools. We had to cross this river at a point where it was eighty yards broad, and it was full and running rather rapidly. The only mode of crossing was by a

couple of canoes made out of hollowed trunks of trees. It was fordable at all seasons except during the rains or monsoon. On our arrival there we found it unfordable, and we had to swim the squadron over, horses with bare backs and men without their uniforms, attended by canoes to assist any of them who might be in difficulties. This was effected without any loss, the saddles and arms being brought over during the remainder of the day. We learned when we got to Hilliah that the reply from the Raja of Rewa had not been thought satisfactory by Lord Minto's Government, and a force had been ordered to assemble in Bundelkhund to enter that territory, not only to overawe the Raja, but also to prevent any Pindaree depredators from going through it. It appeared that a small portion of the guard of the 10th Native Infantry in charge of spare arms and other military stores, when proceeding in carts through a portion of Rewa, were attacked by a large armed force of Baghela Rajputs, and were overpowered and put to death. The arms and ammunition were taken off to Fort Entowrah, occupied by these people. The force from Bundelkhund having exacted retribution, made a more stringent treaty with the Raja of Rewa, who declared that he could not restrain his almost independent subjects from their lawless proceedings. It was determined that the force from Bundelkhund should advance against this force and destroy it.

We remained at Hilliah to assist in conveying what might be required to the force employed. On the troops arriving at the fort it was summoned to surrender. The summons was treated with defiance. On reconnoitring the place closely we were astonished to find that there was no gateway or doorway into it, moreover it was surrounded by a deep and wide ditch, and the only way of entrance was by a window in the wall, half-way up its height, which could only be reached by a rope ladder pulled up when not required by the garrison. Regular siege works were thrown up within half musket shot, and two 18-pounder guns were placed as battery field-guns to enfilade the walls, and four mortars to shell the place. Not being a very extensive fort it was completely surrounded, so that no escape could be made by the garrison. The hole in the wall was soon widened so as to form a practicable breach. The *débris* filled the ditch, and Colonel Adams, who commanded the force, ordered the assault. The place was carried by our troops, and the Killahdar or fort commandant, a determined man, when he found that our troops had managed to enter the place, seated himself on a large bag of gunpowder and blew himself up. Nearly the whole garrison were put to death. This severe example had a most wholesome effect, for all the small strongholds of the Rewa Raja's insurgent subjects surrendered when surrounded by our

forces. The Pindaree depredators, finding their attempts to get through the Rewa country to our rich towns on the banks of the Ganges fruitless, determined to find their way more to the eastward *viâ* Maunbhoona, or Sinbhoon, and crossing the river round the Ootaree Pass in the province of Palamow, attacked Gaya, the famous rendezvous for pilgrims of the Hindu religion, and from thence threatened Oomeh and other rich towns on the Ganges. Of this the British Government had timely notice, and a considerable force of European artillery, cavalry, and infantry was sent *viâ* Jusseram. Leaving the old ruinous fort of Bottasgarh on our right, we crossed the broad sandy bed of the River Soone, nearly four miles in width, and approaching the hills of Palamow formed a standing camp at a large town called Ramnagar. Parties of infantry were sent to explore passes in the hills, and the Intelligence Department sent spies and fast runners into the wild country beyond the hills to bring us due notice of the presence of any of these plunderers.

Close to the standing camp there was thick and almost impenetrable jungle, which afforded great sport to the officers, as it contained all sorts of game from the tiger to the hare, and from the peacock to the quail. Vast numbers of jungle fowl, like the domestic fowl but more slender and elegant in shape, were found in these places, especially at the foot of the

ascent to the old fortress of Kotagarh, which frowned down upon us from the opposite side of the river. To visit the fortress we had to cross the river, which was full of quicksands, and go through the village of Akbarpur, which led us by the only road through the dilapidated gateway of Kotagarh to the summit. The great danger was crossing the river, as in doing so we had to avoid those treacherous quicksands, even when the water was flowing over them, and there were many tales of the narrow escapes that sportsmen had had in crossing there. On one occasion I had to pass my pony through a water quicksand, the animal sinking in it till it covered the cantle of its saddle, but the sand being watery and loose I managed to force him through it. My companion B—— was not so fortunate, and had to turn back and was for some time in danger.

I went up to the top of the hill fortress and wandered all over it. The top was a table-land, and at least five or six miles in circumference. Many old ruins and buildings were on it, and some of them, it was declared, had treasure buried within them. Many large and deep tanks of stone riveted with iron, and filled with water and weeds, were sunk in the flat table-land, mostly surrounded by huge climbing-plants and clumps of bamboo and jungle. I had taken a guide from Akbarpur to show me the place,

and had four servants with me to carry my guns and ammunition, and also to beat the jungle with their long poles to start the game. On approaching one of these large tanks I saw wild duck and teal on it, and creeping under the shelter of the bamboos got a near pot-shot at them and killed two. But finding the water deep and covered with weeds, I forbade my servants to bring them to me. The guide, however, hoping to get a reward, stripped himself to fetch them out. He swam to where they were, and taking the dead ducks, one in each hand, managed to get to within fifteen yards of me, but he there got entangled in the weeds and was obliged to let go the ducks, and not being able to extricate himself, there was every chance of his being drowned. Fortunately for him, some people had been cutting the bamboos, and several very long ones were lying on the ground. I ran and picked up one, and entering the water as far as I dared, held it towards him, and luckily it was long enough to reach the guide. He snatched at it and held it tight, and with the assistance of one of my servants I pulled him to shore. In these exertions the dead wild-fowl had been drawn near the bank, and we managed to get them both out with the bamboo. I rewarded the fellow with one rupee, and he would willingly have risked his life again for another bird. In the evening the guide showed me a

place where I could ford the river without any risk. I also killed some wild cocks and hens, and did not return empty-handed to camp.

We were not disturbed in our standing camp by any attempt of marauding Pindarees making raids into Palamow or the old Hindu place, Gaya. Our brigade parades were diversified by hunting, shooting, and cricket, and thus time passed on. A favourite pastime was quoits, and the mention of this game brings to mind a circumstance which might have had serious consequences. One night at our mess Cornet P. Reid, who was doing duty with a wing of the 8th Light Cavalry, was conversing about this game. He was sitting next to me and was talking to Cornet B——, who sat at table nearly opposite to him. He said that he thought it was very difficult to place two quoits one upon the other in one hand, and to pitch them so as to go the whole length of the cast together; and that it was impossible to cast three in one hand any distance, for the centre one was sure to slip out. Cornet B——, whom he was addressing, said that he was not of that opinion, and that the quoits could be thrown with one hand together. Reid replied that he considered it exceedingly difficult, if not impossible, for if any person attempted it over the fly of a double poled tent the centre quoit would slip out and hit the fly. B—— said that he would take a bet that he could do it. A small

bet was laid, when B—— said, "I will tie the three quoits with a string and throw them over." Reid replied that that was not the question; he meant the quoits should be loose in the hand and merely grasped. He turned round to me and asked me if I had heard what had passed, and if I did not understand it so. I replied that I did, and that tying them together would make it a very easy thing to perform, and added *sotto voce* that the fastening was a mere quibble. B—— unfortunately heard the expression, and said, loud enough for the officers near us to hear, "I do not know, sir, what you mean by using the word quibble. No gentleman quibbles, sir, and I cannot deem you a gentleman for having made use of such an expression." I replied, "You are an impertinent fellow for addressing me in that way." Now I must mention that from the time of my former disagreement with Cornet B—— he had been practising, I may say daily, with his duelling pistols at a mark, and had become almost a dead shot with them. The officers were aware of this, and were under no inclination to be on companionable terms with him, as any little disagreement that might arise would tend to a fatal encounter. A quarrel had occurred between Cornet B—— and Cornet A—— at the mess of the 8th Dragoons, to which corps the latter officer belonged, and the misunderstanding had been settled in consequence of Cornet B——'s noted

skill in the use of the duelling pistols. Nay, a few days previous to this occurrence with me, after breakfast one morning at the mess tent, he asked Cornet Wilkinson to let him look at his duelling pistols, and produced his own. The natural consequence was that they went out to the grove of mango trees where the tent was pitched and commenced practising at a card nailed to the tree. B—— with his own pistol struck the card at 18 paces. He then tried Wilkinson's pistols, and was almost as successful with them as with his own. I happened to be in the tent and went to see the practice, and Wilkinson said, "By the bye, Hearsey, you have a splendid pair of duelling pistols; send for them and we'll try them." I did so, and they were taken out of their case, admired, and loaded. I was asked to take the first shot. I did so, was careless in taking aim, and missed striking the tree altogether. B—— then said, "There would be no great danger in being your opponent in a duel." I replied that I was not in the habit of practising with duelling pistols. Whether B—— bore this in mind or not I cannot tell, but after I had returned from the mess in the evening on which the discussion concerning quoits took place, and in which the unpleasant words had arisen between us, he sent his friend, Cornet Wilkinson, to me, calling on me to apologise for the expressions I had used, or to appoint a friend to

settle a place of meeting at seven o'clock next morning. I told Wilkinson I would send a friend to make arrangements, as I would not make any apology. I asked Cornet Anstruther to be my friend on this occasion. He agreed to be so, and all matters were arranged that the affair should come off. At the time appointed Anstruther and I arrived on the ground with my duelling pistols a few minutes before the other parties made their appearance. Anstruther had been talking to me about the cause of the quarrel, and said that the matter appeared to him so trivial, and that B—— was such a noted marksman, that a slight concession on my part would not derogate from my honour. I answered, pointing to a grave that happened to be near the place that we were standing on, "I would rather, Anstruther, be six feet underground than make any concession to a man whom I consider a bully." Wilkinson and Anstruther talked for some time, trying to avoid and prevent the last extremity, but finding it of no avail the distance of twelve paces was stepped off and the pistols loaded and placed in our hands, cocked, and hair-triggers adjusted. The signal to fire was the dropping of a handkerchief (to the end of which a weight was attached), and we were to fire the moment it was released by the finger and thumb. We had both to look at the person giving the signal, and could not take dead aim at each other, but fired

the same instant the handkerchief dropped. The ball of my adversary grazed my clothes at the upper part of my thigh, and the bullet of my pistol went through my adversary's thigh about six inches above the knee, and grazed the other leg a little lower down. I saw him turn pale, stagger, and fall, and I placed my pistol on the ground and ran towards him, undoing my black silk handkerchief which was round my throat. I knelt down to make use of the scarf as a tourniquet to stop the bleeding. By this time he had recovered himself a little, and said to me angrily, "Unhand me, sir; how dare you touch me." I immediately left him to the care of his friend Wilkinson, who at once fastened my handkerchief round and above the wound, and asked Anstruther to hand me my other pistol, as the business was to go further. However, Anstruther said "No, no, the affair is at an end," and he went to where Wilkinson and B—— were. B—— was very anxious to have another shot at me on his knees, as he could not stand, but they insisted upon the matter ending there, and then called to me and made us shake hands, and said that both of us had behaved honourably. There the matter ended between us, and we went back to camp, Wilkinson and Anstruther assisting B—— there. The intelligence of this occurrence soon spread through the camp, and many officers of different regiments called upon me, congratu-

lating me on my escape and on having punished so dangerous a man, who was always causing trouble. Next day I was summoned to the quarters of my commanding officer, Major Houstane, and in the presence of all the officers and attendants received a severe reprimand for duelling, the adjutant and senior captain being deputed to go to Cornet B——'s tent and read to him a similar diatribe.

Soon after this occurrence we moved our camp to Hoshungabad, which was much nearer to the jungle, among uncultivated lands at the foot of the Palamow hills. Parties on elephants were the order of the day, intelligence being frequently brought in of tigers being found in sugar-cane fields, patches of high grass, or jungle. One day I had gone out in search of snipe along the edge of a small running stream, which afforded cover for those birds, and whilst carefully proceeding on my sport I heard shouts from a sugar-cane field a short distance off that a large tiger had been disturbed in it, and finding the line of elephants too formidable for him to contend against, he bolted from the field and came in my direction. The servant carrying powder and shot had just time to say "Sahib!" when the royal beast made a spring over a grass cutter who was scraping grass close to me, lit with a splash in the centre of the stream, and made up the sloping bank into the scrubby brushwood

on the other side. The line of elephants and sportsmen were soon with me, and pushed on after him, but the jungle being very extensive the animal got clear away.

As the hot weather was now coming on apace the European troops were ordered back to cantonments, and the native troops formed a standing camp at a place called Poussa, close to the banks of the small river Coyle. The 6th Light Cavalry were so fortunate as to have their tents pitched in a grove of mhowa and other trees. The mhowas came into flower during the hot season of April and May. Their flowers are of an oval shape, larger than a common marble, of a thick substance and of a whitish-yellow colour. These fall off during the night and cover the ground, and the natives collect them in baskets, and after fermentation they extract a strong liquor from them: this is mixed with the arrack extracted from rice, and gives it a peculiar flavour. This grove was frequented by large white-and-grey monkeys, with black faces and paws and very long tails. They were very shy at first in coming to our end of the grove, but some water that was brought from a distance and poured into a large prepared hide of a bullock placed over a hollow scraped out and filled early every morning by the bhistis, attracted them to slake their thirst: they also fed on the pulse used for the draught animals, which was scattered here and there upon

the ground, and of which they were very fond. These attractions made them bold enough to come among the tents. It was proposed amongst us to try to catch them if possible without doing them any serious injury, and then to tame them. I managed to do so in the following manner: I dug a hole in the ground perpendicularly, the length being that of the monkeys, and coated the opening with a little surface of clay; then making a running noose placed it on the clay circle, taking the other end of the rope into my tent through a little opening among the roots of the grass that formed our tattis or water-screens. A little grain was scattered from the trees to the hole and on the clay circle. The monkeys coming down from the trees followed the grain to the hole, and then looking down, seeing such a store below, put in their paws to obtain it, and this was the time for the person watching to pull the strong cord which he held within the tent. The cord closed above the elbow of the monkey, and when he was secured three or four servants were ready with horse blankets to throw over the struggling animal, and then getting hold of his head and body they held him tight while another servant attached a light chain and collar to his neck. The monkey was then fastened to a long string and a peg driven into the ground, and the blankets removed. Here my friend was secured, but monstrously savage at first, but hunger and thirst soon

made him tame, and when a pan of cool water was placed within his reach, and grain thrown to him, the animal was only too happy to eat and drink. In the course of a few days the monkey used to look forward to the time when his food would be brought to him, and then eat it in the presence of the person feeding him. Sometimes the neck would become sore, but when he had become sufficiently tame that trouble was attended to and cured. In this way some fifteen to twenty monkeys were caught and tamed. We used to call it angling for monkeys. The jungles about this place gave cover to great numbers of jungle fowl, smaller than the domestic poultry; they were very wild and ran very fast, and got away from the sportsmen who wished to secure them by getting amongst thorny and leafy scrub. The cocks are very pugnacious, and our plan of getting them was to take a small tame cock and fasten it to a peg in an open place among the jungle. Then we lay perdu to the windward side and remained quite quiet whilst the tame bird sat crowing and answering the wild ones. After a time these latter would come into an open space and attack the tame bird. This was the time for the sportsmen to succeed in killing them. On one occasion with a brother officer I had pegged and fastened our tame cocks, hoping to get a shot at some of the wild ones. My companion being tired of waiting, fell into a doze, and being awakened by a flutter-

ing and struggling felt assured that he would obtain a wild bird. He snatched up his gun and fired in the direction of the noise. He ran to find his own bird dead, and the other, if wounded, had made its escape. However, the tame bird made a very good curry for lunch that day. What with our parades and sporting, time passed, and the rainy season approached, and in the month of June 1813 the force was broken up and the regiments sent back to their respective cantonments.

We arrived after the usual daily marches, and I went for a month's leave to Gorakhpur to visit my brother-in-law, Major Bradshaw, who was residing there, having been appointed by the Government of India political agent to settle the disputed boundary between the Terai and that province about Bhostwal Ithauqua. This Terai is considered very unhealthy during the rainy seasons from the 1st April to the 1st October. Malaria and marsh miasma prevail, and the people neither of the hills nor of the plains can reside in the Terai district without suffering from what the natives call "Aul," and Europeans "jungle fever." Very few retain their health who have once been attacked by it. Bradshaw employed me whilst with him in sketching from information maps of this country and the passes into the hills, but not being satisfied with the natives whom he had employed on that work he asked Lieutenant Pickersgill and myself to proceed to the frontier

and make a map of it. Lieutenant Pickersgill commanded Bradshaw's escort of infantry, consisting of one company of sepoys. We started with our tents and made three marches, going by Comyngarh, named after Colonel Comyn, who had built a small fort there several years before. We proceeded to the village of Lotan, situated on the bank of the small river Temida. Here we selected a mound or rising ground on which to pitch our camp, and made daily excursions and mapped out the different roads and paths leading to the passes. I sketched the maps and Pickersgill wrote the descriptions. Thus we were employed, when from very heavy rain the river flooded and we found ourselves surrounded by water for miles. I could only amuse myself by shooting the whistling teal and wild-fowl that resorted to the flooded fields. The tufted grass that grew over them became the resort of thousands of different kinds of insects, which I found climbed on to the leaves above the water, together with hundreds of scorpions, centipedes, spiders, beetles, and other curious creeping insects. Not finding any wild-fowl I determined to collect these insects, and sent a servant to the village of Lotan to get a *ghara* or earthen pot such as natives use to hold water. These have a narrow neck and a small shallow saucer to close the mouth. On getting this vessel I shook with my ramrod the tufts of grass so that the insects fell in it, and covering the mouth with the saucer

I carefully brought it home in order to show my companion what numbers of noxious insects abounded in this vicinity. When he saw the vessel as he entered his tent he asked me what I had got in it. I said, "A most curious animal with a nice soft velvety skin, and it appears to be quite harmless." Of course he wished to see it. I said, "If I open the vessel it will escape; put your hand in and feel." As he lifted the cover I struck it away from him, and, being round, it rolled along the carpet of the tent, and several of the scorpions and centipedes made their escape from it. I placed the *ghará* upright and put the cover on, and we called some servants in and destroyed the insects that were crawling about the carpet. My companion was rather an elderly man, and had commenced his career in his Majesty's 22nd Regiment, but had left it for the Company's service, which he entered as a cadet. He looked on me with surprise, and seemed angry that I should have played him such a trick. I took the pot and carried it outside to his tent, near which a hole had been dug some four feet in depth, for the purpose of observing how deep the floods of rain had saturated the earth; it was three feet in diameter, and had a foot and a-half of water in it. The insects were all emptied into this hole out of the pot, and to my astonishment some large frogs that were hidden under the water made their appearance and quickly devoured

large numbers of scorpions, centipedes, and other insects, not seeming to care for their bites or stings. We remained here for another week, hoping that the flood would subside, but our patience became exhausted, and we determined to return as soon as possible to Gorakhpur. To load our tents on camels with any hope of getting them from this place we found impracticable. We both had palanquins, and getting four canoes, each hollowed out from a single tree, and making a raft of strong thick bamboos tied tightly together, we put our raft on the canoes and our "palkys" on them, each canoe being two feet apart. The raft was well fastened with ropes to the canoes, and our "palkys," with bedding in them, were lashed upon it; also our baskets of provisions and our iron stove for burning charcoal. We embarked in our "palkys," and they sheltered us from the heat of the sun and from the rain, and with all our servants we pushed off on our way down the river and across fields and through forests, and so on to the Chota-Rapti River, and onwards to the great Rapti, which took us to the cantonments of Gorakhpur. Our horses and camels had been left at Lotan to wait the subsidence of the floods and to go by regular marches back to the cantonments. Colonel Bradshaw was much pleased with the information and sketches of the country we had brought him. The officers of the 14th Native Infantry posted there were sur-

prised to see us again, being assured in their own minds that the jungle fever would have carried us off. Our tents, horses, &c., did not return till a fortnight afterwards, and many of the party were ill with the fever. Pickersgill, who was rather stout, also got seriously ill. I, too, had a slight attack, and it was considered very fortunate that we had escaped more dangerous illness.

At the end of the month I returned by "palky" dak to Sultanpur-Benares. In the rainy season of 1814, in the month of August, Major Bradshaw established himself at a frontier village called Gora-Saran. He had with him one regiment of Native Infantry, one company of the 14th Infantry under Lieutenant Stubbs, and 150 men of Colonel Gardner's[1] Police Force,[2] who formed his escort or guard. The country being very unhealthy, he applied to Government to allow me to join him in case of his being taken ill, and this was permitted. So I left Sultanpur and marched to join him *vid* Ghazipur. On this march I used to send my only tent and table servants on at night, and slept in my cot under a tree. I had not proceeded four marches when some thieves from a neighbouring village stole my clothes and other articles which my sirdar (bearer) had placed close to my bed, and by the side of which, on the ground, he slept. During the night he woke up in alarm, and I found

[1] Colonel William Linnæus Gardner.

[2] Now 2nd Lancers (Gardner's Horse).

that the thieves had walked off with my bundle of clothes, my sword, and other things. I immediately sent the bearer to the village, to the civil native authority, with a list of the things stolen, and said that as they had supplied the watchman they would be responsible for the value of the things stolen, and that I should report the matter to the magistrate at Ghazipur. As soon as daylight appeared we searched the high *bajra* fields, as the thieves had been traced into them: here we found my sword and belt, but my clothes were gone, luckily not my uniform. I had, therefore, to ride that stage in my night-dress. It so happened that an indigo planter had established himself near the village I had encamped at, and as I approached the tent I saw a buggy with a lady and gentleman in it, driving on the road that I was taking, and, not being exactly in the dress that I wished a lady to see me in, I leapt a bank and ditch and took a wide circle round the adjoining fields to avoid them, my loose dress floating in the air. I managed to get to my tent and put on a dressing-gown before the party, who wished to meet me, made their appearance. The gentleman dismounted and came into my tent. I mentioned my misfortune to him, and the reason why I wished to avoid meeting him on the road. He asked me to come up to his bungalow and pass the day with him, for I must say these indigo planters were the most hospitable people that ever lived.

He told me that the young lady with him was his daughter. I was soon dressed, and told my table attendant to leave off preparing my breakfast and to go to his house and wait upon me there, this being the custom. I passed a very pleasant day, and next morning continued my journey. At a stage or two farther on I had to cross the wide and deep river Gogra. This was rather a ticklish affair, with my groom, horse, and self on a small rickety boat, with the wind high and rain pelting. In the middle of the stream my horse became alarmed, and the frail vessel rocked so much that I was afraid she would fill and go down. I laid hold of a thick and long bamboo to help in supporting me in case such an accident occurred; but, however, after a long pull I got over safe. My baggage did not arrive till after dark, so that I was obliged to give my animals time to rest and feed before I pursued my journey. I went by the town of Bettia, when the Raja, learning that I was a relative of Major Bradshaw, sent me a *dali* (present) of fruit and vegetables, also a kid, poultry, and some eggs. This was to me a great treat. I pushed on next day another stage. It rained hard, and the country was much under water. This, unfortunately, caused me to quit the road, and my horse fell with me into a sunken pit or well. We scrambled out again, but I was very much hurt, and the pain was so great that I could scarcely keep my seat. The next day I had to

cross a small river; this I did in a canoe, into which I put my saddle, the horse swimming behind. The current carried us amongst the branches of a tree which had been swept into the stream, and my poor horse was much torn and hurt, and in this state we arrived next day at Gora-Saran. My brother-in-law was happy to see me, and I was only too glad to get to bed and be attended by a medical man. My bruises kept me to my bed for a fortnight, and my horse had to be surgically treated. However, we both got over our misfortunes. Major Bradshaw desired me to take over command of the Police Force and drill them. This I did, and got them into tolerable order and discipline, and able to perform ordinary movements with some regularity. Thus passed the time till the month of October, in the early part of which the Nepalese outposts near Gorakhpur attacked one of our outposts or stations, seized the officer in command of it, killed and wounded some of the men, and carried the others off. This put an end to all the negotiations. A demand was made by the British Government to the Nepal authorities to give up the prisoners they had made, and to punish the officer who had dared to commit this outrage. The Nepalese would not do so, and the Governor-General, Lord Moira, and his Council declared war against the Nepalese. Armies were assembled at the large stations of the north-western provinces and on the banks of the

Ganges, which were directed to march and attack the passes of the Nepalese hills from the vicinity of Bettia to the north-west, and to seize the valley of the Doon and subdue the hill-country from Almora to Simla. A large force was sent under General Sullivan Wood to Lotan—the place Pickersgill and I had surveyed last rains—in order to attack the passes in front of that place. An army was also sent to Dinapur on the Ganges, under the command of General Marley, to attack the pass in front of Bettia, named the Chiria-Ghatti Pass, leading by Makwanpur to Khatmandu, the capital of Nepal. Whilst all this preparation was going on I recovered from the bruises and hurts I had suffered on my journey to Gora-Saran. Bradshaw had heard of a large and ancient fortress at the junction of the Jumna and Bhukkia rivers, and was desirous that a party should go out and survey it. Lieutenant Boileau, Lieutenant Thomson, and myself, with two or three of the younger officers who had volunteered (and among whom was Lieutenant Ingle), proceeded to visit the fortress. We found it was very extensive and had double walls and ditches, one a furlong within the other, with large ponds or tanks in the interior. The steps down to the water were made of bricks nearly a yard square and six inches thick. The old Hindu temples near the tanks were built of the same material and were very massive. All were falling into decay. The old walls mentioned

above enclosed a space of nearly a hundred acres, now overgrown with grass, bamboos, and trees, in which all the wild beasts of the forest found shelter. The survey took us some time to complete, and we disturbed in our progress a herd of wild elephants, who rushed away trumpeting along the dry ditches covered with dense jungle, which had also covered the sloping mounds that had formerly been walls. Lieutenant Boileau carried his note-book and had a perambulator wheeled along close to him. Lieutenant Thomson had the measuring-chain carried next to him and a good stout pole with yards and feet measured upon it. Young Ingle and myself preceded the party with our fowling-pieces loaded with ball. Mine was a single barrel, made by Mortimer. Our khalasi carried our ammunition close behind us. Young Ingle had gone a little way on ahead, when all of a sudden he came running back calling out that a tiger was pursuing him. He passed me and went to the rear of the party. I said to him, "I'll not run until I see the animal," and putting my gun to my shoulder, I awaited its approach. The surveying party also took up an attitude of defence—Lieutenant Thomson holding up the pole. Presently the scrub and high grass began to shake, and a very large and formidable wild boar rushed at me. I was steady with my gun and placed a bullet between his neck and shoulder. This did not stop him, but it saved me from being ripped,

for, in dashing past me, he knocked me off my legs. My khalasi was standing in the same manner, and we both rolled over into the ditch. Thomson shouted aloud and made a blow at the boar with his pole, the perambulator was dropped, and the party took to its heels. My khalasi and I were soon on our legs, and I reloaded my gun with ball. The wild boar dashed down near us while we were on the ground, and pursued his course through the scrub and jungle. Thinking I should find the animal dead, I traced his course a considerable way through the jungle by the spots of blood on the leaves and grass, but, after going a long distance without finding him, I returned. This was the only incident that occurred, and after the survey was completed we returned to Gora-Saran.

On the 15th October 1814 Major Bradshaw issued orders that the detatchment of the 15th Native Infantry, the Police Horse under my own command, and his escort of one company under Lieutenant Boileau, were to move out of our cantonments at midnight to surprise a body of Goorkhas at a place called Barharwa, situated on the left bank of the Baramatti River. We proceeded silently, and arrived at our destination before daylight. There was a very thick fog over the surface of the country. It was not very high, for we could see the tops of the mango trees in the grove in which the enemy were posted, but the

surface of the ground was hidden from us. I was directed to make a dash with my small cavalry force between their cantonment or post and the bank of the river, and to get hold of their boats there and sink them in order to prevent the enemy escaping across the river. In doing this I was almost foiled by a broad and deep ravine, into which my horse, as I was leading, leapt some fifteen feet sheer down. He came down on his head and nose, and his knees touched the opposite bank; but, being a powerful animal, he recovered his feet, and I rode up the ravine and managed to get my party round at the head of it, where, again forming, I dashed into the enemy's post and succeeded in sinking the boats. While I was doing this the infantry had attacked on the outer or front side of the post, and effected a complete surprise. The enemy had not time to form or make any serious opposition. The chief Goorkha commander, by name Parsaram Tapa, was killed while personally fighting sword-in-hand with Lieutenant Boileau, whom he wounded; but he immediately received his death from a sepoy who cut through his skull. The party of Goorkhas lost almost all their officers, and rushed to get their boats to cross the river. But their boats had been sunk, and they collected under the high bank, not knowing what to do, as the firing of our infantry was very heavy. I was obliged to withdraw my horsemen, as I had already some 18 horses and men killed by the

firing of our own infantry. Soon my men began plundering, and a Daffadar, by name Ahmed Khan (Bhangash), got a small elephant about six feet high, and was actually disputing possession of it with a havildar of infantry. It was with the greatest difficulty I could get him away, and not before a musket bullet had struck his waistband and had inflicted a wound on the fleshy part of his person. But he did not seem to mind much about that, for, on mounting his horse, he took with him on to his saddle a fine-looking fair Goorkha child, holding it on to the saddle. I asked him what he had got there. He patted him on the head and said, "A little Hindu prize of war," adding that he should adopt him and call him Fateh Mahommed, which means Mahommed the victorious. I told him to take care of the child, for I should certainly require it of him when the affair was over. I got my men at last in line near the same ravine that had stopped me in the morning, and dismounting a body of men I posted them in it with loaded matchlocks and drawn swords. It was well I did so, for the enemy, foiled in crossing the river by boat, came up under the bank so as to be sheltered from the fire of our infantry with the intention of making their way northward toward the jungles and hills. As they approached in a confused mass, carrying two of their standards, my men, in parties of ten or twelve, rushed out at the mouth of the ravine towards the

stream of the river and poured volley after volley amongst them. Observing a company of our infantry at a short distance, I rode towards it and told the officer commanding, who proved to be Lieutenant Thomson, to bring his men along with him, and we went at the double towards the edge of the bank. The enemy having been stopped by my men at the end of the ravine, some of them climbed up the bank and fired at us. On the infantry nearing the edge the enemy there threw down their standards and arms and plunged into the deep river to swim across, the company firing volleys at them. But few got to the other bank, and most of the wounded were drowned.

This was scarce over when Major Bradshaw ordered me to take my Police Force to a small square brick fort called Crotsar-Bhonga, situated on the right bank of the Baramatti River, and about ten miles from Barharwa. I was soon on the move, and he informed me that five companies of the 15th Native Infantry and two guns would follow me. On arriving at the place I found it to be a strong square brick fort—not large—with bastions at the corners, and a deep and wide ditch. There was only one entrance, and a dam or bank had been thrown across the ditch to the gateway. On another side of the bank a small erection had been constructed. I directed the horsemen to place themselves in small squads all round the place. But I could not see any of the garrison;

so with two orderlies I rode up towards the gateway, and as no matchlocks were fired at me I went straight to it and found the door wide open. I soon ascertained that the garrison, which had consisted of only forty men and their Goorkha officers, had evacuated it and had gone off to cross the Baramatti River and make their way into the jungle, and by the nearest pass into the hills. I followed them with a party of thirty men, led by a nishanburdar or standard-bearer named Dilower Khan, and soon got upon their track, and putting our horses at the gallop we presently arrived at the bank of the river, where we saw a party of the enemy crossing it at a ford. We dashed into the stream and had some difficulty in crossing, for we had ridden into quicksands. The enemy arrived at the firm ground on the other side before us. Their matchlocks had got wet, but they massed together and showed front to our party. No sooner had we got free of the river than we formed line and charged down upon them. They threw down their arms and surrendered. The arms were collected by my horsemen, and a party was told off to guard and escort the prisoners to my camp. We recrossed the river, and I sent word to a native officer who had been left at the fort to make it over to the infantry when it arrived. I then hastened back to Barharwa, where the action had been fought in the morning, to inform Major Bradshaw of our

success. I directed my horsemen to give their horses food and to rub them down—half of them at a time—so that we might be always prepared to mount at a moment's notice if required. I then got some food for myself and broke my fast. While so doing I got an order from Major Bradshaw to collect the bodies of the enemy who had been slain, to send the wounded to the hospital, and to bury the dead. This last was the most unpleasant duty that I had as yet performed as an officer or soldier. The bodies had to be dragged to a pit that had been dug at the head of the ravine, and were promiscuously thrown into it and earth thrown over them. We remained here but a short time and then marched to a broken-down old fort called Goor-Pershad, where we watched the pass in front of us, and patrolled towards it night and day to prevent a surprise, as we knew that a body of the enemy were in the forest at the foot of the pass leading into the mountains. Another party of the 22nd Native Infantry was sent to watch the passes some five or six marches off, and encamped at a village called Lachmanpore (or Summundpore). This party was under the command of Captain Blackney. Major Bradshaw left at Barharwa five companies of the 15th Native Infantry, two 6-pounder guns drawn by bullocks, with ammunition, &c., under Lieutenant Mathison, and thirty of the Police Horse, under the command of a jemadar, to patrol. A corps named the

Champarun Light Infantry was also sent to take possession of a place called Bara-Ghari. This corps was commanded by Major Hay.

