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CAPTIVALS OF TIPU

Survivors' Narratives

EDITED BY

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INTRODUCTION

THE names of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan, Mohammedan usurpers of the Hindu state of Mysore from 1761-99, were rendered world-famous by their struggle with the English, which, from the repeated disasters sustained by either side, the bravery of the combatants, the number and sufferings of English prisoners in the capital at Seringapatam and, above all, perhaps, the fantastic character of Tipu himself, was followed With interested horror by contemporaries and is still remembered as one of the more romantic stages in the history of British India. A canvas, 2250 square feet in area, of the last storming of Seringapatam in 1799 - on the day on which Tipu 'left his palace in the momi^aaga power^t fill and imperious Sultan, full of vast ambitious prects, and was brought back a lump of clay' - was painted by RobertKer Porter, and admired by hundreds. Journals and accounts of prisoners were published both during and after tire wars.

Most of the prisoners were taken in the war of 1780-84, fcrid the three narratives reprinted here with more or less abbreviation are selected for thediversity of their interest, being by persons who suffered diversely ,since one was a private, the second an officer, and the third a seaman. James Bristow's book, as he himself was unlettered, was compiled by some well-wisher and published by the Company's press in Calcutta, under the title, *A Narrative of the Sufferings of James Bristow*, and was reprinted in London in 1794 by John Murray, while in 1874 a French translation was published. The *Journal of an Officer of Colonel Baillie's Detachment* was published in 1788 by John Murray, in the *Memoirs of the Late War in Asia*, of which a later and shorter edition also exists; the author of the *Memoirs*, reputed to be either a certain William Thomson or Lieut. Alexander Read, A.D.C. to Colonel Baillie, is not the author of the Journal, since he states definitely that he received the Journal from the officer who wrote it, who gives no trace of his identity; nor does the diary of his fellow-prisoner, Lieut. Lindsay (*Lives of the Lindsays*, Vol. III), offer any clue. Scurry's book was published in 1824, two years after his death. The books of both Bristow and Scurry are now almost unobtainable.

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A short historical account of Southern India should, for the sake of clarity, precede a detailed description of the narratives. Early in the fourteenth century was founded the last great Hindu power of the South, with its capital at Vijayanagar on the Tungabhadra River, but the contemporaneous rise of a Mohammedan dynasty north of that river prevented the kings of Vijayanagar from extending their dominions to the north. In the following century the Mohammedan kingdom dissolved into several states of which Bijapur was the greatest; in 1565 their rulers united to inflict a crushing defeat upon their Hindu neighbours at Talikota. The Raja of Vijayanagar moved his capital further south and endeavoured to restore his power; but the whole kingdom was moribund in the seventeenth century when the feudatory chieftains gradually threw off the yoke of the royal officer in Seringapatam; more significant still was the growing independence of the Wodeyar Rajas of Mysore (Wodeyar=Lord and Master) and their persistent extension of their dominions; in 1610 they acquired Seringapatam itself, an island in the Caverry River some ten miles north-east of Mysore, and in 1687 Bangalore. Meanwhile the Moghuls attacked the Mohammedan principalities of the Deccan; Bijapur became their tributary in 1637, yet was still able to ravage the south, meeting with successful resistance from the Rajas of Mysore alone. In 1687, however, a new province was formed in the Moghul empire with its capital at Sira, which included both Bijapur on the Deccan and most of the district on the east coast known as the Carnatic; it remained a Moghul possession until 1757. Mysore now was made tributary to Delhi.

The seventeenth century was marked, too, by the rise of the Mahrattas, a race of yeomen, trained to arms in the service of the Sultans of the Deccan, although their proper country lay on the western Ghats: the famous Sivaji, educated a fervent Hindu by his mother, united the tribes, and assumed the royal title in 1674.

Towards the close of the century the Nizam-ul-Mulk (the Pillar of the State), the Moghul viceroy of the Deccan, became

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practically independent in Haiderabad, which is still known as the Nizam's dominions.

The intrusion of the Europeans can no longer be neglected. The Portuguese, foremost in the discovery of the long sea route to the Far East, were the first to establish themselves in the country, early in the sixteenth century; but their power endured only while they had no European rivals. In 1600 and 1602 were founded the English and Dutch Companies and the latter, strongly supported by the State, ousted the Portuguese from their possessions, although Goa remains to them to this day. In 1611 and 1612 the English established factories at Masulipatam and Surat, while in 1640 they received Madras from the moribund kingdom of Vijayanagar; Bombay was handed over by the Portuguese as part of the dowry of Catherine of Braganza. The English Company was a private venture and their early policy of peaceful trade was formulated by Sir Thomas Roe, Ambassador at the Moghul Court from 1612-15, who endeavoured also to secure a regular commercial treaty. But the failing Moghul empire, of which Aurangzib (1685-1707) was the last great ruler, could not extend its protection over all India, and in a country lacking a sufficient central authority peaceful trading was impossible.

The eighteenth century was marked by dismemberment of the native powers, which condition, added to the hostility of the French, who had arrived late in the seventeenth century, forced the English to abandon their pacific doctrines.

In 1704 the Moghul province of Sira was divided into the Nawabships of Sira and Arcot, the latter the capital of the Carnatic. The Nawab of Arcot, Dost Ali Khan, jealous of the right of Sira to the tribute of the rich state of Mysore, invaded that state with intent to raise an unwontedly large tribute; he was repulsed, and the ruler of Mysore soon afterwards agreed to pay a levy to the Nizam. In 1749 Haidar Ali made his appearance as an obscure volunteer in the army of Mysore, then besieging the fortress of Devanhalli, near Kolar, where he distinguished himself sufficiently to make the first rise in his successful career, which culminated in the expulsion of the

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Regent **from** Seringapatam in 1761. When he gained possession of the minister, he fulfilled his promise to cherish the unhappy man 'as affectionately as a parrot' by keeping him in a cage upon a diet of milk and rice. This Haidar was the great-grandson of a poor emigrant from the Punjab, whose sons worked as peons in the Customs at Sira: Haidar's own father, having died when Haidar was seven, his mother repaired to Bangalore, where her brother was a commander of peons under the local *Killadar*.

The doings of the Europeans now became more effective. The French had acquired Pondicherry in 1674, of which the two greatest governors, Dumas (1735-41) and Dupleix (1741-54), were frank in their aims, interfering freely in native politics, with the hope of founding an empire. Their first quarrel with the English, in 1745-49, was merely an extension of the War of the Austrian Succession: in this contest Dupleix had the advantage. Hostilities broke out again immediately after the peace, this time through the unauthorized intervention of both Companies, on opposite sides, in the dispute over the Nawabship of Arcot; it was during this war that Clive performed his famous siege of Arcot in 1751. But Dupleix was recalled in 1754, and by a treaty of 1755 both Companies were directed to abjure native titles and to ignore native politics. Such instructions were useless. The third war between the English and French broke out in 1757, to end in the permanent crippling of the latter's power in India, although Pondicherry remained a French possession.

The aggression of Haidar Ali increased to the extent of rousing the fear of the Nizam and the hatred of the Mahrattas: an alliance was therefore formed between the British, the Nizam and the Mahrattas, but the war which followed terminated with the appearance of Haidar before Madras and an ignominious defensive alliance between him and the Company.

Haidar had now such evident designs upon the Carnatic that the Nawab of Arcot, Mohammèd Ali, feared for the safety of his capital: but the immediate cause of the outbreak of hostilities

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in 1780 arose from the European situation, which encouraged the English to take Pondicherry and Mahe, although they were aware that Haidar, regarding the French as prospective allies, would not suffer Mahe - a port on the west coast through which he hoped to receive his reinforcements - to be closed to him. In July 1780 Haidar and Tipu, therefore, invaded the Carnatic with a large army disciplined by French officers. The Government at Madras was in a precarious condition; the previous governor had gone home with a large fortune, leaving an empty treasury; in no part of the country were more than three thousand men collected together (Colonel Baillie was in Citar, Colonel Braithwaite in Pondicherry, while the main body, under Sir Hector Munro, lay 15 miles from Madras, including a regiment under Macleod in which was Lieutenant Lindsay). In order to repair more speedily to the relief of Arcot, Munro foolishly commanded Colonel Baillie to meet him on his way to Arcot, at Conjeveram, an open town in a country already infested with the enemy. Consequently Baillie was surrounded, while Munro dared not leave his powder magazine insufficiently protected to go to his aid: Baillie at last formed a square upon a slight eminence and only surrendered after desperate resistance. The writer of the Journal was captured among many other officers, and Arcot fell into the hands of Haidar.

The veteran Eyre Coote hurried from Bengal with reinforcements. In 1781 he won two pitched battles, at Porto Novo and Pulicat, while early in 1782 Warren Hastings achieved as signal a success by his wise diplomacy; he made peace with the Mahrattas, with whom the Company were then at war, and soothed the Nizam by renouncing a district foolishly claimed by the Madras Government. Thus he removed the danger of the triple alliance between the Nizam, the Mahrattas, and Mysore. Against these successes were balanced the capture of Colonel Braithwaite's army in Tanjore by Tipu and the arrival of the French at Cuddalbre.

In December 1782 Haidar Ali died of an ulcer in the back, but his death was kept secret until Tipu could join the main

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army at Arcot to take unrivalled possession of the throne. On the other side Eyre Coote died about the same time.

The French alliance was of short duration, for in 1783, with the close of the Seven Years' War in Europe, the French troops were withdrawn. That year Tipu was occupied in the west, where an expeditionary force under General Matthews was capturing many places, including Bednur, which Haidar had captured in 1763, renaming it Haidar Nagar, for he hoped to make it his capital. Matthews, a weak, cruel man, foolishly scattered his forces so that he was unable to hold fednur; he fell into Tipu's hands and was sent to Seringapatam, to die by poison.

Finally, in 1784, overtures for peace were made, but Tipu prolonged the negotiations until he had taken Mangalore. By the treaty all prisoners were to be restored and all captured places to revert to their previous owners. To the shame of the Council of Madras, Bristow and Scurry with many others were abandoned, and only a few escaped from time to time, at great peril.

Tipu continued to worry both the Nizam and the Mahrattas and in 1790 roused the English by his attack upon the Raja of Travancore, then under the protection of the Company. The Governor-General himself took command; Tipu was surrounded by enemies, by an alliance between his two northern neighbours and the English, and he only saved Seringapatam by a timely capitulation. During this war Bristow and Scurry both made their escape to the Nizam's dominions.

Between 1792 and 1798 Tipu occupied himself with more fantastic schemes.

Making Tipu's dealing with the French, and in particular his embassy to Mauritius, a pretext for war, Lord Mornington stormed and captured Seringapatam in 1799, after which Tipu's body was discovered, stripped of his jewels, under a heap of slain. The narrow gateway in which he fell was destroyed soon afterwards, when the second and inner ditch of the fort was filled up and planted as a garden; in spite of contemporary evidence to the previous existence of this inner

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ditch, with which the historic gateway must have been destroyed, a tablet has been placed on the existing Water Gate, marking that as the spot where Tipu met his death.

The characters of Haidar Ali and his son were divergent; yet frequently a direct, unsophisticated soldier of fortune, cruel and sensual from a vigorous body rather than a perverted mind, who wins a throne or a fortune, produces such an heir, possessing the imaginative qualities lacking in himself. Haidar spent his life in warfare, kept a large harem, the charms of which were never allowed to sap his energy, and ignored religion. He never learnt to write more than the initial letter of his name, but conversed fluently in several languages: on the other hand, he possessed a shrewdness missing in his better-educated son. Of life under his rule a Persian, Mirza Ikbal, writes: By his power mankind were held in fear and trembling; and from his severity God's creatures day and night were thrown into apprehension and terror. Cutting off the nose and ears of any person in his territories was the commonest thing imaginable, and of the killing of a man there was thought no more than of the treading on an ant. No person of respectability ever left his house with the expectation of a safe return to it.'

The common testimony of English prisoners proves that Tipu restrained himself during Haidar's lifetime - to such an extent that his treatment of his victims was always favourably compared with that of his father: but after succeeding easily to the throne his capricious imagination gradually developed to the very limits of sanity. He had been carefully instructed in letters as well as in warfare, reading and writing the languages which Haidar could merely speak; indeed he is said to have scarcely ever been without a pen in his hand. His education served only to aid him in his caprices; innovations were made in every department of the administration, and his changing of the names of streets and days of the month, and his revision of the system of weights and measures, were comparable to the changes he admired in revolutionary France. In 1798 a Jacobin club in Seringapatam planted a Tree of Liberty; and the

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autocrat, wearing a red cap, was evoked as *Citizen Tipu Sultan*, Worst of all was his increasing religious fanaticism, which led to hateful persecution; indeed he never lost an opportunity to insult the Hindu religion. Such were the qualities of that remarkable man who died an obscure death in a narrow gateway, probably at the hands of some common soldier who rifled his body for its jewels.

James Bristow, a private in the Bengal Artillery, came to the south with the reinforcements under Eyre Coote; and while endeavouring to prevent the French from landing supplies for Haidar Ali near Pondicherry, he was cut off from the English camp by a party of hostile cavalry and taken prisoner early in 1781. His editor is needlessly apologetic in his dedicatory letter to the Commanding Officer of the Bengal Artillery, and in his Preface. His intention, he states, was to aid the children of Bristow, hoping that 'the compassion for the unfortunate, which has so eminently distinguished his countrymen, will operate sufficiently to induce them to overlook the unimportance of a narrative which claims no other merit than strict adherence to truth.' With juster appreciation, however, of the matter of the book, he remarks that an obscure private, placed in one of Tipu's *Chela* or slave battalions, would become better acquainted with the true state of affairs 'than gentlemen who were never suffered to peep beyond the walls of their prisons.' From the caprice with which the slave battalions, the voluntary deserters and indeed all the inhabitants of Mysore were treated one gathers Tipu's feeling of insecurity. To a simple, straightforward soul like Bristow such uncertainty must have been especially painful. It may be assumed that the diversions with which the prisoners relieved themselves were not invented by him, but rather by some companion of the cast of Scurry. One trick apparently never failed to enrage the Moslems; the prisoners would circumcise dogs and run them through the streets of Seringapatam - the deed was the more offensive since to the Moslem the dog is a peculiarly foul animal. Yet his native caution and common sense, together with the opportunities which he gained of discovering the way, made Bristow

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the principal deviser of the plan to escape from the hill fortress of Outtradroog, to which he and his companions were dispatched towards the end of their captivity - probably that they might be quietly put to death like so many others who had reached such fortresses.

He lost his companions almost at the start, and his solitary journey to the Nizam's dominions, which he reached early in 1791, was a feat of heroic endurance for a man in his semi-starved and fever-stricken condition. He had narrow escapes, as when he was passed by two sentries as a woman because his leg-irons jingled like bracelets; indeed, without the assistance of aged Hindu women who gave him such poor food as they were able he would never have reached his destination. Fortunately for him, the nature of his mind seems to have preserved him from all the terrors to which a more imaginative man, travelling through the jungle at night, would have been subject. At least he gives no hint of such, but then his tale is set down simply, without any straining after effect.

The unknown officer, who was taken at Conjeveram with Colonel Baillie, offers in his Journal an entirely different set of pictures, of the dismal and narrow life permitted to the officers in Seringapatam. His book opens with the ghastly battlefield, on which Haidar sat at the door of his tent to receive the heads of Europeans, before the eyes of Baillie and his officers, and describes the miseries of the wounded who were kept at Arcot until they had recovered sufficiently for the march to Seringapatam. Once in the capital, however, he remained in the same prison until his release in 1784, its only view of the outer world being through a small hole in the wall, made and carefully concealed by the prisoners themselves. Much of their time was spent in devising means of communication with officers and men confined elsewhere, especially with the prison of Baillie himself, which they described as headquarters. With a skill at variance with the haughty answer given to one of Tipu's requests for carpenters or armourers, and quoted by Lindsay, to the effect that they were all gentlemen, they turned to manual labours to preserve their minds from madness. Their

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improvised implements they concealed from their guards in a hole in the floor. Lindsay gives as well a list of their odd collection of books, which were removed at sunset, for their captors believed that much of the evil done by the English arose from their habit of reading books at night: they had odd volumes of Smollett's *History of England* and of Pope, half of Johnson's Dictionary, a Prayer Book, and 'Mrs. Glass upon the Art of Cookery.'

The Journal itself was written^c within a very small compass, on a slip of Indian paper, in such a hand as that in which innocent idlers write out the Lord's Prayer within the circumference of the halfpenny.'

To be set against the stories of ingenuity in carpentry or the revels which were held on occasions like the King's birthday, when they prepared a special dinner and drank His Majesty's health in a *Chatty* of sherbet, are the tales of refusal of the least comforts or even necessities to the sick, causing the death of Baillie and many others, the depression brought on by ill news or deferred hopes; but they were spared the final bitterness of being abandoned by their own countrymen, like Bristow and Scurry, and left to die or escape at their peril from their imprisonment.

James Scurry, handed over to Haidar in 1782 by a French admiral, at the age of fifteen, was a man of more adventurous and varied character, inherited no doubt from a father who roved the world and fought at Bunker Hill. According to his widow, Scurry went to sea at the early age of seven; he spent some years off the coast of America and among the West Indies, employed in carrying powder in times of action and in amusing his companions by playing the fife in times of quiet. At what stage in his career he learnt to read or write his widow is ignorant.

His editor considered, in the mood of the early nineteenth century, that he promoted the cause of humanity 'by giving publicity to the unvarnished narrative,' intending that peaceful readers should contrast their own civilization with the barbarity of Haidar and Tipu. Scurry, too, was forcibly circumcised

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and placed in a slave battalion: further, he was ordered one day, with several others, to turn round and take what was before him, which proved to be a Carnatic girl, to whom he became greatly attached and by whom he had two children. But his affections could not keep him among the derelict Europeans found by the English after the final storming of Seringapatam.

At first Scurry was treated with kindness, being told that he was to be considered the adopted child of Tipu, but later he was subjected to the same vicissitudes as Bristow, although probably his more resilient temperament suffered less. Towards the end of his captivity he was sent to the hill fortress of Chittledroog, where he spent three tedious years, of which he writes: 'The melancholy hours we passed here would take a more able pen than mine to describe - I have observed before that we were all young, yet none of us dared sing "Rule Britannia," or even hum it with impunity. We prohibited it between ourselves under the impression of bitterness, and the idea of every hope being marred of ever seeing our country or friends.' Not to sing 'Rule Britannia,' then a comparatively new song, seems to have been a severe privation.

After a sorrowful parting from his wife Scurry escaped, with four companions, from his battalion near Chittledroog, and took the same direction as Bristow. They all reached safety, and then Scurry took ship to England. He never lost the influence of the years spent in India; his sunburnt face 'only a few shades removed from black,' and his awkwardness in wearing European clothes, made him the butt of little boys; while his dislike of sitting at a table for his meals, and his careless means of ridding himself of bones and unwanted pieces of food by throwing them upon the floor, made him unpopular at the inns which he visited to an extent which his lavish expenditure could not entirely banish. His style of approaching his mother's house at Porlock is typical of the man, for he hired a chaise and four and drove up with a flourish, which was temporarily checked by his mother's refusal to believe that he was truly her son, so long was it since she had heard of him and so changed

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was he from the boy who had been transferred by the French admiral to Tipu's hands.

Scurry's style is amusingly matter of fact, as in this sentence describing a serious storm which overtook his ship on its voyage to Madras: 'The storm ceased, the waves subsided, and we proceeded on our voyage'; but his vocabulary is varied.

The number and qualities of the European renegades deserve notice. It was an axiom with both Haidar and Tipu that Europeans could only be definitely defeated by Europeans and by their own methods; they were, therefore, at pains, not only to acquire the French as their avowed allies, but also to enlist other nations in their service; and attacks were always made upon the integrity of prisoners, to recruit the armies of Mysore. Bristow writes of one corps: 'This corps consisted of nothing but vagabonds and deserters, chiefly Portuguese, French, Dutch, and Danes.' The officer mentions a Hungarian sergeant, 'as great a rogue as ever lived.' Most conspicuous among the English deserters was Dempster, universally detested by his compatriots. To Scurry and Bristow and their like he never disguised his baseness, although to the officers he fawned. His reply to a request that he would forward a letter from the imprisoned officers 'to the governor or commandant of any British settlement,' is characteristic of his nature:

GENTLEMEN,

Your note of the 15th of December I received; the short but real picture of your very unfortunate situation has made me melt into tears of sympathy that our name and country should thus be the sport of barbarians; and believe me, Gentlemen, that there is nothing within the verge of my power that could alleviate in the smallest degree your present sufferings, in the great anxiety you must be in to hear some solacing account after so long an interval of suspense and confinement, that would not most readily be embraced. . . . I sincerely thank you for your favour, and promise of protection hereafter. I never intend to avail myself of it, as the title of Deserter is almost insupportable to anyone tinctured

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with the smallest atom of spirit. From the most robust as well as healthy constitution, I am totally changed into a habit that daily tells me my stay shall not be long. Then be expeditious in sending your letter. This revolution [the death of Hyder] offers a field for much news. Tokens as usual. Sorry I am that I can't add anything else. This I have writ only with the light of a fire; otherwise the seeing me occupied with pen and ink would subject me to being examined. . . .

Finally, Dempster was disgraced and perished miserably, for the volatile temperament which caused him twice to change his colours, made him an unsatisfactory servant to any power.

Whiteway, a midshipman on the *Fortitude*, has an amusing story of an individual named White, who had been found plundering the gun-room of his ship, an East Indiaman, when she was taken by the French. That particular ship was recovered by the English and White was disgraced; but later he became captain of a country ship and was again captured by the French. This time he was sent to Seringapatam. Here he announced that he was an adept in the art of casting cannon. The history of his attempts might have been anticipated. 'Captain White had a foundry built, at a considerable expense; and in his first effort, having melted his metal, he unfortunately cast only half a gun. This misfortune was laid upon some enemy who envied his situation. A second attempt was made and this was imperfect at the breech, which caused suspicions and murmurings. A third effort was then made with a gun on a small scale; but this turned out crooked. This crooked gun was chiselled to render it serviceable; but this proved a vain attempt. It still remained crooked; and neither the ingenuity nor the power of White could bring it straight. In this dilemma he had the hardihood to assert that this cannon would be of most essential service to Hyder; and being asked for what purpose? he replied, "To fire round the corners." He was reproved for "vain pretensions" and put to cast cannon shot.

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Later he made his way to Madras, and finally was hanged at the Old Bailey for forging seamen's wills.

The practical reasons for publishing these narratives no longer exist, nor will they rouse the sense of moral superiority over the barbarian, which so edified contemporaries; but their intense human interest will always find them readers, and it is time they were made accessible to more than the few Orientalists who both know of their existence and can afford the high prices fetched by the original editions. The officer's Journal has been greatly abridged, and a historical chapter by Scurry's editor has been omitted; but the whole story will be found in this volume, reprinted word for word except for such explanatory passages and notes as readers will no longer require, and for the many duplicate entries in the Journal.

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CAPTIVES OF TIPU

THE NARRATIVE OF JAMES BRISTOW, PRIVATE
IN THE BENGAL ARTILLERY

CHAPTER ONE

I WAS born in the year 1757 in Norwich, in the county of Norfolk. My father, who was a blacksmith, bound me apprentice to a carpenter, with whom I did not, however, remain a complete twelvemonth, being allured, more by a desire to see the world, than the bounty of one shilling which I received, to enlist with a Captain Monney, then recruiting for the Honourable East India Company. When the Captain had collected to, the number of fifty recruits, he marched us up to London, where we underwent an examination on the day of our arrival, and were, to my no small disappointment, sent down to Gravesend that very evening, and embarked on board the *Prince of Wales* Indiaman, under dispatch for Bengal, and commanded by Captain Scott, a gentleman who had lost an arm, as I afterwards understood, in a duel at Madras.

My whole stock, when on board, consisted in the jacket and trousers I wore, with half a guinea in specie, which each man had received from the Company. Thus provided, I commenced soldier at the early age of fourteen years, and soon forgot both anxiety for myself and concern for those I had left.

On the 1st of April, 1771, we sailed from England with a fair wind, and landed in Bengal, after what was then deemed a prosperous passage, of six months, on the 1st of October following. It was our good fortune to be treated with humanity on board, and to escape calamitous distempers during the voyage, which was marked with no disaster, except that one of the recruits, a very young man, who having rashly left his friends, jumped overboard and was lost whilst we were at anchor in False Bay, at the Cape of Good Hope.

Very soon after my arrival in Bengal I was, with other recruits, sent up to Dinapore, to complete the first European regiment, then commanded by Colonel Champion, and appointed to Captain Moses Crawford's company on the very day he attained that rank. I was by this time perfectly reconciled to my situation, for which I had not been without apprehensions (in the moments of reflection), so natural to a young

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adventurer, who quits his native soil, and traverses the ocean to a distant region, which ignorance, and the prejudices of education, have taught him to dread. I frequently shuddered at the service I had engaged in, and considered the life of a common soldier (so little to be envied at home) to be something truly deplorable in this country: but my uneasiness was soon dispelled, and my satisfaction increased in proportion to the magnitude of my fears: so different is the situation of a private soldier in Bengal from what our ideas represent, by comparing it with the same thing in Europe, that my surprise was incredible when I found that a life which is commonly esteemed wretched was not without great comforts, and might even be rendered desirable.

The troops at Dinapore took the field shortly after my arrival under the command of General Sir Robert Barker: it was then that I, for the first time in my life, beheld an Indian army; and the magnificence, as well as disorder, which reigned in Sujah Dowlah's camp, filled me with an astonishment on walking through his rich bazaar one day, the view of which will ever dwell on my memory, as it differed so widely from the notions I had formed to myself of hostile preparations.

As the history of this campaign is equally unimportant and foreign to the present narrative, I shall pass it over, as well as what befell me for several years afterwards, in silence: let it suffice, that having obtained a recommendation to Captain, now Lieutenant-Colonel Hussey, of the artillery, I renewed in that corps in 1779, from Captain Charles Weer's company of grenadiers, to which I had the honour of belonging for a twelvemonth, and on the nth of October, 1780, being previously appointed camp colourman, embarked with Captain Hussey's and another company of artillery, and six of infantry, on board the *Kingston*, for the purpose of escorting the Commander-in-Chief of India, Lieutenant-General Sir Eyre Coote, to Madras.

In the roads of Ballasore we met a violent gale of wind, which might have proved fatal to the British interest in the East, as all the hopes of the other presidency centred in the succours to

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arrive from Bengal; but it abated after a few days, and we experienced a good passage against the monsoon, or south-westerly winds, landing at Fort St. George to the great joy of the whole settlement on the 5th of November following, having brought the pilot with us, as his sloop had disappeared in the storm.

The general's first care was to collect the dismayed troops at St. Thomas's Mount, with a view immediately to arrest the progress of Hyder's devastations. On the very day our detachment left the fort, Serjeant Dempster, of the same company with myself, of whom mention is made hereafter, and several of whose letters are printed in the *Memoirs of the Late War in Asia*, deserted and went over to Hyder.