Major Bradshaw, taking his escort with him, marched to meet General Marley's army, which was fast approaching the frontier. We met this army not far from Bara-Ghari. Major Bradshaw waited upon General Marley and explained to him all that had been done, the position of the small parties he had left to watch the river passes leading from the Nepal hills, and told him that these small detachments *must be reinforced* or withdrawn. Unfortunately General Marley did not heed this advice, but remained in a standing camp awaiting the arrival of his commissariat, ordnance, and medical stores at Bettia, where he was throwing up field entrenchments in order to have a place of safety for them. In the meanwhile the enemy had recovered from their panic at the destruction of their outposts, and determined to be revenged. They assembled in large numbers, and, moving by night, managed to surprise two posts — one at Goor-Pershad[1] and the other at Summundpore. They did so successfully; and though resistance was offered by our troops for many hours, the detachments, not being reinforced, were overwhelmed. Captain Sibley, who commanded at Goor-Pershad, was killed; Lieutenant Mathison escaped wounded,

[1] Called Pursa in the official correspondence.

as did Lieutenant Smith of the 15th Native Infantry and other officers; but numbers of the men were killed. The survivors of the cavalry and artillery, after having fired off the last round of ammunition, made their escape. Those who got away crossed a deep but narrow river which partly surrounded their post, and retired towards the main army. This occurred on the morning of the 1st January 1815, beginning the new year rather badly. A regiment, with some artillery, under the command of Major G., had been ordered from the main army to reinforce the detachment at Goor-Pershad. He was near enough to it to hear the firing of the 6-pounder guns; but instead of hurrying on to support it, halted until the fugitives arrived. Then, if he had advanced, he would have surprised the Goorkhas, recovered our prestige and our guns. But no; he thought discretion the better part of valour, and hurried back to General Marley's camp, leaving our wounded and dead in the possession of the enemy, and those alive to be taken and murdered in cold blood. At Summundpore the disaster was more complete: Captain Blackney and Lieutenant Duncan were killed, and few of the men escaped. A young assistant surgeon named Corbyn, on the alarm being given, ran towards the hospital tent in his night-dress, thinking that was his proper post. The enemy had got into it and were destroying

the sick and wounded, when a brawny grenadier sepoy met Corbyn, caught him up in his arms, and carried him bodily off, thus saving his life. The moment I heard of these disasters I got permission from Major Bradshaw to go myself, with forty men of my Police Horse, to Goor-Pershad in order to look for and rescue any of the wounded or runaways who might have hidden themselves, and bring them into camp. I felt my way there and found the enemy had retired with our captured guns and such arms as they had been able to collect, together with the tents and baggage. I did manage to bring some severely wounded men into camp, and to cover the retreat of those who had escaped from the field of action. I also brought in the bodies of Major Sibley and others who had fallen. Another party of my horsemen, under the command of Jemadar Ameer Khan (who was said to have been the son of a British officer, and had been brought up as a Mohammedan by his mother), was sent to Summundpore. He brought in the bodies of Captain Blackney and Lieutenant Duncan, also many wounded native officers and men who had hidden themselves in the jungle. Our force and General Marley's large army had to ruminate over these disasters and vow vengeance. General Marley had not heeded the advice of Major Bradshaw to reinforce these posts or withdraw them, and this neglect was reflected upon Major Bradshaw

in an unjust manner. However, when the circumstances became fully known, he was honourably cleared of any neglect. These unhappy events, when reported to Lord Moira, the Governor-General, roused his anger, and he directed General Marley to be superseded, and General George Wood (commonly known by the sobriquet of the Royal Bengal Tiger) took command. The army of General Marley had moved on to the Terai, and we all thought that an advance would be made to Chiria-Ghattee and the passes into the hills in front. However, General Marley, hearing that he was superseded, awaited the arrival of his successor in command; and becoming impatient, and learning that General Wood had arrived in Bettia and was on his way to the camp, determined to go and meet him. This he did without handing over the army to his next senior officer or informing his staff. It so happened that Captain Pickersgill, who had been promoted in the Quartermaster-General's Department, had gone out some miles to the front with an escort of twenty men of my Police Horse and as many men of Light Infantry, to reconnoitre the border of the forest and survey the country and its vicinity. On the very day (19th February 1815) that General Marley left he came upon a village occupied by the enemy's infantry. The village was named Pirazee. The enemy moved out and attacked him. He retired to the high banks of

a tank or pond that had been excavated about a mile from the village. A small stream ran down close to the tank, and during the rainy season (when all these streams are swollen and running violently) one of the high banks near, between which it flowed, had been washed away. An opening in the tank, some ten yards wide, admitted cattle to approach near to drink out of it. We (Colonel Bradshaw and his staff[1]) were at breakfast, when suddenly the firing of musketry was heard. General Marley was sought for and not found; and the next senior officer, Colonel Dick, ordered the pickets to prepare and move to the front and requested Colonel Bradshaw to lend his escort of Police Horse that he might send them quickly to Captain Pickersgill's assistance. At once the trumpet sounded "boot and saddle," and soon we were mounted and off. The party was led by me. We were directed by the sound of firing to where Captain Pickersgill had withdrawn his party. I managed to get through the opening in the bank of the tank, and to draw up my horsemen where Pickersgill had assembled his escort. The enemy in the village had not seen my arrival. Two officers of infantry—Lieutenants Wilson and Patten—had galloped with me. The enemy, thinking they were sufficiently strong to cut off Pickersgill's party, moved out of the village

[1] Major Bradshaw was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel about this time.

in a tumultuous mass to attack him. The ground between the village and the tank was boggy and marshy. This I was not aware of; and when the enemy had approached half way I led out my men, formed line, and advanced to meet them. The bog was deep, and my horses sank in it above their knees, and I could not get them through it. Whilst thus impeded, the enemy opened a fire of musketry and shot flights of arrows amongst us. I got my party out. This encouraged the Goorkhas, who thought I was retreating. I, however, skirted the swamp, and, turning the end of it, again formed and charged them. They broke, and ran for protection to the village. Many were cut down and speared, and they were driven into the village with considerable loss—my men following young Patten and myself amongst the huts, where we were fighting at a great disadvantage. Young Patten was close to me, and had received a slight wound on the head and forehead—a man having made a heavy lunge and cut at him from the top of a hut, the sword cutting through the visor of his cap. Turning round, I saw the gleam of the bayonets of the infantry pickets advancing on the village. I told Patten that I should withdraw my men from the village as fast as I could, and form them on the small plain between the Terai (wood) and the village, to cut the enemy off if they bolted or were driven out by the approaching infantry. This plan I immediately

carried out. I sounded the kettledrum as a signal for the assembly of my men, but, unfortunately for me, several staff officers had galloped in advance of the picquets and had joined my men. All they knew was that the enemy was in the village; and when my horsemen prepared to obey my signal, they hindered them from doing so, saying, "The enemy are in the village." The consequence was that, instead of having 120 men with me, I only had thirty or forty; and, as I had told Patten would be the case, the enemy had collected in the huts on the forest side of the village, and when they observed the European and native infantry advancing to attack them, they rushed out in the direction where I had got my few men together. On their approaching my small party I led my men to the attack. The enemy seemed to be about 500 in number. As I have said, I had not more than thirty or forty horsemen; but being aware that they would be followed out of the village by the remainder of my force, I advanced and attacked them. I and my standard-bearer, Dilower Khan, dashed in amongst them. The remainder of my men pulled up and went to the flank of the retreating enemy, leaving us two amongst them; but we, pushing on, rode down many and used our swords with some effect. In parrying a bayonet-thrust the blade of my sword fell out of the handle, the rivet having given way. At this moment one of the enemy was in the act

of giving me a severe blow with his sword. I threw the handle of my sword straight in his face, which saved me. Another man stepped aside and shot at me with an arrow: the point of it stuck into the wooden knob of my silk sash and split it in two, wounding me slightly in the abdomen. A third man placed the muzzle of his musket close to my ribs and pulled the trigger. Luckily for me, in those days percussion-caps had not been invented. The musket had a flint lock, the powder in the pan was moist, and instead of immediately exploding the musket, it burnt like wildfire. This startled my horse, and it shied. The bullet and powder blew the point of the arrow out of my side and set fire to my sash and clothes. The muzzle of the musket had been turned slightly through the movement of my horse; in this way both the standard-bearer and myself forced our way through the retreating mass. We each received three slight wounds, and our horses were also slightly wounded. I found the men from the village, joined by those who had not followed me, actively employed at the rear of the retreating mass, doing good execution. The chief of the Goorkha party—by name Bugwant Singh Thappa—was slain, his skull having been cleft open. The force that was sent out advanced into the forest, hoping to find some post that they could attack. Late in the evening we returned to camp. The body of the slain chief I ordered to be laid on a

slight charpoy, with a sheet tied over it, and taken to Colonel Bradshaw's camp. I reprimanded the party of horsemen for not following me when I attacked the mass of Goorkhas that had retreated from the village; and I promoted Dilower Khan from a nishan-burdar or standard-bearer to the rank of duffadar-major, directing that he should remain supernumerary in that superior rank until a vacancy occurred. My wounds were trifling, and I did not report myself hurt. One blow that Dilower Khan had had was worse; but we had narrow escapes of our lives. My party and self received the thanks of Colonel Dick in Army Orders, and the affair was mentioned by the Commander-in-Chief in General Orders.[1]

[1] In the following letter Hearsay gives a very modest account of his exploit:—

CAMP RAMNUGGER, NEPAL FRONTIER,
12*th April* 1815.

MY DEAREST MOTHER AND SISTER,—I have allowed nearly three months to pass away since I last wrote to you, which negligence, I hope, will not have given you pain. The army we are with has been on the Nepal Frontier ever since December last, and has done nothing. General Marley, who commanded, was removed in February, and General George Wood took his place: the former General has been put off the staff for not having executed the duty assigned to him. I was lucky enough, on the 20th of the same month, to have another opportunity of distinguishing myself. My little body of horse attacked 400 of the enemy and succeeded in killing and taking prisoners nearly half the number,—among the former was their chief,—for which I got the praise of Colonel Dick, who commanded the army at that time, and have been particularly noticed in orders by Lord Moira. I do not think the enemy will ever give our cavalry another opportunity of acting against them—the lesson has been so severe. The party of Irregular Horse that

The next day General Wood arrived in camp, and Major-General Marley was sent to command at the Fort at Allahabad, as he was thought by the Commander-in-Chief not suffi-

I commanded has been ordered to join Captain Baddeley, so that I am at present a gentleman at large residing at Bradshaw's table. I do not know as yet whether I shall be ordered to rejoin my corps. Bradshaw has written to the Commander-in-Chief about me, so that I shall soon have notice of what is to become of me.

Give my best love to Charlotte, and tell her Bradshaw is in very good health, but has a great deal to do, and kiss my nephew and nieces for me. I heard some time since from Salmon he was very well, and had given over the idea of going home; but I think he will send the children. William is now growing a great boy, and requires the bracing air of old England to make him strong and stout.

Hyder has got the command of 1000 men, and is now fighting in the Nepal hills. I hope it will lead to his getting some appointment for life. He has now only to look to himself: if he signalises himself Lord Moira will most certainly make a handsome provision for him. He wrote me some time since that he had sent money home to Harriet, which I hope she has received ere this.

The next remittance I intend sending in July, so that it will arrive in January 1816, and I hope it will be useful. I have now some idea that we shall have an increase of cavalry on this Presidency. It is said each corps will be augmented to four squadrons, which will give me a lieutenancy. The next thing I shall look to will be a troop, which will enable me to send home £100 a-year, besides putting a little by for myself.

Colonel Charles, now General Stewart, has been with us these two or three days. He appears very much broken; but it is not to be wondered at—he is such a wild man. You would suppose he was only eighteen years old to hear him talk—so full of fun, &c. I believe my voice reminded him of my father, for he took notice of it, spoke to Bradshaw, and then laughed.

We all expect to be cantoned on this frontier by the 1st of next month. I will now finish, with best remembrances to William when you write to him, and believe me, my dearest mother and sister, your ever affectionate son and brother,

J. B. Hearsey.

ciently energetic for our active life. I must mention an anecdote of the native soldiery, explaining that the word "dikh" means in the native language annoyance or trouble. After the surprise and destruction of the two parties by the Goorkhas as before mentioned, General Dick, who had assumed temporary command of the army, determined that it should not be taken by surprise by a night attack. He directed that half the force should be posted, fully accoutred and armed, at night, whilst the other half rested. This was something new to the native soldiery, who had never heard of half an army keeping watch at night time, and on being asked how they liked their new General they replied in the native language, "Kya dikh, din bhar, aur dikh rhat bhar!" meaning in English, "Trouble by day and annoyance by night." On the advent of General Wood the whole army fully expected to march and seize one of the lower passes to the range of hills leading to Khatmandu, the capital of the Nepalese, instead of which a board of senior medical officers was assembled to take into consideration whether it was not too late in the season to attempt a passage through the forests to seize and occupy the Chiria-Ghattee Pass, and it was determined by them that the season was too far advanced and that it would be too hazardous to risk the health of the 5000 Europeans with us by exposure to

the malarial fever called "aul" which prevails in the forest, thirty miles in breadth, which had to be traversed before reaching the higher and healthier parts. General Wood did not choose to remain in camp idle, but determined to march along the borders of the Terai to the frontier of Purneah. The army accordingly broke up the encampment and moved in a south-easterly direction, driving away the enemy, who had abandoned all their outposts and stockades and retreated into the hills. Nearly a month's march took us to Janackpore, near the Teesta river. There was no road, and we had to make one for our artillery and carts as we went along. The small body of police cavalry under my command was lent by Colonel Bradshaw to General Wood, there being no other mounted troops with the force. General Wood directed me to prevent any baggage preceding the column or occupying the road cut through the grass and jungle by the pioneers. I scarce had a night's rest the whole way. I did not know what it was to take off my clothes, long boots, or sash at night, or to take any sleep. I was obliged to be on horseback at 11 P.M. guarding with my men the only road to prevent its being blocked by baggage. When the force moved I had to precede the column on its march, and to prevent elephants, camels, bullocks, and camp-followers from obstructing it. The advance of the column was exceedingly slow. We had some

heavy guns and field-pieces with us. The digging down of the steep banks of mountain streams, and filling their beds with cut branches and bundles of grass to prevent the wheels of the artillery sinking into the bogs, took much time, and I seldom got any food except what I carried in my haversack until five o'clock in the afternoon, and very frequently not then. I was sent out also to scour the jungle and forest in the vicinity of the line of march to search for any parties of the enemy who might be in ambuscade. On returning after dark, not knowing the parole or countersign of the day, the pickets would not allow me to enter into camp, though the sentries must have known by my cavalry dress and that of my men that I was the only officer of the mounted branch of the army. Worn out with fatigue, I frequently did not get to Colonel Bradshaw's small camp until 12 o'clock at night. In this way we proceeded to a place called Rupeetaghari. Near this spot the Nepalese had made a strong stockade formed of logs of timber on the elevated bank of a deep square tank. I was very anxious to be sent on, followed by a regiment of European infantry and field-guns, to beleaguer this place until the army could come up and make an example of them, but General Wood would not give his consent. Thus a good opportunity was lost to punish the Nepalese. Colonel Gregory of the 12th Native Infantry, who was

on duty in Purneah, had moved out to the vicinity of Rupeetaghari, and we should probably have been able to make an example of the 600 Goorkhas who had garrisoned it: at any rate, we should have done something after our long march of nearly a month. The enemy, learning the approach of General Wood's large force, abandoned the place and retired into the forest and hills. After waiting here for a week, General Wood marched back again to the neighbourhood of Bettia. I had all the arduous duties of baggage-master to perform, and this disagreeable and incapable old General would not even enter my name in orders as "baggage-master" to increase my cornet's allowance of pay, though I had such responsible and arduous duties to perform. The army was then distributed to their quarters for the rains at a place called Mottahghur, where there is a large lake of pure water. Mottahghur is near Bettia, where field-works had been erected to protect the stores of the army. Colonel Bradshaw went to a place called Segowlie, where he built a bungalow for the rains. We remained at Segowlie quietly for a month, where, finding myself *un de plus*, as Lieutenant Boileau had been made Colonel Bradshaw's assistant, I applied to Colonel Bradshaw to be allowed to join my regiment at Keetah[1] in Bundelkhund, to which station it had been ordered in course

[1] Keetah or Keitha, a cantonment from 1812 to 1828.

of relief. I had a fearfully hot and unpleasant journey. I went to Benares, and thence pursued my way *viâ* Mirzapore on to Feroshah and Banda, and thence to Keetah.

On leaving the Nepal frontier, Sir John Hearsey dismisses the subject in his diary with the following brief remark: "I may as well mention that General Ochterlony was ordered from the north-west provinces of Nepal, where he had successfully conquered the Nepalese country about Simla, to take command of the main army, General Wood being superseded, Lord Hastings not approving of the mode in which he had carried on the service during the preceding hot weather."

A brief record of General Ochterlony's concluding operations near Simla, and of his subsequent invasion of Nepal proper, will serve to show the sequence of events up to the end of the Gurkha war.

General Ochterlony continued his successful operations against Amar Singh during the operations in Kumaon, described in the memoir of Major Hyder Hearsey

On April 14, 1815, Ochterlony made a successful night attack on the Gurkha position near Simla, and two days later Amar Singh, driven into a corner, made a desperate attack on the British position and was repulsed with heavy loss.

On the 15th May Amar Singh capitulated, see-

ing that his position at Malaun must inevitably fall. For this service Ochterlony was made a Baronet and a K.C.B., and granted a pension of £1000 a-year.

By the convention that followed these events the Gurkhas retired to the east of the Kali river, but the Gurkha Government refused, in December 1815, to ratify the treaty of peace, and hostilities were resumed early in February 1816. Sir David Ochterlony was placed in command of a force of 20,000 men, with which he advanced straight on Khatmandu, the capital of Nepal.

By a bold and skilful night march on February 14, Ochterlony turned the strongly fortified position by which the Kourea Ghat pass was defended. Four days later the baggage came up, and Ochterlony continued his advance. After two severe actions at Makwampur and Hariharpur respectively, the Gurkha Government submitted.

It should be added that the Gurkhas, who were the bravest and most humane foe encountered by the British in India, have since been our most faithful allies.

Lieut.-Colonel Paris Bradshaw, the husband of Sir John Hearsey's eldest sister, Charlotte Hearsey, was born in 1764. His wife, who was under seventeen at the time of her marriage, was twenty-four years his junior, having been born in 1788. Paris Bradshaw was consequently forty years old when he married, and was already a man of considerable note in the public service. He was a man

of great activity of mind and body, of moderate stature, and slight build.

He went to India in 1782 at the same time as two other Irish lads, Charles Stuart and George Dick, who both rose to high rank in the army, and whose names figure in Sir John Hearsey's autobiography. The three friends proposed to remain bachelors and, having made their fortunes, to return before they were too old to enjoy life and devote themselves to field sports in the old country.

This agreement fell through on Bradshaw's marriage to Charlotte Hearsey, and Bradshaw was taken roundly to task by Charles Stuart for his breach of faith. After Stuart, however, had met Charlotte Hearsey he wrote to his friend: "My dear Paris,—I have seen your Helen, and I excuse you." The children of Andrew Wilson Hearsey were, in fact, all unusually handsome, and were also kind-hearted and generous—qualities shared by Colonel Bradshaw, who treated his young brother-in-law, John Hearsey, with fatherly kindness, as is described in the autobiography.

There is amusing evidence of Bradshaw's idiosyncrasies, as well as of his kindness, in a letter to John Hearsey, written in August 1814. The letter is marked "Private," and runs thus:—

DEAR JOHN,—I have the pleasure to receive your letter of the 26th ultimo. Having on the subject of it received a Dispatch from Headquarters this morning, I enclose you a copy of it solely for your private information. It is copied on small paper so that you may send it to Charlotte[1] as soon as you get it, for you ought to write to her once a-month, as next to hearing from me your letters or your sisters' must be most valuable to her. I have lately written to her and prepared her to expect the

[1] The writer's wife.

event announced in the enclosed.[1] Do you therefore conclude the matter by transmitting these copies to her. . . . It is not my intention to make any application for you to join me until after Lord Moira has seen your corps. I shall answer the Adjutant-General and say so, adding that this was your sentiment, and that you felt you would be unworthy of the distinction if you could desire to be absent on such an occasion. Prepare, therefore, for the Review, and for God's sake look up and hold yourself straight. Everything else, I am sure, you will do as expected in your situation.

I have all my packets of letters from poor Charlotte down to the 19th December, I think. All quite well. She, of course, sends her love to you, *and bids you hold yourself up.* She says she never will omit this conclusion to her letter until I report to her that you are as straight as a halbert.

. . . . . .

I am, your affectionate Brother,

P. BRADSHAW.

P.S.—Your staying for the review will be agreeable to your commanding officer.

Colonel Bradshaw's grandson, Mr Brockman, in whose possession is the above characteristic letter, adds the comment: "No one who had seen General Hearsey in his old age would have imagined that it had ever been necessary to enjoin him to 'look up and hold himself straight.' So the advice bore good fruit."

Colonel Bradshaw's distinguished services on the Nepal frontier are sketched in Sir John Hearsey's autobiography. In consideration of his achievements there, both as a soldier and as a diplomatist, Bradshaw was promised the reversion of the post of Resident at Lucknow; but

[1] *I.e.*, that her husband was to be employed on the Nepal frontier.

the promise was subsequently forgotten by the Board of Directors. Bradshaw returned to England in the year 1818, intending to retire if his claims were not attended to. His representations, however, met with success, and three years later he returned to India to take up the Residency at Lucknow, which had again fallen vacant. He did not live to reach that place, dying on August 9, 1821, at Patna, where he is buried.

It was believed at the time that Colonel Bradshaw was poisoned with diamond dust through the intermediary of a trusted servant who, found by him as an infant deserted by the roadside, had been brought up in his house. The murder was said to have been committed on the instigation of the King of Oudh, whose enmity Colonel Bradshaw had incurred when First Assistant to the then Resident, Colonel Collins, by the refusal, with considerable heat, of a large present offered him by the king. Colonel Bradshaw's son, Paris, mentioned in Sir John Hearsey's autobiography, served in the 77th Regiment, which he commanded for many years. He died a General Officer and a K.H.

CHAPTER IV.

It is impossible within the limits of a few explanatory paragraphs to explain the genesis of the Mahratta war of 1817-19; but as that war was introduced by the action of Lord Moira against the Pindaris, a statement concerning our quarrel with this strange organisation may also serve to show how the Mahratta powers one by one entered into the struggle against British rule in Central India.

The Pindaris were originally Hindu outlaws, driven to arms by the persecution of Aurangzet, who on the rise to power of Sivaji, the founder of the Mahratta power, attached themselves to him to a limited degree, but retained their independence.

As the Mogul empire crumbled and anarchy spread in Central India, the Pindaris degenerated into an organised banditti and became the terror and the scourge of the country which was submitted to their depredations.

Owning no master, they attached themselves at one time to the Peshwa's armies, and later to those of Sindhia and Holkar; in fact, they swelled

the numbers of whatever leader of the Mahratta confederation might appear to them most likely to put plunder and rapine in their way.

In 1814 the Pindaris numbered from twenty-five to thirty thousand horsemen, of whom about half were well armed. Their central district was in the valley of the Narbada, a region from which they could conveniently attack any of the three British Presidencies which seemed to be in difficulties at any time. The Pindaris plundered the northern portion of the Bombay Presidency in 1808, and in 1812 they devastated districts in Bengal. In 1813 Lord Moira arrived in India as Governor-General, and although the most pressing military need at the moment was the Gurkha question, he soon saw that the tranquillity of India absolutely demanded the suppression of the Pindaris on the first opportunity.

The home authorities pursued their usual policy of urging peace at any price, with or without honour, and in the year 1816 the Pindaris invaded British territory 23,000 strong and ravaged many parts of the country from Ahmadnagar in the west to the Northern Circars in the east.[1]

During this expedition the Pindaris perpetrated their usual atrocities, but in the course of the cold weather they were vigorously attacked and suffered heavy losses.

[1] 'The Marquess of Hastings,' by Major Ross of Bladensburg. "Rulers of India" series.

The home Government, though fully aware of the atrocious character of the Pindaris, now proposed that the difficulty should be met by engaging one portion of them to destroy the other; but this ingenious scheme fell through, and finally the home Government agreed with the Governor-General's advisers on the spot that the suppression of the Pindaris had become an indispensable object of public duty, whatever complications might arise with the Mahratta powers.

It was not desired to commence operations before the autumn of 1817, and in the meanwhile Lord Moira, now Marquess of Hastings, endeavoured to obtain the assistance of the native princes whose territories were pillaged by the Pindaris impartially with those of the Company; and as these princes could bring into the field over 200,000 men with nearly 600 guns, it was felt by Lord Hastings that his own preparations must be on no small scale. No definite promise of help could be obtained; indeed all appearances pointed to the probability of a combined attack by all the Mahratta armies at any moment when British arms might seem to be at a disadvantage. In consequence of this danger Lord Hastings decided on a great concentric movement against the Pindari, each of the British armies employed being sufficiently strong to hold its own, at any rate for a time, against the nearest potential enemy. The northern army of four divisions,

under Lord Hastings himself, had the task of closing on the Pindaris from the north and east, while keeping in order Sindhia with his army of 30,000 men; Amir Khan, the Pathan free-lance, who had 22,000 men and 200 guns; and the Raja of Nagpoor, with 34,000 men and 85 guns. The southern army of six divisions in like manner was to close in from the west and south, keeping quiet the Peshwa and the Nizam, who had between them from 80,000 to 90,000 men.

The three chief bodies of the Pindaris, being well aware of the determination to crush them, attempted to combine for mutual defence during the hot weather of 1817, but arrived at no very promising result. Lord Hastings' armies were rapidly closing in upon them from all sides when the Peshwa rose to arms at Poona and the Bhonsla Raja suddenly attacked two troops at Nagpoor, as described in Sir John Hearsey's narrative. The Nagpoor rising was easily dealt with, owing to the determined stand made by the troops on the spot; but to dispose of the Peshwa was a more serious matter. A less courageous commander than Lord Hastings might well have permitted his campaign against the Pindaris to give way to the exigencies of the moment; but nothing of the sort happened, although he was further tried by Sindhia, in the north of the great field of operations, also lending assistance to the Pindaris.

By able disposition of his columns—sorely weak-

ened as they were by an epidemic of cholera—Lord Hastings cut off the Pindaris from Sindhia's aid, and, by the end of 1817, drove them into Holkar's territory, much reduced in numbers and deprived of all their baggage and goods.

The conduct of the Peshwa at Poona closely resembled that of the Bhonsla Raja at Nagpoor, and (as at Nagpoor) the Resident's escort at Poona proved equal to the occasion and repulsed the attack of a body of troops about nine times its own strength.

After the defeat of the Bhonsla Raja and the Peshwa things went better.

Amir Khan, seeing his neighbours rapidly collapsing before British arms, became friendly, and submitted to the transfer of most of his guns to the Company, which also engaged the services of a large proportion of his best troops. Holkar's army, which had intended to move to the assistance of the Peshwa, was defeated by Sir Thomas Hislop at Mehidpur on the 21st of December 1817, and the year thus closed in a most satisfactory manner.

Holkar, the Peshwa, and the Nagpoor Raja had all been defeated almost simultaneously; Sindhia had been rendered unable to move and Amir Khan had been disarmed; the Pindaris were indeed in a desperate case. At the end of January 1818 Lord Hastings judged it practicable to offer terms to their scattered remnants, and many considerable

bodies surrendered with their leaders. The fate of Chitu—one of the most prominent Pindari chiefs—is mentioned in Hearsey's narrative. Shortly after this event the southern army was dissolved—one division only, under Sir John Malcolm, being kept in the field until Holkar's territory had settled down. The northern army was also largely reduced. The later operations of the war against the fugitive Peshwa and the Bhonsla Raja lasted for a considerable time, but were of no real importance in comparison with those against the powerful confederations which began the war.

Eventually the Peshwa surrendered, receiving a pension of £80,000 a year. He is chiefly remembered in connection with his adopted son, the Nana Sahib of the Mutiny. The fate of the Bhonsla or Nagpoor Raja is mentioned by Hearsey. With the fall of Asirgarh in April 1819 the achievement of Lord Hastings was complete, and the safety of British rule in India secured for a period of twenty-six years.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY CONTINUED.

I arrived at Keetah in June 1815, and had not been long there ere I was directed to join my squadron at Lowaragunj or Loshari. I proceeded *viâ* Chekarry and Adjughur, a hill fort on the top of the Bisranagunj Ghat, to Punnelia. At

this place diamonds are dug out of the crevices of the rocky soil. Four marches on I arrived at my destination and bought a small bungalow. Captain Barron commanded this post, which consisted of two 6-pounder guns, a squadron of the 6th Bengal Light Cavalry, and four companies of native infantry. It was the frontier post between our territory and that of the Bhonsla or Rajah of Nagpoor. Lieutenant Ward was appointed Quartermaster of the 6th Light Cavalry, and was ordered back to Keetah, and Major Dickson was sent up to take command of the squadron. During the rainy season, or month of July, the adjutant of the 6th Bengal Light Cavalry, Lieutenant Rogers, was seized with fever and died raving mad in three days. He was a great sportsman, and had killed a vast number of tigers from his elephant. He was a large and powerful man, but exposed himself too much to the heat of the sun, which was the cause of his death. The officer who commanded the 6th Bengal Light Cavalry was Captain Howorth. He applied to Lord Moira to appoint me to the situation vacated by Rogers' death, and the Commander-in-Chief, the Marquis of Hastings, formerly Earl of Moira, was pleased to appoint me to that staff appointment "in consideration of my recent and gallant services on the Nepal frontier." On proceeding to take up the adjutancy, I had my own horses and borrowed some from my friends,

and rode to Keetah from Loshari, more than eighty miles, in one night. The commanding officer had received orders to recruit men to form a fourth squadron, and I had plenty to do in drilling the recruits during the remainder of the rainy season, and had them all fit to join the ranks by the end of September. My commanding officer, Captain Howorth, on inspecting the new squadron, complimented me by saying they were better drilled and more steady than the three other squadrons of the regiment. My exposure and fatigue during this hot weather brought on a severe fever and ague, and I was confined to my bed and became so dangerously ill that the medical men thought I should die. I was sent for change of air to the rocky fort of Kalhinger, where in the course of a fortnight I became convalescent. The garrison of this large hill fort was formed of eight companies of the 10th Bengal Light Infantry commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel MacMorine. During the few hot days I was there I nearly lost my life. A party of the officers had gone from the mess-room (where I had been having tiffin with them) in the cool of the afternoon to a large and deep tank from which the soil had been quarried to build the walls of the fortress. A large flat terrace had been formed at the edge of the tank, on which people who could not swim could go into the water up to their waists to bathe. One of the

officers, Captain Dunsmuir, who could not swim, went here to bathe and paddle in the water. I, not being very strong after my recent illness, did not go very far into the deep water. Captain Dunsmuir was paddling about on the terrace. He asked me, whilst I was sitting on the edge of it, to show him the depth of the tank. I got up and did so, and when I approached the deep part I warned him not to come farther, but in a fit of nervous excitement he moved close to lay hold of me, pushing me into the deep water. Losing his balance he grasped me tightly, and we sank together to the depth of several feet. I had to struggle hard to get rid of him, and could only do so by drawing up my legs between his body and mine, and by the joint force of my legs and arms flinging him from me, and in doing so at the same time diving to get down a little distance from him. I rose to the surface and called to the other officers to come and assist me to save him. The air had escaped from his lungs, and, rising in bubbles to the surface, showed that he also was rising. I put myself on my back, drew up my legs, and fortunately for him his back and shoulders appeared on the surface (Dunsmuir was nearly bald), so I planted a forcible kick with the soles of my feet on the upper part of his back, which propelled him towards the terrace from which he had pushed me. His companions, who now had

joined me, helped in pulling him on to the broad terrace, and then, holding up his head, we took him to the shore. It was some time before he got rid of the excess of water he had swallowed. In the meanwhile we had procured a doolie and conveyed him to the quarters of the surgeon of the corps. He was all right in a quarter of an hour. I found my way to my quarters and rested until it was time to go to mess dinner.

At the end of the month I returned by palanquin-dak to Keetah. Strange to say, the fever returned though it was now the month of October, and a board of surgeons deemed it necessary that I should have a longer change of air. I wrote to my kinsman, Major Hyder Hearsey, at Kareli, near Bareilly, Rohilkhund, that I would pay him a visit for two or three months. He no sooner received my letter than he started for Keetah to meet me and take me with him. I met him *en route*, and we travelled together by the usual stages. The change of air did me much good, and I gradually became convalescent and the fever quitted me. After being with him a fortnight we left Kareli for Shahghur, at which place he had a Zemindari of some extent from Government. We stayed here in tents for another fortnight, when I became strong enough to take exercise, and often went out shooting.