We took the field under our veteran commander on the 17th of January, 1781, with all the troops that could be collected and spared for the purpose, no more being left to garrison Fort St. George than were judged absolutely necessary. The grand army consisted of about seven or eight thousand effective men, one-eighth part of which were cavalry, and sixty pieces of ordnance, with a proportion of military stores. This respectable body of men, formidable if opposed in battle array to the most numerous rabble of Asia, moved to the relief of Wandewash, then closely invested by Hyder Ally's troops. Five days afterwards, Carangooly was surprised by a detachment from the army under Captain Davies, and Hyder abandoned the siege the moment he heard of our approach. I recollect it was esteemed a very auspicious omen that this event took place on the very anniversary of that day (namely the 22nd of January) on which our General had proved so eminently victorious at the same place one and twenty years before, over Count Lally and the French army. After throwing succours into this place, the army continued its march, and on the 5th of February, sat down on the Red Hills near Pondicherry. It was here that my sufferings, for a length of years, commenced.

I accompanied Lieutenant Doxat, our quarter-master of artillery, to Pondicherry, for the purpose of destroying the French boats, that M. d'Orves, who had a few days before

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appeared on the coast with a fleet, might not effect the landing of military supplies, and a party of Frenchmen for Hyder's service, and which attempt he had already made, but precipitately relinquished when our army approached. We spiked several iron guns which the French had buried in the sand on the beach, and had just broke up and set fire to all the boats, when the day dawned and forced us to retire, to avoid the firing from the fleet. Our camp was within two miles of the town, but before we had proceeded half-way thither, a prodigious bustle and hurry of people, running, confusedly towards Pondicherry, announced a party of Hyder's horse, which had interposed between the town and our camp. Waggons upset, and loads of different articles, proceeding to our bazaar, lay scattered and abandoned on the ground. Lieutenant Doxat, who instantly mounted his horse, had barely passed a cross-road when a party of them came suddenly upon me. I was instantly seized, and removed to a convenient distance from the high road, and stripped of everything I possessed. These daring *Looties*¹ destroyed everything they met with, but had no time for removing the plunder, being pursued from our camp. In the meantime they had ventured near enough to our lines to snatch up the serjeant-major of one of the sepoy battalions, who was bathing in the front of the quarter guard in a tank: the name of this unfortunate man was Rickman.

My situation from this instant became truly deplorable; robbed of liberty, I found myself in the clutches of barbarians, who treated me with cruelty and scorn, and kept me in suspense with respect to my life. I was not, however, indulged with much time to contemplate the horrors of my situation; for having bound my arms behind me, they hurried me almost naked before Hyder, on the 6th of February, about two o'clock in the afternoon: he was then encamped on the right flank of our army, at about five or six miles distance, between us and Cuddelore, to the northward of the road. Hyder's tent exhibited nothing very extraordinary and magnificent, except a rich Persian carpet

¹ A banditti of free-booters.

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spread on the ground, and held down by four massy silver weights at the corners, something in form resembling sugar loaves. Several French officers were present; I was interrogated through one of them, who spoke English, with respect to the strength and destination of our army; but having replied that our troops amounted to 35,000 men, 5000 of whom were Europeans, and that we had seventy pieces of ordnance in the field, the interpreter briskly told me, 'I *lied*,' we had no such thing! and that all our Europeans in India collected together would not amount to that number. Hyder was so much exasperated at my attempt to deceive him that he kept me three days without any food, tied down on the ground in the rear of his tent, which was the station I constantly occupied during the seven days I remained in his camp. In this miserable situation, lying bound on the bare sand when halting, and lashed to Rickman, the serjeant-major, when marching, exposed to the weather, day and night, without any nourishment, I must inevitably have perished if the humanity of my guards had not relieved me with some food now and then by stealth. On the fourth day, Hyder having encamped near Cuddelore, where the English army was entrenched, I received a visit from Mahomed Beg, a *Dubash*, who spoke English; he ordered me one *Seer* of rice and two *Pice* per day, which I received for four days, after which Mahomed Beg paid me a second visit, and proposed to me to enter Hyder's service: in order to prevail on me, he promised that I should be well treated, and receive good pay; but finding me obstinate in refusing, he went away apparently much dissatisfied, and it was not long before I felt the ill-effects of my non-compliance, for half my daily allowance in money, together with some provisions I had received from Hyder's kitchen the last four days, were immediately curtailed, and I was lashed to the serjeant-major, and removed to Gingee, a small fort on a rock, which had been surrendered to Hyder in a cowardly manner the preceding December by a party of the Nabob's ¹ troops which chiefly composed the garrison, and where part of his army at this time was encamped to guard his

¹ The Nawab of Arcot, Mohammed Ali. - [EDITOR J

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women, provisions, stores, and camp equipage. Before I was removed from Hyder's camp, I had the mortification to see our whole army drawn up in order of battle, three days successively. Fortunately, some of my own clothes and a blanket had been restored to me the day before I was desired to enter into Hyder's service. On my arrival at Gingee I was handcuffed, and from thence, the succeeding day, removed to Arcot, where my handcuffs were exchanged for leg-irons. I remained near three weeks in the prison of Arcot, and might, I am pretty certain, have escaped, had it only once during that period proved a very dark or rainy night; but the moon and stars shone so bright (a circumstance which I at that time thought a serious misfortune) and it appeared so impracticable to elude our guards and the soldiers of Hyder, who infested the streets and place during these clear nights, that the circumstance of having contrived, by means of perseverance and a piece of broken china, to file down the head of the nail which riveted my irons, so as to be able to throw them off at pleasure, availed me nothing. One night's rain, or even one heavy shower, would have driven guards, sentries, and the whole garrison, according to the practice of the Asiatic soldiers, under cover, and consequently left the coast clear - but I was reserved for severer trials.

Colonel Baillie, Captain Rumley, Lieutenant Frazer, and a Mr. Skardon were at this time confined in Arcot. The latter of these gentlemen had been the English resident at Pondicherry, and treacherously delivered up by the French inhabitants, who were suffered to reside unmolested on their paroles at the time of committing this act of barbarity. An European soldier, who by some neglect was left behind sick on the day we marched to the Red Hills, and snatched up by some of the looties that constantly hovered about our camp, died in his irons at this place, without receiving the smallest assistance, or any notice being taken of his lamentations. Prior to my remove from hence my irons were taken off, and the handcuffs again replaced, probably because heavy fetters might retard the march to Seringapatam, to which place I was next destined.

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On the 1st of March, 1781, this journey commenced with the melancholy prospect of never revisiting those companions from whom the chance of war had secluded me.

As soon as I was out of the fort of Arcot I discovered three palanquins, containing British officers in the same predicament with myself, and I soon learnt that they were Colonel Baillie, Captain Rumley, and Lieutenant Frazer, who had recovered from their wounds. Mr. Skardon's prison had, indeed, been contiguous to mine; we had often conversed over the low wall which divided our cells, and this gentleman had assisted me both with money and clothes, but he was as ignorant as myself of the situation of the above officers. A Lieutenant Brumpton, delivered up by the French nearly in the same manner as Mr. Skardon, and Mr. M'Neal, the mate of a country ship, had been, were among the prisoners at this time carried to Seringapatam.

We proceeded to Arnee the first day, and the second to a fort at the foot of the hills, or gauts. On this march we were exceedingly hurried, and frequently struck to hasten our steps, the cause of which, as I understood from one of the prisoners, was our near approach, in the course of the day, to the fort of Vellore, from whence almost any party which had sallied might have rescued us, as our convoy only consisted of about thirty sepoys and fifty *Polygars*. But they had, unfortunately, no intimation of our proximity at the garrison, and it was entirely out of our power to apprise Colonel Lang, the commanding officer of it, by any means or contrivance, nor had we anything which could corrupt the fidelity of our convoy.

It took us five days to traverse the passes, and four days more to reach Ossore; we passed an astonishing number of small mud forts on the road, and got to Seringapatam on the eighteenth of the month. They allowed us to halt one day in the *Pettah* of Bangalore, round the wall of which they were digging a trench at the time, and adding a ditch to the west face of the fort. I cannot tell if it was the same all round, as no other side was visible.

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On our arrival at Seringapatam, Mr. Skardon was sent to the officers' prison, but Lieutenant Brumpton and Mr. M'Neal were lodged with us. The former of these two had, once escaped from Hyder, and nearly reached Cuddalore before he was retaken; this might probably be his reason for confining him amongst the soldiers, and treating him with more severity than the rest of the officers; at least I never heard of any other. Colonel Baillie, Captain Rumley, and Lieutenant Frazer were confined by themselves. About three hundred Europeans, mostly taken near Tacoallum, were all shut up in one prison, consisting of a very spacious square, with a shade or verandah along the wall, not unlike a *Feray*, or what is more commonly termed a caravansary. Numbers were, at the time of my arrival, afflicted with epidemical distempers, but neither care nor assistance were bestowed on them; a kind of dropsical swelling, in particular, killed many. The smallpox, so fatal in the East, especially to grown people who catch it in the natural way, had found entrance into the prison, and swept away almost all the prisoners who had not had the disorder. I ascribe the preservation of my life to a singular contrivance; having made a small ball of wax as hard as I could, I applied it to my leg, and tied one of my coat buttons so tight over it that the ball forced a hole through the skin into the leg, in which situation I suffered it to remain for several months, preserving a kind of constant issue.

Shortly after my arrival amongst the prisoners, I was accosted by Serjeant Dempster, who had deserted (as I have mentioned) at the mount, but was now confined in the common prison. He questioned me concerning my coming to Seringapatam, but on discovering my aversion to his discourse, and that I had been taken prisoner, he put an end to the conversation by presenting me with some *Hoppers*,¹ and seemed somewhat ashamed at meeting a person who had belonged to the same corps with himself. After this time, I had little intercourse with him, notwithstanding we continued for several months in the same prison. He was universally detested by

¹ A kind of cake made of rice flour.

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the prisoners, being a deserter, and also suspected of some times betraying his countrymen to the tyranny of the power which held him in captivity. He protested he had no intention of deserting to Hyder, and that he only intended to get off to some ship, but was picked up in the attempt. He received good treatment, and some marks of attention at first, but irregularity and misconduct had forced Hyder to degrade him almost immediately; he still received several indulgences, and was well disposed to be useful to the tyrant, though his behaviour was too inconsistent to entitle him to confidence, and defeated any views he might have of raising his fortune in the service of a native power; he formerly held a commission in His Majesty's service.

I remained nine months in this prison, constantly loaded with irons, and allowed only my seer of rice and a pice per day, during which time, as the wish of delivering ourselves from so intolerable a captivity chiefly occupied our thoughts, Lieutenant Brumpton, Mr. M'Neal, three others and myself formed a plan for escaping. We had already prepared rice-cakes as provisions for the journey, and procured ropes for scaling the wall, when the very evening preceding our proposed departure, a heavy shower of rain fell and washed away that identical part of the prison wall which had been fixed upon for the escalade. A strong guard was in consequence immediately planted on the spot. The rain not only disconsolated our plan, but also it discovered what a perilous task we had engaged in; for when the wall was down, I perceived sufficient unknown obstacles to convince me how little probability there was of having succeeded. The scheme was accordingly laid aside, for a frustrated attempt to escape would only have augmented the rigour of our confinement.

In the month of September, 1781, about six months after my imprisonment, the Nyar, a Bramin, and the commander of our guards, entered the prison early in the morning, and selected Serjeant Dempster, with fifteen more of the prisoners, among whom were two young boys, drummers of the 73rd regiment; struck off their irons, and, without deigning to utter

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a word, carried them away, for the purpose, as I soon after understood, of circumcising them. They resisted a long while, and bore very cruel treatment before they submitted to this operation, nor did they submit at last until they were stupefied with *Majum*,¹ which they had been forced to swallow.

This incident spread general terror amongst the rest of the prisoners, every one apprehending that he might be the next victim devoted to Mahometism; nor were our fears groundless, for early in January, 1782, the same persons re-entered our prison, accompanied by Serjeant Dempster, and made a second selection of fourteen, in which number I had the misfortune to be included. As Dempster was suspected of a share in this horrid business, at least so far as pointing out the objects on whom the choice ought to fall, every one of us were highly exasperated against him, and it was fortunate for him that he was protected by the guards. The treatment the first victims had undergone served in some degree to apprise us of the inutility of resistance. With horror and indignation we swallowed the narcotic potion, and those whom the dose had no effect upon were forcibly seized and pinioned by stout *Caffres*, whilst the operation was performed (having previously shaved us in the customary manner), a ceremony which they continued to observe for three years. After the operation our right ears were perforated, and small silver rings with round knobs fixed in them, this being a mark of slavery amongst the Mahometans. As soon as we had recovered from this diabolical ceremony, we were transferred to what is termed the tyrant's *Chaylah* battalions (that is, slaves); these are composed of such of his own subjects as have been condemned to perpetual slavery, and such unfortunate captives as he takes in war. The present consisted chiefly of boys surprized in the Carnatic, whom he accustomed to military exercise, with large sticks, cut in the shape of muskets. The task imposed upon us (those who refused being cruelly flogged) was to instruct these *chaylahs* in the manual exercise. Our situation consequently became worse than before; we were obliged to perform an

¹ A strong opiate.

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office which, however small the benefit we took care the practitioners should derive from it, could not but cause the deepest affliction, when we reflected they were the detested enemies of our country whom we were compelled to instruct in that very art which would prove destructive to our countrymen.

After we had been made what was termed Musselmen, we neglected no opportunity of evincing our contempt for the religion of our tormentors, and the cruel force they had employed against us, by catching dogs, and *Bandicoots* (a species of large rats), and circumcising them publicly. This operation never failed to exasperate them, particularly as the dog is held a very impure animal, and it cannot be doubted but we very often owed some additional ill-usage to these insults on one of their most sacred rites; such behaviour would have been unpardonable, had not the compelling us to undergo an abhorred operation been so base and barbarous an act of oppression, that it was impossible to reflect on it with temper, and at least justified what might not be absolutely prudent and safe.