About three miles from Shahghur was a large

plantation of bamboos nearly a mile square, in the centre of which some religious Faqueers had established themselves. In an open space in the very centre, about one hundred yards square, they had built themselves huts. They were of the denomination of "Gosains." They had protected large packs of jackals, and whenever they felt inclined they could collect them by hundreds to be fed with balls of dough. This they did by going to their doors with platters, shouting "Ao! ao!" (Come! come!) These animals would collect, poking their noses through the stems of the bamboos, till the whole place seemed to be alive with them.

I witnessed this with Major Hyder Hearsey. We had been shooting, and had our two pointers with us. The dogs were fearfully alarmed, and took shelter in the huts.[1] I marvelled that the naked Faqueers were not eaten by the jackals.

Time passed very pleasantly, and the Major having an elephant, and Colonel —— having lent me his, and a Captain Ashford having joined us with three elephants, we went towards the village of Roodurpoor near the Terai to seek for tigers. At first we were not successful in getting tidings of them, but we had good sport in the high grass and mustard fields in shooting a beautiful bird

[1] It is characteristic of the unchanging East that the descendants of these Gosains feed the descendants of the jackals in that very grove of bamboos to this day.

called the florican. I have killed eighteen or twenty of these birds in a day's sport. The florican has an interesting peculiarity. After they have brought up their young the male birds leave the females and the young birds and go to a distant locality. They remain apart until the following pairing season, when the males return to seek their mates, who answer their notes as they fly over the fields towards them. They then pair for the breeding season, and remain constant to one another.

We at last heard of a tiger being marked down in the bed of a nullah overgrown with bulrushes and khaga-grass. The stems of this grass are used by the natives as pens. We started on our five elephants to seek for and shoot the tiger, the grass being as high as the elephants' howdahs. We had our batteries of two muzzle-loading double-barrelled guns on each side of the howdah. We moved on, the elephants in line, and after several false alarms caused by boars and hog-deer rushing through the reedy cover, at last we caught sight of a very large tiger. We all fired, and the animal was severely wounded. He went on ahead of us, and lay down in the grass. On approaching him I levelled my double-barrelled rifle to give him his quietus, when Captain Ashford declared that the tiger was dead and that he had killed him. He begged me not to fire again, as it would only damage the skin.

I put down my gun, when the tiger rose and sprang upon Ashford's elephant, and unfortunately seized it by the trunk. The elephant attempted, unsuccessfully, to shake the tiger off, and his movements were so violent that Ashford had to put down his gun and hold on to the sides of the howdah lest he should be shaken out of it. He shouted out to me, "For God's sake, Hearsey, shoot the beast." I laughed heartily and replied, "I do not wish to spoil the skin." However, I took careful aim. The tiger's large head and paw were close to the pad, which he had seized with his teeth. The bullet struck in the very centre of his paw and lodged in the pad. This caused him to drop off, and before he could get away my second bullet killed him. Ashford's elephant rushed out of the bed of the nullah and pursued its way without a check to our camp, luckily not passing through a grove of mango-trees hard by. The tiger was a male, and measured nine feet; it had a very short tail, and was a powerful animal. Captain Ashford left us and returned to Bareilly, but we continued our excursion and killed another fine tiger. We then turned our faces towards Major Hyder Hearsey's home at Kareli.

I every day gained health and strength, and soon after my arrival there I received a letter from my regiment, informing me that it was ordered to the Nagpoor frontier.

The 6th Bengal Light Cavalry joined General

Adams' force, which had been ordered to take up a position on the bank of the Nerbudda. Two of our troops (or one squadron) were posted at Hoshungabad, where a cantonment was formed; two troops at Gurrahwarra, two at Jubbulpore, and two at Bellary—in all, four squadrons, or eight troops, each troop consisting of a hundred men: total, eight hundred. We arrived at our posts in November and December 1816. I left Keetah and went by forced marches to Banda in Bundelkhund, where I joined Brigadier-General d'Auvergne,[1] who was making a tour of his district. The fatigue of marching all night long again brought on fever. The General detained me with him for four or five days, when he received orders to send on a squadron of the 4th Light Cavalry to relieve our squadron at Loovergong, that it might move to a small town just beyond the pass leading to the Myheer Valley, which led to another small pass one march beyond, in which was situated the small town of Bellary. Here the squadron remained watching the passes, to prevent plundering horsemen or Pindaris proceeding in that direction for the purpose of robbing the Nagpoor territory or threatening the frontier of the Company's possessions. The fever gradually left me, but I did not regain my usual robust

[1] Brigadier-General d'Auvergne was Sir John Hearsey's uncle by marriage, his wife being the sister of Mrs Andrew Wilson Hearsey.

health; however, when I had time on my hands I went out with my compass and perambulator and mapped the roads and country all around, for this part of India was then a *terra incognita.* This eventually proved very useful to me. I never went without my double-barrelled "Manton," and seldom returned without a bag of game. Thus passed the remainder of the cold season; the hot winds commenced at the end of March 1817, and were very trying, although we had our tents pitched under a grove of mango-trees. In the month of April we learnt that a large body of the Pindari Horse, belonging to the forces of Scindia and Holkar, had taken upon themselves to make a raid or foray from the country about Garruspoor. In these raids the Pindaris were wont to plunder, murder, and lay waste all the districts that they thought were unguarded. The cruelties these wretches perpetrated on the inhabitants were indeed most barbarous: men were tarred, had cotton wound round their fingers, and the hand dipped in oil, and then set alight, to make them disclose where they had hidden their money or valuables. One finger was ignited at a time, and if they did not confess while the first finger was burning a second finger was set alight, until the unfortunate Zemindars fainted from the agony or showed their hidden treasures. The women and girls were maltreated, and many of them threw themselves down into the wells to

avoid being dishonoured. A large body had moved down by the town and province of Huttah towards Loovergong. Colonel Gahan had received instructions to send a party from the post of Bellary to move in the direction of Hutter along the higher steppes of that part of the district, so as to act on the right flank of this horde of depredators. A force from Loovergong, consisting of a battalion of the 24th Native Infantry under Colonel Aldin, with two 9-pounder field-guns, and a squadron of the 4th Light Cavalry under Captain Ridge, moved out from that post to meet these plunderers in front. This small force came into contact with the Pindaris after crossing the Kayne river at a place called Powyne. A severe cavalry affair took place, and though the enemy's horse were five times the number of the squadron of the 4th Light Cavalry, they were repulsed with considerable slaughter, pursued for many miles, driven across the Kayne river, and dispersed. Our loss was not severe in men or horses, though the weather was terribly hot. Captain Howorth of the 6th Light Cavalry, who had gone to Loovergong for change of air and was scarce convalescent and very weak, volunteered and joined the squadron of the 4th Light Cavalry. In the *mêlée* he was obliged to take shelter under the shade of some trees near a village. He had only his own servant with him, also on horseback, when he was surrounded by a

party of Pindaris and murdered. He was my much esteemed captain. Our small party of eighty sabres from Bellary had continued our march during the night, and at early daybreak we descended the Powyne Ghaut to the lower steppes of the country on which this action had taken place. We arrived at the place where the action had been fought at six o'clock in the morning, and found that Colonel Aldin had retired with his party to a town called Mahewah, about sixteen miles from the village of Powyne. In going over the ground I found, close to the village of Tyra, a grave recently dug, with the usual mound of earth denoting it. On this mound the papers of some cartridges were still smoking and burning. On inquiry I found it was the grave of Captain Howorth. I wept for the loss of my friend. He had left his wife and children at Loovergong. Ah! what sad news for them. We got a feed of grain from the nearest village, and gave the horses a good feed and a drink of water. After resting our horses and finding the enemy had gone off twenty-five miles without drawing rein, we continued our march to join Colonel Aldin at Mahewah, sending a small party in advance with a letter informing him that he might expect us in his vicinity at twelve o'clock mid-day. We arrived at that hour. Our united but still small force rested at Mahewah for three days. Colonel Aldin had fallen back in conse-

quence of hearing that a body of horse were moving on the upper steppes towards Loovergong, not knowing that our small body of troops had been detached by Colonel Gahan from Bellary. He then returned to Loovergong, and we again moved back to our post, which we reached after three marches. We had in this march covered more than eighty miles, moving day and night, at the very hottest season of the year; and, passing over barren hills, we could get no water for twenty-five miles. The other officers of this party were Lieutenant Ward and Mr Mansell (our doctor). Ward never recovered from the fatigue and exposure, Mansell suffered from severe illness, and I was again attacked with fever. However, the punishment the enemy had received was a severe lesson to them, and they did not attempt another raid in our direction. General Adams[1] had to move with a light field force from Hoshangabad and drive them away from the direction of Garuspore and Bursade. Cheetoo, one of the chiefs of the Pindaris, a man acting on his own responsibility, was driven into the jungles and forests of the province of Sitwans, and was obliged to hide without any of his adherents in the forest at the foot of the hills bordering the Nerbudda, where he was sprung upon by a tiger and torn from his horse and drowned. His name was Cheetoo Singh. Thus

[1] Major-General Sir John Adams, K.C.B.

ended the life of one of the most active and courageous of the Pindari chiefs. The 6th Bengal Light Cavalry remained distributed, as I have before mentioned, until the 15th May 1817, when our small party was ordered to return from Bellary to Loovergong. We had got into the Myheer Valley on our return when Colonel Gahan received instructions to retrace his steps and to go *viâ* the post of Jubbulpore, and, crossing the Nerbudda, continue our route *viâ* Raicohorn and Luckerdurra to the Korile Ghat, and thence to Nagpoor. We picked up our troop of the corps at Jubbulpore to go with us, and Captain Fitzgerald joined us with his troop, and thus reinforced with it and two 6-pounder horse artillery guns attached to the regiment, which were put under my command, we proceeded to Nagpoor. We there found in a temporary cantonment a Madras brigade of infantry with two 9-pounder field-guns manned by Europeans of the Madras Artillery. They were posted on a low range of rocky hills about four miles from the Residency of Nagpoor called Telingkeri, and we were ordered to encamp near them. No arrangements had been made to shelter us from the coming monsoon by Colonel Scott,[1] commanding the Madras troops. Our detachment, thus suddenly sent from the frontier

[1] Colonel Hopetoun Scott, afterwards a Major-General and a K.C.B.

of Bundelkhund, was miserably off, and the rainy season commenced a few days after our arrival. The tents of officers and men were old, and the stormy weather did not tend to make us more comfortable. Intermittent fevers were prevalent. I was again attacked, and with difficulty did the duty I was called upon to perform. Colonel Gahan and Captain Fitzgerald managed to get a small thatched bungalow in the Madras lines to live in. This bungalow was at least three-quarters of a mile from my tent, and in spite of my bad health the Colonel insisted on my calling upon him every day for regimental orders. Thus I was constantly exposed to be drenched by the rains, besides encountering the excessive heat of the sun, which did not lead to my rapid recovery. In August cholera made its appearance in our camp, and by the end of September we had only sufficient men in health for a daily relief of guards. Colonel Gahan was ordered to Hoshangabad to take command of a brigade at that place in the force commanded by General Adams, and Captain Fitzgerald now became Commandant of our three troops. Our light 6-pounder guns, men, and horses, went with Colonel Gahan, and were formed into a battery with others of the same kind of artillery taken from other corps. They were placed under the command of artillery officers. The sickness in our small detachment was so prevalent and severe that Colonel Scott

came and ordered us away from Telingkeri to the right bank of the Korile river near Kamptee, and we had to change ground and proceed four miles farther, not far from some gardens belonging to the Rajah of Nagpoor, where we encamped.

Whilst there under the shelter of a fine grove of trees at this place we were visited on a pitch dark night with a violent storm of wind, thunder, lightning, and heavy falling rain. All our tents were blown down, and our sick troopers were in a most helpless condition under their fallen tents. The horses, drawing the pegs to which they were attached (the soil having been loosened by the flood of rain), went tearing through the grove of trees, knocking down such tents as had withstood the storm, and being almost all of them stallions they attacked each other furiously, and it was only by dodging round the thick stems of the trees that the men who were able to quit their cots avoided being knocked over and killed by the furious animals: many of the unfortunate men were upset with their beds and seriously injured. Morning broke upon as wretched an encampment as was ever beheld. Our first duty was to look after the unfortunate sick men, and then to send out small parties of sowars and grooms to search for the horses, which were by that time dispersed all over the country. Six of the animals were found dead, having fallen into pits or broken their necks in dashing themselves against the stems of

the trees. The saddles and accoutrements were safe, for each set was placed in a strong bag, the mouth of which was tied. These bags were heaped up upon a raised platform and covered by a tarpaulin; thus they were secured from injury. All things considered, we thought we had escaped cheaply from the effects of such a violent storm. We immediately looked for a high and dry spot, to which we moved our encampment. I must inform you that a brigade of Hindustanis had been ordered to be recruited and enrolled during the rainy season, and also a light infantry regiment under the Madras officers. These were to be paid by the chief of the Nagpoor State, and were to be called the Nagpoor Rajah's Infantry Brigade. This force was to assist in defending that city when our troops moved out towards the passes leading out of the Nagpoor country to the territories that had been seized and occupied by the Pindari chiefs. At the end of October we received orders that the British and native forces would move out and encamp at different places on the frontier to prevent the Pindaris making incursions towards Nagpoor, while General Adams' force would move into the country they had occupied and drive them from their fastnesses and retreats. Our detachment received orders to return to Telingkeri. We did so. The change of air derived from our move to the banks of the Kausi river

had done wonders, and we came back with only five or six men in twenty in hospital, and most of them nearly convalescent. We had not been long back at Telingkeri before Mr Jenkins, the Resident at Nagpoor, became aware that intrigues were being carried on by the Rajah of Nagpoor and the Peshwa, Bajee Rao. The latter had openly declared against the British, and had attacked the subsidiary force at Poona, where Mr Mountstuart Elphinstone was Resident, and after a sharp action had been defeated by our troops. In consideration of this event it was deemed necessary by Mr Jenkins that the troops should march from Telingkeri and take post on the hills of Seetabuldee overlooking the Nagpoor Residency buildings. The new brigade that was being raised and cantoned at Tackley was also ordered to the same place. The force at Telingkeri moved, and as we approached Seetabuldee by the main road we observed some Mahratta horsemen on the hills close at hand watching our movements. On arriving at the Residency the infantry took post on the two hills. Two guns and four companies on the smaller hill, and two guns and the remainder of the brigade of infantry, and also the recruits from Tackley, were posted on the large hill overlooking the village of Seetabuldee. The three troops of the 6th Bengal Light Cavalry were posted at the gateway of the Residency compound, fronting towards the canton-

ments of Telingkeri which we had just left. This cantonment was about three miles from the Residency. A small detachment was left at Telingkeri, namely, four companies of light infantry and thirty men of the 6th Bengal Light Cavalry, to protect the houses and huts of the brigade that had been stationed there from being plundered and burnt. This small detachment was under the command of Captain Pew of the 20th Madras Native Infantry. The Mahratta Horse that had been watching us from the range of hills that we had skirted moved circuitously to their encampment near the town of Nagpoor. It was situated on high ground near some walled gardens, on the plain named Sukandarra. As soon as we had arrived, and the three troops had been placed in the position they were to occupy, I asked Captain Fitzgerald, who was the senior officer of cavalry, to accompany me and make a close reconnaissance of the vicinity of our position. He did so, and we found the ground beyond a small nulla which wound round the Residency estate or compound to be covered with fields of jowaree, bajra, and maize. These extended to the Nagnuddee, a small rivulet which joins the stream in front of the Nagpoor Residency. At the distance of nearly a mile a column or cenotaph about eighty-five feet high had been built. We particularly examined all about this spot; then, skirting the outer border of the village of Seetabuldee, we

continued our way towards the garden of Sukandarra, which we viewed from a distance, and then returned to our position in front of the gateway of the Residency compound. Our tents were pitched within the boundary-hedge of the Residency compound, and the three troops were picketed on a rather narrow piece of ground between the gateway and a small grove or copse of trees which served as a burial-place for the Residency. We remained undisturbed during the night of the 25th September 1817. All next day we remained quiet, and the troops took up their posts in their several encampments and positions. The 20th and 24th Madras Light Infantry were placed in position on the longer and larger hill which overlooked the village of Seetabuldee; the recruits from Tackley were also posted there, under the command of Major Orlando Jenkins, with two 9-pounder field-guns. Four companies of the 20th were posted on the two smaller hills which ran at right angles with the larger one. Our field-pieces were also with these four companies. These guns were manned by 24 European artillerymen, being all the Europeans we could boast of excluding the officers, who might have numbered 30 more, all the rest of the force being natives. With the three troops of the 6th Bengal Light Cavalry we had six European officers. Their names were Captain Fitzgerald[1]

[1] Captain Charles Fitzgerald, who retired in 1833 as a Lieutenant-Colonel and C.B.

(commanding officer), Lieutenant K. Wood, Lieutenant J. B. Hearsey (adjutant), Cornet R. W. Smith, Dr Mansell, and Quartermaster-Sergeant Young, who was acting as our riding-master. A company of Native Infantry, which had been raised as escort for Mr Jenkins (the Resident), was under the command of Captain Lloyd. This company was also posted on the larger hill looking towards the smaller ones. During this day the enemy showed their intention of attacking us: they took possession of the village of Seetabuldee, immediately under the outer face of the longer hill. We observed them taking their guns into it and constructing batteries threatening the brow of the hill, also sending large bodies of their Arab troops to occupy the *payat* or market situated below and near the outer ascent of the smaller hill. As evening and darkness approached their numbers increased until the total was estimated at 40,000 infantry, 20,000 cavalry, and 60 guns which ranged from 20- to 6-pounders. To oppose this immense force we had four 9-pounder field-pieces, three weakly troops of cavalry, and 2500 infantry. In the evening Colonel Scott, who commanded, determined to post sentries to watch the approach of any parties who might attack the large hill of Seetabuldee. The enemy, perceiving this, sent up parties of marksmen, who told our officers not to post their sentries, which was, of course, not attended to.

They then commenced firing at our sentries: this was returned, and thus commenced the action. The sentries were withdrawn, and parties of marksmen, covered by the irregularities on the brow of the hill and commanding a good view of the ascent of the crest, were placed so as to prevent the enemy attempting to assault without sustaining great loss. Two 9-pounder guns were placed on the top of the high hill at the point where the pathway led down to the Residency enclosure or compound. The other two guns were placed on the smaller and lower hill, the crest of which was surrounded by the commissariat bags of grain and flour, making a wall round it which protected the men posted there from the marksmen or riflemen of the enemy. It was not long before the enemy's artillery in the village of Seetabuldee, and also in the village market-place of Maina Bail Ka Payat, commenced firing upon our position: the larger guns of the enemy that were posted in a village under the left bank or dam of the lake also opened upon us. They were replied to by our 9-pounders, but with little effect. Some grass roofs of sheds on the higher hill were set on fire and burnt: this caused some slight confusion, and the enemy tried to carry the crest of the larger hill, but were repulsed with loss. Meanwhile our three troops of cavalry were drawn up in line, front and rear rank, opposite the gateway leading into the Residency compound. In front of us was a small grove of

mango trees, which had been used as a cemetery, and in which some tombs of the officers of the Residency could be distinguished: between the trees on the outer side of this grove a water-course or nulla some 15 yards broad took its way towards the Nag-nuddee, which it joined at three-quarters of a mile distant. Between this nulla and the hedge surrounding the Residency compound was the position occupied by our three troops.

The tents of the officers and men had been pitched in rear of the hedge within the estate of the Residency. Many of the cannon balls of the enemy fired at the large hill passed over it and fell on the spot on which we were drawn up in line. Some men and horses were struck, but not many. A sergeant, in the act of mounting his horse, was struck by one on the left chest: it was a 4-pounder ball, and lodged behind the shoulder-blade, bulging out on the right side. It was cut out by the surgeon, and, notwithstanding this dreadful wound, the man lived for two days. This cannonading continued all the night of September 26, and the enemy sent parties of horse and foot to reconnoitre our position on that side of the Residency estate. Captain Fitzgerald received orders to proceed with the three troops to the Nag-nuddee, following the watercourse that ran in front of our position, which, as I have said, joins it at three-quarters of a mile distant. It was now

quite dark, and Fitzgerald asked me if I knew the spot that he was directed to go to. I replied that I had only reconnoitred it three hours ago, and that I could lead him to the spot indicated if he would not interfere with me on the way there. The country, as I have mentioned before, was covered with Indian corn eight and nine feet high; giving us shelter, it would also have concealed any parties of the enemy. As I was threading my way quietly at the head of our party, Fitzgerald rode up to me and told me that I had lost the way. I assured him I had not, when he again repeated, "You have." I then said that I would go to my post in the rear to prevent stragglers, and he must get some one else to guide him. Finding that no person in the whole detachment was aware of the locality, he sent for me. I said, "If you interfere with me I shall lose my way, but if you let me alone I will take you to the place you want to go to." I again undertook the duty of guiding, and in a quarter of an hour the three troops were drawn up in line near the obelisk. Here we remained for more than an hour, clear of the dropping cannon-balls which had annoyed us at the gate of the Residency estate. We had a full view of the thatched sheds that had been set fire to at the end of the long hill. The firing of musketry and artillery on both sides continued to roar, and Fitzgerald expressed a wish to know what the enemy were doing in their camp at Sukandarra.

At this place there was a large walled garden, and in the vicinity the enemy had a very large encampment, consisting of artillery, cavalry, the Raja's bodyguard of Hindustanis, and their Arab infantry. From this place the parties had been sent down to attack our position on the Seetabuldee hills. They had to go partly through the suburbs and city of Nagpoor and proceed along the dam and border of the lake towards the village of Sectabuldee. I detailed four men to go with me whose horses would not neigh, and went towards the encampment. I obtained a close view, and saw large parties leave the camp for the city to assist in attacking the British position. Having satisfied myself on this subject, I returned and reported what I had seen to Captain Fitzgerald. Soon after the moon rose and shed its light over the adjacent country. It appeared that a small party of horse had been sent from the camp of Gunput Rao, who was encamped on the road towards the village of Kamptee, to find out what measures had been taken by the British to prevent any attempt made from that quarter on the bungalows and houses of the British Residency. Those parties caused an alarm, and no troops having been posted on that side, our detachment was recalled from the position that we had taken up on the Nag-nuddee, and we again occupied our first position. Small parties were now sent out as pickets to watch in that direction and to send

scouts towards Gunput Rao's camp. We were not long kept in suspense, for considerable bodies of horse and artillery were sent to harass that portion of our position. Our small pickets were reinforced, and these parties were charged successfully and driven away. Whilst all this was going on we suddenly perceived that our old cantonment of Telingkeri had been entered by Gunput Rao's troops, and the bungalows and lines had been set on fire. Whatever had remained in them had been plundered. A very small body of the 20th Infantry, about four companies, and 30 of our troopers under a Jemadar (or native lieutenant), had been left there as some kind of protection to the place, but as it was more than a mile in extent, this small body was totally incapable of preventing the enemy setting fire to the cantonment. Orders were sent to recall the small detachment by six of our troopers, going by two men together by different paths, to Captain Pew, who commanded there. One of these parties managed to deliver the order to Captain Pew; the other two parties were forced to return, not being able to pass through the enemy. On receiving the orders Captain Pew commenced his movement from Telingkeri towards Seetabuldee. Captain Fitzgerald had received orders from Brigadier Scott that if he heard musketry towards the plain of Telingkeri he was immediately to send off a portion of the three troops of the 6th Light Cavalry to

Captain Pew's assistance. All of a sudden we were startled by the firing of volleys of musketry, and afterwards we heard file firing some distance away on the plain. Captain Fitzgerald ordered me to take 30 troopers and proceed in the direction from which the sound of musketry came. I did so, and meeting bodies of horsemen on the plain, I had to charge them, but of course did not pursue them far, but made my way as quickly as I could towards Captain Pew's detachment. As I approached I perceived he had placed his four companies in square, with the 30 troopers belonging to our corps inside the square, and was defending himself against bodies of horse that approached him. I attacked these horsemen, and they, not knowing what force I had with me, gave way. I then halted my party on some rising ground, where they were pretty free from being shot down by Captain Pew's infantry, and taking advantage of a pause in the firing I rode towards Pew's detachment, shouting at the loudest pitch of my voice, "Pew! friends! cease firing!" It was with some difficulty that he could make his men obey him. On approaching his party I told him to let his detachment of cavalry join me, and having thrown out skirmishers to cover his infantry, we hastened to our position at Seetabuldee, where we arrived all safely. The troopers took their places in our ranks, and Pew with his four companies joined the headquarters of his regiment, which was in position on

the large hill of Seetabuldee. The whole cantonment of Telingkeri was now in full blaze, and the small cantonment of Tackley was also now on fire. This place was the headquarters of the brigade of Hindustanis that was being raised for the service of the Rajah of Nagpoor. It was under the command of Captain Orlando Jenkins, an artillery officer, and brother of the Resident. These recruits had joined us at our position at the Residency. The heavy firing of the artillery continued all night. At times abortive attempts were made by the enemy to attack our position, but they were all repulsed. About midnight the enemy sent parties around with rockets into the high Indian corn-fields, from the borders of which they sent their rockets into the Residency compound in hopes of setting fire to the thatched bungalows that were in it. On requisition a small party of good marksmen were sent to us to check this attempt of the enemy. I had to post the marksmen in the broken ground so as to command the borders of the fields, and my horse and self had some very narrow escapes of being killed. However this measure was effectual, for several of the rocketeers were shot, which made the remainder unsteady in directing the flight of their rockets. I must mention that these rockets had what I consider an improvement in this arm when used against cavalry. To the iron tube of the rocket was attached a long, sharp, double-edged sword

blade about four feet long, which going amongst horses caused grievous wounds in their legs. A magazine pretty well stored with these instruments was captured by us; it was situated on the rise of the smaller hill on the position of Seetabuldee. We all longed for daybreak. As for myself I was almost useless, as this was the third night I had not slept, and I told my commanding officer that if I could not get one or two hours' sleep I should not be fit for anything in the morning. He consented to my dismounting and throwing myself on some bundles of cut Indian corn in front of our men, that I might rest. I did so, as there seemed to be a lull, and was soon oblivious to all recollections of danger or anything else. I had hardly slept an hour when I was rolled suddenly off from the bundles of Indian corn stalks on to the ground, and of course awakened. I started up exceedingly angry, thinking somebody had pulled the bundles from under me, and vowing I would punish the man within an inch of his life if I could find out who had done it. Our native officers and men could not help laughing, and my anger increased their merriment. They told me a 12-pounder shot had taken off the lower part of my temporary bedding. I heard Captain Fitzgerald direct Lieutenant R. W. Smith to take thirty men to ascertain where the guns were, and then to charge and capture them. He moved out as directed. The clattering of our steel sabre-sheaths, and also the

ring of hoofs on the metalled road, caused the enemy to believe that a large body of horse were attacking them. They attempted to carry off the guns, but in their confusion upset them into a deep and wide ditch, where they remained unperceived during the remainder of the night. The moon had set and it was now dark. In this manner we were kept on the alert till morning dawned. On day breaking we could perceive that the plain near the Nag-nuddee was covered with countless horsemen. This body seemed to be increasing hourly. About ten o'clock a body of infantry joined them and also about twenty camels with swivel-guns on saddles, and furthermore a battery of 12-pounder guns. These soon took up a position on our left flank and front so as partly to enfilade us. Captain Fitzgerald, finding that our men and horses would be mown down without our having a chance of doing anything, sent me to point out to Brigadier Scott the position we were in, and to take any orders he might choose to send us. Brigadier Scott told me to direct Captain Fitzgerald to take the first opportunity of charging. General Scott bade me dismount from my horse and wait. I did so. In the meantime a body of three thousand Arab infantry made a most determined attempt to carry the small hill, which was then occupied by six companies of the 20th Madras Native Infantry with two guns, 9-pounders, and tumbrils containing ammunition. There were also on the hill many

small barrels of cartridges for infantry, and some loose powder used for priming the guns. This ammunition was placed as securely as circumstances would permit, for magazines could not be dug, the hill being rocky, and as I have before said, bags of sand and grain had been piled up round the crest of the hill as a temporary defence against musketry and grape shot. The charge of the Arab infantry was successful. They drove the 20th Native Infantry from the hill and took possession of the two guns, tumbrils, and ammunition. They also pulled up two pieces of their own artillery, 6-pounders, and opened all four guns on the larger hill, which was commanded by the higher ground of the smaller one. All this occurred whilst I was awaiting Colonel Scott's orders, so I witnessed this disaster. There were four of us officers present, namely, Captain Elliot (this officer was an A.D.C. to Sir John Malcolm, and had been left at Nagpoor sick when Sir John had passed the Residency there on his way to Indore); Lieutenant Clark of the 24th Madras Native Infantry, Dr Nixon of the same corps, and myself. We were standing opposite to each other talking when the very first cannon shot from the small hill from one of our own 9-pounders struck off the heads of Clark and Nixon, splashing Elliot and myself with their brains. I told Elliot that we had better step back one or two paces to get out of the immediate line of fire. I heard Brigadier

Scott speaking very angrily, demanding of Brigade-Major Taylor of his staff how he dared to snatch his, the General's, telescope out of his hand. He had been sweeping the plain with it, looking at the enemy's horsemen upon it, and endeavouring to ascertain the number of Arab infantry that had assembled to attack the smaller hill. The fact was a cannon shot had struck the telescope while it was on his hand, and had smashed it to pieces. He was not aware that this had occurred. Brigadier Scott then called to me to order Captain Fitzgerald to take the first favourable opportunity that might occur to charge the enemy. Fitzgerald on receiving the order said that to charge such an innumerable body of all arms with three troops of cavalry, with any chance of success, would not be feasible; however, the sooner we got out of the position we were in the better. He would therefore cross the dry watercourse in front of our position, and then our party could be drawn up so as to avoid being enfiladed, and should an opportunity occur a charge could be delivered without that obstruction being in front of us. At this time he said the only chance of saving our lives was to cut our way through the enemy and endeavour to join a force that was hastening from Hoshangabad under the command of Colonel Gahan to assist Brigadier Scott in the defence of Seetabuldee. The shot from the batteries and camel swivel-guns were falling fast and thick amongst us. I told

Captain Fitzgerald that I would not agree to desert the infantry, that we must do or die, pointing to the enemy on the plain. The native officers near, hearing us converse together, and partly understanding that a charge upon the battery and enemy was intended, gave a cheer, the Mohammedans calling out "Deen! Deen!" meaning "Our faith! Our faith!" and the Hindoos getting dust and throwing it on their heads, thus expressing that they were ready to be sacrificed. This showed that our material was good, and that our men were determined to do their best or die. The word of command was given to our small line, "Threes right shoulders," that we might cross over the dry watercourse in our front and form line beyond it. The enemy were watching us closely, within shouting distance, and when we had formed a column of threes our rear was towards the flank which was being enfiladed by them. The enemy thought that we were about to break and quit the field. I was leading the column when a select body of their horse under a chieftain, well dressed, charged down to dispute our passage through the watercourse. The leading men of the column of threes and myself met them; those of the enemy who had entered the watercourse were immediately ridden over and destroyed. The chief, handsomely dressed, and with a long spear in his hand, was on the opposite bank. I had been skirmishing with my double-barrelled "Joe Manton" all the

morning, and had not had time to reload it after the last discharge. I had it in my bridle hand, grasping it just above the locks, and I had my little sabre hanging to my wrist by the leather strap. Knowing that the enemy were much more alarmed at firearms than naked sabres, I dashed at the chief pistol in hand: he, seeing my double-barrelled Manton in my left hand and my pistol in my right, took alarm, and turned to get away. Too late—I was close to him: a large shield covered the greater portion of his back and shoulders,—I pushed it aside with the muzzle of my pistol and shot him dead. One of his men at this moment was in the act of cutting me down. I struck the butt of my gun with my right hand, which drove the muzzle close to his face: he urged his horse on to avoid what he thought was certain death, and thus I escaped the blow which would have left me headless. Lieutenant R. W. Smith got the sword that the chief wore. All this happened within the space of a very few minutes. The head of our column of threes, with Fitzgerald and Smith, were soon among the enemy, who turned and fled. I had wheeled my horse to return to my position and secure my sword, and during this time the greater part of the men had passed by me. About thirty or forty of the column still remained, when Subadar-Major Bugwant Singh (a Brahmin) shouted out, "Adjutant Sahib, there is a battery of 12-pounder guns on our left!" I

allowed Fitzgerald and the other officers to push on after the enemy's flying troops, and calling "Halt!" I fronted the thirty or forty men at the tail of the column, and with Bugwant Singh charged the flying horsemen and got among the swivel-gun camels, capturing many of them, and still pursuing the horsemen, we drove them upon their own battery. The artillerymen hesitated to fire upon their own horsemen, by which means I got close to their guns, and they could only fire one round before I found myself between the muzzle and wheel of a 12-pounder gun, and my men destroying the artillerymen as well as they were able. The flying horsemen could not be stopped; they dashed into their own battalion of infantry, putting them into great confusion. I was not long in following them. It fortunately happened that the troopers that were with me were mostly trained as horse artillerymen, who had recently rejoined us, having returned from the capture of the island of Java, where they had acted as such. The tumbrils, ammunition, and guns were ours. There was an outcry that the port-fires could not be found. I told my men to prime their flint pistols and put the pans on the touch-holes and they would act as well as port-fires: this was done, and the guns turned round on the enemy. Their infantry was already demoralised by their own cavalry having dashed through them, and two rounds from the guns cleared the place of them.

They threw away their muskets, arms, and everything, and took shelter under the banks of the Nag-nuddee, down the bed of which they fled towards the city of Nagpoor. I then again turned the guns upon the large bodies of horse, amongst which Fitzgerald and his party were fighting. I told my horse artillerymen to secure their horses, and they were fastened as well as we could manage it. Whilst they were so employed the commandant of the enemy's artillery, who was loath to turn and fly, stopped near the banks of the Nag-nuddee. I charged at him, sword in hand; he stood boldly to receive me. He was armed with a long double-edged sword pointed at the handle, and so formed that both hands could be used in wielding it. The blade was at least four feet long. This weapon is called by the natives a "syfe," and it is a most formidable weapon. I made a sad mistake in attempting to ride by him and cut him down, whereas a horseman attacking a bold and resolute man on foot should always attempt to ride *over* him. The consequence was that he escaped the blow, and I had made such a swoop, leaning over to my right side, that the point of my sword was partly buried in the ground, and ere I had time to regain my saddle he had given me a fearful wound over my head and neck. My orderly trooper, a young Rajpoot, before he had time to recover the blow or defend himself, struck him over his head with his sabre and felled him to the earth; but,

like all the Mahratta chiefs, his head was doubly shielded from harm. His turban was worn twined in the usual manner round the temples and back of the head, and was in many folds of cloth. Beside this, he had another turban going over his head and under his chin, making some thirty plies of folded cloth to be cut through. The orderly found that the blow had not been effectual, and I heard him say, "You have killed my master, my commander, my officer, my father, and I'll put you to death." Saying this he drew a pistol from his holster and shot the man through the body, setting fire to his cotton jacket, which, communicating with his powder horn, blew his body to atoms. Our charge amongst the enemy's horse on the plain, and the discomfiture of the infantry and capture of their battery, had been witnessed by the officers and troops on the large hill. This gave them great encouragement, and a column of infantry in companies, headed by the Resident's escort of Hindustanis, and led by Captain Lloyd, who commanded the escort, was now sent from the larger hill to recapture our lost position on the smaller but higher one. Mr Jenkins, the Resident, addressed his escort, and told them that he expected success from them. The column dashed across the space between the two hills, and soon reached the crest of the smaller hill and drove off the Arabs with slaughter and great confusion, recapturing not only our own guns but in addition

the two the Arabs had brought up there. They pursued their advantage into the bazaar at the other side and foot of the small hill, driving the Arabs with considerable loss out of it. Lloyd, in this affair, received four bullet wounds. Both his shoulders were grazed where the epaulets were placed; while waving his sword and cheering on his men a bullet struck him on the elbow, running along the arm and coming out of the shoulder; the fourth bullet had struck him at the waistband of his trousers, had glanced over a button, and entering the skin, ran round the abdomen and out at the opposite button. Lloyd had on doeskin leathers. His last wound was thought to be a fatal one, as it was supposed that the bullet had entered the abdomen, but it proved otherwise, a mere skin wound. Our infantry now, after this success, were ready to be led to any daring attack. A party of the enemy's infantry with guns were attempting to take possession of the space between the two hills: this party was attacked in force and overwhelmed, and their guns captured. The enemy, finding that all their efforts had failed, now showed their intention of drawing off from the attack altogether. They were confirmed in their intention on seeing that we were able and ready to attack them from the position we had taken up in the village and vicinity of Seetabuldee. In the meantime, finding that I could get no assistance from the surgeon belonging to the

cavalry either to bandage or in any way to stop the effusion of blood from my head and neck, I asked my own servant, who rode with me on a spare horse, to bandage me, and gave him my pocket-handkerchief, folded pleat-wise, for the purpose. We both dismounted, holding our horses by the bridle as best we could. My servant, by name Mirza Omaran Ali Beg, had his arm over my head, in the act of performing what I asked him to do, when one of the enemy's riflemen from the banks of the Nag-nuddee, at no great distance, aimed at me. The bullet went through the wadded cotton jacket of my servant and struck him in the forearm, which was immediately over my head, breaking the bone and lodging there. The man looked at me and said, "Sir, I can do no more." He had already received two slight spear wounds, which I was not then aware of. Fitzgerald and the remainder of his party having now rejoined me, I made over the captured guns, tumbrils, &c., to him, saying, "Don't part with the artillery on any consideration whatever, and if the Pindari horsemen assemble in crowds or masses, yoke your bullocks and advance boldly to open your guns upon them: you have now men sufficient to defend them, and the enemy are evidently astonished at our being able to move and serve the guns. They seem to suspect treachery, thinking that we have the aid of their own artillerymen, who have joined and

are assisting us." Finding that I was fainting from loss of blood, I remounted my horse and with my orderly galloped up to the Residency compound, and up the large hill, when I got there reporting to Brigadier Scott that we had made a charge and were successful. The reply from the Brigadier and Mr Jenkins was, "We have witnessed it, and most nobly have you behaved." Brigadier Scott then sent for spikes and asked if there was any officer ready to take them to Captain Fitzgerald. I told him that we had horse artillerymen and could manage the guns well, that spikes were not required, and that Captain Fitzgerald could use the guns with great effect, and would, when the ammunition was expended, bring them safely to the Residency hill. He replied to me, "I have no officer to take my orders." I answered that I would do so. He then looked up at me and saw that I was pallid from loss of blood; it was streaming down me over my horse and on to the ground. He said, "You are seriously wounded; dismount and let the medical men attend to you." I told him that my orderly would take the spikes. He did so, but, as I anticipated, they were not used. My jacket was taken off and my neck bared. Dr Gordon had made one stitch through the muscles of my neck and scalp, at the lower part of my head, and knotted it, when an alarm was given that the enemy were charging up the space between the two hills, an incident

which I have previously mentioned. Gordon left me in that state and joined the party ordered to repel them. This was done effectually. Feeling that I was fainting I asked for a cup of water, and a wounded officer heard me, and approaching me on his hands and knees gave me a pewter goblet with water in it. His head and face were bandaged so that I could not recognise him. I took the cup and drank. Thinking that he might be a European sergeant or other non-commissioned officer, I asked him to what corps he belonged. He pointed to a button on his sleeve with 24 upon it, denoting that he belonged to the Madras Native Infantry. I could just recognise him as my friend Captain Charlesworth, who, having heard me, had crawled towards me with the goblet of water in his hand. This was at the risk of his own life, for he had been shot through the neck, his jaw broken, and his tongue lacerated. The surgeon had told him to remain perfectly quiet,—that any exertion might rupture the carotid artery and cause immediate death. Soon afterwards I fainted from loss of blood and became unconscious of all around me. In this state I was removed to a small native tent, such as are used by native officers in camp. It was oblong and bell-shaped, with a slit for an entrance and a deep flounce round the bottom of it. In this had been placed the bodies of the officers who had been killed during the action, and the people who had put me there must have

thought that I was dead. I heard afterwards that Captain Fitzgerald had done what I advised him to do—namely, to use the guns against the enemy as long as the ammunition lasted, threatening large bodies of the enemy's horse wherever they collected, and firing upon them. They eventually quitted the field, and he brought the captured guns to the Residency. They were taken up and placed in battery on the end of the large hill covering and overlooking the road from the end portion of the city of Nagpoor near the lake. The action gradually subsided, and all firing of musketry and cannon ceased. Our force held its vantage-ground, which protected the Residency and houses in it. The ladies, whose curiosity had induced them to take a view of the fighting from the top of the Residency house, had actually, without their knowledge, had their garments perforated by bullets. Two had become widows, for Major Saddler and Lieutenant Clarke had been killed during the action. I must have recovered some time in the evening in the native tent where my body had been placed. The blood flowing from my wound had accumulated on the lower part of my head and neck and there had coagulated, and then my wound had ceased to bleed. In the evening, as darkness had commenced, I felt sufficiently strong to sit up and look about me. I saw the bodies of many of my friends, fearfully torn by cannon balls, lying on the ground (they were to be

buried early the next morning). I stood up and got to the entrance of the tent, and went outside it and looked about me. Mr Jenkins and Colonel Scott were walking to and fro in the vicinity in earnest conversation. Colonel Scott saw me and said, "Hearsey, is that you?" for being covered with blood and besmirched with dirt it was not easy to recognise me. I answered in the affirmative. He said, "How do you feel?" I said, "Pretty well, sir, but very, very hungry," for I had touched no food for the last two days. He said, "Come here, lad." I went tottering towards him. He brought from a small native tent that had been pitched for him at hand, a small bowl and some pressed meat, or what appeared to me a large Bologna sausage. He took the outer skin off the end of it, and cut it into very thin slices into the bowl, then taking a kettle filled with boiling water, which was close at hand, he poured it upon the contents of the bowl, and stirring it up with a spoon, bade me partake of it. I did so, and felt much refreshed. The meat had all dissolved in the water, and it made a strong and good soup. He then said, "Well, lad, how do you feel now?" I replied, "Much refreshed, but still hungry." He made me a second mess of it, and that satisfied me. He then told me to go down where the tents of our detachment were pitched, and to send for a surgeon to look at me. I went, and with some difficulty found the doctor, who gently removed the coagu-

lated blood and washed my scalp and neck, shaving off the hair of the former. He then said he must put two more stitches into the wound. Unfortunately for me, he attempted to do this work with a broken-pointed needle, and this put me into excruciating pain. A broad piece of lint was placed over the surface of the wound, and strips of sticking-plaster over that to draw the lips of the wound together. My head and neck were then bandaged, and I was left to sleep. When the pain I was suffering under had abated, I learned that Lieutenant R. W. Smith had received a very severe sabre wound at the edge of the left shoulder-blade, and through two or three of his ribs, nearly one foot in length. This proved a severe and dangerous wound, but eventually he recovered. Our acting riding-master, Quartermaster-Sergeant Young, had been killed in the action, charging with Fitzgerald, and we had lost many men and horses. On inquiring after my servant, Mirza Omaran Ali Beg, I could get no tidings of him. I immediately ordered a small party with a litter or dooley to go out and seek for him where we had captured the battery, and to bring him in dead or alive. I then told them also to search for Sergeant Young's head, and if they found it to bring it to me. In about an hour Mirza was brought in in the dooley. He had remained on the spot where he had been wounded in a state of insensibility. The head of Lieutenant Young was also brought in;

his helmet was missing. His coat, I was told, was shown to the Mahratta chieftain as a proof that one officer of cavalry had been killed. I sent Mirza to the hospital to be attended to; he soon recovered consciousness. The bullet that had struck his arm between the elbow and shoulder had splintered and shattered the bone, and had actually flattened and mixed with the splintered bone so that it could not be extracted. The arm was set; many splinters came away, and the wound eventually healed with the bullet adhering to the bone. It is most astonishing what serious wounds the natives recover from. We had with us a sick European sergeant, an Irishman of the name of Murphy. He had been left behind at Nagpoor when our 6-pounder galloper guns had been sent to Hoshangabad, on the river, to form a portion of a native troop of horse artillery that had been directed to be embodied there. I sent for Murphy and bade him wash the remains of Quartermaster-Sergeant Young, placing the decapitated head on the neck, and had the corpse securely wrapped up in winding-sheets ready for burial. The next morning it was taken in a dooley to a spot selected as a graveyard for all the officers killed in the action, and with them it received an honourable sepulture. Feeling myself pretty strong after having taken some food in the morning, I managed to find my way to the top of the larger hill and assisted in placing the guns we had captured in

position in case of another attack. I returned to my tent much fatigued, and was attacked by fever. In this state I remained for a week, and then gradually it left me. The wound in my head and neck suppurated and granulations formed, and it gradually filled up and healed. The enemy left us unmolested. On the third day after the fight Colonel Gahan arrived from Hoshangabad with a detachment of troops belonging to the Bengal army. This reinforcement consisted of some Native Horse Artillery, with the remainder of the 6th Light Cavalry and the 19th and 22nd Bengal Native Infantry. The Indian corn which covered the plain was cut down and we now felt somewhat more secure, though every precaution was taken by day and night to prevent a surprise. I had my tent pitched with the remainder of my corps, and of course remained in it. We had intelligence that General Hardyman, with a force of Europeans and natives, had relieved our force at Jubbulpore, and had fought an action near that station, defeating the enemy with considerable loss amongst some rocky hillocks at a place called Adhagaon. In this affair Lieutenant Pope was severely wounded in a charge made on a battery of guns which he captured. We also learnt that Major-General Doveton, of the Madras Presidency, with a considerable force of all arms, was hastening to join us. This he did in the course of a week, and now we felt strong enough to offer Appa Rajah

terms for submission or immediate attack. He preferred the latter. General Doveton told off the troops to attack the Mahratta camp at Sukan Durrah, detaching a column under Brigadier Scott to drive the enemy near the suburbs of Seetabuldee into the town. The action took place. I was not allowed to go with the regiment, as my wound was too open and dangerous to permit me to do so. In fact, I was told if I attempted to mount my horse I should be put under arrest. However, I went on the top of the larger hill and witnessed the battle on the plain about a mile and a half below me. Brigadier Scott's column was perfectly successful, and managed to seize a park of artillery, consisting of guns of all sizes that had been collected in the suburbs of the city. The enemy, when our troops were moving down, sent word that they would surrender. Our troops, however, moved steadily down in columns to attack them, covered by skirmishers. They had no sooner got within distance of cannon shot than the enemy's batteries opened upon us. The cavalry, consisting of the 6th Bengal Light Cavalry and Pedler's Mysore Horse, formed line and charged. Two batteries of six guns each were carried at the point of the sword. The Mahratta Horse were driven off that portion of the field, and took shelter amongst a body of sixty elephants with howdas on their backs filled with matchlock men, who fired volleys

into the ranks of the cavalry. Our horses could not be brought to charge amongst the elephants, and a check took place for a short time.

Brigadier Gahan, who commanded the cavalry on this occasion, had not come on with them to the front, and had detained Captain Poggenpohl's Horse Artillery with him, nearly a mile to the rear. Officers were sent to bring them on. When they arrived they opened fire with shrapnel upon the mass of elephants, and soon dispersed the herd, which took to flight in confusion. They were soon overtaken by the cavalry and all captured, the matchlock men meeting with no mercy. The cavalry then re-formed, sending with an escort the captured artillery and elephants to General Doveton's camp near the hill of Seetabuldee. They then continued the pursuit of the Mahratta cavalry, which attempted to assemble once more. However, they would not meet the onset of our troops, and fled off the field. They were pursued for nine or ten miles across the Kanaw river towards the hill Raniteek, and they eventually dispersed. In the meantime the infantry portion of General Doveton's force steadily advanced towards the Mahratta camp and the gardens of Sukan Durrah. The enemy fled in all directions, and the redoubted Arabs went off and sought shelter in the town and palace of Nagpoor. Thus ended the battle which is called

in history the battle of Nagpoor. The loss of the British was trifling; the enemy did not suffer very much. Sixty pieces of artillery, from 6- to 4-pounders, were brought in and parked with their tumbrils in the Residency compound. On the night after the battle a position was taken up along the Tal, and some pieces of artillery, half a regiment of European infantry, and half a regiment of Native infantry, besides two Engineer officers and a company of Sappers, were sent towards the end of the lake, and by the morning sufficient breastworks had been thrown up to protect this party from the fire of the matchlock men. The enemy (the Arabs) had taken up their position at this point, and opposed our advance to the unfinished walls and gateway of the city, and to the walls and gateways surrounding the palace of the Rajah of Nagpoor. Batteries were thrown up on the dam at the end of the lake and armed with guns, and shelling was commenced on the palace. During the day communication was had with the Raja, Appa Rajah, the Bhonsla, who offered to come in and deliver himself up to Mr Jenkins, the Resident, if he were assured that he would be well received. He had the assurance given him that no harm should be done to him or his people. In the early darkness of the night, under pretence of examining our approaches to-

wards the palace, he gave his escort the slip and came to the Residency. He was received honourably, but of course was held under surveillance. It was hoped that this measure on his part would cause the surrender of the Arabs and Hindustanis who had possession of the city and palace.

END OF THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

CHAPTER V.

Sir John Hearsey's narrative of the Mahratta War of 1817 is continued for several more pages, but the story is difficult to follow. It appears that the General, who dictated his autobiography to his daughter when approaching the end of his life, and when in indifferent health, suffered from the excitement of recalling the events of his warlike youth. As will have been seen, his memory was extremely vivid, and it is deeply to be regretted that he did not begin dictating his autobiography sooner, in which case an invaluable record of Indian military history would undoubtedly have been produced.

To return to events at Nagpoor. After the surrender of Appa Sahib, his Arab soldiers threw themselves into the citadel and defended themselves for five days. At the end of that period General Doveton delivered a general assault on the place, but owing to the misconduct of some of the troops engaged the assault was repulsed with a loss of over 300 killed and wounded. The Arabs then obtained favourable terms and surrendered.

Sir John Hearsey was thanked in "Governor-General's Orders" for his conduct at Seetabuldee, and Subàdar-Major Bhagwan Singh received as a reward for his conspicuous gallantry a gold medal, 300 *bighas* of land, and a pension of one hundred rupees a-month. It is, however, strange but true that Hearsey received no pension or gratuity for his terrible, almost mortal wound, from the effects of which he suffered during the remainder of his life. The three troops of Bengal Cavalry at Seetabuldee had twenty-three killed and twenty-five wounded, but they were amply rewarded by the Governor-General's declaration that they had "covered themselves with glory." After the fall of Nagpoor the Mahratta Confederation was much weakened, and the Bengal troops were able to turn their attention to the numerous marauding bands of Pindaris, who were also in arms. The destruction of the Pindaris was as essential to the policy of Lord Hastings as the overthrow of the Mahratta Confederation, and throughout the month of January 1818 the Pindaris were hunted down without mercy and with much success. In the following month it was considered that a large reduction of the Grand Army might be safely made, and the greater part of the Bengal forces returned to their stations. A considerable Bengal force, however, remained in the Nagpoor district under Major-General Marshall, and Hearsey was attached to

this column. Operations were found necessary against the towns of Dhamoni and Mandala, the former of which surrendered. Mandala was taken by storm, Hearsey being present. Shortly afterwards he served at the battle of Sconi in Berar, where the Peshwa's army was completely defeated on the 16th April 1818, and in the month of May of that year Hearsey was present at the capture of the strong fortress of Chanda. In a statement of his services written by him at Barrackpore in April 1861, Sir John Hearsey writes as follows concerning Seoni and Chanda :—

"After the capture of Mandala we made forced marches after Gunput Rao, the Nagpoor Mahratta Chief of Horse. I was sent with a light field force under Colonel Hopetoun Scott to prevent Bajee Rao Peshwa from taking possession of the large and important fortified town of Chanda. It was an affair of horse and horse artillery. We attacked the advanced body of the Peshwa's force at Warora and drove them back. The garrison of Chanda opposed our force. My regiment volunteered to act dismounted, and escalade the walls. Ladders had been prepared when orders were received from General Adams, commanding the troops on the Nerbudda, to join his force at Hungeni Ghat on the Wurda river. We did so, and moved the next evening, and marching all night, met the advanced guard of the

Peshwa's army on the hilly ground near the village of Seoni. The force engaged consisted of a troop of Madras European Artillery, two galloper guns Native Horse Artillery, the 5th and 6th Bengal Light Cavalry and a squadron of the 8th ditto, and a regiment of Bengal Light Infantry,—the whole commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Doveton. The remainder of the infantry and the guns drawn by bullocks had been left at the foot of the pass leading to the hilly ground, and had been ordered to follow up under Colonel Scott.

"Our artillery opened on the advancing enemy, the cavalry charged and drove the horse from one small hill to another, until the whole of the Peshwa's army was in complete *déroute*. His six guns and *matériel* were captured. We were on horseback from the afternoon of one day until 4 P.M. on the next day, the hot wind blowing like a fiery furnace blast in the middle of April. The regiment received the thanks of General Adams, and in General Orders by the Marquis of Hastings it was thanked together with the rest of the force engaged. The force then moved to the fortified town of Chanda and laid siege to it. A breach was made and was carried by storm in the month of May. The thermometer stood at 140°, attached to the bole of a tree near the battery that day. I was on horseback from 4 A.M. to 10 P.M. Several officers and men,

Europeans and natives, were killed by strokes of the sun.

"The force then returned to Nagpoor, and was encamped there during the rains."

Hearsey resumed active service of the most arduous description after the rains of 1818, taking part in the marches and actions against Appa Sahib's forces, which occupied the remainder of that year and the early months of 1819.

Appa Sahib, it should be stated, escaped from his captivity in the month of May of that year, and was for a long time able to maintain himself in the Mahadeo Hills, where the Gonds rose in his support. A prolonged campaign followed, carried on in the most trying climatic conditions and in the difficult country of the Vindhya and Sathpura mountains.

At last, early in 1819, Appa Sahib came to an end of his resources. A combined movement against his headquarters broke up his remaining strength, and although given temporary refuge in the fortress of Asirgarh, he was compelled to fly, disguised as a mendicant, to the Punjab, where he was afforded a refuge by Ranjit Singh.

In March 1819 Hearsey took part in the last operation of the Mahratta-Pindari War, the capture of the fortress of Asirgarh; and on the 31st of August of the same year he was promoted to the rank of captain. It may encourage young officers of the present day to observe that after nearly five

years of continuous service in the field, during which he had twice highly distinguished himself and had been dangerously wounded, Hearsey received no reward beyond two mentions in Governor-General's Orders, and an adjutancy which he would probably have received in peace time.

The campaign being at an end, the 6th Light Cavalry, apparently as a final trial of their endurance, were marched across India to Karnaul in the months of May and June 1819.

Several years of peace followed the destruction of the Mahratta Confederacy.

In April 1820 Captain Hearsey was employed as "Major of Brigade" with the troops sent to keep order at the great festival, celebrated every twelve years, at Hurdwar on the Ganges. He was consequently an eye-witness, together with his kinsman, Hyder Hearsey, of the catastrophe, a description of which will be found on an earlier page of this book.

In October 1820 the 6th Light Cavalry were moved to Mhow and remained over two years at that station. At the end of the year 1822 the 6th marched on relief to Keetah in Bundelkhund. Captain Hearsey's squadron was, however, sent to relieve a squadron of the 2nd Light Cavalry at Lohargaon, and he found himself in command of that small station and post. There he remained until the year 1824, when he fell into temporary

command of his regiment. During this year, in consequence of checks received by our armies in Burma, there were disturbances in various parts of India, culminating in the rebellion of the State of Bhurtpore. In Bundelkhund, the Mahratta chief of Parapur, a fort on the bank of the Betwa river, treacherously attacked Kalpi, a small fort on the right bank of the Jumna river. The chief attempted to surprise Kalpi in the early morning, just before daylight, hoping to secure the treasure secured there. The garrison, a company of native infantry under the command of Captain Ramsay, was on the alert and the surprise failed, the assailants being repulsed from the gateway and walls of the fort.

News of the attack soon reached Keetah, and Captain Hearsey promptly despatched a squadron of the 6th Light Cavalry, under the command of Lieutenant Lucius Smith. This officer reached Kalpi in one march of fifty miles, and followed up the assailants in a second march of the same length to Jaloun. The remainder of the regiment marched under Captain Hearsey's command to surround the fort of Parapur, in the ravines on the right bank of the Betwa river. Captain Hearsey was, however, halted at Jalalpur by order of Brigadier de Burgh, who was sent with heavy artillery to reduce Parapur. This fort was evacuated by the marauders and destroyed. Lieutenant L. Smith's squadron then drove the rebel chief into

Sindhia's territory, where he and his followers were given up by orders of the Gwalior Durbar and marched as prisoners by the squadron of the 6th Light Cavalry to the hill fortress of Kalingarh, where they were confined. The 6th Light Cavalry then returned to Kectah, and soon afterwards proceeded by forced marches to Muttra in order to join a force assembling there by order of Sir David Ochterlony, now Resident of Delhi, for the purpose of laying siege to the fortress of Bhurtpore. On arrival at Muttra the 6th Light Cavalry was brigaded with the 11th Light Dragoons and the 3rd Native Light Cavalry, under the command of Colonel Sleigh of the former regiment.

Bhurtpore had been seized by a usurper, who had imprisoned the heir, a boy of five years of age, and had established himself on the throne in defiance of the British Government.

Prompt action was evidently desirable, having regard to the disturbed state of public opinion in India, but Lord Amherst's Government preferred to put off the evil day, and refused sanction to the vigorous action proposed by "the man on the spot."

On the abandonment of Sir David Ochterlony's projected attack on Bhurtpore, the 6th Light Cavalry went into cantonments at Muttra. Lieutenant-Colonel George Becher was posted to the regiment, and on his joining Captain Hearsey

lost his command. "During the hot winds of 1825," Hearsey writes, "I was ordered on command of a treasure party, consisting of three troops of the 6th Light Cavalry and four companies of native infantry, from Muttra to Delhi. The Bhurtpore territory approached the road on its left a greater portion of the distance. This country, being occupied by large bodies of horse and foot, required great caution and unceasing watchfulness, the treasure, laden on hackeries (bullock carts) with poor bullocks, creeping along at two miles the hour. On account of the great heat in the day we travelled all night, and even then could not accomplish a march of fourteen miles until eight or nine the next morning. I delivered the treasure safe and returned with my party to Muttra."

Sir David Ochterlony had been so mortified by the harsh manner in which his proposed action against the Bhurtpore usurper was reversed by Lord Amherst's Government, that his death occurred shortly afterwards — a sad ending to a most distinguished and valuable career. Had Sir David lived a very few months more he would, however, have seen his policy fully justified. He died at Meerut on the 14th of July 1825, and early in the following December a force of some 21,000 men, headed by Lord Combermere, the Commander-in-Chief, in person, advanced from Agra against Bhurtpore, where no less than 25,000

Jats and men of other fighting races had joined the standard of Durjan Sal, the usurper.

Bhurtpore was a virgin fortress which had acquired great fame from the repulses of the assaults of Lord Lake's army in 1805. Durjan Sal's defiance was open, and his fall and that of Bhurtpore were imperatively necessary.

Lord Combermere's army was provided with a large force of artillery (including 110 siege pieces), a cavalry division of eight regiments, and two divisions of infantry, each composed of three brigades, with three battalions to a brigade. The army in fact was adequate to the task before it, but some doubt was felt as to the capacity of the commander.

Lord Combermere, when a young man, had highly distinguished himself as a cavalry commander in Spain, and had been raised to the peerage for his services. He was now only fifty-two years old, and was a man of most abstemious and active habits. He was, however, not credited with much ability, and the Duke of Wellington was popularly believed to be in the habit of speaking of him as "that damned fool Combermere."

When Lord Combermere was sent to India as Commander-in-Chief it was already known that the capture of Bhurtpore would probably be his first duty, and an anxious politician asked the Duke if he really thought it right to send a man of whom he had so low an opinion to undertake such a serious task. The great Duke, who had

the courage of his opinions, replied, "Yes; he *is* a damned fool, but he will take Bhurtpore for you." The prophecy proved to be correct, and Lord Combermere's conduct of the siege did not justify the Duke's assertion. All the operations against Bhurtpore were well thought out and well executed, particular care being taken to profit by the experiences of the previous and unsuccessful siege.

In the following letters, written during the operations to his brother-in-law, Captain W. B. Salmon, who at this time commanded the escort of the Resident at Lucknow, Sir John Hearsey gives a tolerably connected account of the incidents of the siege as seen by a cavalry officer. His letters describe an important preliminary operation—the seizure by a mounted force sent in advance of the main army of the dam on the great Jhil or lake lying north-west of Bhurtpore. Lord Lake omitted to secure this dam, and the defenders of Bhurtpore, during the earlier siege, were therefore able to flood the ditches of the fortress. Hearsey also describes the preliminary reconnaissances carried out by Lord Combermere and General Nicolls, and gives an account of some interesting events of the siege of that formidable fortress, which is well described in the following extract from the memoirs of Lord Combermere:—

"Bhurtpore stands in the midst of an almost level plain. The town, eight miles in circumference, is bounded on the western side by a ridge

of low, bare, flat rocks, while everywhere else its limits are dotted by a few isolated eminences of little height or size. The fortifications consist of a citadel and a continuous *enceinte* of thirty-five lofty mud bastions, connected by curtains, and in shape generally either semicircular or like the frustra of cones. On some of these bastions there are cavaliers, and most of them are joined to the curtains by long narrow necks. Additions have been made to the *enceinte* since Lord Lake's time, and one bastion, called the Futteh Boorj, or Bastion of Victory, was vauntingly declared to have been built with the blood and bones of those who fell in the last siege. In many cases the ramparts were strengthened by several rows of trunks of trees, which were buried upright in the mass of earth, and all of them were constructed of clay mixed with straw and cow-dung. This composition had been put on in layers, each of which was allowed to harden under the fierce sun before another layer was added. Such a mode of construction rendered any attempt to establish a practicable breach almost impossible, and we have seen that from the shape of the bastions enfilade was in many cases very difficult. The *enceinte* was surrounded by a broad and deep ditch. The citadel was of great strength, and rising to a height above the level of the ground of one hundred and fourteen feet, completely commanded the body of the place.

"The garrison amounted to twenty-five thousand men, of whom a considerable number belonged to the warlike Pathan race."

CAMP near the hamlet of KIMJOWLEE,
N.N.W. 2 miles of BHURTPORE.
17 *Decr.* 1825.

MY DEAR WILLIAM,—

. . . . . .

You should have heard from me earlier, but we have not, since the 8th, had any time to ourselves. On that day we marched from Agra to Soutah (a village 2 miles beyond Kerrowley), the force under Major-Genl. Nicolls[1] consisting of 1 troop horse artillery, a light field battery of 12 pieces of artillery drawn by horses, two brigades of infantry—viz., Brigadier-General Adams's, consisting of 33rd, 36th, and 37th Regt. N.I., and Brigadier-Genl. Macgregor's, consisting of the 59th King's, and I do not know the 2 other corps—and a brigade of cavalry under Brigadier Murray, consisting of H.M.'s 16th Lancers, 6th Light Cavalry, and 8th Light Cavalry, also 600 of Skinner's Horse under *Major* Fraser[2] (one of the Commissioners of

[1] Afterwards General Sir Jasper Nicolls, Commander-in-Chief in India during the first Afghan war. General Nicolls had previously distinguished himself by the capture of Almora, the capital of Kumaon, a success which concluded the operations in that province described in the memoir of Hyder Hearsey.

[2] Major Fraser was a Bengal civilian who held the rank of major while commanding the 2nd Regiment of Skinner's Horse.