In the month of March this year, one of the lately disciplined chaylah battalions which Hyder had ordered to join a body of troops destined for particular service, encamped at Periapatam, a rock about twenty Coss to the south-west of Seringapatam, and visible from the fort. This battalion was accompanied by twelve of the circumcised Europeans, acting as officers over slaves, and probably intended by way of experiment; Hyder imagining, I fancy, that a tacit compliance with his service might be exacted from these unfortunate men, although their sentiments and feelings would not allow them openly and avowedly to acquiesce in it. They had been, however, but a very short time attached before four of the Europeans found means to make their escape by eluding the sentries at night, and immediately entering the Nyar Jungles, which lie to the southward of Seringapatam, and from whence, after encountering innumerable dangers and suffering incredible hardships, they arrived safe at Bedanore, commanded by General

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Matthews, who sent them to Mangalore, from whence, as I afterwards understood, they were removed to Fort St. George at the time General Matthews was taken; one of these poor fellows was so much weakened and overcome with fatigue and hunger that when they were near Bedanore his legs failed him, nor had the others strength enough to assist him; having a good constitution, he lived till *zDooly* from the garrison came to fetch him into the fort. This escape, however, proved very fatal to the remaining eight, for no sooner was the flight of their friends discovered than they were marked as victims of revenge. They were accordingly brought out in front of that battalion to which a few hours before they had acted as officers, with their hands tied behind, and received three lashes with a bunch of tamarind twigs from each of the chaylahs, which, from the number composing the battalion, amounted to fifteen hundred lashes. Thus were innocent men punished to assuage the cruel resentment of disappointed villains, incensed because four Europeans had eluded their vigilance, and because they discovered that no assistance was to be derived from the English captives, nor any trust to be placed in men who possessed a right to liberate themselves by every opportunity that offered: after suffering this severe flagellation, their hands were secured in a log of wood, with holes in it, something like stocks, and in that situation they were sent to Munclamore, a very high and detached rock, with several forts on it, about thirty coss from Seringapatam, in the Chittledroog country. Here one of the unfortunate officers, a Dutchman by birth, expired of the inhuman flogging without having his hands enlarged before his death. After six months' confinement in Munclamore, on one seer of *Raggy*¹ per day, they were sent back to Seringapatam, and a strict order accompanied them from Hyder, to suffer none of the prisoners on any account whatever to be trusted with detachments in future, but to guard them closely and confine them to the exercise of the chaylahs, in garrison.

¹ A small grain eaten by the natives, not unlike mustard seeds.

CHAPTER TWO

WHILST the above prisoners suffered for the escape of four of their friends, the whole of the officers and men of Colonel Braithwaite's detachment in the Tanjore country arrived in captivity, and spread a gloom of despondence through the several prisons. Every fresh victory gained by the tyrant naturally shifted the prospect of our deliverance to a greater distance, augmented the number of miserable objects on whom his cruelty was wreaked, and rendered him more insensible in proportion as he imagined himself rising in power. This detachment surrendered on the 18th of the preceding February, and consisted of about two thousand effective men. In addition to our misery, we learnt from these unfortunate prisoners that our army remained in a state of inactivity at the mount.

The number of chaylahs that were confined in the fort together, without sufficient room to breathe in, and totally disregarded and surrounded by filth which was never removed, created at last epidemical diseases, which were fatal to great numbers. The unfortunate Europeans had in this case no better chance than the wretches with whom they were inter-mixed in one common prison. It was not until the contagion had raged a considerable time with unabated fury, and effected great destruction, that they removed us to another prison on the island, where we had a little more room to move in, and enjoyed a purer air than the infected and putrid vapours which we were before subject to. As a farther help towards preventing infection, greater care was taken to clean the new prison, which consisted of a spacious square, situated between the fort and the new village, to the southward of the former, called Cunjam Pet. The temporary comfort which this salutary change afforded was of short duration, for scarcely had our drooping spirits recovered from the terror of certain death, which stared us in the face, and our hopes in some degree revived from the diminution of restraint, before a fatal and injurious misrepresentation of our conduct plunged us into new troubles.

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It was related, Heaven knows from what cause, unless every outward appearance of tolerable spirits displeased our persecutors, that indulgence had rendered us lazy, and that we neglected the instruction and exercise of the chaylahs. It availed nothing that there was no foundation for such a report, no attention was paid to our remonstrances; the killadar sent for us into the fort, ordered the fetters from which we had been exempted, since the initiation into Mahometism, to be replaced, and the guards to drive us back with huge sticks to our former prison on the island, which being distant nearly a mile, subjected us to a pretty sound drubbing before we reached it, though we made every expedition. After this we were obliged to exercise the chaylahs in heavy irons during a whole month.

Lieutenants Speediman and Rutledge were brought to prison this year, in the month of July. The fate of these gentlemen was uncommonly hard, and the treatment they met with from the cruel conqueror, strangely barbarous, and wantonly different from the other officers. The particulars relative to their capture, etc., as related in a letter from themselves to their brother officers, are as follows: Having been left wounded at Vellore, in the beginning of the year, they remained in that garrison until the month of June, when an escort of one company of sepoys, three three-pounders, and a number of polygars arrived with supplies for the fort. Stimulated by military ardour, they had determined, being pretty well recovered of their wounds, to seize this opportunity of rejoining the army, to share in the active service of the campaign; but on the second day's march from Vellore, Tippoo with his army came down upon them. It was not until most of the Company's sepoys were wounded, their ammunition nearly expended, and the polygars had deserted them, that this small detachment surrendered to Tippoo's whole force by hoisting a white handkerchief for quarter, which was granted. They received tolerable good usage in Tippoo's camp, but met with quite the reverse from Hyder himself, who detained them five days, then mixed them with a parcel of Carnatic boys and dispatched them to Seringa-

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patam. On their arrival there, they were considerably surprised not to be confined in the prison with the other officers, but were almost rendered speechless when the horrid design of circumcising them became evident. They were marched to the village of Gunjam Pet, and secured in a large building, where they found nine Europeans that had already undergone this abominable operation. Parties from the guard came now every hour of the day to them, sometimes with promises, at others with drawn swords, chawbucks, and ropes ready to tie them, and the barber in the rear with shaving implements, to exact their consent to the mutilation. Finding this method ineffectual after trying it for several days, they hoped by separating the two gentlemen to force a compliance. This proving equally inefficacious, the *Jemmandar* seemed to take compassion on them, and promised to write to Hyder in their behalf; but when they began to imagine the monstrous purpose had been laid aside, at least till Hyder's answer could be received, they were surprised on the 27th of August by a dozen stout fellows with chawbucks and as many coffres with ropes, etc., who seized them without ceremony, tied them, cut off their hair, and then walked away. On the 1st of September following, the same villains returned again, seized and tied them, and then compelled them to swallow a dose of majum, which divested them of sensation whilst they were circumcised.

Some time after the arrival of these gentlemen, seven of those that had already been circumcised, amongst which number I was included, were carried again into the fort to discipline some hundreds of Carnatic boys, lately torn away from their native soil. I had not been many days in the fort before fifty seamen arrived from Bangalore, being a part of those given up to Hyder by Admiral Suffrein at Cuddalore in June. These were all chosen young men, picked out from about three hundred that the Admiral gave up, and destined for Hyder's army. Messrs. Wilson, Ediman, Austine, Whiteway, Drake, Cardman, and Lesage, midshipmen, were of the number. The youngest and handsomest of these unfortunate men underwent a second selection

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at Seringapatam, and were lodged in the palace, as part of the tyrant's household, where they received tolerable good treatment, were instructed in the language of the East, and taught different arts and exercises according to the stations they were intended to fill about his person, and whenever their tutor went abroad, they attended him. Some of these, after the peace, were intended for dancing boys, and sent among the *Notch* people to be instructed in the manoeuvres belonging to that art. Mr. Cadman was one of those to whom the latter choice had fallen, but on account of what they thought refractory behaviour, he was returned to the chaylahs, and was of the party who made their escape with me, and has since, as I am very happy to hear, got safe to Madras. Messrs. Wilson, Ediman, Austin, and Whiteway lost their lives in the tyrant's dominions some years ago. These unfortunate and basely sacrificed seamen had all been circumcised, and were considered as the unquestionable property of Hyder, which no treaty should induce him to give up, having received them from an ally and friend, whose business it would be to answer for them, should they ever become the subject of an enquiry. It was the opinion of the wretched sufferers that Suffrein had sold them to the tyrant; they all declared that the Admiral had offered them each a hat full of dollars, if they would do duty on board the French fleet, it being reduced to great shifts for want of hands, and they uniformly seemed to think that their firm refusal provoked the Admiral to give them up to Hyder; nay, that he had threatened them with doing so in case of non-compliance. Thirty of them were fortunate enough to escape from Arnee immediately after the surrender, without even being missed, and many more, no doubt, would have got off the same way, as they had found means when they were mustered, to deceive by counting twice for those missing in the evening, a trick that could not easily be discovered as long as their faces were not perfectly known; but some that were retaken by Hyder's people roused the suspicion of the guards. Two, however, contrived to get away after this, but one of them sillily returned the next day, having missed his road, and brought the account of his

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companion's death, who was drowned in attempting to pass a river.

I shall not here add any animadversions on the conduct of Admiral Suffrein, in relinquishing these men to a barbarian; the world has formed its unbiassed opinion of the matter, which is not to be destroyed by the attempt of transferring the guilt to the Government of Madras, as has appeared in a letter to Mr. Hastings. It is well known not to be the practice of civilized warfare either to murder or sell prisoners when we are incapable of maintaining or securing them, but in such cases to suffer them to depart on their paroles. The registers of modern wars abound with instances of such conduct, which, if neither custom nor prudence dictated, the laws of humanity, at least, ought to prescribe.

Three days after the arrival of these Europeans, eight hundred more Carnatic inhabitants were brought into captivity.

In the month of November this year, namely 1782, the universally esteemed and beloved Colonel Baillie fell a victim to long illness, and fatigues of mind as well as body, and died in the prison of Seringapatam. I think I saw his funeral, without, however, knowing, at the time, that it was the Colonel's. It was the prevalent report among the prisoners that he fell by poison, but from what I have been able to collect then, as well as since, I have no right to believe that his demise was actually brought on by mortal drugs, though the inhuman conqueror certainly was accessory to it, by expressly withholding medical aid from him during his painful disease, notwithstanding repeated applications for that purpose, and treating him, from the commencement of his captivity, with excessive severity. It cannot, therefore, be doubted that he rejoiced in the decease of so able and distinguished an officer, and that he, perhaps, secretly hoped his villainous artifice would answer the same purpose as open violence, though nothing but surmises can be offered for the conduct that would have been pursued had this scheme miscarried, particularly as Colonel Braithwaite was suffered to escape. Tippoo's behaviour to General Matthews is by no means a true

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criterion to judge from, as the whole of that affair is involved in obscure circumstances and facts hitherto very partially developed.

Towards the end of the year the tidings of Hyder's demise reached Seringapatam. This happened but a very few days after the death of the unfortunate Colonel, so that if he died by his order, the barbarian did not himself survive the base murder. The end of this turbulent and ambitious tyrant gave birth to various speculations and expectations, but was attended with none of those commotions commonly produced by the demise of an Eastern monarch. His son Tippoo Saheb, since called Tippoo Sultan, took undisturbed possession of all his father's territories, and the command of vast armies, at a time when many disaffected individuals filled both the camp and city. This must be esteemed no contemptible proof of his abilities as a politician as well as a soldier; such authority, at least, did his known character carry with it, that no open attempts were made to oppose his accession, or divide and circumscribe his power. Tippoo was with his army at a considerable distance from Hyder when he died, but when the information reached him, he hastened to his father's camp, and made such dispositions and arrangements as he judged prudent and necessary, without relaxing, in any degree, the vigour with which he carried on the war against the English.

The customary mournings were observed at Seringapatam, but the people seemed not to regret the loss of their ruler. His remains were not brought to the capital till three months after his death, and interred in the part of the island which is called the Lollbaug garden. The usual obsequies of Eastern monarchs were profusely bestowed on this occasion, and consisted chiefly in charities to the indigent, and magnificent erections to the deceased.

One of Tippoo's first steps towards securing and strengthening his government was to place a new killadar in Seringapatam. He brought with him a battalion of sepoys to enforce his authority, and to remove any impediments which he might

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encounter in possessing himself of his office. The Europeans had every cause imaginable to be afflicted at this change, for the new killadar, Syud Mahomed Khan, turned out the greatest scourge we had yet met with, neglecting no opportunity to satiate the bent of his inclination, which delighted in cruelty. The old killadar (by name Siddeboy), who often had shown us mercy when it depended upon him, and he could do it with safety (for it is dangerous to be compassionate and possessed of feeling in the service of a tyrant), was shortly after imprisoned in irons, aiXl remained so for a considerable time, probably to render him incapable of being dangerous, as his brother, Hyder Saheb,¹ had betrayed Bedanore, and gone over to General Matthews, shortly after Hyder's death. This man, though of known fidelity and attachment to Hyder's government, turned traitor (I have been informed) in his own defence, the instant his former master expired, and took refuge with the English to provide for his own safety, dreading the resentment of the new ruler, who had threatened, and who, he was well assured, would have sacrificed him to his anger, being exasperated on account of a chastisement which, by order of Hyder, he had given Tippoo when a young boy, and for which his unforgiving temper basely meditated vengeance on the innocent executor of the order of a father.

The hopes which had been indulged when the death of Hyder became public, founded on the expectation of a favourable change in our affairs, through the mildness of Tippoo's temper, who had hitherto borne a character for humanity, and on the probability of his being unable to prosecute the war after an event productive in general of great revolutions in this country, quickly vanished; and it was soon discovered that if

¹ Sheik Ayaz, called by Bristow Hyder Saheb, and by Scurry, Hyatt Saib (at the foot of p. 195), was a Nair, that is, member of the military caste of Malabar, whom Haidar enslaved. The Nair became a favourite, being made governor of Chittledroog in 1779 and afterwards governor of Bednur. He had reason to fear Tipu, who suspected his loyalty and disliked him for the praises, always to the disadvantage of Tipu himself, which Haidar bestowed upon Ayaz.—[EDITOR.]