Delhi). The heavy train, Engineer park, &c., were left at Agra to be convoyed (by another road *viâ* Chuksana and Uckneree) towards Bhurtpoor by the 1st Extra Cavalry and a brigade of 3 regts. of Infantry under Lieut.-Col. Edwards of the 14th King's. On the 9th the force above mentioned under Nicolls marched to Aghapoor, about 5 miles from Bhurtpoor: the frontier villages of Sambie and Chickanee were not deserted by the inhabitants, but as we approached nearer we found all the people had quitted their hamlets and fled to the stronghold, excepting at Aghapoor, where half of them at least had remained. The last 4 miles of our march was skirting, and partly in, a thick babool jungle, which reaches to within half a mile of the ditch of the Shuher Punnah.[1] I was on the advance-guard, commanding five troops of the 6th; a few horsemen were seen, but they vanished almost immediately. The 10th we halted. On the 11th a force, consisting of H.M. 16th Lancers and 6th Lt. Cavly. (chequered), the 8th Lt. Cavly. and 1 troop of horse artillery, accompanied by Skinner's Horse (500) under Major Fraser (of Delhi), marched at 3 o'clock A.M. from Aghapoor (which is on the S.E. face) to reconnoitre and attack a large force said to be posted near and at the bund (or dam) of a jheel on the N.E. face, the whole under the orders of Brigadier Murray. About ½ past 7 o'clock the head of the column,

[1] Or fortified city (Bhurtpore).

which consisted of 3 troops of the 6th and a squadron of the Lancers, came upon their encampment. A few men who made a stout resistance were killed there. The main body, who had discovered the approach of the column, tried to get into the fort, but were intercepted by Skinner's Horse, who had been ordered to march on our pivot flank at half a mile distant, and even with the head of the column: they killed about 70 men, it is supposed, and drove the remainder into an enclosure close to the bund. In the meantime the Skirmishers or Flankers, about 144 picked men of the three Cavalry Corps under Captain Luard and Lieutenant Armstrong of the Lancers, being still more on the flank and close to the walls of the Shuher Punnah, again intercepted them, drove them out of the enclosure, and pursued them to the gates, committing good havoc. In this affair the enemy lost altogether about 140 men, including the Neema Rana, or Takoor of Neema, and his son, who were the chiefs of the party: our loss was trifling—not one man killed, 7 of Skinner's Suwars wounded, 1 trooper of the Lancers, 1 of ours (struck by spent cannon shot), and a havildar of the 8th Cavly. had his whisker taken off by a cannon shot. One desperate Rajhpoot on foot kept six Lancers at bay and wounded three of their horses before he was shot by one of our troopers; we had one horse speared in the neck, and another went down a ravine with one of our

skirmishers, got loose in consequence, and was lost with all his appointments. Two horses, one of the 8th Lt. Cavly. and one of the Horse Artillery, were also killed by cannon shot. The right of the line, consisting of the right squadrons of the Lancers, 6th Lt. Cavly., Horse Artillery, and 8th Lt. Cavly., were under a severe cannonade from the walls of the Shuher Punnah for a quarter of an hour, and the hairbreadth escapes were astonishing, fully confirming the old saying of "every ball has its billet." One of my troopers had his cap carried clean off and scarce knew it. The force after this affair returned to Aghapoor. We afterwards heard that the Commander-in-Chief with the force from Muttra took up his encampment on the north face of the fort of Bhurtpoor soon after the above affair was over, and then reconnoitred towards the jheel and bund and took possession of the enclosed garden, posting two battalions in and about it, and the same force between it and his camp on the river side of the jheel to keep up the communication. On the 12th General Nicolls with all the infantry excepting one Battalion, and two squadrons 8th Lt. Cavly. and Skinner's Horse, moved towards the S.E. end of the Shuher Punnah walls to reconnoitre: the remainder of the force under Brigadier Murray was ordered to skirt the jungle or *rumna*, which extends to the depth of two to three miles along the south and eastern face on the

outside, and proceed to where the road from Agra leads into Bhurtpoor near the villages of Noh and Nehannee. We did so a ta slow pace, and at half-past one mid-day were joined by General Nicolls and his staff; the General, &c., reconnoitred the eastern face of the Shuher Punnah under a very heavy cannonade. The regiments of Infantry were thrown well back into the jungle, through which a very good road runs from the village of Mulloy on the S.E. of the fort by a second village to the place we halted at. The advanced guard under Le Fevre, consisting of five companies from the different corps, and Skinner's Horse, were immediately with the General. In this service three suwars of Skinner's were killed by cannon shot, as also a subadar of the 36th and sepoy of the 31st; a suwar of Skinner's also lost his leg below the knee. The Commander-in-Chief met General Nicolls in the jungle, sent back his own escort, and took the squadron of the 8th Lt. Cavly. under Captain Nicholson all round the fort. We all encamped at Nehannee near the direct road to Agra about 3 o'clock P.M. On the 13th we were again on the move—that is, the Lancers, Horse Artillery, and 6th Lt. Cavly. Went through the jungle by the road the battalions had come yesterday to Mulloy. After passing the village a squadron of the Lancers and a squadron of our corps under your humble servt., the whole under Major King, were ordered back to that village to

support Skinner's Horse, who were threatened with an attack, a large force having sallied out for that purpose from the Sikri Gate, but on our approach they all bundled in again. Fraser's body of Skinner's Horse, our two corps, and the Horse Artillery took up our encampment this day at 2 o'clock P.M. with our rear resting on a range of hills inaccessible to cavalry, and our front to the fort on its western face opposite the bastion (Futteh Boorje[1]) that was attacked by Lord Lake, with the village of Mooawarree on our right flank and the hamlet of Kimjowlee on our left. On the 14th two regts. of Infantry, the 11th under Col. Price and the 31st under Col. Baddely, also another troop of Horse Artillery under Capt. Hyde, joined us. On the 15th our whole force was mounted before daybreak, and we moved down towards the bund of the jheel: our regiment was drawn up in line, the left resting on the bund, our right behind some banks where the two troops of Horse Artillery were also drawn up. Skinner's Horse (400) under Fraser, and the two regts. of Infantry, moved forward to a garden and village about 300 yards from the walls; the Lancers were drawn up in close column of squadrons in rear of another village and garden to the right and rear of the Infantry. All this was done without the enemy knowing it, for a shot was not fired for an hour after we had taken up this position. Our 4th troop

[1] Tower of Victory—so called in honour of Lord Lake's repulse.

was ordered in advance to where the Infantry were; soon after they must have discovered our leading party, for they pealed upon them a very heavy cannonade. Some said it had been the intention to attack an outwork, others that the Bukshee of Bhurtpoor was to have had a gate given up to us; again it was reported that his Lordship and General Nicolls were desirous of making a close reconnaissance in that quarter,—this last I believe to be the fact. When the cannonade became heavy the Horse Artillery and our regiment were ordered out into the plain to our right, where we had been pelted on the 11th. The Lancers deployed also by squadrons to their right about 100 yards nearer the walls than we were—notwithstanding, neither corps lost a man or horse, and we were from five to eight hundred yards of their walls and bastion; the two corps of Infantry lost four killed and three wounded. We had left our camp standing in charge of the picquets, and returned to it at 10 o'clock. During this business a party of horse (Pindarras, if I may so call them) attempted to carry off fifteen camels belonging to our brigadier and John Company, but parties being sent in pursuit they were recovered, all but two or three. A havildar and twelve troopers of the 6th made a gallant dash into a party of 100 of these looters, killed five of them, and recovered three camels which the fellows had made sure of driving off. The force

with his Lordship and Nicolls also reconnoitred the northern face, and there were some narrow escapes. Nicolls went into a hut near the fort where there were 4 of the enemy; luckily their arms were at some distance, and before they could handle them he got away. On the 16th the villages on the heights from the bund to Mulloy, in front and on the right of our encampment, were ordered to be fortified. Major Whish of the Artillery was desired to superintend the doing of it. To-day, the 17th, as yet nothing has been done, and only a very few guns have been fired from the fort towards the Lord's[1] camp. It is said that the Engineers have not as yet reconnoitred the fort and Shuher Punnah sufficiently, and that the point of attack is not yet decided on. The ditch of the Shuher Punnah is reported to be quite dry in many places; working parties have been making gabions and fascines since the 13th, and vast quantities of both these necessary articles have been constructed at the village of Mulloy and at the bund.

Madho Sing, the brother of Doorjun Sal, it is said, is desirous of making terms with us; he is with a large force at Deig. The Killadar at Khombeer,[2] it is also said, wishes to remain quiet. No further news. Captain Smith was to leave

[1] Lord Combermere.

[2] A fort twelve miles distant. Killadar means Fort Commandant.

England in October, and of course will arrive in Calcutta in February or March. I send a plan of the fort and country and do not believe the former is quite correct, but it will give you an idea of the place.

Kisses to Char. and love to dear Marion.

Ever your affectionate Brother,

J. HEARSEY.

18*th Dec.*—Three hundred and fifty horsemen in four bodies dashed past the small post of our regiment (viz., one Jamadar and 20) last night to the south of the fort: the Jamadar attacked one of the goles[1] and beat it back with the loss of two men on the part of the enemy; we did not lose a man or horse; the other three goles got safely in. Ever thine, J. H.

CAMP between the BUND of the JHEEL and KIMJOWLEE, near BHURTPOOR.
30*th Decr.* 1825.

MY DEAR WILLIAM,—

. . . . . .

We have been exposed as targets for practice of the Fort guns twice since I wrote to you, and the Horse Artillery force lost altogether 5 or 6 horses, a European had his leg taken off, and a golundause[2]

[1] Parties. [2] Artilleryman.

and four or five Sepoys killed. Our enfilading batteries, as also 10½-inch mortar-batteries, opened on the 23rd at about 800 yards from the walls on the north-east angle of the Shuher Punnah: that portion of the city is divided off from the rest by a straight brick wall, and the enclosure is called Gopaulghur. This portion is to be taken as soon as a breach is practicable, a lodgment to be made in it, and batteries formed to shell the citadel and remainder of the town. Our parallels have been advanced and two large 24-pounder batteries erected, one within 250 yards of the bastion to the east of the corner, and another at about 80 yards from the corner bastion and curtain to the north. Besides this the Sappers are at work, and I believe three of the bastions nearest the breach are to be blown up. Our Engineers have been into the ditch of the Shuher Punnah and examined it, in consequence of its having been reported that the enemy were mining from it so as to blow up our batteries, which proved not to be the case. It appears, however, they have mined the ground in front of the gateways all round the fort, being in dread that we shall try to blow open the gates. The lower works of Gopaulghur, or the Shuher Punnah walls in that direction, are laid completely bare by the batteries, so that even a matchlock man dare not show his face. Prisoners taken trying to get away state that the enemy are stockading the portions of the wall in front of our

batteries, so that when one wall is knocked down another will be ready built for us to destroy; but they will not be able to finish it, our shells must annoy them so much. The night before last a body of the enemy's Cavalry, trying to bolt for Khombeer, were attacked by our picquets and advanced posts and driven down towards our encampment where the regiments had turned out, and there was a smart affair for a short time between a party of the 9th Cavalry and them: in this skirmish Captain Chambers lost the forefinger of the bridle hand, and the next to it was nearly cut through, and Captain Palmer was wounded by a sabre in the arm near the shoulder, and in the thigh. Five or six troopers were also wounded. A portion of the enemy got away, and another gole of them were driven back to the fort. In the morning we found that about 30 of them had been killed, 107 had been made prisoners (tag-rag and bobtail included), and 15 wounded; since this we have invested the fort on the West and N.W. closer. The day before this happened a force of two squadrons, one of the Lancers, and one of the 6th under your humble servant, and 100 of Skinner's Horse, the whole under the command of Major King of the Lancers, started at 4 o'clock in the morning for the purpose of *feeling* (a new term in general use, meaning that troops should approach a fortified place near enough to draw the fire of the walls on them, and when it gets very hot they are

to retire from it) Khombeer, a fortified town twelve miles to the N.W. of our encampment. We did so, and as we went round the N.E. face the enemy, both horse and foot, came out of the gate to the S.E. and followed us round, keeping close to their walls, whilst 6 or 8 four-pounders opened their fire upon us from the bastions. Major King having reconnoitred the walls and got a good insight into the force of the enemy, prepared to return. However, I must tell you during all the time we moved round, their best horsemen used their matchlocks on us, and we in return sent Skinner's people to try what they could do, but they would scarcely leave our column, and allowed our skirmishers with their carbines to be 100 yards nearer to the enemy than they would go. We could not charge, as the enemy kept within a four minutes' gallop of their walls; as it was, their four-pound shot came through our column. After we had retired about three-quarters of a mile, Major King ordered 60 of Skinner's Horse to bring up the rear, keeping 100 yards from us, whilst 40 of them skirmished with their matchlocks. The order had not been given five minutes when we came to a village about a mile from Khombeer, called Burona: here our column of Lancers and the 6th were hid for a minute from the enemy, and the rascals gave a shout and charged down on Skinner's Horse. The Russaldar, instead of facing his men to meet them, turned tail, and the first thing I knew of it was

seeing his men going bang through my squadron, which was in column of threes. I ordered it immediately to halt and front, but found the front of my squadron so hampered by Skinner's people, who had now pulled up and begun to fire on the enemy (who had got on the other side of some bad ground within fifty yards of us), that I could not charge them. Whilst this confusion lasted, the Lancers (their squadron not suffering from the shock of the runaways) formed in line facing the enemy on a plain a little distance from the village. Whilst they were doing this, a party of the enemy's horse went round the village and showed themselves in rear of my squadron. I immediately faced the left division, rear rank in front, and charged at them; the fellows fired at us and went off as hard as they could pelt, and as they had kept on the other side of some walled fields I could not follow them. Major King now ordered me to form my squadron on the right of the Lancers on the plain, which I did. About this time another Resallah of Skinner's Horse, being on picquet about three miles from Khombeer, hearing the firing, joined us. Major King now ordered them to circle round the village to the part where I had charged and take the enemy in the flank and rear whilst we charged them in front, but they would not wait for this manœuvre, for on our advancing they fell back to the fort: we then returned to camp. Not a man or horse on our part was wounded; 4 of the

enemy were killed and 9 wounded; we also got one of their horses. Altogether it was a very unsatisfactory skirmish, for if Skinner's Horse had not fell foul of my squadron I should have been able to have charged them home. I had two narrow escapes—one from a four-pound shot from the walls which struck near my horse, and I was struck on the heel by a spent matchlock ball.

Pray make my kindest wishes for the health and welfare of Mr and Mrs Ricketts acceptable to them, and give my love to Marion when you write to her.

Ever your affectionate Brother,

J. HEARSEY.

BHURTPOOR, 15*th January* 1826.

MY DEAR WILLIAM,—Half the month of January has passed since I last wrote to you and the fortress has not yet been stormed. The enclosed sketch of the approaches, batteries, &c., will, however, make it evident to you that a great deal has been done. Both this and the sketch of the position of the army and country about Bhurtpoor are copied from Garden's, of the Quartermaster-General's Department, and are as correct as can possibly be had.

During all these operations our loss has been in officers—Lieut. Tindal of the Engineers killed;

Captain Smith broke his arm by his horse rushing under the branch of a tree from fright of a canon ball; Forbes and Taylor of do., wounded; Lieut.-Col. Faithful, Captain Godley, and Lieutenant Campbell, 33rd, wounded. The accident the cavalry officers met with I gave you in my last. The casualties among the native commissioned officers, non-commissioned officers, and privates have been about 30 killed and 250 wounded.

On the night of the 7th one of the enemy's balls struck a tumbril at the 60th mortar battery and blew it up, which exploded three more, and four hackeries laden with ammunition for the 24-pounders: it is supposed about 20,000 lbs. of powder went off. The wheels, etc., were sent flying all over the trenches, and the enemy commenced a heavy fire of round, grape, and matchlock, but had not the *dil*[1] to make a sally. The earth where we are encamped, near three miles from the place, was shaken. Our loss on this occasion was one havildar and five privates killed, and 15 or 20 men, including gareewans,[2] etc., etc., wounded and scorched. On the 10th a serious disturbance took place in the 15th N.I., which spread to the 33rd and 36th. It appears a private of the former corps, who had been wounded in the head (slightly, it is said), died in Field Hospital, and Asst.-Surgeon Henderson (who came from Coel), without further thought, ordered the body

[1] Heart. [2] Carters.

to be buried after having slightly anatomised it.[1] The men of the corps who came to see their companion, finding how the body had been disposed of, dug it up and carried it to their lines on a hurdle, calling out to the men who crowded round them that their companion had been buried alive by the doctor, and that it was a pretty return to be served in that manner when they hazarded their lives for Honble. John. Captain Kiernander of the 15th, instead of checking this bad spirit in the men, encouraged it, and the consequence was that the three corps above mentioned refused to go down to the trenches when ordered unless they were promised by their commanding officers that the wounded men should not be sent to the Field Hospital. This proposition was, I believe, assented to, and they went down, but in a very discontented and surly manner. In the meantime a Court of Inquiry was ordered to assemble to investigate the cause of this irregular proceeding, and it being apparent that Mr Henderson and Captain Kiernander had misbehaved themselves, they were both sent out of camp. Some of the men were then punished, and the whole business was settled, and is, I believe, now forgotten by all parties. On the 11th a small mine in the curtain near the right breach was sprung with little effect,

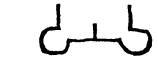
[1] It is stated in Lord Combermere's memoirs that the doctor, having tried in vain to bleed the sepoy in what was then the usual manner, opened the temporal artery.

and, I think on the same day, Captain Taylor blew in one of the enemy's galleries and smothered a party of their miners. On the 13th it was discovered that the enemy had made a hole through the curtain between the Jungunah Gate and the right breach for the purpose of getting out undiscovered to mine in the counterscarp opposite our mortar batteries. A party of Goorkhas were sent down into the ditch to drive them away, which they did very handsomely, killing some, firing the cotton bags they had got into the ditch to cover them, and bringing away their tools. The enemy in considerable numbers sallied out of the Soorujpal Gate to prevent the Goorkhas destroying their mines, but our party being reinforced they were driven back with loss, and the whole of our men returned, not one of them being wounded.

On the night of the 13th the Engineers planned a surprise on the sallyport (or hole through the curtain), intending to charge the passage with powder and blow it up. For this purpose Captains Taylor and Irvine of the Engineers, with twelve Europeans of the 14th King's and a few Sappers and Miners, went into the ditch, and, after posting their party within call, the two Captains went to the sallyport. On approaching it they were fired at by a matchlock man standing sentry, who missed his aim, upon which the Captains rushed towards him — Irvine mounting the bags[1] and

[1] *I.e.*, the sandbags blocking the sallyport.

Taylor trying to get through a space between them. Irvine received a severe blow over the leg by the man's matchlock. The fellow then attacked Taylor with his sword, but T. closed with him, and in the struggle they both fell. At this moment the party of Europeans came up, and, melancholy to say, they bayoneted both Taylor and the man he was struggling with: the latter was killed, and Taylor received seven bayonet wounds before the fellows would believe he was their officer. None of the wounds, I am happy to say, are dangerous, but two—one in the shoulder and one in the thigh—are severe. In consequence of the row the enemy were alarmed, and the party returned without effecting their object.

On the 14th, at six o'clock in the morning, the mine under the long-necked bastion near the left breach was sprung, which brought down about twelve yards of thick mud which had been built round two small *pucka* bastions built thus—  — and exposed to the view of our batteries. Three guns — one a very large one, which was broken in two by the second discharge of our 24-prs., and two smaller ones — were knocked over; one of these was fired by three of the enemy's Golundauzes several times, in spite of the heavy fire of musketry and cannon poured upon them from the trench below the bastion and within sixty yards of them. At 10 o'clock the

same morning, in plain day, Captain Irvine went down the ditch with a small party of Europeans and Sappers and Miners, carrying mantlets before them, to the sallyport (or hole in the wall), drove the enemy into it, and, following them a good way in, stopt up the passage with a mantlet and then charged it with one thousand lbs. of powder. When the train was laid and all ready for an explosion, they found the European of the 14th who had the port-fire in charge had run away. A Sapper volunteered to go back to the batteries and fetch another, which he succeeded in doing, and the explosion was effected. It tore away a great part of the wall, which fell outwards into the ditch, and it is said killed and wounded about 150 of the enemy who had rushed towards the place to prevent, as they thought, troops forcing their way through. In this successful attempt a conductor, Richards, was wounded, and one European and a Sapper killed. The enemy pitched stones over the wall into the ditch as the party entered, two of which struck Irvine on the arm and leg and bruised him a good deal. Our battery being now able to bear upon the opening made through a small ravine in front of it, has, it is said, effected a breach so as the town can be seen inside. About 12 o'clock the enemy made a sally from the Soorujpal Gate to drive away any people from the long-necked bastion No. 14, supposing a party was at work mining it. They were immediately

attacked by a party of Europeans and Goorkhas, and after a quarter of an hour's sharp firing on both sides they were driven back with loss. We suffered a loss of about ten men killed and wounded.

To-day is the 15th. There has been a good deal of battering and mortar firing. The mine under the angle and cavalier is said to be nearly finished, and it is said will be blown up to-morrow morning, when Gopalghur will be stormed.

God bless you, dear William, love and kisses to my Marion when you write to her, kind remembrances to Mr and Mrs Ricketts, and love and kind remembrances to Mrs Patton; pray tell her from me I saw Patton the other day, and he was quite well and hearty.

Ever your affectionate Brother,

J. B. HEARSEY.

The preliminaries sketched in Captain Hearsey's letters having been concluded, and the bombardment commenced on the 24th of December having proved inadequate, Lord Combermere decided to mine the walls of Gopalgarh, the walled-off portion of the town of Bhurtpore nearest to the citadel. By the 18th of January 1826 two breaches had been made in the walls, and an assault by four columns took place on that day. The garrison made a gallant defence, but were driven back

from point to point, until at length the citadel only held out, and it also surrendered on the same evening. The losses of the defenders were put down at 8000 men; those of the attacking force were about 1500 in killed and wounded, two-thirds of which were incurred during the siege and one-third in the assault. This was a very moderate price to pay for so important a success. Captain Hearsey's last letter to Captain Salmon, and an extract from his "statement of services," complete the story of the Bhurtpore campaign:—

BHURTPOOR,
18*th Jany.* 1826, 2 P.M.

MY DEAR WILLIAM,—I have merely time to tell you the Shuher Punnah of Bhurtpoor was stormed this morning at half-past eight o'clock, and in about three-quarters of an hour the whole town and every bastion of it was in our possession. The citadel still holds out, but if it does not surrender at discretion by this evening, 48 hours' shelling will make the place too hot for them. The only person (I have as yet heard) killed is Capt. Pitman, 59th King's. The names of the wounded officers that have come to my knowledge are Lt.-Col. Edwards (a Brigadier), 14th King's, severely wounded; Capt. Campbell, 3rd Cavly. and M.B. to an infantry brigade, severely wounded; Lt. Pitman, 59th King's (the youngest), wounded severely.

The 8th and 3rd Cavly., with a squadron of Lancers, had an opportunity of charging a body of 300 Horse, and I believe destroyed the whole of them. I will write to you again the moment I get more particulars. We have not lost many men.

God bless you.—Ever your affectionate brother,

J. B. HEARSEY.

P.S.—We expect to get an order every moment to mount and march to Khombeer to invest it, or I should have gone down to have looked at this terrible place.

Hearsey writes in his statement of services that during the siege of Bhurtpore "the cavalry duties in covering foraging-parties, cattle-grazing guard, escorting provisions, ammunition, &c., from Agra were very severe and harassing. On the day of the assault I got permission to throw my squadron into a belt of jungle close to the walls, and there I saw a body of horsemen enter. These proved to be the Raja Durjan Sal and his youthful son, Jagmohan Singh. They had hoped to lie concealed in this extensive jungle till night set in, and then escape. I drove them out, and the Raja and his son, with a number of chosen followers, were obliged to bolt, and were intercepted and captured by a picquet of the 8th

Regiment of Native Light Cavalry, under the command of Captain Barbor. Thus was my hope of being the officer to seize the Raja disappointed. If I had been allowed by my commanding officer to proceed into the jungle with my squadron an hour sooner—which I implored him to let me do—the Raja and his son would have been my prisoners, and their capture would have been a happy thing for me.[1]

"I have omitted to mention that during the siege of Bhurtpore I was detached in command of a squadron of my regiment, along with a squadron of the 16th Lancers and a Rissalah of Mr Fraser's, or the 2nd Regiment of Skinner's Horse, to reconnoitre the extensive fort of Khombeer. The whole party was commanded by Major King of the 16th Lancers. We had a skirmish with the garrison, who laid an ambush to cut us off. We charged and drove them back into the fort. I was struck by an iron bullet on the leg, and received a painful contused wound between the ankle joint and heel of my right foot. I received the praise of Major King on the field for the steady and gallant conduct of my squadron, which covered the retirement of the Rissalah of Skinner's 2nd Regiment on one occasion.

[1] "Each of the horsemen who accompanied Doorjan Sal had from 1200 to 2000 gold mohurs sewn up in the lining of his saddle."—Lord Combermere's Memoirs.

"I was next detached in command of my squadron with a regiment of native infantry, the whole under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Pepper, to summon the large and important fort of Deig, twenty-four miles distant. We went by Khombeer and found it in possession of Lieutenant-Colonel Baddeley and his regiment, and we arrived at Deig at eleven in the morning. I was sent on ahead with my squadron to summon it. I galloped in person to the gate, and the commandant gave me the keys and surrendered. The infantry coming up took possession, and I went round the walls, a circuit of two miles, to the encampment on the other side.

"Next day I summoned the large fort of Kharnoa, twelve miles distant. It also surrendered. After staying at Deig for a fortnight, I returned to Bhurtpore and marched with the 6th Light Cavalry to Nugger."

While encamped at Deig, Captain Hearsey received a communication from Major Fitzgerald, the officer who commanded the three troops of the 6th Light Cavalry at Seetabuldee.

This communication, the purport of which is explained by the letter which follows, gave great pleasure to Captain Hearsey, who had been hurt by the cold terms in which Major Fitzgerald had mentioned his services at Seetabuldee in his official report, written after the battle.

Captain Hearsey's application, which follows, had

no result. It was presumably addressed to the Military Secretary:—

SIR,—I have to beg the favour of your laying this letter before his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and though it is with diffidence I intrude myself on the notice of his Lordship, I hope the liberty I take in so doing will not be thought improper, and that my request may meet with his Lordship's kind consideration.

Major Fitzgerald of the 6th Regt. Light Cavalry, and now commanding the 6th Local Horse at Saugor, has informed me that it is his intention to apply for furlough to Europe as soon as the present war is brought to a close, and that he is very desirous that I should succeed him in command of that corps. This, he has been pleased to say, arises from a wish to serve me, as I was fortunately instrumental in gaining him renown by leading a charge and capturing the enemy's artillery on the plain at Seetabuldee in the memorable action of the 27th November 1817, in doing which I received a severe sabre wound in a conflict with the artillerymen.

My claims (if such I may be permitted to term them) to the notice of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief are well known to Colonel Watson, the Adjutant-General of the Army, and who fortunately for me was present on one occasion when I commanded a body of 150 of Gardner's Horse

in an affair with a party of Goorkhas, and can bear witness to my conduct on that day.

Enclosed I send a list of my services for the information of his Excellency, and should I be so happy as to be favoured by his Lordship's patronage, I hope by my conduct to prove that it has not been misplaced by being conferred on

SIR,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

J. B. HEARSEY.
Captain, 6th Regiment Lt. Cavy.

CAMP DEIG,
30th January 1826.

The fall of Bhurtpore and the termination of the Burmese War now restored peace to India, which lasted, with but trifling interruptions, for thirteen years, during the whole of which period Captain Hearsey's life was comparatively uneventful.

CHAPTER VI.

In the sketch of his services from which we have quoted, Sir John Hearsey writes :—

At Nugger I again got temporary command of the regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel Becher having gone on sick leave to Muttra. A force was now collected at Nugger, under the command of Lord Combermere, which moved on to the ground in the vicinity of which the battle of Laswari was fought by Lord Lake in 1805. This force was intended to act against the Machairee Raja, and to reduce his hill fort and capital Alwar, but he succumbed and assented to the terms proposed to him by the British Government.

Major Hyder Hearsey, my kinsman, who had been employed by the Quartermaster-General, Colonel Stevenson, in the Intelligence Department, now became dangerously ill, and was ordered on medical certificate to the Himalaya Mountains. I obtained six months' leave to accompany him. We travelled *viâ* Bareilly to Almorah in Kumaon, thence to Ramnee in Garhwal, and built tem-

porary roofs over our hill tents at that place. Ramnee is situated at the foot of a spur of the Snowy Himalaya.

With care and nursing Major Hyder Hearsey soon shook off the fever and recovered. We journeyed on to Badrinath. The far-famed temple at that place is one of the holiest Hindoo places of pilgrimage. We bathed in the large reservoir there, in water mixed from a boiling spring and an icy cold one to the temperature we liked best. I left Major Hearsey at Badrinath, crossed the Bishen Gunga on a log bridge or *sàngha* thrown across this furious snow stream, to Mana, and then on to the Sursooty, crossing that affluent by a natural bridge formed by two immense rocks being thrown inwards by an earthquake. They had met and jammed together, and the stream flows under the rough and angular arch thus formed. I visited the source of the Bishen Gunga, one of the upper waters of the holy river Ganges. The Bishen Gunga is reckoned one of the most sacred sources by the Hindoos. It rises in seven small pools called the "Sutput Khoond," and flowing from thence it falls over a crest or ridge some 200 feet in height on to a bed of frozen snow more than 100 feet in thickness, and, forming arches through it, runs a course on a rocky bed under this frozen mass. I went on into Tartary.

We returned in October, and I rejoined the 6th Light Infantry at Muttra. The regiment was now commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Tombs, who had been posted from the 3rd Light Cavalry when Lieutenant-Colonel George Becher went away on sick leave.

In the rains of the year 1827 I again went to the Garhwal hills of Ramnee with my sister, Mrs Salmon, and her husband and daughter. Mrs and Miss Salmon were ill when we started, but soon recovered. On our return journey, in crossing the Nundakme river, the log bridge broke in two. Marion Salmon, an interesting young girl, and myself were dashed into a boiling snow torrent from a considerable height. I endeavoured to save her, but in vain, and was all but drowned myself.

We remained on the bank of this torrent for three days. The body of the young girl was recovered on the third day, fourteen miles lower down the torrent than where the bridge had broken: it had been stopped in its course by a broken tree and was lodged in the fork of it, and was partly in the water. I had a case made for the body, and her mother with her own hands folded around it a cerement saturated with turpentine got from a neighbouring village. The body was then laid in a mass of pounded charcoal, and the case carried before us in funeral procession for five days, until we arrived at

the civil station at Hawalbagh, near Almorah, where it was buried in Mrs Traill's garden there and a tomb erected over it.

I accompanied the afflicted parents to Allahabad and then rejoined my regiment, which had marched from Muttra on relief to Sultanpore-Benares.

I spent the year 1828 at Sultanpore-Benares.

Towards the end of the year I was ordered as a member of a Board or Committee, of which Colonel Childers Hill, 11th Dragoons, was President, and Lieutenant-Colonel Tombs the senior member, to examine and report on the Honourable Company's studs in Behar and Tirhoot. We were to report on the brood mares and their produce in those districts. We were constantly travelling from place to place from November 1828 to March 1829. In the latter month I was appointed to the command of the 2nd Irregular Cavalry, which had formerly been a Police Corps called Gardner's Horse. I had commanded 150 men of this very corps in the Nepaul war. I was directed to proceed to Bareilly without delay, and did so by palkee dawk. I found the regiment in a state of internal feud, most of the native officers at deadly enmity with each other, the men badly mounted and worse clothed and armed. Colonel Sleigh, 11th Dragoons, who had been appointed Inspector-General of Cavalry, had reported the regiment as unfit for the service, and recommended that it

should be disbanded. I had to give security for large sums of money to remount, re-clothe, and re-arm it. I was busy in doing so during the rainy season of 1829.

In November the regiment was inspected by Major-General Nicolls, commanding the Meerut Division, who reported favourably on my exertions, and said the regiment had been renewed.

In that month we were ordered to march on relief to Neemuch, and arrived there in December. By March 1830 the corps was restored to good order and perfect efficiency. In that month Major-General Sleigh visited Neemuch as Inspecting Officer of Cavalry on his return from Hydrabad in the Deccan and the stations of the Bombay army. I called upon him and asked him to again inspect the 2nd Irregular Cavalry. He did so, and I was much gratified by receiving his praises on parade. The Adjutant-General, Colonel Christopher Fagan, wrote to me that Lord Combermere thanked me for restoring this regiment to perfect order.

During the years 1831 and 1832 the 2nd Irregular Cavalry was distributed in small parties all over the provinces of Malwah, Kotah, and Boondee, and also in the province of Meywar. One of my posts was on the Seepee river, only three marches from the station of Deesa. I had to visit my detachments for inspection, and as I had posts on both sides of the Mount Aboo

range I went all over that celebrated place and its wonderful carved temple of Dailwara. At this period but few Europeans had visited Aboo. It was almost unknown, and no road existed even for ponies or kine to go up from Anadra.

In 1833 we marched on relief to Saugor, *viâ* Nursinghur and Burseeah. We were cantoned at Saugor in the years 1834 and 1835, and I was promoted to Major on the 19th of November 1835.

In the following year we marched to Bareilly on relief and remained there till the end of 1838. On the 28th of December of this year I was promoted to Lieutenant-Colonel, having subscribed to purchase out our senior Lieutenant-Colonels. On promotion I lost the command of the 2nd Irregular Cavalry, and was posted to the 7th Regular Light Cavalry at Meerut.

I joined and took over command of the 7th at that station, and was stationed at Meerut during the year 1839. In the following year (1840) I was transferred at my own request to the command of my old corps, the 6th regiment of Light Cavalry. Major Stedman of the 7th Light Cavalry was the senior of his rank, and I was anxious to give him the command of the regiment in which he had served all his life.

I proceeded to join the 6th Light Cavalry at Sultanpore-Benares, and on my voyage down the Ganges I was so fortunate as to save Major Have-

lock,[1] of his Majesty's 13th Queen's, from great distress. He was on his way to Calcutta in a country boat with his wife and family. The boat had run upon a snag in the middle of the river and had sunk. I took them off their boat in time, and next morning anchored my pinnace near the spot, and by my crew's exertions in diving, saved all their property. This occurred above Futtehgarh. Havelock and his wife and children (one of them the present Major Havelock, C.B.[2]) were our honoured guests at Allahabad. Thus commenced a friendship with that renowned officer that only ended with his life.