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Tippoo did not surpass, he at least equalled his father in aversion and hatred to the Europeans; that his character had not hitherto appeared in a true light, but that now, when he found it no longer necessary to dissemble or conciliate the affections of his father's subjects, he threw aside the mask, and showed himself in his genuine colours; it was also found that he could, and actually did, carry on the war with unabated vigour.

In the month of February, 1783, Lieutenant Frazer (Colonel Baillie's Brigade-Major) and Captain Rumley, who had both been confined with the Colonel, but had not any suspicions of his being poisoned, as is evident from a letter which they wrote to the other officers, and a Lieutenant Sampson, of Colonel Braithwaite's detachment, were sent in a very mysterious way to Mysore.

I also learnt, about this time, that Lieutenants Speediman and Rutledge were under very severe confinement and in heavy irons at Gunjum Pet, in consequence of an attempt to escape: their scheme was to have made a hole in the prison wall, being confined in a separate apartment whilst under cure for circumcision. Nothing but despair could have inspired the resolution, there not being the smallest probability of getting away had they even succeeded in breaking the wall, which never was effected, as a black servant belonging to Lieutenant Rutledge betrayed them. They were consequently detected in the fact, and secured as above-mentioned, without any other subsistence than what their fellow-prisoners afforded them. When they had been two months tortured in this disgraceful manner, they were ordered to drill the chaylahs.

The deplorable loss of Nagram, or Bedanore, was one of the heavy disasters which signalized the beginning of this year. Early in the month of May the whole of Tippoo's capital rang with shouts and rejoicings in consequence of this recapture; sugar and sweetmeats were carried about the town in baskets, and distributed to the inhabitants under the discharge of cannon. I do not recollect the spirits of the prisoners to be so much depressed at anyone time during the whole of my captivity as on

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this mournful occasion. The loss of Bedanore had vexed Tippoo exceedingly, nor was he chagrined without very good cause, as his capital had been exposed during the absence of his armies from the rapid progress of General Matthews, who assuredly would have penetrated to the very gates of Seringapatam, had he been informed of the true state of affairs; where not only the European prisoners, but the captive natives, and as afterwards appeared, a formidable conspiracy, would have been ready to forward his enterprise, and no force to oppose him. By the capture of General Matthews and his army in a most inglorious manner, the tyrant was delivered from every future apprehension and enabled to exact more imperious terms should a peace be proposed. In short, the disastrous consequences of this loss, to a part of which we had the mortification of being eye-witnesses, presented themselves in such disheartening colours, and dejected us so much, that a long time elapsed before we recovered any tolerable degree of composure. To add acuteness to our distress, we were desired, or rather compelled, to partake of the sweetmeats prepared for the rejoicings, and our positive refusal was construed into a stubbornness which deserved correction; accordingly our evil genius, the base and dark-minded killadar, determined to make us feel the effects of his displeasure. He ordered us in future into the ranks with the chaylahs (hitherto having only superintended them), prohibited every species of intercourse and communication with each other, even that of conversing together in public, and consigned us to the charge of sentries, who confined us in a square building the whole day without any food. Terrified at this extraordinary, unprovoked, and sudden change of treatment, and very sensible that passive submission only would serve to render our enemies more oppressive and inexorable, we resolved towards the evening to be informed of our destiny. Having forced the sentries placed over us, we proceeded in a body to the killadar's quarters, and remonstrated in the most submissive terms against the cruelty of starving and tormenting us without any real cause. He took not the slightest notice, however, of our complaint, but ordered a party of sepoy to

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surround us, and tie us with ropes; after which he ordered us, one by one, to be scourged in his presence, until his savage disposition was glutted with the groans extorted from us. Ensign Clark, who had stood our speaker on this occasion, being well versed in Hindostany, or Moor language, was first on the list, and most inhumanly flogged; a few only escaped by the unmerciful barbarians growing tired of the sport. We were kept the whole of this night and the succeeding day in the open air, bound and exposed to the burning sun. On the second evening some victuals were distributed amongst us, when we were dispersed in different places amongst the slaves, and treated with uncommon rigour for a long time afterwards.

A singular species of cruelty that had no object in view than wanton malice, and the barbarous delight our villains constantly took in tormenting and insulting the English prisoners, occurred about this time. Four European women, with their husbands, belonging to the Bedanore garrison, were brought to Seringapatam, where they were torn from the men, whom the villains sent to Chittledroog, and afterwards allotted the women to four of the black slaves. Two became the property of the natives of Mysore, and the other two became the property of a couple of abominable Abyssinians, with whom they were compelled to live. I saw these women myself; they were good-looking females, but pity was all the assistance I was able to afford them. It would, indeed, make too large a register of horrors to enumerate every particular instance in which these unfeeling men treated us with inhumanity.

A conspiracy against the usurper was discovered in the month of August this year, and must have alarmed him considerably, as it evidently testified the dispositions of some, if not of all his subjects. The project was planned, I understood, with much precaution and judgment, and it was intended that the European prisoners should be admitted to a share in the enterprise, which had nothing less in view than to restore the reins of government to the ancient race of Mysore, and emancipate the present king from the shackles of the regency. One of the conspirators betrayed the plot, on the very eve of its execution, by which he

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saved himself, and brought his associates to the most excruciating tortures, and the most dreadful ends, such as being dragged to death at the heels of elephants, etc. It is to be regretted that this scheme miscarried, as much effusion of blood, and many lamentable catastrophes, as well at that time as in the present war, would by this means have been averted, and our southern possessions been delivered from an inveterate and faithless neighbour. It was a matter of much astonishment that the prisoners all escaped suspicion on this occasion, though it must certainly have been their presence which encouraged the project, nor is it to be credited that none of them were in the secret.

The peace which actually took place began to be rumoured towards the end of this year, but we had heard such frequent and various reports of this nature, all of which had proved to be groundless conjecture or simple inventions, that the comforts which these reports had yielded at first had worn away, and we listened to the news of peace with the same distrust that we used to attend to the violated promises which from time to time were made to us by our tormentors.

The month of September this year, 1783, was distinguished by the inhuman murder of General Matthews, who was certainly poisoned in a very barbarous manner, being starved until he had consented to eat of the food which he had discovered contained poison. He refused for several days to taste nourishment, but hunger surmounted at last the desire of protracting a miserable existence, and he swallowed a plentiful portion of the victuals prepared for him, and in a few hours after expired in violent convulsions. I am the better enabled to assert this fact, having since conversed with the General's two European servants, who, after being kept long in suspense, were suffered to live, and confirmed the fact. Much was said amongst the prisoners, and much, no doubt, has gone abroad into the world concerning the whole of Tippoo's behaviour to the unfortunate General, which commenced with a base breach of faith, and closed with a barbarous murder. His base and cruel conduct has, no doubt, been exposed in all the colours,

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but I do not find that it has ever been impartially suggested by our countrymen how much it was surmised that Tippoo, barbarian and tyrant as he was, nevertheless did not make himself guilty in the *first* violation of the Bedanore capitulation.

CHAPTER THREE

IN the month of December following, all the circumcised Europeans in Seringapatam were removed to Mysore, the ancient capital of the kingdom, but at that time an insignificant little fort about seven miles to the southward of Seringapatam, which Tippoo has since demolished, and erected a new and stronger one a little to the eastward of the former, called Sultan Killah. On our arrival here, we were closely confined, and in the very room where Captain Rumley and Lieutenants Frazer and Sampson, whose deaths had already been whispered about the city, were murdered, shortly before, by the order of Tippoo.

When we discovered ourselves to be not only in the same danger, but guarded by the very same assassins who had imbrued their hands in the blood of these gentlemen, we could no longer suppress our terrors. It now recurred to us what had often been asserted, that Tippoo never would suffer any British captives to return, being determined to put all such to death who should survive his cruel treatment. The murder of General Matthew's officers, which had been circulated at Seringapatam, and was credited by us all, contributed to confirm this suspicion. In short, it appeared evident that our extirpation was resolved upon, on which account we unanimously determined to annihilate as many of Tippoo's hired assassins as we could, until superior numbers should crush us. At this time, however, our alarms proved groundless, and Tippoo's real view in sending us hither seemed to be nothing more than to keep us out of the way whilst peace was in agitation, that we might have no opportunity of making our situations known, and consequently be included in the number of those who at last escaped his clutches. It is impossible, however, to determine what would have been our fate had our release been insisted on with sufficient earnestness to provoke his anger.

The commander of our guard had a slave, from whom we learnt the following particulars concerning the detestable murder of the above-mentioned gentlemen. Captain Rumley,

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when he found that he would be constrained to swallow poison, put an end to his own existence rather than submit; and Lieutenant Sampson, having snatched up a large piece of wood that chanced to be within his reach, laid so furiously and resolutely about him that the cowardly murderers, afraid of approaching, threw a stone at him from some distance, which met his head with a mortal blow. Lieutenant Frazer alone was secured, and had poison forced down his throat, of which he soon after died.

After four months' confinement at Mysore we were marched back to Seringapatam. Tippoo had then returned to his capital, and peace with the English was concluded. Our numbers at this time amounted to eighty, being the survivors of such as from time to time had been dragged out of the Seringapatam prisons and circumcised. The seamen, except those selected for the palace, are included in this list. I have since learnt that every prison throughout the tyrant's dominions had in like manner been drained of the ill-fated Englishmen that were detained in captivity.

It is difficult for those who never experienced similar calamities to form any adequate or just conception of our despondence in finding ourselves, when peace was restored, for ever secluded from our country and friends. The hopes of one day rejoining those to whom we might relate our adversities in safety, and enjoy the pleasing reflections of having surmounted sufferings incurred in the cause and service of our country, had hitherto supported us against every misfortune. A general restoration of prisoners had been the basis of the peace, but our rulers found themselves reduced to connive at the most flagrant infringement of this article.

We were now posted to the different chaylah battalions in the capacity of *Havildars*, and received seven rupees per month. Lieutenants Speediman and Rutledge were appointed *Subadars*. Lieutenant Brunton, who came up to Seringapatam at the same time with myself, and Ensign Gordon, a gentleman who had been a long time confined at Chittledroog, were liberated.

When I was moved to Mysore, two Europeans, one named

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O'Bryan, from the same company of Bengal artillery to which I had belonged, the other a serjeant of the Madras establishment, taken in the Pollams, where Colonel Owen commanded, were compelled to perform the office of common coolies, and to carry dirt in the streets of Seringapatam, because they had attempted to escape shortly after they were captured, and at that time killed or wounded one or two of the guards that surprised them. On my return these two men existed no more; they had been assassinated by the sultan's order, together with a native girl and two children belonging to the serjeant.

Our confinement was still continued with its former rigour and circumspection; we were scarcely allowed, at first, to look out of our prison, and for near three years succeeding the peace our slavery suffered little or no relaxation. We were not, in general, allowed to stir, even on the most pressing occasions, without a sentry to accompany us; nor should we at any time during that period have been permitted to walk about freely, if the officers who were trusted with the charge of us, and responsible for our appearance, had not in times indulged us with some liberty, trusting, I suppose, to the impossibility of our getting away.

Our first excursion, after being reposted in the manner already mentioned to the chaylah battalions, was to a small fort called Chindrapattah, on the Bedanore road, about twenty miles westward of Seringapatam, where we remained inactive during six months and were then remanded to Seringapatam. During our stay at Chindrapattah, Ensign Clark, who held no higher station than one of us, expired in consequence of a violent beating from one of the subadars, whose cruelty he had provoked by some retorting language. Mr. Clark's body turned entirely black before he died, but no inquiry was instituted in consequence, our lives not being of sufficient importance to cause an investigation. Mr. Ediman, the midshipman, likewise quitted his miserable existence at this place, of a natural death indeed, but very prematurely brought on.

When we returned to Seringapatam, we were transferred

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from the chaylahs to the Malabar Roman Catholic Christians,¹ consisting originally of about forty thousand unfortunate wretches, men, women, and children, forced away from Bedanore and Mangalore countries in 1784, and compelled to embrace Mahometism, not, however, without exhibiting several martyrs in support of a doctrine with which they had no farther acquaintance than what consisted in counting a row of beads, and performing genuflexions before a crucified image. The corps or battalion of these wretches, to which I had been posted, was, soon afterwards sent to Mysore/- where it remained five months and then returned. These marches

¹ The Christian Church in the southern end of the peninsula of India and in Ceylon is undoubtedly of great antiquity, and its foundation is traditionally ascribed to St. Thomas, whose tomb is believed to exist in Mylapur, just south of Madras. These 'Christians of St. Thomas' inherited their liturgy in Syriac, and were presided over by bishops from Mesopotamia, thus becoming infected with Nestorianism. Their existence was made known to mediaeval Europe by travellers, by Friar John of Montecorvino and Marco Polo in the thirteenth century, and a Dominican missionary, Friar Jordan, in the fourteenth century; and in spite of his Nestorianism, St. Francis Xavier praises the care of the bishop, with whom he came into contact in the early sixteenth century. With the Portuguese in the sixteenth century came the power of the Roman Catholic Church: at the synod of Diamper in 1599, after a denunciation of the principles of Nestorianism, the Indian Church promised obedience to the Roman See. Pope Clement VII considered that the best course to follow in the organization of the Syrian Church was to appoint a Latin bishop with a knowledge of his subjects; a new See was created at Cranganore and the Latin liturgy was translated into Syriac. In the middle of the next century, however, a great schism occurred which left only about 400 faithful to the Roman Church; the revolted Christians threw off the rule of their Latin bishops. Yet the Roman See must have recovered much of its power, for a French traveller, a certain Anquetil du Perron, visiting the Malabar coast in 1758, estimated the total number of Christians at 200,000, of whom about 100,000 were Catholics, 50,000 Syrians of the Latin rite and 50,000 revolted Christians under a Mesopotamian bishop named Mar Thomas VI. In writing of the Malabar Christians, Scurry and Bristow are, of course, using Malabar in a wide sense, to denote the western coast, not in the narrower sense in which it applies only to the small province on the Ghat south-west of Mysore. - [EDITOR.]

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had nothing in view but to keep the unfortunate enslaved soldiers (a name which they, however, did not deserve) in employ, and to break any combination which might have been formed.

The English peace, concluded in 1784, no sooner left Tippoo at liberty than his turbulent spirit presented as a convenient object for his rapacious ambition, the territories of Moubertjung, lying about twenty days' journey to the northward of Seringapatam, and tributary to the Nizam. Tippoo accordingly marched (his desire of conquest being a sufficient reason with him for making war) with an army, computed to be one hundred thousand strong, against Moubertjung's capital, called after the country Hydona, to which he laid siege after having subjected the frontiers, through which he spread terror and devastation. The Nizam sent a body of cavalry to the assistance of Moubertjung, which induced Tippoo to abandon the siege; but he had already, it seems, impressed the latter with fears too lively to be erased. The coast was, therefore, no sooner clear before Moubertjung decamped to Hyderabad with his family and jewels, which had already so narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the invader, leaving him to take undisturbed possession of the fort of Hydona, which he totally demolished, the pettah having been plundered and nearly consumed by fire in an assault prior to the arrival of the auxiliary troops. I collected this information from the Europeans whom Tippoo had carried along with him, four of the Malabar Christian battalions having been employed on this occasion, to which thirty of the captive Europeans were attached.

As it was difficult, in an enemy's country, to guard men who had both courage and cunning sufficient to attempt a flight, five of the employed Europeans found means to elude all the circumspection and vigilance of their observers, and fled to Moubertjung. One of General Matthew's servants was amongst these deserters. The Sultan determined immediately to send the remainder back loaded with chains, and under a very strict confinement, and pursuant to his constant practice of wreaking his vengeance on the whole of us, these men no sooner arrived

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at Seringapatam than we shared their fate. Amongst many other severe punishments which we underwent on this occasion, without having been admitted to a chance of sharing in the transgression of those for whom we suffered, was that of reducing our late allowance to barely one seer of very bad rice daily, great part of which we were obliged to dispose of solely to procure firewood and salt for the rest.

Under the alarming apprehensions which this circumstance created, and when we expected nothing less than to be either massacred on the spot or distributed among those* hill forts from which no unfortunate exile was ever known to return, our terror received additional force from the escape of two of our companions, who found means to pass the sentries in the night, and escaped notwithstanding the vigilance of their guards. The greatest difficulty, it must be observed, consisted in getting out of prison, for the inhabitants of Seringapatam had for many years been so familiarized to the sight of Europeans in the streets that little obstruction was to be apprehended from the people, many of them being our well-wishers. Our confinement became after this infinitely more strict, and almost insupportably oppressive. The very guards dreaded the charge of us, being punished severely for every one that escaped, and were consequently instigated by fear as much as inclination to treat us harshly. In ten days, however, one of the fugitives being brought back to Seringapatam, our situations were made less irksome. Both had been retaken near Tellicherry, but one had availed himself of the opportunity, when he was drinking water out of the river, to knock down the sentinel that accompanied him, and then plunged into it and swam away. The unfortunate fellow that was brought back paid for the natural privilege of having made use of his legs with his nose and ears, after which he was led round the fort on a jackass with his face to the tail, and condemned to labour among the native smiths, who obliged him to blow the bellows for them. No account was ever received of the other. Two of these Europeans whom Tippoo employed as armourers also attempted to escape at this time by swimming over the Coleroon; but it happened unfortunately

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that a guard was placed on the very spot where they gained the land, by which their design was discovered. One of these men had formerly been a midshipman, and died at Seringapatam in August 1790.

In this dreadful state of suspense we remained during five months, when Tippoo returned from the invasion of Hydna. He had possessed himself on that expedition, besides plunder, of a country extending about fifty or sixty coss beyond Copaul, and almost as far as Kistna, having, independent of the greatest part of Hydna, taken Durbar and other places from the Mahrattas, all of which he held in subjection until the present war broke out. It was said that Tippoo alleged the Nizam's refusal of his daughter, and Mouberjung of his sister, for his son, as a pretext for the war. The proposal had been rejected with contempt, the young Mysorean being of too mean an origin to aspire at mixing his blood with that which flowed in veins of such high descent.¹

Soon after the tyrant's return we were divided into three parties and dispersed; one was sent to Bedanore, another to Chittledroog, which lies to the northward of Seringapatam, not far from Copaul, and the third, to which I belonged, remained in the city. Those that went away were in irons; we that were reserved were at first posted to a battalion of *Coorikies*?

¹ In a war from 1785-87 the Mahrattas and the Nizam, normally hostile powers, were allied to check the aggressions of Tipu, who took much Mahratta territory, and not only captured Adoni (called Hydna by Bristow and Idonia by Scurry), but also crossed the River Tungabhadra: Adoni he relinquished on the conclusion of peace. Bristow is probably at fault in stating that Tipu's attack was in reply to a refusal of the Nizam to consider a marriage alliance; such a proposal was made by Tipu in 1788. - [EDITOR.]

² The people referred to by Bristow as *Coorikies*, by the officer as *Corakees*, and by Scurry as *Curakees*, are the inhabitants of Coorg, the hilly district to the west of Seringapatam, in which the Caverry River rises. In 1770 a disputed succession led to the intervention of Haidar Ali. On the death of the Raja of his choice in 1780, the four sons were interned in a fort near Mysore, while a Brahmin governor was installed in Coorg with a Moslem garrison. The inhabitants rebelled in 1782 and again in 1785, and will be found in the journal kept by

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a people lying in the woods, whom Tippoo had enslaved; but in consequence of the frequent complaints and unfavourable representations which our black officers made of our conduct, we were subdivided anew into four parties, one of which remained with the coorikies, another was posted to a battalion of *Moplas*,¹ and the other two incorporated with the Malabar Christians. It was thought, not without some reason, that the fewer of us were together the more tractable we should be. As we had often experienced the vanity of expecting any other redress for the ill-usage and injuries of our comrrfanders, so, whenever twelve or fifteen of us were together, and they grew too intolerable, we used to beat the whole battalion, guards and all, out of the square, and make terms before we ceased hostilities. I have frequently known these effects of mere despair take place, and the officers, ashamed of their own pusillanimity, would not make these little mutinies known, but they took care, in general, to be even with us, and charge us with some other offence, of which we had never perhaps thought.

Our allowance, which since the peace had been seven rupees per month, unless when in disgrace, was at this time reduced to six rupees in forty-five days, which is the term of Tippoo's military month, according to which he pays his troops: this paltry stipend was, however, irregularly paid, and never at a shorter period than fifty days, frequently a longer period, which was a small addition to the month, of the paymaster's contrivance, as it reduced us to extreme distress at times, and the necessity of borrowing the money from him which was

and lent to Serjeant Dempster, which is printed on pp. 130-135. After the second rebellion was suppressed, the district was partitioned by Tipu among the professors of his own religion and held down by a garrison in four forts. In 1788, however, the prince, Vira Raja, escaped from Periapatam, a fort about forty miles west of Seringapatam, and at once raised a rebellion. He became an ally of the English, and in 1792 Coorg was ceded by Tipu to the Company. - [EDITOR.]

¹ The Moplahs are fanatical Mohammedans of the Malabar coast, believed to be descended from Arab immigrants of the tenth century. - [EDITOR.]

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actually due to us: this scheme was so much to his liking that he frequently kept us in long arrears on pretence of being without money, in order to oblige us to have recourse to his aid, which he afforded in consideration of a deduction of one-half in advancing what it was his duty to have paid long before. I shall here mention a species of unkingly chicanery, by which Tippoo himself manages to cheat his troops out of great part of their pay. He keeps them three or four months in arrears, or until they begin to be very much distressed for money; and then allows his treasurer, or some other person with his money, to make them advances at a very exorbitant discount till the pay is issued, which generally takes place soon afterwards, and the profits of this political robbery accrues to himself. When we now reflect that they are bound always to receive one-fourth of their pay in grain, which generally consists of what has been damaged as stores, and which the sepoys are obliged to throw away, and that the treasurer, or pay-jobber, probably expects or exacts something for himself over and above what goes into the Sultan's coffers, we may naturally conclude that the army is neither well paid nor well satisfied, and that nothing but fear, want of unanimity and bold leaders, not to omit the unquestionable vigilance and abilities of the tyrant, prevents them from revolting. I am confident, from what I have seen, that he will some time or other feel the ill-effects of their discontent.

In consequence of what has been said, we found ourselves so much distressed at one time for the most indispensable necessities of life, that our party ventured on a step, for the sake of procuring temporary relief, which exposed the whole to the imminent danger of a most ignominious death. It was suggested to some one of the ingenious and bold prisoners, at the time of the Moherrum, to steal out of prison in the night, and when riot and intoxication had lulled the pious Mussulmen to rest, to rob the temples of the little silver hands which are offered during the festival by the munificent bigots, and then to re-enter the prison in the same clandestine manner. We were all privy to this daring enterprise, and were all to share equal in the benefit of its success; great precaution was, therefore, taken to

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avoid discovery, and to assist the resolute undertaker in effecting his purpose unobserved. I confess that I was not less rejoiced than astonished at his good fortune when I saw him return before day, not only undiscovered, but furnished with dozens of the silver relicks which he had safely purloined. We melted down the silver with all imaginable secrecy, and sold it some time afterwards, which afforded a very reasonable relief. We had, however, never afterwards, even when less vigilantly watched, an opportunity of repeating this theft, the success of which I could never sufficiently admire, as mere despair had inspired the attempt.

In the year 1788, six of Tippoo's chiefs and a bramin were hanged at Seringapatam for being suspected of carrying on a treacherous correspondence with the English. A letter to Lieutenant Rutledge had been found on the bramin, and interpreted by Serjeant Dempster, who has since informed me that it was simply a letter from the gentleman's mother, or some other relation which the bramin, who came from the Carnatic, had engaged to deliver, but that it was accompanied by a short note from one of the lieutenant's friends, lamenting that he was no longer able, from want of opportunities, to write to him as formerly. This note produced all the mischief, for it betrayed a prior correspondence, which was sufficient to rouse distrust and suspicion in the jealous mind of Tippoo. Lieutenant Rutledge was, in consequence of this discovery, loaded with fetters, and sent to Nundidroog, a high and scarp'd rock, where he was confined on the very summit under a little *Chopper* or shed, raised for the purpose, and only allowed about the space of ten yards to move in, with three-quarters of a seer of raggy and a few chillies to subsist on. In this dreadful situation he spun out a miserable existence nearly two years, when he was shot on the rock for contriving to submit a written request to borrow four *Fanams* of the prisoners at Seringapatam. This unfortunate gentleman had left a son behind him in Tippoo's dominions. I learnt the particulars of Lieutenant Rutledge's death from a farrier who had been confined on the same rock, but removed to Seringapatam in consequence of the in-

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disposition of one of Tippoo's favourite Arabian horses, and is the only person, I have been informed, that was ever known to return from any of these forts. He declared that he had been hoisted up to the top blindfolded, that there is but one narrow path down, which he perceived completely lined with sentries, and that a fort guarded the ascent some distance below the summit. No person, he added, except their guards could or were allowed to approach the prisoners. We were, as usual, all of us involved in Lieutenant Rutledge's disaster on the discovery of the letter, and punished with close confinement and the loss of our allowance for two months, during which time we lived on charity, and learnt to subsist several days without food.

A European, named White, having escaped from Bangalore the first year after the peace, for the second time, seven other European prisoners, also confined at that place, were on account of this circumstance put in irons and sent to Sunderdroog, a fort to the north-east of Seringapatam, and about twenty miles to the westward of Bangalore.

These unfortunate men continued under a very severe arrest on one seer of raggy and half a pice per day for themselves and families (women and children that were taken with them) until the year 1789, when after suffering during four years all the rigour of slavery, fetters, and hunger, they were finally dragged into the woods and hanged. Their women were afterwards brought to Seringapatam, and related the deplorable catastrophe of their masters. Nothing could be more shocking, more inhuman, and more base than to preserve a tormenting existence to innocent men several years, for the sole purpose of murdering them at last.

I was never able to discover when or in what manner the above-mentioned White got into Tippoo's service, but he was there when the war began, and though a Briton, he strained every nerve to injure and distress the English captives. Through his treachery it was discovered that the captive officers had contrived to carry on some contraband transactions, which subjected them to examinations and restraints they never could

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account for, and might have endangered their existence, had any discoveries been made, as the tyrant wanted very little pretext for murdering men who were obnoxious to him. He originally persuaded Tippoo to retain such of the prisoners as were mechanics, and pointed out those whom he judged fit objects for this purpose. Many, therefore, are indebted to him and his diabolical exertions for the perpetual loss of liberty, and finally of their lives. Tippoo was latterly much prejudiced against this man, and would certainly, in some degree, have bestowed on him the fate he deserved, by hanging him, had he not saved himself by flight, for he had played his patron several provoking tricks, particularly pretending skill in casting cannon; for when Tippoo had expended a great deal of money on a foundry and the necessary requisites, he manifested his ignorance in spoiling all the metal: I am happy to find this miscreant is now a prisoner at Madras. The vexations resulting from White's stupidity were amply compensated, however, shortly after, by the arrival of thirty artists from France, sent out by the court of Versailles with a view to instruct Tippoo's subjects in manufactures, and aiding this Asiatic ally of France with mechanical knowledge, which as yet has made slow progress in his own dominions, as well as every other part of India. They were, no doubt, an earnest of the stipulated support and assistance in the projected war with us, of which he has since been so justly disappointed. Two men of each profession, or trade, were sent out, and consisted chiefly of such as were not to be found amongst his own subjects, namely: founders, glass-blowers, watchmakers, armourers, broadcloth weavers, etc., amongst the rest sugar bakers, a doctor, and a surgeon - I believe these people arrived with the ambassadors.