I embarked on my first furlough to England this year (22nd December), after thirty-two years' active service. I reached England early in 1841, and was ordered back to India in the following year by the Honourable Company in consequence of the disasters in Afghanistan. I rejoined my regiment at Sultanpore-Benares in October 1842. In 1843 I marched on relief with the 6th Regiment of Light Cavalry across the centre of India from Chunar to Saugor, and thence to Neemuch in Meywar, arriving there in April.

In the following year (1844) I was ordered to Nusseerabad, and marched there with the 6th Light Cavalry, coming under the command there of Brigadier Sir J. Littler.

[1] Afterwards Major-General Sir Henry Havelock, Bart.

[2] The late Major-General Sir Henry Havelock Allan, Bart., V.C.

In 1845 I marched with my regiment on relief to Loodianah on the Sutlej river. Our route lay along the borders of the desert by Hissar and Hansi. We were much distressed at times for forage and water. At Loodianah I found myself under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Wheeler, afterwards Sir Hugh Massy Wheeler, who was massacred at Cawnpore.

While at Ludhiana Lieutenant-Colonel Hearsey was much offended by a letter which appeared in a well-known Indian newspaper, 'The Delhi Gazette,' attacking the courage of the Indian Cavalry. Colonel Hearsey consequently wrote the long and interesting letter which follows,—apparently his first, and almost his only, appearance in print.

THE NATIVE CAVALRY.

To the Editor of 'The Delhi Gazette.'

"He who writes letters on subjects he does not understand is apt to commit himself."—*An Old Saw.*

Dear Sir,—Your correspondent, Purwan Durrah, in your *Gazette* of the 28th June last, writes thus:—

"I attribute the cause of the inefficiency [of the *Native Regular Cavalry*] not to their saddles, bridles, swords, or bits, *but simply to want of pluck in the men.*"

Again: "*But be assured that if they would urge their horses and keep their saddles in a charge as well as they do in a retreat,* no Asiatic cavalry nor infantry, unless protected by field-works or difficult ground, could stand before them, for they are superbly mounted and well officered; *but the fact is, fighting is not in their department.* The Native Cavalry have no idea of a compact charge *nor stomach for hand-to-hand combat, as the result has* ALWAYS SHOWN *whenever they have been resolutely encountered.* They will follow a flying foe and cut up the runaways with considerable address, *but the foe must run before they will go to work.*"

You say, Mr Editor, in your note that Purwan Durrah writes strongly, perhaps too strongly, but that it cannot be denied that there are instances that warrant his assertion.

I have copied the above that the unfounded assertion of Purwan Durrah against the courage of as gallant a body of men as ever served any state may be contradicted by facts.

Let me ask, Did the Regular Native Cavalry behave with courage and attack a resisting foe in the following named battles?—

(1) Laswaree, under the personal command of Lord Lake.

(2) The battle of Deeg, under the command of General Fraser.

(3) In the first siege of Bhurtpoor in many

affairs. I will give one anecdote as an example of personal gallantry during this siege.

General Lake was desirous of ascertaining the depth of water in the ditch. A Non-commissioned Officer and trooper of the 3rd Light Cavalry volunteered to plumb it at mid-day, and did so in a most daring and fearless manner—much to the admiration of his Lordship and Staff, who witnessed the act and highly extolled them for their cool courage. Again: an order was issued no notice should be taken of the Ekkas or picked Horsemen, men famed for single combat of the enemy. These men used to ride down within matchlock shot of our videttes, taunt the Native Officers and men with want of courage, &c. On one occasion a horseman well mounted, covered with chain armour, made his appearance before the picket of the 6th Light Cavalry, then commanded by Lieutenant Smith (a relation of Sir G. Barlow). His taunts were so opprobrious and galling that the jemadar of the picket, by name Meer Selabut Ally (well known in the 6th and 10th under the sobriquet of "Bowlegs"), begged that he might be allowed to accept the challenge. Lieutenant Smith permitted him, and the gallant fellow was soon on his horse, with his sword only, and rode out to do battle. I have heard that the sight of the two combatants trying to gain the sword hand of his adversary was most beautiful and exciting. At last the

jemadar succeeded, and the blow that followed was so well aimed that, in spite of mail, the challenger's head was struck off. The jemadar followed his enemy's horse to the walls of the fort, but did not succeed in capturing it. He returned, took up the body of his opponent, and brought it in. These, sir, are the kind of men Purwan Durrah chooses to calumniate.

In the capture of the island of Java the Body-guard, under Captain Gall, of the 8th Light Cavalry did good service.

In the first affair with the Pindarrahs (when their mettle was unknown to our cavalry) a squadron of the 5th Light Cavalry (totally unsupported by other troops), under Captain Caulfield, attacked a much superior body of Pindarrahs, some 2000, not far from Bellary at the mouth of Myheer valley. *Vide* General Orders by the Marquis of Hastings issued on the occasion.

In the affair under Captain Ridge, when a squadron of the 4th Light Cavalry, near Powyne on the bank of the Kanê river, was engaged with four goles of Pindarrahs of 1000 each, they attacked them in succession, cutting their way through, and drove them with loss into the Bearmeh river near to Ambghat. In this affair Captain Kennedy and Captain Howorth, the former of the 5th Light Cavalry (now our much esteemed Major-General), the latter in the 6th,

and a senior officer to Captain Ridge, were volunteers: the latter perished in this action. I must refer Purwan Durrah to the detachment orders of Lieut.-Col. Aldin, who commanded the troops on this occasion, and to the General Orders of the Marquis of Hastings.

The action of Seetabuldee I beg leave to recommend Purwan Durrah to make himself acquainted with. I enclose you a printed narrative of this affair, published under the supervision of Sir Richard Jenkins, the then Resident of Nagpoor, which you may republish if you think proper. The General Orders of the Marquis of Hastings on this occasion, I believe, made known to the army that the three troops of the 6th Light Cavalry had covered themselves with glory; and I had the pleasure to hear Colonel Hopetoun Scott, who commanded on that occasion, and also the Resident, say that "it was beautiful to see the small speck of French grey open a way for itself amongst the thousands of the enemy's horse surrounding it, putting to flight a battalion of regular infantry, and capturing the two 12-pounders attached to it, and, furthermore, slowly retiring with their prize and using the guns effectually against the enemy, although orders had been sent to spike and abandon them."

After this brush on the plain one troop charged into the town, setting fire to the thatched huts, thus driving the Arabs out of their cover, and

then sabring them. Colonel Hopetoun Scott in his orders says, "Thus terminating an action that had lasted some 16 hours."

In the action near Jubbulpoor, where Major-General Hardyman attacked the Nagpoor troops, Captain Pope of the 8th Light Cavalry with his troop made a splendid charge on a body of matchlock-men, rocketeers, and two guns, cutting through them and capturing the artillery: the Non-commissioned Officer close to him was killed by a rocket. Captain Pope was wounded on this occasion by the thrust of a spear.

The dashing charge at the action of Sewnee[1] (near Chappareh), where Colonel Macmorine attacked the Nagpoor troops, when Captain Chambers of the 8th Light Cavalry charged a large and resisting body of matchlock-men and horse, and routed them with great slaughter; at the battle of Sukan Durrah (near Nagpoor), when Major-General Doveton of the Madras army attacked the immense camp of the Nagpoor force. The two 6's, the Madras and Bengal, were brigaded on this occasion, and vied with each other in daring acts of bravery. Two batteries of 6 guns each were carried at the charge. A body of 60 elephants covered with matchlock-men checked Captain Fitzgerald's squadron until Captain Poggenpohl, who commanded the European Madras horse artillery, came up and fired

[1] Or Seoni.

some shrapnel amongst them, which caused the mass to open out, and Fitzgerald's squadron was soon amongst them. Every matchlock-man was killed, and the whole of the 60 elephants, &c., &c., captured. The enemy's horse was charged, defeated, and pursued many miles. Sixty pieces of artillery were surrendered or captured by the army on that day.

In the rains of 1818 the whole of Choteesghur and the districts east of Nagpoor broke out in rebellion against the new Rajah of Nagpoor. Small detachments were sent out in August, one under Major Wilson and another under Captain Gordon of the Madras Army; with the former a squadron of the 6th Light Cavalry under the command of Lieutenant R. W. Smith. On this occasion a portion of the squadron assisted to escalade the strong Hill Fort of Ambaghur, which was carried by a most daring but judicious stratagem at mid-day.

Lieutenant Wilkinson, 6th Light Cavalry (afterwards Resident at Nagpoor), accompanied Captain Gordon's party with 500 picked Mahratta Horse. He applied for a party of a Jemadar and 25 troopers, with non-commissioned officers, of the 6th Light Cavalry *to lead them into action.*

At the affair or action of Lamba a deep river, the Wyne or Bain Gunga, separated the contending forces, when Captain Wilkinson, leaving a Naik and 6 troopers with some of the Mahratta

horsemen to make a demonstration *as if they intended to swim the river*, he with the main body made a circuit to gain a ford (a difficult one): when he had nearly got to it the enemy became aware of his intention, and commenced a movement to prevent his party crossing. The Naik and 6 troopers of the 6th Light Cavalry immediately dashed into the river and swam their horses across under a heavy fire of matchlocks, and, though thus opposed, made good their landing and dashed into the thickest of the enemy. The Mahratta horse *did not* follow them.

This diversion enabled Lieutenant Wilkinson to cross the ford comparatively unopposed, and the enemy met a most severe defeat. The Naik's name was Wahid Ally: he had been promoted for gallantry at Seetabuldee. On this occasion two matchlock balls passed through his cap. The gallant fellow asked, and was permitted, to wear the cap until he was promoted to Havildar, which soon took place.

These are the men, Mr Editor, that Purwan Durrah stigmatises as cowards!

At the battle of Sewnee (beyond or to the south of the Wurdah river), fought by General Adams against the Peishwa, the 5th Light Cavalry, led by the gallant old General and Colonel Clarke, charged into the midst of a vastly superior body of Mahratta horse and defeated them with great slaughter. Six guns fell

to the exertions of that gallant corps, which was supported by two guns of the Madras European Horse Artillery and two of the old gallopers of the 6th Light Cavalry, and the 6th Light Cavalry itself, *which unfortunately was held in reserve* by Lieutenant-Colonel Gahan, and thus lost a noble opportunity of adding to their laurels. One troop under Lieutenant Anstruther, however, did good service; for the Adjutant[1] of the regiment, having stole away with 30 men, charged a body of horse, and on seeing this Lieut. Anstruther entreated he might be permitted to join them. Whilst this party was thus engaged, Lieutenant-Colonel Gahan moved off with the remainder of the regiment to camp.

The small force was eventually surrounded by large bodies of horse, and *at the earnest advice of the Subadar walked, with* three camels laden with bags of rupees, through them, showing front and putting on so bold a face that the enemy retired and let them pass unmolested. The Native Officer on this occasion showed cool courage: he said, "If we appear to be in a hurry it will encourage the vastly superior enemy to attack us."

When Colonel Hopetoun Scott was ordered to proceed with a small force and prevent the Peishwa entering the large fortified town of Chanda, the garrison and inhabitants who favoured the Peishwa opened the guns upon him, and he was obliged to

[1] Hearsey himself.

strike his camp and get out of the range of the artillery. The Colonel was heard to bewail that he dared not attempt to carry the place by escalade, having so small a body of infantry. The Native Officers and men of the 6th Light Cavalry volunteered to act on foot. Ladders were immediately made up, and that very night we expected to have carried the place: unfortunately an order was received from General Adams directing Col. Scott to make all haste and join him at Hingunghat on the Wurdah; we accordingly started at 4 P.M. This volunteering, Mr Editor, did not show any want of pluck in the Native Cavalry. At the siege of Chanda by General Adams, the 6th Regiment again volunteered, but the regiment received a dignified check from the General, who told us if we were required he would *order* us. The senior cavalry corps in camp, the ever-gallant 5th, was eventually employed, dismounted, to keep the breach when the storming-party had entered. I must tell you the fortified town of Chanda was more than 3 miles in circuit, and it was expected that a tough fight would take place in the town even after the ramparts had been scoured.

Many very smart affairs took place between the 7th Light Cavalry and Appa Sahib's Arabs between the Shahpor Ghat, Baitool, and Mooltye in the rains of 1818. In these Captain Agnew, Captain Lane, and others highly distinguished themselves, and the men behaved with great gallantry,

charging and destroying an obstinate, resolute, and resisting foe.

At Donaview in Ava, Captain Sneyd, with the Bodyguard, did gallant service, to the admiration of the force under General Campbell, who witnessed their dashing and fearless attack of a mass of elephants covered with matchlock-men and supported by their Cassay Horse, infantry, &c.

Last, not least, Mr Editor, the battles of Meanee and Dubba or Hydrabad. The former was decided by the gallant charge of the 9th Light Cavalry under Lieutenant-Colonel Pattle: in this attack he cleared the village of Khuttra, which the Bombay Grenadiers, under Major Clibborn, by some mistake or misconception of orders by that gallant officer, had failed to get possession of. *Vide* second part of the Conquest of Sinde, by Major-General Sir W. Napier.

I think I have stated enough to rebut the calumny of Purwan Durrah as to the want of courage or pluck (as he terms it) of the Native Regular Cavalry.

I have been with the 6th Regiment Light Cavalry in many affairs, and have always found my men most eager to come to the scratch—perhaps too much so—and could give you a small volume of anecdotes of personal daring of native officers and men that I have witnessed during my thirty-seven years' service, but it would take up too much time and space to detail them.

I conclude by charging Purwan Durrah, whoever he may be, with gross malignity in thus needlessly travelling out of his way to attack a whole arm of the Bengal Service. He must either be ignorantly stupid or malevolently mendacious, and thus I leave him on either horn of the dilemma.—Yours obediently,

J. B. HEARSEY, *Lieut.-Col.*,
Comdg. 6th Regt. Lt. Cavy.

LOODIANAH, *2nd July* 1845.

P.S.—Purwan Durrah can only instance two occasions when the Regular Cavalry have misbehaved since the 1st Regiment was raised in 1787—viz., at "Mungrool" in the Kotah country, and at "Purwan Durrah." The 4th Light Cavalry were known to be in a discontented state; some men of the corps had stolen the standards from the Standard Guard and defiled them but a short time previous to their misconduct.

The late 2nd Cavalry had not been on active service from the year 1805-6 till the year 1839-40. At Purwan Durrah I have heard that the Commanding Officer of the three troops of the 2nd Cavalry, after having drawn up his party so as to cut off the retreat of the Dost, was waiting until his enemy descended from some high ground, when he intended to give the word forward.

In the meantime he received positive orders (and these were repeated by another messenger) to re-

turn and join the main body. Vacillation was the consequence: one moment the three troops were put in motion to retire; the next they were halted and fronted to meet the foe, for the Dost, seeing them about to retire, charged them. A panic was the consequence, and such might have happened, and no doubt has happened, with the best European troops ere this. This must serve as warning. It is not a time to shilly-shally with cavalry when the moment of attacking has arrived: in so doing the troops are jeopardised.

J. B. H.

The incessant moves of the 6th Light Cavalry during the years 1842 to 1845 were caused by the imminence of a war with the Sikhs.

As Hearsey and his regiment were among the troops who had the bad luck to miss the first campaign, and there is consequently little reference made to the war in his papers, and none to its causes, a brief sketch of our new enemies, and of the first campaign against them, now follows.

The Sikhs, originally a religious community, principally of the Jat race, were welded together by Mohammedan persecution. After the sack of Delhi by Nadir Shah, the Persian, in 1738, when the Mogul Empire began to fall to pieces, the Sikhs emerged from obscurity and step by step obtained consideration. Nadir Shah was succeeded

as the scourge of northern India by Ahmad Shah, the founder of the Afghan kingdom, who invaded India five times, but maintained friendly relations with the Sikhs, whose geographical position on the flank of his line of invasion rendered their services useful to him. Ahmad Shah conferred the title of Raja on the chief of Patiala, who became recognised as the head of the Sikh confederacies south of the Sutlej; and Shah Zeman, one of his successors, also conferred the same title on Ranjit Singh, who, about the year 1808, was well on the way to sovereignty over all the Sikhs north of the Sutlej.

Ranjit Singh undoubtedly desired to weld the whole of the Sikhs, both north and south of that river, into a great and powerful nation, but this design conflicted with the British policy of that date, which was chiefly framed with a view to the defence of India against the expected attack by Napoleon. Our desire, therefore, was to establish a protectorate over the southern Sikhs and friendly relations with those beyond the Sutlej. This plan promised well for our defence of that great river line, whereas a united Sikh nation might throw in their lot with the invader with fatal results.

Ranjit Singh, whose hands were full with the task of consolidating his power and with incessant wars with the Afghans, acquiesced in this limitation of his dominions, and, until his death in June

1839, remained the friend of the British Indian Government.

After the death of Ranjit Singh a period of anarchy set in at Lahore. Maharaja rapidly followed Maharaja, and Minister followed Minister, as each was murdered by his rivals or by the turbulent army, which had been so docile under the rule of the great soldier who had created it.

Each successive murder left the Sikh army more turbulent and more bent on mischief. Finally, in September 1845, Peshora Singh, the last surviving adult son of Ranjit Singh, was assassinated by order of Jawahir Singh, the Prime Minister of the moment, and the uncle of Dhulip Singh, the boy Maharaja. The army was frantic with indignation, and solemnly executed Jawahir Singh in the presence of Rani Jindan, his sister, the mother of Dhulip Singh. The Sikh regents were now desperate, and, as a last resource, encouraged the army to invade British India. They knew the army to be very powerful. Should it defeat the British, Delhi would be sacked, and there would be great plunder to be divided; should it be defeated it would be destroyed, and would no longer endanger their lives, while the British Government would no doubt accept their assurances of innocence. They acted, in fact, on the old Eastern proverb which advises you to "throw the snake at your enemy's bosom."

So it was that on the 11th of December 1845

the advanced-guard of the Khalsa army crossed the Sutlej and invaded territory under British protection.

There are very conflicting statements as to the strength of the invading force, but they may perhaps be fairly estimated at 45,000 regulars, supported by some 20,000 to 25,000 irregulars.[1]

The regular troops were of excellent quality, and had been trained by some forty officers of French, Italian, Spanish, and English origin, some of whom had served with distinction under the great Napoleon. The Sikh army was also strong in artillery. To meet this imposing force the British Commander-in-Chief, Sir Hugh Gough, a veteran of the Peninsular War, had very insufficient troops at hand, though Ferozepore and Ludhiana, the principal frontier posts, had had their garrisons strengthened when war became probable. The garrison of Ferozepore, under Major-General Sir John Littler, was some 7000 strong, while that at Ludhiana, commanded by Brigadier-General Wheeler, consisted of about 5000 men.

At and near Umballa, 80 miles from Ludhiana and double that distance from Ferozepore, there was a reserve of 10,000 men; and at Meerut, quite out of reach for immediate use, was a further force of 9000 men. Sir Hugh Gough had, in fact, over 30,000 men at his disposal, but owing to the earnest wish of Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor-

[1] Gough and Innes's 'The Sikhs and the Sikh Wars.'

General, to avert war, they were scattered in a most dangerous manner, he being aware that a concentration would have precipitated a collision.

The plan of campaign of the Sikh commanders was to fall as rapidly as possible upon the two forces at Ferozepore and Ludhiana, and to crush them before they could unite with one another or with the troops from Umballa.

Immediately before the Sikh invasion Sir Henry Hardinge, the Governor-General, a very experienced and fearless soldier, was in camp near Ludhiana. Hearing on the 8th of December that the Sikhs were preparing to cross the Sutlej in force, he ordered General Wheeler to hold his troops in readiness to march towards Ferozepore at a moment's notice, and on the following day he ordered the troops at Umballa and Meerut to advance in the same direction.

The orders were promptly executed by the Commander-in-Chief, who marched from Umballa with the troops there on the 12th of December. These troops made a most rapid advance and covered 114 miles in five days, thus catching the Ludhiana troops on their way to join hands with Sir John Littler at Ferozepore. The junction of the Umballa and Ludhiana troops took place on December 16th, and two days later, at the end of a march of twenty-one miles, came in contact with the Sikh army at Mudki. Finding that the Sikhs intended to attack, Sir Hugh Gough at once advanced his

cavalry and horse-artillery, ordering the infantry to follow in second line. The advance began at about four in the afternoon. Sir Hugh quickly saw that the Sikh line would, owing to its great length, outflank his infantry, and therefore ordered his cavalry to drive in both flanks of the Sikhs, while he opened a brisk fire with his horse and field batteries.

The cavalry carried out their duty with great dash and gallantry, driving off the Sikh horse with the greatest ease, and subsequently charging down the rear of the Sikh infantry.

The British infantry meanwhile made a steady advance, driving all before them. Darkness alone saved the Sikhs from a complete disaster, but their losses in men were very heavy, and seventeen of their guns were taken.

The British loss was also heavy, amounting to nearly 900 of all ranks, of whom 63 were officers. Among the latter three general officers were killed and two wounded. Mudki was, in fact, a very severely contested affair, and one which reflects great credit on the troops which won the day after a succession of long marches at the very outset of a campaign, always a severe test of the quality of troops. Sir Hugh Gough and his subordinates handled their men with great dash and skill, and deserve much more credit than is usually bestowed on our commanders by the voice of their countrymen.

Mudki being sufficiently near Ferozepore to afford help to Sir John Littler's force should it be endangered by an attack of the main Sikh army, Sir Hugh Gough gave his army a much-needed rest on the 19th December, and in the evening received an invaluable reinforcement in the arrival of two British infantry regiments and some heavy artillery. The two regiments had made a very fine march from the hill stations of Kasauli and Subathu, and had strained every nerve to be up in time for the fighting. They had not long to wait, for Gough now decided to attack the Sikh army at all risks with the troops he had, and to drive them across the Sutlej. No other decision was possible, for no more reinforcements could arrive for a long time, and inactivity before a large invading army would have had a fatal effect on the native infantry, who already evinced a great respect for Sikh prowess. The situation now was that Sir Hugh Gough's force had before it a great Sikh army under Lal Singh, one of the principal chiefs of the Khalsa, while another large army under Tej Singh was watching Sir John Littler with the obvious intention of attacking him the moment that he moved.

Gough decided to attack Lal Singh at once, directing Littler to join hands with him during the action if he found it possible to do so. Sir John Littler received his orders at midnight on

December the 20th, and marched at eight o'clock the following morning: four hours earlier Sir Hugh Gough's force moved off from Mudki, leaving behind them in the fort there their wounded, camp equipage, and heavy baggage. After a six hours' march Lal Singh's army was found in position about the village of Ferozeshah, which formed the centre of their entrenchments.

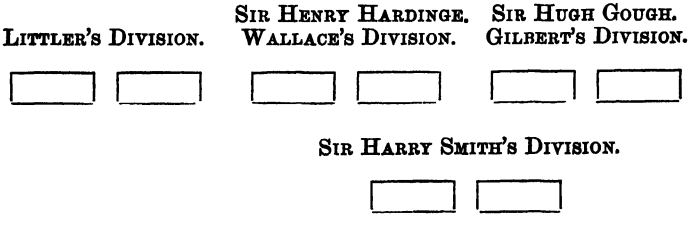
Sir Hugh Gough had received intelligence that General Littler was marching towards him, and desired to attack Lal Singh as soon as he had reconnoitred the Sikh position and the British army had breakfasted. This intention was, however, frustrated, for Sir Henry Hardinge took the very unusual course of overruling his Commander-in-Chief on the field of battle, and ordered Gough not to attack until Littler's force had come up. This junction took place at one o'clock, but the delay (happening as it did on December 21st, the shortest day in the year) was most unfortunate.

The battle of Ferozeshah began at four o'clock with an artillery duel, in which the Sikh guns showed a considerable superiority both in numbers and weight. Daylight was rapidly waning, and our artillery and infantry were therefore moved up to closer quarters.

Sir John Littler's division, which was on the British left, advanced somewhat prematurely, suffered very heavily, and was eventually compelled to retire. This repulse caused great exultation in

the Sikh army, but no corresponding emotion among the victors of Mudki, who advanced with grim determination headed by Sir Hugh Gough and the Governor-General in person. The assault was delivered in echelon, right forward, and that made by Major-General Gilbert's division was completely successful. This division was on the right of the Mudki force, and was led by Sir Hugh Gough, though the gallant Gilbert could have well done that work himself. The centre division and the left of the Mudki force, commanded by Brigadier-General Wallace and led by Sir Henry Hardinge, attacked in rapidly increasing darkness, and, though successful, fell into great confusion. Part of this division penetrated to the village of Ferozeshah, which they found tenanted by Sir Harry Smith's division. Sir Harry had been originally in reserve, but had been ordered up in support of General Gilbert.

A diagram may elucidate this description.



Night now came on; Smith's and Wallace's divisions were mingled together; the position of Littler's repulsed brigades was unknown; the cap-

tured Sikh camp was on fire, and frequent explosions were taking place, one of which caused heavy loss to General Gilbert's troops.

The Commander-in-Chief, Sir Harry Smith, and General Littler, all separated from one another by the darkness, simultaneously set to work to form up their various regiments and to take up suitable positions for the night, which was passed under most trying conditions, the troops being without food, water, or cover. At 3 A.M. on the 22nd December Sir Harry Smith evacuated the village of Ferozeshah and joined hands with Sir John Littler. The night of Ferozeshah was indeed one of the most critical episodes in the history of British India, and it was well for us that our troops were hardy and well-disciplined veterans, led by determined commanders who were not staggered by heavy casualties.

At dawn on December 22 Sir Hugh Gough prepared to renew the struggle, placing himself in front of the right of the troops with him, while the Governor-General led the left. The guns opened an effective fire on the Sikh army, and presently the infantry advanced in irresistible array, driving the Sikhs before them at the point of the bayonet. Littler's division, and that part of Sir Harry Smith's division which was with him, now came up, and the whole army was concentrated in the Sikh position.

A strange episode then occurred. Tej Singh's

army, some 30,000 strong, who had so tamely allowed Littler to slip away from Ferozepore, now arrived on the scene with the apparent intention of attacking. A British Staff-officer lost his head and ordered the bulk of our cavalry and horse-artillery to retire to Ferozepore, and all appearances pointed to the impending destruction of our exhausted infantry.

Tej Singh's artillery opened a heavy fire on our troops, and an assault by his army could hardly have been withstood. Fortunately for us none of the Sikh commanders were competent to execute an attack, though they could command their men well on the defensive. Tej Singh saw before him signs of the heavy loss inflicted on Lal Singh's army by our attack of the previous day; he saw our troops in a strong defensive position, and he reflected that to attack them would be no light task. Finally, he was alarmed by the movement of our cavalry and guns towards Ferozepore; he lost his nerve and began a hasty retreat towards the Sutlej. So passed away a great danger, and so ended the battle of Ferozeshah.

The British troops suffered very heavily, but the losses of the Europeans were out of all proportions to those of the native regiments. The Sikh army, 60,000 strong, was completely routed and lost seventy-three guns; and to the British public of to-day, who appear to believe that battles can be won without casualties, we commend

these words of the great Duke of Wellington in his letter of congratulation to Sir Hugh Gough: "Long experience has taught me that such achievements cannot be performed, and such objects attained as in these operations, without great loss, and that in point of fact the honour acquired by all is proportionate to the difficulties and dangers met and overcome."

The Sikh army, after Ferozeshah, recrossed the Sutlej, just ten days after their invasion of British India; but they by no means accepted defeat. On the contrary, they rapidly brought fresh infantry and guns into the field, and by the 5th of January 1846 showed renewed signs of activity. The British army also received large reinforcements, 10,000 men arriving at army headquarters on the 6th of January, while the garrison of Ludhiana also received substantial additions.

In the middle of January a large body of Sikhs under Sirdar Ranjur Singh again crossed the Sutlej, this time near Ludhiana, and threatened our line of communications. Sir Harry Smith, with an inadequate force, was detached against this army, and after fighting a somewhat unsatisfactory rearguard action with Ranjur Singh at Budhowal, was reinforced by a second brigade of infantry. Sir Harry's strength was now over 10,000 men with 30 guns, and with this force he attacked Ranjur Singh at Aliwal on the 28th of January 1846. Ranjur Singh's position was strong but

dangerous. A fortified village guarded both his flanks, but the broad Sutlej lay behind him. Sir Harry Smith, a most capable and gallant soldier, attacked at ten in the morning after a sixteen mile march. His plan of attack was to capture the village of Aliwal on the Sikh left, and then to hurl himself against their left and centre, and so to penetrate to their rear and cut off their retreat across the Sutlej. This plan was carried into effect by a brilliant co-operation of the three arms, the artillery and infantry advancing irresistibly on their objective, while the cavalry on either flank watched its opportunities and charged in a style that has rarely been excelled in Indian warfare.

The Sikh force fled in utter rout across the ford in their rear, leaving behind them sixty-seven guns and all their camp and stores. Sir Harry Smith's generalship at Aliwal ranks with that of Sir Hugh Gough at Mudki, and he was admirably seconded by his subsidiary commanders and his whole force.

After Aliwal the whole British army was concentrated for a final struggle with the Sikhs, who occupied a very strong position at Sobraon not unlike that of Aliwal. Sir Hugh Gough's plan of attack was similar in principle to that which had proved so successful in the hands of Sir Harry Smith, and the force which attacked Sobraon on the 10th of February 1846 consisted of one division of cavalry, three divisions of infantry, with sixty guns.

The Sikhs defended their strongly entrenched position with the utmost determination, and, as at Ferozeshah, our artillery failed to subdue the fire of the defence. An infantry attack was therefore necessary, and it was nobly executed.

Sir Robert Dick's division attacked the Sikh right, and after heavy fighting, captured it with the loss of their brave old Divisional Commander, a veteran of the Peninsula and Waterloo. The Sikhs, seeing their defences pierced, concentrated their strength from all parts of their position to repulse Dick's division. Sir Harry Smith was now ordered to attack the Sikh right, and General Gilbert the centre, with their divisions, and a sanguinary struggle followed.

At last the entire Sikh defences were carried, and their army completely defeated with very heavy loss. All their guns, sixty-seven in number, were captured. The British loss was about 2400, including two general officers killed, and the Sikh loss was at least four times as heavy.

The battle of Sobraon, fought within two months of the invasion of British India, ended the first Sikh war, and a week after the battle Lahore surrendered to the Governor-General.

Neither Sir Henry Hardinge nor the Government were anxious to annex the Punjab, but it was felt that the Sikhs must submit to some loss of territory in punishment of their aggression. The tract of land lying between the rivers Beas

and Sutlej, and known as the Jullundhur Doab, was therefore annexed. The Sikh army surrendered all the guns which had been used in the war (250 in number), and an indemnity of a million and a half sterling was exacted.

The Sikh Council of Regency continued to administer the government of the Punjab, but they were placed under the control of Sir Henry Lawrence, who was appointed British agent at Lahore. Feeling themselves still unable to control the Khalsa army, the Sikh chiefs asked that a British force should continue to occupy Lahore until the end of the year 1846.

As has already been mentioned, Lieutenant-Colonel Hearsey was unfortunate enough not to be permitted to take an active part in the first Sikh campaign. His brief narrative of his movements during the war runs thus:—

I was ordered, early in December 1845, to march with the 6th Light Cavalry to Shikarpore, in Sinde. Brigadier Littler was then commanding at Ferozepore, and a war imminent with the Sikh nation. I did all I could to persuade Sir John Littler to detain the 6th Light Cavalry at Ferozepore, for the whole regiment was suffering from fever and ague. He told me he could not take upon himself to do so. A very heavy proportion of my men were sent on board of boats at Ferozepore and dropped down the Sutlej river,

being unable to sit on their horses. Fourteen men died in the boats. I marched *viâ* Bahawalpore, Khanpore, and Ahmedpore—within communication of my sick men in the boats. When we arrived at Roree Bakker we heard of the invasion of the Sikh army and of the battles of Moodkee and Ferozeshah, and I was told to prepare to receive Prince Waldemar of Prussia, who had been ordered from the battlefield of Ferozeshah towards Bahawalpore and Sinde! However, the victory was gained the next day, and he rejoined Lord Gough's force. I was ordered by Sir Charles Napier, Governor of Sinde, to be ready to oppose any attempt of the Sikh force from Mooltan and Mithenkote on Shikarpore. The force assembled under my command at Shikarpore consisted of a horse field-battery under the command of Captain Olpherts,[1] a portion of the Bundelkhund Legion, the 6th and 7th regiments Light Cavalry, the Camel Corps under the command of Captain Fitzgerald, and the two regiments of infantry of the Bundelkhund Legion: these, as also the regiment of Irregular Cavalry under the command of Captain Verner, formed a portion of the whole legion under the command of Major Beatson. I remained ready to move at the shortest notice, the Police Corps, under the command of Captain Younghusband, watching Mithenkote and keeping the marauding tribe of Boordees in check.

[1] Afterwards General Sir H. Olpherts, V.C.