In the beginning of 1789, six men, whom we had not heard of before, were brought from Chittledroog to Seringapatam; this sufficiently evinces that many more Europeans than what are suspected are concealed in Tippoo's dominions. These men were, soon after their arrival, carried out of the fort in irons into a wood near the island, where they were hanged. They had belonged to the Bedanore garrison which capitulated: what

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induced the barbarous conqueror to murder these men in cold blood I never was able to discover.

Soon after Tippoo again collected his forces, amounting, if report may be credited, to above 100,000; it is difficult, however, to ascertain the real number of an Indian army, which is always magnified very much beyond its reality; it would seem that a *Lack*, or 100,000 when applied to an army, has a very unlimited meaning, and signifies nothing more than a pretty large body; for having so frequently known the term applies to less than half the number, and scarcely ever heard of an Indian army of any note which was not exaggerated, I conclude it to be no more than a figure by which the relator means to convey his alarms: it must, notwithstanding, be confessed that a great body of troops were collected, and that eight battalions of chaylahs accompanied them. Tippoo marched down the Gauts as soon as the army was equipped, without divulging his intentions.

We heard nothing of this new expedition, or Tip poo's movements, for a considerable time; when, at last, orders were received at the capital to prepare for the nuptials of his son, a stout boy about seventeen years of age, who was now to espouse the daughter of the Queen of Cannanore, since the Nizam had disdainfully rejected him for a son-in-law;¹ orders

¹ In January of 1788, Tipu descended the Ghats to Calicut where he spent some time drawing various ordinances, and thence he proceeded to Coimbatore. Some time during this absence, he arranged a marriage between his son and the princess of Cannanore, and, after devastating the lands of recalcitrant *palegars*, he returned to Seringapatam to reorganize his army. Malabar and Coorg next received his attention; Malabar was thoroughly subdued and the Nairs given forcible instruction in the Moslem faith. It was also about this time that the Nizam proposed an alliance on grounds of their similarity of religion, but the upstart insisted upon intermarriage as the basis of alliance and the scheme failed; the marriage with the house of Cannanore was probably, however, arranged earlier. In December of 1789, Tipu made his first attack upon the Raja of Travancore, only to be repulsed with the loss of his jewels, turban and almost of his life itself. Enraged, he returned to the attack in 1790, so provoking the British to a war in defence of their protegee.

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were also received at the same time to arrange matters preparatory to the father's inauguration, as 'Sultaun of the East,' the title which he in future intended to assume, and in which quality he meditated nothing less than the subjection of all India. He likewise issued a proclamation, prohibiting all marriages in the kingdom of Mysore until such time as the wedding of his son should take place, being determined to celebrate that day by the consummation of 25,000 marriages at his own charge. To be ignorant of every other feature in the character of this extraordinary man, and to be informed of this circumstance alone, would certainly inspire a high opinion of his munificence, liberality, and philanthropy, but the moment we are told that he tarnished all the glory which accompanied such a splendid act, by a piece of contemptible, fanatical, and tyrannical despotism, compelling 100,000 of his defenceless Hindoo subjects to embrace Mahometism on the same day, our admiration changes into merited detestation.

It is his constant and favourite practice to insult and persecute the Hindoos on the score of religion: he has demolished many of their temples and sanctified places of worship, particularly a much-revered pagoda near the bazaar of Seringapatam, where he found, it is asserted, 150,000 coined pagodas, buried under the stone out of which the oval was hewn. He frequently orders calves to be brought before the doors of their temples, and sheds the sacred blood under the very nose of the offended deity. Such as are acquainted with the enthusiastic attachment of the Hindoos to their ancient religion and its rites, and their veneration for both, will guess at the extreme horror with which such frightful sacrileges must fill them, and will easily be persuaded that Tippoo, as I have once observed, is detested by the majority of his subjects, and will only ascribe their patience and submission to the known indolence and abject tameness of the Indians, who are awed by the vast armies he has hitherto contrived to maintain, and the known severity with which he ever punished the bare appearance of defection.

His orders for the solemnization of the marriage created a general bustle and tumult throughout the city; every individual

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that could perform anything curious or clever was employed, not only on their new Sultan's account, but all such as proposed displaying their adulation, and court their sovereign by magnificent presents on the occasion, and such also as hoped, by a disguised bribe, to insinuate themselves into favour, and pave the road to future preferment. The palace of old Hyder was demolished, and in the rear of it was begun a more extensive and magnificent one of a triangular form, and fronting a famous pagoda in the centre of the fort: in this the proud Mysorean proposed to* be inaugurated. Having been presented by the Court of France with four large and curious crystal pedestals, these were to support his throne. This royal seat was to be superbly decorated, and built by Europeans; but neither the palace nor the throne were finished when I left Seringapatam. The present war seems to have retarded these designs, and the intelligence of Tippoo's repulse at the Travancore lines put a total stop to the immense preparations which for a time had engrossed the whole attention of the capital; the wall that surrounded the area of the new palace was alone suffered to be finished; it is one mile in circumference, with a large gate on each side, the principal and grandest of which faces the above-mentioned pagoda. It is very uncertain when the splendid edifice itself will be finished, as all farther thoughts about it are suspended, and will not be resumed until the present war is terminated, on the issue of which Tippoo's future glory and fate seem to hang. So sensible and convinced was he of the decisive consequences of a war rashly undertaken with respect to himself and his ambitious projects, that he no sooner discovered the expected and stipulated aids from France would fail, and the exertions of his enemies so much exceed what he had believed, than he seriously repented his wanton breach of treaty, not from principles of good faith or justice, but from apprehension of its effects to his own interest: it is to be hoped that he will never again remain in a state to disturb the tranquillity of India.

The loss of his great seal, turban, and palanquin, captured in the before-mentioned repulse, together with several valuable

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jewels, and the narrow escape of his own person, had a very disheartening tendency upon his creatures in the capital, and gave rise to very ignominious interpretations from the discontented. It was allowed that he would certainly have fallen into his enemies' hands if a mean disguise had not protected him; the very bearers of his palanquin were cut down some moments after he had deserted it; he was attempting to surprise a defended ditch at some distance from the Travancore lines, when this unexpected sally was made, and had nearly put a period to his career. •

Tippoo having thought proper to substitute another inscription on his new signet, this circumstance gave fresh alarms at Seringapatam, and many took it for granted the tyrant had been either killed or dethroned, and the supreme authority assumed by some other person; but the general anxiety dissipated when a new state palanquin was dispatched with great pomp, to be the sumptuous and future vehicle of an upstart sultan.

When he had carried the long-disputed point against Travancore, which took up about twice the time he had conjectured, he returned to his capital, and was received with all the splendour of a conqueror; triumphal arches filled the streets through which he passed, and the decorations which had been originally destined to grace the nuptials of his son, were displayed on this occasion. On his arrival he proceeded to his father's tomb, where he spent the whole day in solemn prayers. He entered the fort at night through a road brilliantly illuminated.

On his return from this expedition, he brought a number of different sorts of guns, and a large quantity of sheet copper, of which he had stripped the domes of the Roman Catholic churches on the Malabar coast; with likewise 3000 of the captured Travancorians and the families of about 300 of the Cochin people, whom he had been cruel enough to seize, and after tying them in pairs, drove them into the sea.

Tippoo now thought very seriously about new-modelling and mustering his troops: that he placed no remarkable con-

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fidence in their loyalty and faith was evident from the precautions he took to prevent mutiny and revolt. He artfully put such men together as were most likely never to join in any general disaffection from mutual aversion and distrust of each other; by which means all his corps were composed of different casts, nations, and religions, that bore a natural antipathy, and sometimes an avowed enmity, to each other: this might indeed, in some measure, remedy one evil, but sowed the seeds of another, that of disunion in their efforts, when it might be highly necessary that their joint exertions should combine in the accomplishment of the same object. He augmented his chaylah battalions from eight to thirty, observing the same mode with respect to embodying them, as with the regulars, which indeed may appear more reasonable to such as have no knowledge of the disposition of his standing army, a circumstance which Tippoo is perfectly well acquainted with.

The artillery did not escape his notice; his arsenal was well supplied with warlike stores, and every preparation in his power was made for war; the English prisoners were ordered into the fort again, and their capturer, at one of the reviews, observing amongst the chaylahs some prisoners that were shaved, he remarked to one of his courtiers: 'These men, I see, have discovered a new Bible and creed at last/ meaning the Koran and Mahomedan doctrine. When he had inspected everything in person, carried reform into every department, and provided against deficiencies and abuses, he at last issued orders for a second campaign, and took the field.

It was originally said that he meant to go to the northward, and lead his army against the troops of Moubertjung and Captain Read's detachment, which had not been then joined by Persuram Bhow, but the intelligence of General Meadow's approach to the Gauts, and the capture of Coimbatore, an event totally unexpected, produced a change in his determination. He immediately crossed the Caverry, and fixed his camp to the southward of Seringapatam. It was not, however, until they received the intelligence from an European taken prisoner at Caroor, where he had been straggling whilst intoxicated, and

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brought to Seringapatam, that the European prisoners heard for certain of war having actually broken out betwixt Tippoo and the English.

Before he took the field a second time, he ordered three Europeans and a number of native prisoners, who had been in his father's and his own possession a considerable time, among whom were several native officers, a *Nay ar* rajah, and a commandant on the Bombay establishment taken in Bedanore, to be sent to Nundydroog and other hill forts, where I conjecture they have since been murdered, as that is the usual fate of all those who are doomed to these places. The farrier already mentioned, whose life had been spared in compliment to one of Tippoo's horses, was of the number. He also sent back from his camp an European corps in which he placed no confidence, being commanded by one Maclean, who had been serjeant in His Majesty's service, but deserted from the garrison of Mangalore when it was under the command of Major Campbell.

This corps consisted of nothing but vagabonds and deserters, chiefly Portuguese, French, Dutch, and Danes. It had been disarmed and disgraced during Tippoo's first absence, being suspected, and very justly, I believe, of having encouraged and promised aid to the different chaylah corps, who intended to rebel during the absence of the army, and emancipate themselves; the accomplishment of which plan nothing could have prevented, had they not deliberated till it got vent, and were deprived of their arms and secured, as well as all who were suspected of abetting and forwarding their project. Tippoo, it is true, had re-armed Maclean's corps, but so humble was his opinion of their loyalty and bravery, that he judged it very unadvisable to oppose them to the troops of an European power, so that they still remained inactive at Seringapatam when I left it.

Tippoo is naturally of a suspicious temper, which the knowledge of his being unpopular increases. The Europeans are peculiarly, and without exception, the objects as well of his detestation as distrust, so much so that, I may safely assert,

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there is not at this moment a single regiment in his service commanded by an European officer, nor did he ever suffer Lally's army to multiply sufficiently to be able to give him uneasiness. I do not think that Lally, at any one time since Hyder's death, has had more than between one and two thousand men under his command, and those were disciplined and paid by himself; he has had latterly very few Europeans, not more than 150 on a large computation.

It was in the beginning of September 1790 that Tippoo directed his steps towards the Gauts; but no sooner had he published his intention of facing General Meadows, before an universal discontent and fear, which manifested itself in loud murmurs, pervaded all ranks at Seringapatam, and it was reported that the army was not better satisfied. Those who remained in the city were far from reposing that confidence in his army which the tyrant flattered himself they would, and could not divest themselves of the apprehension of an English siege, with the confidence of falling into the hands of an enemy that had such ample and just cause for vengeance. The army again dreaded an attack in descending the Gauts, which they already concluded were in General Meadow's possession, and consequently judged it impossible to escape a total defeat.

Tippoo received the first intelligence of Colonel Floyd's situation and strength by two European deserters from the grand army, and hastened to intercept him, in the full persuasion of commencing this war with a second Conjeveram business. That this depended much more upon the crisis of that day cannot be denied, and that the bravery and exertions of the troops who resisted such superior force is as meritorious as it was important, will never be disputed. The loss which Tippoo sustained in this attempt was industriously concealed, but it certainly was considerable, it being whispered at Seringapatam to exceed greatly in number the whole force that opposed it, notwithstanding the exaggerated and discredited accounts which Tippoo transmitted of his boasted victory. The earliest intelligence of the engagement was accompanied by the remains

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of five of Tippoo's principal officers, who had fallen in the action.

Nothing, I am well convinced, prevents many of his dissatisfied subjects from deserting at this present time, but the certain death or vassalage to which they would expose their wives and families, whom Tippoo always secures before he raises a person to any place or office of trust, as hostages for his fidelity and good conduct.

Even the very favourable representation of the rencounter with Colonel Floyd could not entirely banish the terror of a blockade from the Mysorean capital. Tippoo's obstinate disposition was no secret to his subjects, and the horrors of a siege, together with the excesses a large army confined to the limits of the island would commit, presented themselves in lively colours to the citizens, some of whom had beheld the scene once before, not to revive their alarms, and threaten them with the project of perishing, if not otherwise, by famine.

The late progress of the army beyond the Gauts, etc., has, no doubt, in part realized the fears of the Mysoreans, whose situation must be distressing; and I should not in the least be astonished, if the accumulation of their burdens and wants became (which cannot be very remote) so intolerably oppressive, that they positively refuse to submit to the tyrant, and surrender the capital. I am induced to form this conjecture from what I remarked when our forces were at a great distance, and when so many obstacles and impediments might still be thrown in their way. Tippoo then frequently found it necessary to put such persons clandestinely to death as showed their dissatisfaction and distrust too openly, that they might not spread the contagion.