I was ordered to march with the 6th regiment of Light Cavalry to Sukker, on the Indus, cross that river to Roree and encamp on the left bank near that place. A large force was assembled here. I was appointed by Sir Charles Napier Brigadier to command the Cavalry. This force marched by regiments and encamped at Bahawalpore, half-way to Ferozepore, and it threatened Mooltan. A large and heavy park of artillery was formed; Sir Charles Napier himself was to have taken the command. The troops from the Bombay Presidency joined, and another column under Major-General George Hunter was to proceed and take possession of Mithenkote and the fort of Shujabad. The troops temporarily under my command amounted to 10,000 men and 60 pieces of siege ordnance. We were waiting to cross the Sutlej river. I had found out a place, almost a ford, where a bridge of boats could have been easily made, when the battle of Sobraon took place and Lord Gough's army advanced to Lahore. Sir Charles Napier was ordered to that capital. Major-General George Hunter took command of the troops at Bahawalpore, and I was ordered to march with the 6th Light Cavalry to Ferozepore. We arrived there in the month of March and the campaign ended. The Jullundhur Valley was ceded and our troops held Lahore.

I got leave for six months and joined my family at Bareilly; from thence got leave for England to

complete my furlough, after thirty-eight years' active regimental service.

As Sir John Hearsey gives no account of the events leading to the second Sikh war, and relates only what he saw of that campaign, a short narrative of the causes and incidents of the war may be acceptable.

After the occupation of Lahore, the Punjab Durbar endeavoured to govern the country peacefully. They were aided in the most whole-hearted manner by Sir Henry Lawrence, whose sympathies were entirely with them. The task, however, proved to be beyond their powers; and when the time came for the withdrawal of the British garrison from Lahore, the Punjab Government plainly saw that the immediate consequence would be anarchy in the state and their own destruction. The Sikh chiefs, consequently, unanimously requested that their country should be placed under British control during the minority of Maharaja Dhulip Singh, which would terminate in September 1854.

The new Government was to consist of a Council of Regency of eight members, all influential Sikh chiefs, which Council was again fully controlled by Sir Henry Lawrence, the British Resident. Sir Henry was assisted by a number of officers selected by himself, young and active men, who were practically governors of the various provinces of the

Punjab, responsible to him alone for their conduct of affairs. Seldom have a score of young Englishmen had more responsibility placed on their shoulders, and never perhaps has such responsibility been so admirably borne. The good work of pacification and of the initiation of a just and even system of government was more than half done when, unfortunately, at the end of the year 1847, Sir Henry Lawrence's health broke down and he was compelled to return to England. Almost at the same moment Lord Hardinge was succeeded as Governor-General by Lord Dalhousie, and just when the two most important officials connected with the new Government were thus simultaneously removed, a sudden rising in an outlying province threw upon the Punjab authorities a more severe trial than they could deal with.

This rising took place at Multan, where in April 1848 the Sikh governor permitted the assassination of two English officers who had been sent to examine his accounts prior to his voluntary retirement. Mulraj, the Governor, finding himself committed to hostility, now placed himself at the head of the local revolt against English rule, and, owing to the strength of Multan fort and city, and the difficulty of collecting an adequate force to attack it in the hot weather, was able to hold out until January 22nd, 1849, when Multan was captured after severe fighting. Meanwhile the revolt rapidly spread through the Punjab, the greater part of

which kingdom, it must be remembered, had seen nothing of the English army.

To the honour of the Sikhs as well as of the English officers in charge of provinces, it must be recorded that, though imprisoned, none of the latter, nor their families, were assaulted in any way.

The Sikh troops which were sent from Lahore to assist Lieutenant Herbert Edwardes, the young officer in command in the province nearest to Multan, proved anything but trustworthy; and when in July a British division was sent from Lahore to capture the fortress of Multan, the aspect of affairs was too unsettled for an assault to be risked. On the 9th of September an unsuccessful attack on some buildings outside Multan apparently decided the Sikhs on their conduct, and on the 14th of September the whole Sikh force went over to Mulraj. Three weeks later Shere Singh, the Sikh general, left Mulraj to hold Multan, and marched with all the Sikh troops in that province to raise the whole Punjab and the remains of the Khalsa army against British rule.

Shere Singh at first threatened Lahore, which was weakly held by a force under General Colin Campbell (afterwards Lord Clyde), but finding that a large British army was collecting under Lord Gough at Ferozepore, he turned to meet them, and eventually concentrated on the fords over the Chenab about Ramnuggur.

Lord Gough reached Lahore on November the 13th, and his troops crossed the Ravi three days later, coming in contact with the Sikhs on November 22nd, 1848.

Early that morning an advance was made on Ramnuggur with the object of reconnoitring the Sikh position, and of ascertaining the best method of crossing the Chenab. An unfortunate cavalry affair, followed, in which General Cuxton, commanding the cavalry, lost his life; but in the result Lord Gough obtained the information which he required.

Gough now decided to hold the ground opposite the Sikh position with part of his force and to secure the crossing of the Chenab by a wide turning movement. This movement was entrusted to General Thackwell, who was given a cavalry brigade, seven battalions of infantry, and thirty-two guns.

General Thackwell successfully crossed the Chenab; but, owing to a misunderstanding between him and Lord Gough, Shere Singh was enabled to escape from his position on December 4 and to fall back on the Jhelum.

After the crossing of the Chenab there was a considerable pause in the operations, Lord Gough desiring to wait until the fall of Multan should free the considerable force now besieging that place.

Eventually, however, Gough decided to attack

the Sikhs, and on January 13, 1849, fought the very severe action of Chillianwala. Owing to the national habit of ignorant criticism of the operations of war and the national belief that victories can be won without loss of life, Lord Gough's reputation has been most unjustly aspersed with regard to Chillianwala. He has, until very recently, always been accused of making an impetuous attack without an adequate artillery preparation over unreconnoitred ground. The facts really are, that on finding the Sikh position before him on January 13, he prepared to encamp his force at a safe distance and to select his line of advance for the following day during the six hours of daylight which remained after the Sikh outposts had been driven in. His hand was, however, forced by an advance of the Sikh army from their entrenchments, and at three in the afternoon the British attack began.

The Sikh line extended for about six miles, covered by thick jungle, and with their right considerably overlapping the British left. Without attempting to give a full description of the fierce fight which now took place, it must suffice to say that, owing principally to a want of co-operation between the two brigades of the left British division, Pennycuick's brigade made an unsupported attack on the Sikh centre, and in spite of the most devoted gallantry was repulsed with heavy loss. This, though unfortunate, was not,

however, anything approaching a disaster, for the left brigade of the division (under the personal guidance of Major-General Colin Campbell, the Divisional General) presently attacked the same portion of the Sikh line and completely defeated it, capturing the guns and driving away the infantry in confusion. The right division, admirably handled by Sir Walter Gilbert, also made a steady and successful attack, carrying the whole Sikh position in their front and capturing all the guns before them. This success was the more creditable to Gilbert's division, as, mainly through bad handling, the cavalry brigade on their immediate right had been seized with a panic and had fled, leaving Gilbert's flank exposed. Gilbert's brigades, attacked both in front and rear, behaved with perfect steadiness, and the reserve brigade (Penny's) coming up from the rear, and General Campbell bringing his left brigade over to Gilbert's assistance, the British force was presently reunited, and the Sikhs retreated in great confusion under a heavy artillery fire. The services of the British artillery were indeed conspicuous through this severely contested action, and Chillianwala is a name of which the artillery can speak with pride.

The Sikhs, as has been stated, retreated in great confusion during the night of Chillianwala, but owing to three days of heavy rain it was impossible for Lord Gough to follow them up and com-

plete their defeat. The Sikhs during this period received large reinforcements, and Gough therefore decided to wait for the Multan force before attacking again. Multan fell on the 22nd of January 1849, nine days after Chillianwala, and the Multan army joined Lord Gough on the 20th of February. On the following day Gough, who in deference to popular clamour had been deprived of his command in England, decisively defeated the Sikh army at Gujerat, and so ended the war.

The action of Gujerat needs but very brief description. The Sikhs were in great strength and held a fairly strong position, and they fought with their usual gallantry; but Gough was now too strong for them. For the first time in all his fights with the Sikhs he had a preponderance of artillery. After two hours and a half of artillery preparation the British line advanced, and one hour later the whole Sikh army was in flight, leaving their camp, their baggage, and most of their guns in the hands of the victors.

The story of the brilliant pursuit under Sir Walter Gilbert is told by Sir John Hearsey. It may be doubted if a victory won by our arms was ever so rapidly and thoroughly followed up as was that of Gujerat.

I was in England during the year 1847, but in January 1848 my agents in Calcutta, Cockerell & Co., failed, and I was necessitated to return to

India. I was posted to the 7th Light Cavalry. That regiment was at Jullundhur, under the command of Major ——, with the force commanded by Sir Hugh Massy Wheeler. Sir Hugh wrote to me to come up by dawk, otherwise he should be obliged to take the command from Major ——, the regiment being in a very discontented state under his authority. I went up by "carriage-dawk propelled,"[1] and I found the corps in a sad state. I soon had it all right again. In the cold season of this year commenced the Second Sikh War. A force under the command of Sir Hugh Wheeler moved from Jullundhur to reduce the forts of Runger Nungal and Moraree in the Manjha beyond or north of Hoshearpore and across the Beas river. When the artillery was crossing this river in boats I sought for a ford and found a deep one. I unsaddled the 7th Light Cavalry, placed the saddles in boats, and was across before the artillery, much to Sir Hugh's astonishment. He ordered me to take the command of all the cavalry. I surrounded the fort of Runger Nungal, but as Sir Hugh had only light guns with him he could not make a breach; the place had a very deep and wide ditch. He called me off, for he wished the garrison to quit the place during the night. They did so. A party from the 2nd Irregular Cavalry came up with some of the garrison as they forded the Ravee, and some

[1] Or express.

of the enemy were destroyed. The force then moved on to the fort of Moraree; we arrived at 2 o'clock A.M. and found it evacuated. At this place I learnt that I had been appointed Brigadier of Irregular Cavalry with Lord Gough's army assembling at Lahore. I got permission to join it, made a quick movement across the country to Lahore, and arrived in time to go with Sir Colin Campbell, Brigadier of Infantry, who was *en route* to join the force in advance under the command of Major-General Cureton. My brigade was to consist of the 3rd, 9th, and 12th Irregular Cavalry. I found the 12th the only regiment in advance. It was with General Cureton's force at or near Aloowalla. On Lord Gough's force arriving at Nocewalla, I accompanied a light detachment with the 12th Irregular Cavalry and was present at the affair of Ramnugger on November 22nd, 1848, and witnessed the death of General Cureton and the disaster and death of Lieutenant-Colonel Havelock, commanding 14th Dragoons. We recovered the body of General Cureton. Captain Holmes, commanding 12th Irregular Cavalry, was wounded by a bullet near the shoulder-blade whilst stooping to lift the body. I was put in charge of Lord Gough's camp when Major-General Thackwell was detached with a force to cross the Chenab river; he could not find the difficult ford at Ramghat, and had to go round by the ford at Wuzeerabad and move down the right bank of the river. The enemy,

under the command of Shere Singh, left their camp opposite to Ramnugger in force and met General Thackwell at Sadoolapoor; an action followed, in which the Sikh army was defeated, but the enemy managed during the night to recover their guns, which they had deserted. I was sent by Lord Gough to the village of Ramghat on the Chenab, seven miles from Ramnugger in the direction of Wuzeerabad, to point out the ford over the river near that place. I did so, and sent a party of the 2nd Irregular Cavalry to show it to Colonel Mercer, who had got two boats (!) to cross his brigade. I sketched the ford. Whilst doing so Colonel Armine Mountain came to me and said Lord Gough required my presence in camp. After the defeat of the enemy at Sadoolapore the Sikhs broke up their camp and retired in the direction of Chillianwalla; General Gilbert at the head of the horse-artillery and cavalry crossed the ford at Ramnugger and pursued, Major-General Thackwell's force joining him. Lord Gough kept me with him, and was pleased at the sketch I had made of the ford at Ramghat, which he retained. The advance force under General Thackwell encamped after an unsuccessful pursuit all the next day. A bridge of boats was thrown over the Chenab river, and the army crossed; the river had slightly risen and the ford was dangerous. We encamped two days on the right bank of the Chenab until a *tête de pont*

had been constructed, and then joined General Thackwell's force. I had command of the rear-guard and was on horseback all the day. The army moved on the 13th of January 1849 towards Chillianwalla, and attacked the enemy in the jungle near that village. The battle did not commence till 2 P.M., and lasted till dark; the enemy were driven off the field and left almost all their guns in the jungle. During the night they sent parties and removed them, and slaughtered all our wounded Europeans who could not be removed to the bivouac, the troops having been withdrawn from the jungles and lying on their arms. It rained during the night. Our loss in Europeans in this battle was very heavy. The 14th Dragoons fled from the field in a panic and rode over a battery of horse-artillery, which was captured by the enemy. I again had the command of the rearguard, my brigade being on that duty. The enemy's horse twice attempted to molest me and were twice repulsed with loss. We were guarding the baggage all night. Lord Gough and his Staff was sheltered under the fly of a tent near where my rearguard force was drawn up. At 8 A.M. next morning I received orders to permit the baggage to go to the encampment that had been marked out, just free of the jungle in which the battle had been fought. On reporting all right in person to Lord Gough, he thanked me in presence of his Staff, saying, "You have been protecting

a moving world." The baggage of this large army covered more than four square miles! Many of the men of the 14th Dragoons sought shelter with the rearguard, shouting out that the army was defeated and in full retreat. I dismounted them and bade them hold their peace, telling them they were quite safe with me. In fact, in consequence of Lord Gough having ordered me to bring on the baggage of the army at noon that day, I was within half a mile of Chillianwalla when the action commenced, and had to place all the baggage round the village of Moodjeh, which was constructed on a height or mound. From the roofs of the houses on top of it we had a very fair view of the field of action. The army remained encamped near Chillianwalla, and had facing it the range of small hills and ravines on and in which the Sikh army had taken post, which they had partly entrenched. Our position was close to the right bank of the Jhelum river, with headquarters at Russoolpore, which village was fortified. Here we rested nearly three weeks in front of the enemy's position. Lord Gough was waiting for the fall of Mooltan, then besieged by a force of Bengal and Bombay troops under the command of Major-General Whish. Mooltan fell on the 22nd of January, but, before the junction of General Whish and his army, the enemy left their position and moving past our right flank took the road towards Gujerat, on the

right bank of the Chenab river, to gain the ford of that river near Wuzeerabad. Our camp was broken up at Chillianwalla, and Lord Gough with the army followed, keeping in a parallel line until the Sikh force arrived at Gujerat. The river had risen, and a force was on the opposite bank with artillery to oppose the enemy crossing. In the vicinity of Gujerat General Whish's force from Mooltan joined us, and the next day the enemy was attacked in a position which they had taken up on the opposite bank of a deep and quaggy nullah, which served as a wide ditch in its front. Their position was held in force by artillery and infantry. The action was commenced by our heavy siege artillery, manœuvred as field-guns, and drawn by elephants properly harnessed. I had the honour of commanding the two cavalry brigades on the right flank stretching down to the river Chenab. The enemy was foiled in attempting to turn that flank by the sandy bed, by a charge of my irregular brigade, and on the infantry carrying the centre of the position of the nullah and capturing the artillery, the Sikh army attempted to fall back on the town of Gujerat and there camp. Major-General Thackwell, commanding the cavalry on the extreme left flank, met the Afghan Horse in a charge. The Sinde Horse, commanded by Captains Malcolm and Merryweather, utterly defeated them, and the 9th Lancers following com-

mitted great havoc. Their chief, the son of Sultan Muhammad Khan of Peshawur, was killed. The cavalry pursued the enemy through their camp towards the lower hills and Bhimber Pass leading to Cashmere, destroying vast numbers. My brigades captured nine guns and all their *matériel* in the pursuit, which was continued for 17 miles, till sunset, when we returned to camp at Gujerat. The army had taken up the ground of the Sikh encampment, and all night long the large ghee dubbas, which had served as powder barrels, were exploding, causing much damage and some loss in men and camp-followers. In this action 53 pieces of cannon of various calibres were captured, and 1500 stands of muskets and 16 swivel camel-guns were picked up in the course of the pursuit of the brigades under my command. The Sikh officers, with whom I became acquainted afterwards, owned to me that the Sikh armies had never suffered so severe a defeat,—"that they had been driven off the field of battle like a herd of cattle." I slept on the ground, as I did not return from the pursuit till past eleven o'clock at night, having been twenty-three hours on horseback without food. Next day I proceeded in command of all the cavalry, six regiments, with Major-General Gilbert's column and under his orders in pursuit of the enemy. I was directed to move on with two irregular corps, the 3rd and 9th, to seize the pass of Bukralla beyond the fortress of Rhotas.

The enemy was in possession of the pass. I manœuvred to his left to turn his position, at the same time making a demonstration to the front. The enemy was deceived and thought the whole army was about to attack, so blew up his magazine in so hasty a manner that many of his own men were destroyed in the explosion. I took possession of the pass, sending scouting parties after the retreating Sikhs to make them believe we were in pursuit. I remained at Bukralla. The next morning General Gilbert arrived with his artillery and infantry and pushed on after the retreating foe. He directed me to remain at the pass and hold it until the Bombay column under the command of Brigadier Dundas (afterwards Lord Melville) arrived, and then to follow and overtake him. I did so, then went to the front of the general's column with the Irregular Brigade and caused the enemy to explode another magazine beyond Manakiyala. The force encamped in the bed of a river (the whole country was a mass of ravines), on the bank of which is built a place called Kala Sarae. We moved on to the village of Aing. The Sikh chiefs sent in proposals for terms. General Gilbert informed them no terms would be given. If they wished to submit and throw themselves on the mercy of the British Government they must deliver up all their artillery, their army must file past and throw down its arms. They consented, and this was done the next day; it was a glorious, but at the same time a painful sight,

watching the countenances of the officers and men when doing so. The Sikh soldiers had each one rupee given to them under the promise not to plunder the inhabitants on the way to their houses; as they had no arms they went quietly. The army next day moved to Rawul Pindee, where the Sikh force had encamped. From hence we made a march to Wah and by Abdul Hussein to Attock; here we found the Afghan force that had fled from the field of Gujerat occupying the opposite bank of the Indus. Dost Mahommed had ordered his son to retreat without stopping to Peshawur; but he attempted to destroy the bridge of boats at Attock. Our horse-artillery opened upon the enemy on the opposite bank near Akberabad; three boats only were removed, and the remainder, all joined together, were swung by the stream to our side. The enemy commenced their flight, but by evening the bridge of boats had been restored, and our infantry and artillery crossed and pushed on to Noushera. I crossed with the cavalry and overtook the infantry there at ten o'clock A.M. The enemy had not heart to defend the pass of Geedur Gullee, a mile from the opposite bank; before dawn the force was in motion and we did not halt till we reached Pubbee. The Bombay column under Colonel Dundas had been left in the rear. He wrote that his men were footsore and could not keep up. Next morning we passed through and round Peshawur and on with all haste to Jumrood. The Afghans had only time to get

through the Khyber Pass ere we arrived at the entrance. Here the pursuit ended, and we encamped on the plain, which was covered with boulders of stone, and the Bombay column arrived two days after.

Here we remained encamped till the month of March. The force was then broken up. A strong brigade was left under the command of Colonel Dundas at Peshawur, and the remainder of the troops were directed to return southward. On my way back with the 14th Dragoons and 12th Irregular Cavalry I received intelligence that I had been specially appointed a brigadier on the permanent staff, and was ordered to proceed to Wuzeerabad to take up command of the force assembled there. This force consisted of a European troop of horse-artillery and a field-battery of Europeans, one native troop of horse-artillery, H.M. 9th Lancers, the 5th regiment of Regular Native Cavalry, the 6th Irregular Cavalry, H.M. 24th and 29th British regiments of foot, three regiments of Native Infantry and a company of Pioneers. The whole to be cantoned on a plain seven miles below the town of Wuzeerabad. I arrived on the 14th April, and by great exertions the troops were put under cover of temporary barracks and huts by the beginning of July.

I was promoted to brevet-colonel on the 19th of March 1849, and was made a Companion of the Bath for my services in the Sikh War.

CHAPTER VII.

General Hearsey spent the year 1850 at Wazirabad, and found almost at once that the native infantry were in a most troublesome frame of mind. Owing to circumstances which will be explained presently, this dissatisfaction soon culminated in an act of insubordination amounting to mutiny in the 32nd Native Infantry, who collectively refused to receive their pay.

General Hearsey writes: "I confined the first man of each company who refused his pay, and brought them before a general court-martial. They were sentenced to transportation beyond the sea. I had them put in irons and manacled in presence of all the troops that evening, and working on the roads the next morning, and then sent them under a strong guard to Lahore on the way to Calcutta. I received the thanks of Sir Charles Napier, the Commander-in-Chief, for my decision and promptitude of action, which, Sir Charles Napier was pleased to say, had nipped a serious and concerted mutiny in the bud."

Sir John Kaye, in the 'History of the Sepoy

War,' gives a full account of the proceedings at Wazirabad, and adds the following particulars to those mentioned above.

After the 32nd first refused their pay, "Brigadier Hearsey drew up the men on parade, and addressed them in language so touching, so forcible, and so much to the point, that many hung down their heads, ashamed of what they had done, and some even shed tears of penitence." A second offer of their pay was then made by Hearsey to the regiment, and four men who again refused it were promptly tried by court-martial and sentenced to penal servitude. In the presence of the entire Wazirabad brigade these four men were manacled on parade as felons and sent off to work on the roads.

In his official letter thanking Hearsey for his conduct on this critical occasion, Sir Charles Napier wrote: "Brigadier Hearsey has carried out the instructions communicated for his guidance with an ability, judgment, and decision deserving of the warmest commendation, and the Commander-in-Chief desires to convey to the Brigadier his best thanks and acknowledgments for the excellent service he has thus rendered to the State and to the Army."

The mutiny of the 32nd Native Infantry, so promptly quelled by Hearsey under the orders of Sir Charles Napier, was no doubt intended to be the beginning of a general rebellion on the part of

all the native troops stationed in the Punjab. The cause of this serious state of affairs was a very trifling one, and was brought about as follows :—

In 1844 the then Governor-General, Lord Ellenborough, issued a regulation by which the sepoy received compensation when any one article of his daily ration exceeded a certain specified price. In 1849 Lord Hardinge amended this rule, fixing a value for the total daily ration of the sepoy, and sanctioning compensation when this cost was exceeded. The change was made purely for the sake of convenience and simplification of account, and appears to be fair to the sepoy, but the latter thought otherwise. Doubtless the ingenious frugality of the native of India enabled him to make a slightly larger profit out of the older regulation, and he therefore looked upon the amendment as a fraud.

Whatever the rights of the case may have been, and whether the grievance was real or imaginary, it appeared to Sir Charles Napier that the Bengal troops in the Punjab were on the verge of general mutiny, and that prompt action was necessary. As soon, then, as Sir Charles heard of the conduct of the 32nd Native Infantry he proceeded in hot haste to Wazirabad, whence he wrote to Lord Dalhousie, the Governor-General, on the 5th of January 1850, in the following terms :—

"On arriving at Wuzzerabad I learned from

Brigadier Hearsey that the sepoys, and especially the young ones, said, 'When other regiments come up we will do as they do; this reduction of pay is tyranny, but what can we do alone.' He (Hearsey) further said that an unusual degree of correspondence is going on between regiments, which he considered very bad, and wished that the Government could prevent it, or appoint a person to read all the sepoys' letters. I told him that was quite impossible; that neither could Government abridge correspondence nor open private letters except on some occasion which would bear out such an act. He also told me that during the war some men were grumbling, and Neville Chamberlain rebuked them, saying, 'You are pretty fellows to pretend to be soldiers, when a few hours' hardship makes you grumble; had I the power I would dismiss you.' Upon which another soldier, I think a Havildar, replied: 'You had better not do that, for you should not get a man from the country to replace us if you did.' I tell you what Hearsey told me, and it marks a bad spirit; he seems to think there may be more trouble given yet as regiments enter the Punjab. Hearsey does not want sense, and is perfectly master of the language of the men, knowing them well also, as Grant[1] tells me. I know so little of him that I cannot speak as from personal acquaintance, but

[1] Afterwards Field-Marshal Sir Patrick Grant. At this time Adjutant-General of the Indian Army.

he appears to have conducted this refusing pay affair with great judgment."

The quickly-formed reliance of Sir Charles Napier on Hearsey's knowledge and good sense was speedily confirmed, and many of Sir Charles's actions during his brief service as Commander-in-Chief may be traced to Hearsey's advice and information. For instance, when it became necessary to disband the 66th Native Infantry, Sir Charles Napier brought the Nasseri Battalion, a Gurkha corps hitherto without a number, into the Bengal army in their room, his general order, dated the 27th of February 1850, stating that "the brave and loyal men of the Nasseri Gurkha Battalion" were in future to be denominated the 66th or Gurkha Regiment.

This action, following so closely on his conversation with Brigadier Hearsey, shows the impression made on the Commander-in-Chief by the incident related by Hearsey of the mutinous Havildar's remark to Neville Chamberlain.

Sir Charles Napier, in another letter to Lord Dalhousie, dated the 26th of April 1850, writes of Brigadier Hearsey and Colonel Grant as "the two most capable judges in India, from their position, their abilities, and their long experience in the Indian Army."

This letter referred to the step taken by Sir Charles Napier which eventually caused his resignation of the office of Commander-in-Chief. Sir Charles, from his personal observation of the

attitude of the Bengal army, quickly came to the conclusion that unless the grievance regarding the compensation for rations were quickly removed, a general mutiny would break out. He had made full reports on the subject to Lord Dalhousie, but the latter, who was in bad health, had embarked on a sea voyage of some duration. Believing a crisis to be imminent, and immediate action necessary, Sir Charles Napier took it upon himself to suspend Lord Hardinge's regulation and to revive that of Lord Ellenborough.

This action averted the mutiny, but Lord Dalhousie on his return took a most adverse view of Napier's conduct, holding that under no circumstance was it competent to the Commander-in-Chief to deal with such matters. He denied, moreover, that the crisis had been real, and declined to accept Napier's assertion that a delay of five weeks would have had fatal results.

At the present moment there is considerable interest in the memory of a conflict of opinions between a Commander-in-Chief and a Governor-General. Lord Dalhousie and Sir Charles Napier were both men of talent and strong character. Beginning their mutual relations in the most friendly and cordial spirit, they speedily degenerated into bitter hostility. There was, in fact, hardly room in India for both of them, and this situation was no new one where Sir Charles Napier was concerned; yet he was beyond dispute a

brilliant soldier and a great man, and his confidence in Hearsey's judgment in a moment of danger conveys no small compliment to the latter. Nor did Sir Charles withdraw his good opinion when he found that the action to which Hearsey had urged him was so strongly disapproved. Writing to Hearsey from Simla on the 11th of November 1850, Sir Charles says: "You know that the Governor-General and I have quarrelled. He chose to reprimand me because I followed your advice about the ration compensation, and says that you misled me. I stood by what you advised, and do so *still!* I said, and I say, that you showed good judgment in advising the suspension of a rule which would have diminished the pay of the sepoy at such a critical moment."

The danger, whatever may have been its gravity, passed for the time, but great mischief had been done. To treat the sepoy, even accidentally, in such a manner as to give him grounds for accusing the Government of mean conduct and breach of faith was bad, but the patent fact that the Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief had taken diametrically opposite views of a question was even worse.

"In the early days of British rule in India," once said an enlightened native, "the high, dignified Sahebs were of one mind, or it so appeared to the outer world, and we respected and dreaded their unity of purpose; but now the Sahebs are

divided and show their differences, and we see in this a proof of weakness." Thus, though the incipient mutiny of 1850 passed away in threatening and grumbling, the storm was destined to burst seven years later, and, among other issues, to give John Hearsey the opportunity of doing great service for his country. In 1851 Hearsey's brigade was moved from Wazirabad to Sialkot, where barracks had been built for it. On the 28th of November 1854 Hearsey was promoted Major-General, and two years later, in December 1856, he was appointed to command the Presidency, or Calcutta, district. On his way down country from Sialkot, on promotion, Hearsey and his family broke the journey by a visit to their old friend Major-General Hugh Wheeler, who then, and to the melancholy end of his long and honourable career, commanded at Cawnpore. Sir Hugh Wheeler constantly corresponded with General Hearsey, and one or two of his last letters will be given in their place.

Hearsey was now sixty-four years of age, but still retained the vigour and activity of body of a much younger man, while his unrivalled knowledge of the native soldier and of native thought generally, qualified him to be a most useful adviser to Lord Canning in the days of trial which now threatened India.

There is evidence to show that General Hearsey was one of the first, if not the first officer in

high command, to give warning of the impending trouble. Thus on the 28th of January 1857 he reported officially to the Commander-in-Chief, General Anson, that an ill-feeling was "said to subsist in the minds of the sepoys of the regiments at Barrackpore. A report," he said, "had been spread by some designing persons, most likely Brahmins, or agents of the religious Hindoo party at Calcutta (I believe it is called the 'Dharma Sobha'), that the sepoys are to be forced to embrace the Christian faith." "Perhaps," he added, "those Hindoos in Calcutta who are opposed to the marriage of widows are using underhand means to thwart Government in abolishing the restraints lately removed by law for the marriage of widows, and conceive that if they can make a party of the ignorant classes in the ranks of the army believe that their religion or religious prejudices are eventually to be abolished by force, and that by force they are all to be made Christians, and thus, by shaking their faith in Government, lead them to lose the confidence of their officers by offences such as incendiarism, so difficult to put a stop to or prove, they will gain their object."

The belief that a design existed to destroy caste by means of the greased cartridges was now firmly established. Dum-Dum, where that story originated, was near Barrackpore, General Hearsey's headquarters, and the sepoys of the brigade stationed at the latter place now showed signs

of the disquiet in their minds by nightly setting fire to the public buildings near their lines. Mutiny was clearly smouldering at Barrackpore, and might any day break into flame; but the first outbreak occurred at Berhampore, a station one hundred miles distant and close to the city of Moorshedabad. Here the 19th Native Infantry on the 28th January, the same day on which General Hearsey wrote the letter which we have quoted, showed a mutinous spirit. The incidents which occurred at Berhampore are, however, obscure, and it appears that judicious handling of the regiment might have averted, or at least postponed, its insubordinate conduct.

It is now impossible to ascertain whether or not the belief of the sepoy in the intended destruction of caste by means of animal grease in his cartridges was genuine or a mere pretext for mutiny; but it is noteworthy that as soon as General Hearsey heard of the real or pretended dread of the new cartridge, he officially recommended that the sepoys should be permitted to grease their own cartridges. This suggestion should undoubtedly have been acted on without a moment's delay, but not being treated as exceptionally urgent, was not sanctioned for four days. In these four days infinite mischief had been done.

In connection with the delay in replying to General Hearsey's suggestion, caused by our routine and "the usual channel" system of army

control, it may be mentioned here that as far back as 1853 the then Adjutant-General of the Indian army had pointed out the risk of the sepoys fearing that their caste might be injured by grease in cartridges. This suggestion had been transmitted by the Commander-in-Chief of the period to a now happily defunct "channel" known as the Military Board. The Military Board should in due course have laid the suggestion before the Governor-General, but, in its wisdom, did not do so. It is at least possible that the intervention of the Military Board between the Commander-in-Chief and Governor-General in 1853 may have brought about the mutiny of 1857, and the upholders of the present system of a "military member of the Viceroy's Council," with somewhat similar functions, would not do amiss to consider the incident related above. The order permitting sepoys to grease their own cartridges was promulgated on the 29th of January, but had no great quieting effect. Early in February General Hearsey wrote in an official letter: "We have at Barrackpore been dwelling upon a mine ready for explosion. I have been watching the feeling of the sepoys here for some time. Their minds have been misled by some designing scoundrels, who have managed to make them believe that their religious prejudices, their caste, is to be interfered with by Government — that they are to be forced to become Christians." How thoroughly

fitted General Hearsey was to deal with so dangerous a state of affairs in the close proximity of the great city of Calcutta, the seat of Government, whose destruction would have been looked upon as the signal of the impending downfall of British rule in India, may be read in the authoritative pages of Sir William Kaye.

"There could," he writes, "hardly, in such a crisis, have been a better man in command of the division than General Hearsey; for he was one who steered wisely a middle course between the troubled waters of alarm and the dead calms of a placid sense of security. He had a large-hearted sympathy with the sepoys in their affliction. He understood them thoroughly. He saw that they were labouring under a great fear; and he was not one, in such a case, to think that 'the black fellows' had no right to suspect the designs of their white masters. He saw clearly what a tremendous significance, in the eyes both of Mohammedans and Hindoos, there was in this incident of the greased cartridges, and he could not wonder at the mingled feeling of terror and resentment that it had excited." It was a case that in Hearsey's opinion required kindly treatment and delicate handling, and he decided to hold a parade of the Barrackpore Brigade and to address the sepoys as well he could in their own language."

General Hearsey was now a man of sixty-six years

of age, but still active and strong. He retained his riding powers, and had the manly and commanding presence, the strong voice and straightforward manner, that can both attract the attention and gain the confidence of Indian soldiers. His fame was great throughout the Bengal army, and had it lain in the power of one man to hold the sepoy to his allegiance, that man was Hearsey. His speech on the eventful 9th of February 1857 has been preserved, and every word of it was well chosen for the emergency. "Earnestly and emphatically he explained to the brigade that they had laid hold of a dangerous and foolish delusion; that neither the Government which they served, nor the officers who commanded them, had ever thought for a moment of interfering with their religious usages or depriving them of their caste; and that it was but an idle absurdity to believe that they could by any means be forced to be Christians. He told them that the English were 'Christians of the book'—Protestants; that they admitted no proselytes but those who, being adults, could read and fully understand the precepts laid down therein; that if they came and threw themselves down at our feet, imploring to be made Book Christians, it could not be done; that they could not be baptised until they had been examined in the truths of the book, and prove themselves fully conversant of them. And then they must, of their

own good will and accord, desire to become Christians before they could be made so."[1]

For a time this address seemed to have relieved the minds of the Barrackpore sepoys, but the good effect was transitory, and on the 17th of March it was considered necessary by Lord Canning for General Hearsey again to address the Barrackpore Brigade.

On this occasion he used a new argument as to the harmless nature of the cartridge paper, the shining and greasy appearance of which was believed by the native army to prove the presence of the fat of oxen or swine, the former sacred to the Hindoo and the latter obnoxious to the Mohammedan sepoy. General Hearsey, with his full knowledge of the child-like character of the Indian soldier, explained to the brigade, as he would have explained to children, that the glazed appearance of the paper was due to the starch used in its making, and that Princes of high caste used paper which had a similar smooth and shiny appearance. In proof of this he produced from a bag of golden tissue a letter written to him by Maharaja Gulab Singh of Kashmir, and this letter (which, with its silken envelope, is still preserved by the Hearsey family) he handed to the native officers, directing them in turn to show it to the rank and file Maharaja Gulab Singh was, as the sepoys well knew, a

[1] Kaye.

Dogra Rajput and a zealous protector of kine. It was inconceivable that he would have used paper in the making of which the fat of oxen or swine had been used.

General Hearsey then warned the brigade that he expected orders to disband the 19th Native Infantry on account of their mutinous conduct at Berhampore, and he told them if such orders were received by him, that he would carry them out in the presence of all the troops at Barrackpore. He added that he knew that their enemies were misleading them by pretending to them that European troops were being secretly sent to attack them while paraded to witness the disbandment of the 19th, but that no such action was contemplated, and that they had nothing to fear. Then, having done his best to reassure their minds, General Hearsey rode among the regiments and, in the fatherly manner which the sepoys of old valued so highly, spoke to those whose medals marked them as veterans, and questioned them as to their services. Kaye states that Lord Canning had not authorised Hearsey to announce the probable disbandment of the 19th, and that, indeed, that step had not yet been decided on; yet he had full confidence that no harm would be done by anything that Hearsey might say,—such was his trust in the discretion of the old soldier.

The next stage in the development of the Mutiny was now at hand. The 19th Native In-

fantry were marching from Berhampore towards Barrackpore, apparently in a state of torpid resignation; but, day by day, as they approached, the excitement increased in the minds of the Barrackpore sepoys, and on the afternoon of Sunday the 29th of March, when the 19th were only some 18 miles away, the storm broke. The story of Mungul Pandy, the young sepoy who fired the first shot of the great mutiny, and thus gave his name to the mutineers, is a hackneyed one, but cannot well be omitted in the story of John Hearsey's life.

Mungul Pandy was a soldier of good character but of an excitable disposition, and on the 29th of March he was under the influence of an intoxicating drug. He therefore suddenly became imbued with the belief that the hour of the destruction of the sepoys by the English was at hand, and that he, Mungul Pandy, must be up and doing. He then put on his accoutrements, and seizing his musket went out of his hut, calling upon his comrades to follow him if they did not wish to bite the cartridges and become Kafirs. Mungul Pandy then walked up and down in front of the Quarter Guard of his regiment, the 34th Native Infantry, and ordered a bugler to sound the "assembly." The bugler did not comply with this order, but neither the native officer on guard nor any of his men attempted to arrest Mungul Pandy, and when presently

the English sergeant-major appeared on the scene they allowed Mungul Pandy to fire at him with impunity. The shot went wide. Mutiny was, however, not yet universal, and a corporal hurried to tell the adjutant of the regiment, Lieutenant Baugh, what was going on. Baugh at once rose to the occasion, buckled on his sword, loaded his pistols, mounted his horse and galloped down to the Quarter Guard. As he pulled up, Mungul Pandy, hiding behind the gun which gave the station time, fired at him and again missed his aim, but brought down Baugh's horse. Baugh then fired at Mungul Pandy, but also missed. The 34th were perhaps not a good shooting regiment. Baugh then drew his sword and fell upon the mutineer, and as the sergeant-major also joined in the fray they had odds in their favour. Mungul Pandy, however, showed himself more skilful with the sword than with the musket, and presently wounded both his assailants. He would doubtless have killed them but for the loyal assistance of a Mohammedan sepoy named Shaikh Pultu, who seized Mungul Pandy and averted his blows. Far different was the conduct of the guard, who struck at the wounded adjutant and sergeant-major on the ground with the butts of their muskets, while one of the guard fired at them, but, as usual, missed.

Meanwhile General Hearsey heard of what was going on—that a single sepoy was defying the

State and that no one could grapple with the emergency—and immediately ordered horses to be saddled for himself and his two sons, John and Andrew. (The former, a lieutenant in the 38th Native Infantry, was aide-de-camp to his father, and Andrew Hearsey, lieutenant in the 57th Native Infantry, was extra aide-de-camp.)

The story of what followed has been told so graphically by Sir J. W. Kaye that it is here given as he wrote it.

"It was plain that no time was to be lost. So, mounting their horses, Hearsey and his sons galloped down to the parade-ground and saw for themselves what was passing. There was a great crowd of sepoys, mostly unarmed and undressed, and there were several European officers, some mounted and some on foot; much confusion and some consternation, but apparently no action. Mungul Pandy, still master of the situation, was pacing up and down in front of the Quarter Guard calling upon his comrades, in vehement tones and with excited action, to follow his example, as the Europeans were coming down upon them, and to die bravely for their religion. But the crowd of sepoys—though none remembered at that moment that they were servants of the State, none came forward to support discipline and authority—were not ripe for open mutiny; and when Mungul Pandy reviled them as cowards, who had first excited and then deserted him, they hung irresolutely back,

clustering together like sheep, and wondering what would happen next."

What happened was the arrival of General Hearsey—the oldest man in that assembly, but ready as ever to face the emergency.

As Hearsey rode on the ground his quick eye took in the situation, and he made straight for the Quarter Guard, accompanied by his sons, who rode on either side of him, and by Major Ross, a staff-officer. As the General passed by, it is recorded that an officer called to him warning him to take care, as Mungul Pandy's musket was loaded. "Damn his musket!" responded Hearsey, and the bluff sentence has passed into history.

He then ordered the native officers and the sepoys of the Quarter Guard to arrest Mungul Pandy, and, awed by the revolvers of the General and his sons, which they could see ready for instant use, the guard reluctantly moved after the three Hearseys. Mungul Pandy now brought down his musket as if to shoot the General, and John Hearsey cried out, "Father, he is taking aim at you." "If I fall, John," said the General, "rush upon him and put him to death." Mungul Pandy's resolution, however, now gave way. He saw that the game was up and attempted to commit suicide, but only succeeded in wounding himself slightly. Hearsey then rode among the excited troops and fearlessly

reproached them with their conduct in allowing a single man to disgrace them. Some of the sepoys excused themselves by saying that Mungul Pandy's musket had been loaded, but Hearsey scornfully rejected this plea and ordered the men to their lines.

Mungul Pandy's regiment, the 34th, now sent messengers to the 19th Native Infantry, who, on the 30th of March, the day following, were only eight miles from Barrackpore, and urged them to rise in arms and resist disbandment. The 19th, however, had no such intentions. General Hearsey rode out to meet them as they marched into Barrackpore on the 31st of March, and himself led them to the parade-ground. It cannot be doubted that in so acting the brave old man showed astonishing confidence in a regiment which had so recently defied its own officers and was about to be punished for its misconduct; but he was right, and the 19th followed him without a murmur. They were promptly disarmed and paid off. Hearsey then, says Kaye, "addressed them in tones of kindness, saying that though the Government had decreed their summary dismissal, their uniforms would not be stripped from their backs, and that, as a reward for their penitence and good conduct on the march from Berhampoor, they would be provided at the public cost with carriage to convey them to their homes. This kindness made a deep impression upon them.

Many of them lifted up their voices bewailing their fate, and loudly declaring that they would revenge themselves upon the 34th, who had tempted them to their undoing."

Hearsey now pointed out to the Barrackpore troops that the 19th, though disbanded for their mutinous conduct, were being sent back to their own homes, free to worship at the shrines where their fathers had worshipped before them, thus showing how baseless was the belief that the Government intended to interfere with their religions. A touching incident now occurred, for, when the 19th had all been paid off and were moving off the parade-ground, "they cheered the fine old soldier whose duty it had been to disband them, and wished him a long and happy life." Those who have any understanding of the affectionate, even fatherly feelings of an old officer towards the men he commands, will realise that any feeling of satisfaction which Hearsey may have experienced on the completion of a most difficult task was outweighed by the deep sorrow which the disgrace of the unhappy 19th Regiment must surely have caused him.

When about to meet the 19th Native Infantry and lead them to the parade-ground, General Hearsey received the following letter from the Governor-General, interesting as showing the anxiety with which Lord Canning was watching the proceedings at Barrackpore and the confidence

which he placed in Hearsey's strength and benevolence of character, the two qualities which Lord Canning so earnestly desired to see in combination in all dealings with the native army:—

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
March 30, 1857.

DEAR GENERAL HEARSEY,—This will be delivered to you by Captain Baring of my staff. I wish him to be present at the disbanding of the 19th N.I.,—to keep his eye open to all that happens, and especially to observe the demeanour and spirit of the other Native Infantry regiments. I shall be much obliged to you if you will let him accompany your staff to the ground. When there he must use his own sense as to where to go and what to look at. If he can be of any use to you, you will of course turn his services to account.

God speed you, my dear General, in this anxious task. All that unbending firmness, tempered with a kindly feeling towards the men, can do, will, I am satisfied, be accomplished by you.—Yours very faithfully,

CANNING.

Major-General HEARSEY, C.B.

It may here be added that, although the arrangements for the disbanding and paying off of the 19th Native Infantry were carried out on a method

suggested by the Calcutta authorities to General Hearsey, he was given free leave to make any alteration in the procedure that he might think fit. The actual phrase used in his final letter of instructions was, "Every arrangement is left implicitly to you." To complete the story of the memorable 31st of March, the letter conveying Lord Canning's thanks, which was one of General Hearsey's most treasured possessions, now follows:—

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,
March 31, 1857, 11½ A.M.

DEAR GENERAL HEARSEY,—One line to congratulate you—and, still more, to thank you, for the events of this morning. Captain Baring is just returned, and nothing can be more satisfactory upon every point than the account which he has given me. I had already directed that a Court of Inquiry by field officers should be instituted to examine into the conduct of ——. Every consideration of justice and policy requires this. You will receive instructions upon it immediately. Inquiry must also be made into the behaviour of the guard of the 34th Regt. N.I. on Sunday last.

Once more accept my cordial thanks for all that your sound judgment, kindly temper, and invaluable experience have achieved in this anxious crisis. I shall not easily forget it. The official reports will give me an opportunity of recording

publicly in due time what I now desire to express to you privately without delay.—Believe me, my dear General Hearsey, yours very faithfully,

CANNING.

Major-General HEARSEY, C.B.

The punishment of Mungul Pandy and of the more guilty of the spectators of his crime swiftly followed the events of the 31st of March.

Mungul Pandy was tried by court-martial on the 6th of April, and hanged on the 8th in the presence of all the troops. The native officer in command of the guard of the 34th Native Infantry was tried on the 10th and 11th of April, and sentenced to the same disgraceful and appropriate punishment; but owing to a legally incorrect and most mischievous ruling of the Judge Advocate-General, there was a delay in carrying out the sentence—which delay worked great mischief.

General Hearsey urged the immediate disbandment of the 34th Native Infantry, whose conduct had been much worse than that of the 19th; and after a full and careful inquiry this step was carried out on the 4th of May, the regiment being disarmed, stripped of its uniform (an indignity not inflicted on the 19th N.I.), and marched out of cantonments. Meanwhile the revolt has spread rapidly up-country. The native troops at Meerut broke into rebellion on the 10th of May, and, in spite of the presence of a powerful

force of white troops, were permitted to march away unmolested to Delhi, where the native garrison rose on the following day and murdered the greater part of their officers and of the white population of that great city.

Delhi now became the focus of rebellion, and as the native troops in the various stations of the Bengal Presidency threw off the bonds of discipline, they flocked into the Moghul capital, where Bahadur Shah, the last emperor of the family of Babar, was now acclaimed as the leader of the revolt against English rule.

Far removed from Calcutta as were the scenes of bloodshed and violence, it was impossible for Lord Canning to feel anything but extreme anxiety for Calcutta and its large and helpless white population. It was clearly an imperative duty to send every English soldier who arrived in India to the sphere of active operations up-country. Yet Bengal itself was in a most dangerously weak state. From Barrackpore to Agra, a distance of 750 miles, there was but one European regiment, which was stationed at Dinapore. At Allahabad there were a hundred invalids, and that was all.

Although the situation gradually improved as time went on, and the native regiments which did not break into active mutiny were one by one disarmed and rendered innocuous, yet it was not until Lucknow had been relieved and Delhi captured that General Hearsey could feel that the

great district for which he was responsible was positively safe. During all those anxious months he rendered invaluable service to the Governor-General, who relied very much on his advice and constantly called him into consultation.

Of the other regiments at Barrackpore, General Hearsey was obliged subsequently to disarm the 2nd Grenadiers and the 32nd Native Infantry. The 70th Native Infantry volunteered for China and went there. This regiment remained loyal, and is now known as the 11th Rajputs.

In August General Hearsey received the following cordial letter from Lord Canning, one of whose characteristics it was to write such encouraging and appreciative words to those who, under him, served the State to his satisfaction:—

GOVERNMENT HOUSE, *August* 14, 1857.

DEAR GENERAL HEARSEY,—With the sincerest pleasure I send you at once a copy of a dispatch which I have just received, and which I hope will be as welcome to you as it is deserved. Pray accept my hearty congratulations, and believe me, dear General Hearsey, yours very faithfully, CANNING.

I need hardly say that this is not a formal announcement of the Queen's pleasure. That will come to you in due course; but I wish that you should not have to wait for it.

How as to sepoys for China? Do they show any disposition that way?

The second *P.S.* refers to a suggestion of General Hearsey's that he might induce some of the disarmed sepoys to volunteer for active service in China. In this he was successful, and over 4000 men volunteered and were sent to China.

The dispatch forwarded by Lord Canning was as follows:—

MILITARY DEPARTMENT,
No. 115 of 1857.

OUR GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA IN COUNCIL,—

It is our pleasing duty to announce to you that, in consideration of the admirable manner in which Major-General John Bennett Hearsey, C.B., of the Bengal Army, carried into effect the commands of your Government for the disbandment of the mutinous 19th Regiment of Native Infantry, the Queen has been advised to issue a special statute of the Order of the Bath authorising the appointment of that officer to be an Extra Member of the second class of the Military Division, or Knight Commander of that Order.—We are, your affectionate friends,

(Sd.) R. D. MANGLES,
and
Nine other Directors.

Another letter of congratulation received at this time, and carefully preserved by Sir John Hearsey, evidently gave him pleasure. The letter was from the officer commanding the 2nd Irregular Cavalry, the regiment, it will be remembered, in which Sir John first distinguished himself, and which he commanded for nearly ten years.

GOORDASPOOR, PUNJAB,
Aug. 26th.

MY DEAR GENERAL,—It was with very great pride and pleasure that I read out of the mail received this morning to the Native Officers of the Regiment, the announcement of your being appointed a K.C.B. With my own hearty congratulations accept the accompanying from your own Regiment (an address from the Native Officers). It will afford you great pleasure to hear the corps remains staunch and loyal in this time of turmoil and trouble. Owing to a double furlough this year, I have been deprived of the services of many of the senior officers, whose presence would have been invaluable; but I am happy to say all those with me have supported the name of the Regiment, and shown themselves anxious to prove their loyalty to the Government.

Five individuals have gained the Order of Merit for gallant conduct against the mutineers; and I have no doubt the list will increase if opportunity offers. I am much concerned for poor old Koodru-

toolah Beg. Since he went on furlough I have not heard of him; and as his house was not far from the magazine at Delhi, I almost fear he was sacrificed in the explosion of the 11th May. I hope he may have escaped that and other perils, for I am anxious to see the old man rewarded with the Order of British India ere he leaves us for the Invalids. He has served the Government honestly and faithfully 54 years, and in all that long period has never been absent from his duty one day from sickness.

With best wishes for your health, and that the *K* may ere long be changed to *G*.—Believe me, my dear General, yours very sincerely,

GEORGE JACKSON.

It is pleasant to add that the 2nd Irregular Cavalry remained loyal to the end, and that on the reorganisation of the Bengal Army in 1861 it became the 2nd Bengal Cavalry. As has already been stated, its present title is the 2nd Lancers (Gardner's Horse).

Two other letters of this period which possess a painful interest are inserted here, somewhat out of their place, in order not to break the narrative of the events at Barrackpore.

The writer was the unfortunate Major-General Sir Hugh Wheeler, who, after a gallant defence, was massacred with every man, woman, and child of the garrison of Cawnpore, except four men who escaped by swimming.

CAWNPORE,
March 22nd, 1857.

MY DEAR HEARSEY,—My most sincere thanks are yours for your letter regarding the 19th N.I. The men are some of the finest looking in the service, but the regiment has always had the reputation of being a turbulent one. Surely the whole will be disbanded. Your advice on that head I know to be good. Some years ago, when an exception was made in favour of the native officers, the Subadar-major of my regiment, speaking of it, said to me, "There is the mistake that Government has made. Every native officer should have been dismissed; for nothing can take place in the lines without their knowledge at least. It may not, sir, be in my power to prevent or put down a mutiny; but my commission is in your hands if, in case such a thing should ever occur, I do not acquaint you of it before it is an hour old." They should not be allowed to be inert, but every man who cannot prove that he had actively opposed the disturbers of the peace should be, for that inertness, sent about his business. A few examples of this kind would, I feel assured, be most advantageous to the service.

I think that Colonel —— (of the 19th N.I.) made a sad mistake in allowing himself to be dictated to instead of dictating, and his sending away the guns and cavalry before they (his men) had piled arms was most injudicious. I conceive that mutineers with arms in their hands should

never be treated with or listened to. It is opposed to the first great principle of military discipline and subordination. He had the *power* to put them down, the want of which could alone justify his measures. Everything is quiet here, but from what I hear there is an unquiet feeling amongst the men,—nay, amongst the people at large. The general tenour of all the reports is that every exertion is being made, *by the orders of Government*, to deprive the natives of their castes by making them use materials and food tainted with forbidden articles. But the way the country is left without artillery! We have guns and a European company, but no carriage for them. There should be at least a troop or battery at Cawnpore; and the *Post Guns*, which were so injudiciously taken away by Lord W. Bentinck for a miserable and paltry economy, should be forthwith restored wherever there is a wing of a corps. The two sixes are invaluable in the case of an *émeute* or disturbance; and in India you can never be certain when either will occur.

. . . . . .

Lady Wheeler and my daughters unite in kind regards to every member of your family, with, my dear Hearsey, your old, true, and sincere friend,

H. M. WHEELER.

The second letter is dated Cawnpore, May 10, 1857, and describes the beginning of the Mutiny at Lucknow.

My dear Hearsey,—Much as I have desired to reply to yours of the 3rd current, I have been unable until this day, Sunday. What with courts of inquiry and courts-martial, and the correspondence they have entailed, I have not had half an hour to myself.

I take advantage of this "dies non" to commune with my old friend, to congratulate him and Mrs Hearsey on the addition to their happiness in the advent of another olive branch, and to express my satisfaction at the well-merited credit given in both Lord Canning's private and public communications. I said from the first that they were peculiarly fortunate in having you as commandant of the division at this particular crisis. I know of no one so well calculated for the occasion.

It is wonderful how this belief that the Government is bent on making *the whole population* Christians could have extended as it has done. It is not confined to the soldiery; it is general over the country. When it has been explained to the men that they cannot point out a single instance where Government has interfered with their castes or used force to overcome any other religious scruples, they reply that they do not apprehend force, but that it is to be done by artifice (hikmat) and cunning.

Six bungalows have been burned down at Nowgong, and one, I hear, at Jhansi, and the hospital

at the former place, which was undergoing repairs, was set fire to but extinguished.

The 7th Oude Irregulars sent a letter to the Subadar-major, 48th N.I., who had been absent on furlough since the 1st April. He not being there, it was carried to the senior subadar. The contents were as follows :—

"From all the 7th Oudh Infantry to the 48th N.I. all high Brahminical greetings. We should be of one mind. Cartridges have been given to us at three parades. You are our superiors. What you order that we will do. This concerns our religion."

The native officer, by name Sewah Tewarry, brought the messenger, a grass-seller, and the drill-havildar, who had brought the fellow to the subadar, to Colonel Palmer, who immediately took them over to Brigadier Handscomb, and the whole party went off to Sir Henry Lawrence. The result you will have heard no doubt. I shall therefore only add that the subadar's house was fired by a brimstone firework about 3 P.M. 7th inst., and the whole lines burnt down excepting the Light Company, half of the Grenadier Company, and the huts of seven native officers. No Government property destroyed except the out-offices of the sergeant-major's bungalow. It was blowing a gale, as it has been for some days, and there was no arresting the flames.

The subadar had committed himself by dis-

covering the plot, and I learn that the discoveries in consequence are of considerable importance. This man, the drill-havildar, and a Sipahee concerned ought to be rewarded by Government—the Order of Merit to the native officer and promotions to the others. I have sent in their roll to the Commander-in-Chief, and recommended them most strongly to the favour of Government.

Everything should be done to counteract this system of terrorism and to induce the well-disposed (the great majority, I fully believe) to separate themselves from the disaffected. Effect this and you destroy mutiny. But it is easier said than done; but that is no reason why it should not be attempted by every means and on every opportunity.

Sir Henry Lawrence has offered a reward of 1000 rupees for the discovery of the scoundrel. He told Colonel Palmer on the 8th that a Brahmin of the mutinous 7th Irregular Infantry offered to EAT a cartridge if he were pardoned! I would have let him do it before all the troops had I had any power in the matter. It would have effected wonders.

. . . . . .

I have neither troop nor battery here, and have been obliged to extemporise one on the chance of requiring it. One should be stationed here.—Believe me, my dear Hearsey, your sincerely attached old friend, H. M. WHEELER.

General Hearsey was destined to receive no more letters from Cawnpore, and it was with the most heartfelt grief that he and his family heard of the terrible doom of their kind and valued friends there.

Happily the disaster which befell Cawnpore was averted elsewhere, and after a hard struggle the great rebellion of 1857 was suppressed. Delhi was captured on the 20th of September, and Lucknow, reinforced by Havelock and Outram five days later, was relieved in November by Sir Colin Campbell. Oudh was reconquered by operations which lasted throughout 1858, and although skirmishes in various disturbed districts continued for nearly a year longer, the great revolt practically ended with the destruction of the armed forces of the rebels in the province which had been its birthplace.

During his last year's service Sir John wrote the following interesting letter to the Governor-General's Military Secretary in reference to a member of the family of Afghan soldiers who so faithfully served Major Hyder Hearsey, as recorded in his memoir :—

BARRACKPORE, *8th January* 1860.

MY DEAR BIRCH,—In forwarding the enclosed letter sent to me, signed by Lieut.-Colonel Hughes, commanding Hodson's Horse, regarding Ressaldar Sirdar Bahadoor Alladad Khan, 1st regiment of that corps, I beg leave to bring the following

circumstances regarding the Sirdar Bahadoor's family and their devotion to British interests to the Right Honble. Viscount Canning's notice. Alladad Khan's grandfather fell in battle with the Goorkhas in the 1814-15 Nepal War at Champawat. He was serving under the command of my relative Major Hyder Young Hearsey, who was grievously wounded in the action (shot through the knee) and taken prisoner, confined in the Fort of Almora, and released on the fall of that fortress after a short siege by Major-General Nicolls in 1815.

The Sirdar Bahadoor's uncle, Gholam Hyder Khan, went with Mr Moorcroft and Dr Trebeck to Balkh, Bokhara, and Koondooz. On the death of those gentlemen their property and servants were seized, and Gholam Hyder Khan was sold into slavery to the Tartars.

Gohlam Hyder Khan, after five years' slavery, and when his wife and family had mourned him as dead, suddenly made his appearance at Bareilly, he having escaped from slavery, and, after fearful hardships, found his way through Afghanistan to his home. This uncle of Sirdar Bahadoor Alladad Khan's fought against the rebels of Bareilly in the "émeute" there in 1816, before he accompanied Mr Moorcroft, and received a bullet in the head, which lodged in the upper part of the skull, and remained embedded there until he died several years afterwards. . . .

Another uncle, Ahmed Khan, served as kotwal of the large town of Mirzapore, as also a third uncle, Nusseer-ood-deen Khan, who died holding a similar post. Major H. Y. Hearsey brought up all these young men at his house at Kurraillee, near Bareilly, and I recollect the Sirdar Bahadoor, an infant, playing with Major Hearsey's children at Kurraillee. Alladad Khan has served the State with zeal and faithfulness, and has been severely wounded in action more than once."

This interesting letter shows Sir John Hearsey performing a task that pleased him well—that of recommending for reward the claims of those who had done the State some service. The letter illustrates also the patriarchal life led in India by the Hearsey family, a condition not without parallel eighty to a hundred years ago, but extremely rare nowadays.

Sir John Hearsey, with the dogged tenacity and quiet endurance of duty which were among the leading features of his character, remained in command at Barrackpore until the 8th of March 1861, when he retired from active service and returned to England after a total service of fifty-two years five months and twenty-four days. Of this long period only four years and four months had been spent in England.

It is noteworthy that Sir John left India just ninety-six years after Andrew Wilson Hearsey

went there, an unusually long period to be covered by the Indian careers of father and son.

Those ninety-six years had seen a wonderful development indeed, for it was in 1765, the first year of Andrew Hearsey's Indian service, that Clive laid the foundation of our territorial sovereignty by the acquisition of the right of receiving revenues of Bengal, Behar, and Orissa; while in 1861 all India lay beneath the yoke of England, whose power had so recently risen triumphant over the great revolt of 1857.

What share John Hearsey took in quelling the Mutiny has been sketched in these pages. Calcutta, at least, should not forget her debt to his memory. Students of the history of the Indian Mutiny will hardly doubt that had an incompetent man commanded at Barrackpore in March 1857, a great disaster, whose extent hardly bears imagining, would have befallen the capital of India.

Hearsey's life was not long prolonged after his retirement. The strain of his last command, coming as it did at the end of so long a career, had sapped the strong constitution.

In 1863 he was promoted a Lieutenant-General and appointed colonel of the 21st Hussars (now "The Empress of India's" 21st Lancers), and he died at Boulogne on the 24th October 1865.

England is happy in the possession of many

families who, like the Hearseys, have devoted themselves to the public service, and who take pride in giving their best to their country for scanty rewards.

Yet it is well that the memory of these faithful servants should be preserved, and that the story of men like Sir John Hearsey should be set before the rising generation as an example of loyal devotion, sympathy, generosity, and courage.

THE FAMILY OF SIR JOHN HEARSEY.

Sir John Hearsey was twice married. His first wife was Harriet, daughter of his kinsman Hyder Hearsey, and the marriage took place at Nusserabad on the 7th January 1832.

By his first wife Sir John had a family of four sons and three daughters. The sons, of whom a brief account follows, are all dead; two of the daughters survive—viz., Harriet, widow of Captain George O'Brien Carew, C.I.E., a distinguished officer of the late Indian Navy;[1] and Amelia, who married her cousin, Lionel Douglas Hearsey, grandson and representative of Major Hyder Hearsey. Mr and Mrs Lionel Hearsey live at Lakhimpur,

[1] Mrs Carew's second daughter is the wife of Mr W. L. Wyllie, A.R.A. Their son, though an artist like his distinguished father, was impelled by the military instincts of his mother's family to serve in the field during the South African war.

near Kheri, in Oudh, where they keep up the hospitable traditions of their family. Mr Lionel Hearsey is a far-famed shikari, whose knowledge of the craft of the jungle is acknowledged to be of the highest order.

Sir John Hearsey's eldest son by his wife Harriet also bore the name of John, and was born in 1833.

John Hearsey received an ensign's commission in the Company's service at the age of seventeen, but he had already smelt powder, having accompanied his father in the early portion of the second Sikh war. His first regiment was the 38th Bengal Native Infantry, to which he was gazetted in 1850. Three years later he was appointed quartermaster of his regiment, and in 1854 he was promoted lieutenant.

In 1857 John Hearsey was appointed aide-de-camp to his father when the latter received command of the Presidency Division, and, as has already been described, accompanied Sir John in his historic ride on to the Barrackpore parade-ground, riding on his right hand and assisting in the capture of Mungul Pandy. John Hearsey was also present in attendance on his father when the 19th and 34th regiments of Native Infantry were disarmed, and at the subsequent disarming of the remainder of the Barrackpore brigade.

John Hearsey suffered severely in health from malarial fever contracted at a station in which he served with his regiment, and although his merits as an officer were recognised by Lord Clyde, who was also anxious to further his interests on account of the claims of his father, he was unable to accept any more active employment than that of quartermaster. He was therefore in 1861 appointed to serve in this capacity with the new 7th Native Infantry, and in 1862 with the 6th Native Infantry.

In 1863 John Hearsey was promoted captain, and in the following year he died at the early age of thirty-one, a victim to the climate of India so successfully defied by his father.

Captain John Hearsey married on the 20th December 1858 Ann Maria, daughter of Robert S. Homfray, and granddaughter of Sir Jeremiah Homfray of Llandoff House, Gloucestershire. He had an only son, John Hampton Hearsey, who died young, a captain in the 2nd Volunteer Battalion of the South Wales Borderers.

The second son of Sir John Hearsey, named Andrew, was born in 1839, and entered the Company's service as ensign in 57th Bengal Native Infantry at the age of sixteen. He was promoted lieutenant in 1856, and in the following year was appointed extra aide-de-camp to his father at

Barrackpore, and was present at the seizure of Mungul Pandy.

Andrew Hearsey, who possessed great strength and activity, determined to take an active part in the suppression of the Mutiny, and, throwing up the post of aide-de-camp and waiving his rank, he joined Havelock's column as a trooper at his own expense, although invited by General Havelock to join his staff as orderly officer. Andrew Hearsey served in all the severe fighting which resulted in the first relief of Lucknow, and was severely wounded during the subsequent defence of the Residency. In consequence of his wound and of a severe attack of dysentery, he was compelled to return to Barrackpore, and then it was that the Governor-General, Lord Canning, wrote to his father: "My dear Sir John, I congratulate you on the return of your young hero from Lucknow. If it is his right arm in which he is wounded, you are bound to pardon his unpunctuality of correspondence."

Sir James Outram, than whom there was no better judge of courage, also wrote: "Dear Sir John,—How is your son Andrew? I have not heard of him since we left Lucknow. He is a son of whom any father might be proud. He wanted to dismount during a very heavy fire when I was hit to bind up my wound," &c.

Having recovered from his wound and illness,

Andrew Hearsey was appointed adjutant of the Shekawati Brigade, and served on to the final suppression of the Mutiny. He was promoted captain in 1864 and retired from the service in April 1865. He married on the 10th March 1862 his cousin Harriet, daughter of Captain William Moorcroft Hearsey, and consequently granddaughter of Hyder Hearsey.

Captain Andrew Hearsey was remarkable even in the Indian Mutiny for his conspicuous courage, and it is for this quality and for his generous sympathy with the poor and oppressed that his friends remember him.

Andrew Hearsey died at Ranchi on the 19th July 1896, leaving several children.

Sir John Hearsey had two other sons by his first marriage. Albert, who was drowned at Barrackpore in 1864 when a young lieutenant in the 19th Hussars, and George, who died when a cadet at the Royal Military College, Sandhurst.

Sir John's second wife was Emma, daughter of Thomas Rumball of Friday Hall, Woodford, Essex.

The eldest son of this marriage, Lieutenant Charles John Rumball Hearsey, 9th Lancers, a gallant and handsome young soldier, very like his father in appearance, was killed in action, charging

at the head of his squadron in the Chardeh Valley during the Afghan war of 1878-80.

The second son, Clarence Canning Hearsey, served in the Indian Marine, and died in 1893 when port-master at Masulipatam.

Thus all the six of Sir John Hearsey's sons who attained manhood entered the public services.

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