Tippoo had engaged Colonel Floyd with nearly the whole of his numerous and newly recruited army; he had employed all his art and address to magnify the advantages of a very fruitless and inglorious attempt; but when he discovered that the real state of the affair was not to be disguised, though few were hardy enough boldly to avow the truth, he ungenerously resolved to avenge himself on the unfortunate prisoners for his

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miscarriage, and hoped, by sacrificing them, to appease in some measure the friends of the slaughtered *Sirdars*. Pursuant to this resolution, he ordered all the captives that were with the chaylahs, besides six of the most refractory tradesmen, to be put in irons and conducted to the hills, preparatory, as was intimated to us by our guards, to our being offered up as victims to the *manes* of the deceased.

Two days before this removal took place, I had hid myself in one of the cavaliers of the fort, terrified at the idea of visiting the hill forts, but being much pinched by hunger, and reflecting that my absence might accelerate whatever mischief was destined for those companions with whom I had been a fellow-sufferer for so many years, I could not persuade myself to abandon or expose them to additional danger merely on my own account; I therefore delivered myself up on the day we marched, determined to meet whatever fate awaited me. Nothing but the remorse which I felt at entailing on the other captives the certain resentment of a barbarian, whose implacable disposition was well known, prevented me and many others, I believe, from trying with more eagerness than we had done to escape, hoping constantly that some fortunate moment, or unforeseen change, would one day or other effect the release of the whole of us at once; nor was it easy to resist the earnest prayers, entreaties, despondence, and sometimes even threats of our wretched brethren in affliction, from whom it was difficult, and almost impracticable, to conceal any such design; to this, in a great measure, may be attributed the very few desertions that took place. Tippoo, without doubt, knew too well that nothing was more likely to secure his prisoners than the anxiety they took for the safety of each other, a bond more binding than any fetters he could fix upon them. In the year 1787, five men besides myself had actually resolved to trust our lives in a boat on the Coleroon, and let the current carry us where it would, though we had been informed that a cataract on the route rendered this enterprize extremely hazardous; but we were certain it would carry us from Seringapatam, and nothing which could befall us afterwards appeared half so

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dreadful as remaining in slavery there. We had nearly constructed a basket-boat for our purpose, made of bamboos, which we got ready split from *Dhomwallas*, or basket-makers, and had secured leather to cover it with. An old uninhabited house served to hide our materials and machine in; the split bamboos were concealed under the thatched roof, so as not to be immediately discovered by any person looking accidentally into the house. The boat itself was buried in a large hole in the ground. Two of us used to steal away for an hour or two in the night, and work by turns whenever we found it practicable. It came, however, to the knowledge of the rest, and alarmed them so much that we yielded to their supplications, and abandoned the project, as it was impossible to build, or even procure, boats to convey the whole of us at one trip.

CHAPTER FOUR

ON the 22nd of September, 1790,¹ I finally left Seringapatam. Tippoo had no sooner marched us out of the fort than we were divided into three parties and separated. It is needless to say that our parting was truly affecting; we took leave of one another as for the last time, like men that were to undergo certain death, after spending ten years of sorrow together, and endeared to each other by mutual sufferings: the human heart, under such circumstances, is always most susceptible of friendship. Each man received on this mournful occasion three seers of rice and three pice, which was the last subsistence I ever had from the tyrant.

At the time that we were taken out of the fort, twelve deserters from Tellichery were brought in, but it is not in my power to give any farther account of them. During my imprisonment frequent desertions from the garrison occurred. Prior to my leaving the city, a Captain Bee and four Europeans, amongst whom was another captain whose name I have forgot, passed by the place; I spoke to them, and was informed that they had been sent for by Tippoo, but for what purpose they did not know: the whole made a very miserable appearance.

One of our parties was detached the same day to Narandroog, the rock so fatal to Lieutenant Rutledge, which is not above fourteen miles to the northward of Seringapatam, but intercepted by a range of hills; one to Sundradoog, another high rock about sixty miles north-east of Seringapatam; and the last, to which I belonged, to Outradoog, also a very high and steep rock, nearly fifty miles north-east of the capital.

I was five days on the road to this place, and when within a few miles of it, our guards, for what reason I cannot tell, were augmented to almost double their original number: they conducted us to the foot of the rock, where we entered a narrow and very steep path cut through a thick forest. We all suffered dreadfully in travelling barefooted up this rough and difficult ascent, being very much hurried, notwithstanding the weight and incumbrance of our irons. There are two or three forts on

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this rock, one above the other, and at the summit is a kind of battery. Some Malabar iron guns joined with hoops, and two old English nine-pounders (which afterwards proved the source of my delivery), composed the whole artillery of the place.

Immediately on our arrival we were carried before the killadar, where we heard read the order which had accompanied us from Tippoo: it directed him 'to guard us with vigilance and strictness until further instructions, to put us instantly in fetters, and to allow us no provisions'; which plainly indicated that it was not intended we should live many days. *

We were now in continual expectation of being dragged out to suffer a miserable and cruel death; our existence hung on the will of a tyrant who had already so often displayed his insatiable thirst for blood, and manifested his present design by prohibiting us our common food; we knew too well what fate awaited such as were condemned to these rocks; we also were apprised that even if our sentence was by some accident suspended for a short period, the moment the tyrant met the smallest check in the field, the fatal blow would be struck. He had often declared that none of the European prisoners should be saved, for sooner than part with them he would murder them.

Hope had never forsaken me during the whole ten years of my captivity; I constantly flattered myself with an opportunity to escape to an English settlement; but, at this juncture, I could not avoid yielding to despair, as no possibility of extricating myself from the present danger and confinement appeared. Had we even been unfettered we could not have got away, as the only communication with the rock was guarded by a line of sentries, and to survive long under such circumstances was folly to expect, as famine, if nothing else, must put a period to our lives. We had, however, resolved to perish our own way the moment any violence should be offered us, and also to watch an occasion to attempt an escape, should it be even that of attacking our guards when they came to examine our prison; we thought we might safely venture on any step, let it be ever so desperate, as nothing could be risked by a failure of success,

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our lives being already forfeited: this resolution enabled us to wait the issue of our fate with some composure.

Gratitude will not allow me in this place to withhold the just acknowledgments due from every one of us to Tippoo's Hindoo subjects; they constantly commiserated the situation of the unfortunate European prisoners, and saved the lives of many by their timely humanity and assistance, when the unfeeling conqueror denied us food. The *Kenneries*, or natives of that country (it is to be understood that I do not mean such as are actually) in the service of the Sultan, or such as have been corrupted by him, neither such as are intimidated from following the bent of their inclinations, by being under his immediate inspection and influence), of whom I shall have occasion to speak again in the course of my travels after absconding from Outradroog, are a very quiet, inoffensive, and humane race of men, many of whom do not even know the name of their ruler, or have the least idea of the despotism they live under, being too remote from the immediate object of tyranny, and too much attached to peace and indolence, to be inquisitive about who receives the revenues of the country, or who dissipates them, conceiving the whole duty of their lives comprised in tilling their grounds, paying their taxes, and adoring their cows. This is the harmless and benevolent set of people who are the objects of Tippoo's persecution, whom he labours to convert to Mahometism, and whom he can only render unhappy if he ever effects his cruel purpose.

We had now been supported nearly five weeks almost entirely by the charity of the inhabitants of Outradroog, except sometimes our misery created the pity of our guards, though accustomed to behold distress with indifference, and perpetrate murder at a single nod. We began to wonder why our execution was so long delayed, when, by a most singular stroke of good fortune, it entered into the killadar's head to have his old and rusty artillery repaired before his European prisoners were sent out of the world. I happened to be the person appointed, and being instructed to survey his guns, to report what they wanted, and to issue directions for putting them in serviceable order,

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he suffered me to be conducted to the different parts of the rock where these useless cannon were planted. It cannot be suspected that I refused my aid, when it is remembered that this was the only opportunity I should have of reconnoitring the rock. I was accordingly lavish in my promises, and the credulous killadar seemed highly pleased with the idea of having his cannon put in complete repair. I did not fail to avail myself of this occasion, minutely to examine our gaol as well as the forest below, and the country surrounding it, observing only as much precaution as was necessary not to betray¹ my design, or alarm the suspicions of my guards. The different situations of the killadar's guns, which obliged me to go all round the rock, proved peculiarly useful, and enabled me to make the utmost advantage of my time.

When I returned to my companions I faithfully related everything, and informed them that I had seen a road by which we might descend the rock undiscovered. It was immediately agreed that we should, without losing time, make the attempt, and so great was our joy in consequence of my proposal when it was first started, that we entirely forgot we were under close confinement and very strictly watched, and supposing this difficulty surmounted, that there was great probability of our being detected before we could clear the fort, that our irons embarrassed us, that we had half a mile to walk on the rock, a high precipice to throw ourselves over, a thick forest abounding with wild beasts to rush into at the foot of the rock, and, above all, that we had to elude five or six guards, which would oblige us to penetrate deep into the wood, and often to creep on all-fours: but these obstacles presented themselves very obviously as soon as the ardour of our fancy had a little abated; yet we determined to make an effort, although a difficulty occurred which had nearly overthrown the whole, I mean that of agreeing about the most eligible method of carrying our plan into execution; this dispute simply arose from the complacency with which every individual regarded his own opinion, which he infallibly considered the wisest and best, and consequently proposed it for adoption. After a long discussion and much

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consultation, the only possible expedient was at last fixed on, and we came to a resolution of breaching the mud wall of our prison, and getting out in the night.

The only necessary precaution was silence. The nights on which we found the guards engaged in gambling, or other amusements, were, therefore, assigned for our operations, to the accomplishment of which, an old knife being the only instrument we had, the work of course required time and great patience: we had not proceeded many nights with digging and watching by turns, before we found this tool insufficient for our purpose, the wall being uncommonly thick. We then thought of another way of effecting it, by constantly pouring water in the hole to moisten the earth till soft enough to be dug out. This scheme promised better success, and was less exposed to discovery.

We employed twenty days in undermining and sapping the wall, during which time we communicated our intention to seven of our companions who were confined in an adjoining room, and with whom we were permitted to converse during the day, and they accordingly commenced in like manner. As we had little to do all this time, we turned our thoughts towards liberating our legs; in this we likewise partly succeeded, by means of a penknife which one of the prisoners had hid in an old mat when we were searched on coming to this place; the large knife had been secretly given to us by one of the Carnatic people who was employed in coining pice at Outradroog. We heated the small knife till it became red hot, then cut notches in it with the large one, and having converted it into a little saw, we worked incessantly when unobserved, until we had cut quite through the rivets of one leg, which by that means could be disengaged, and both the iron rings drawn on the other; by muffling the chains with old rags we could also prevent any clattering or noise.

We had resolved, in case of a discovery, to attack our guards before they had time to secure us, and either to fight our way out of the place or fall in the attempt, as all would be over with us if a discovery happened. We had for this purpose selected

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the largest and stoutest sticks of the wood which now and then, with the killadar's permission, had been brought to us to cook (when we had any) our rice. The whole garrison, at this time, did not exceed sixty or seventy men, and we thought it much more advisable, in case of a detection, to let it come to such an issue than tamely to submit to a certain death in a much more disgraceful manner. A dozen desperate men fighting for their lives have before performed extraordinary feats. Several native prisoners were, besides, confined in the fort, amongst whom were some Travancorians, a subadar, and a jemmadar, etc. These people had one day caught us with our irons off, and might have betrayed everything if one of our prisoners had not fortunately seen them in the same situation a day or two before, having liberty to visit each other during the day, as all the prisons were contiguous; we took care to remind them of this circumstance, and mutual interest, I believe, preserved the secret. It looked, however, as if the guards began to suspect us the last two or three days, for they examined our fetters very particularly; but we had luckily procured out of the bazar a piece of lead, through one of our companions who set up for a doctor, and was suffered to prescribe for the garrison. With the lead we filled the holes of the rivets so exactly as to render the deception discernible only to a very nice scrutiny. Our doctor was of singular service in more than one instance, and was the means of preserving our lives frequently by prescribing to the simple Outradroogans, who had taken a great liking to his harmless physic. Two days before we escaped, he received a whole sheep from a polygar, who was on his way with five hundred of his dependants to join Tippoo, for having administered a dose to him of common country spirits, which put him in the finest humour in the world.

The 27th of November was fixed upon for our grand attempt, and on that evening everything was in readiness for our purpose. As soon as it was dark we began to remove the earth, but to our great mortification we found ourselves at midnight below the surface of the ground; this chagrined and alarmed us much; but reflecting that something was necessary to be done immediately,

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we began by concealing the earth we had dug out in earthen pots, and hung a large blanket over the hole when day appeared. It was clear that we should not long be able to hide the situation of the wall; I therefore worked all the next day, supplied the place incessantly with water, and kept wet cloths in it to moisten the upper part, where the breach was to be enlarged or raised. My companions kept singing and making a noise all day that the bustle I made might not be heard. Everything was a second time ready by night on the 28th, and having found the breach practicable, we gave notice to our companions in the next room, who joined us before eleven o'clock. The guards had lately indulged us with keeping the prison door open till near eight, but this evening we feigned sleepiness, and they, too, were fortunately engaged in gambling. The first step we took was to disengage one of our legs, and to muffle and fasten the irons on the other. We then tied our rags about us, and provided ourselves, each man, with a couple of raggy cakes, which had been laid up for the occasion. Being the person that was to guide the rest, I crept out of the breach just at twelve o'clock with the large knife in one hand and a stout stick in the other. It was soon found that the hole was not large enough to admit some of my companions. I was therefore obliged, though at a very great hazard, to go to work on the outside to enlarge it with my only tool, the knife; in a very short time, however, I opened it enough for the largest amongst us. As soon as the whole had got through, we assembled with all possible silence, and I, according to agreement, conducted the party over the mud wall that surrounded the area of the prisons, which was between seven and eight feet high on the inside, but much lower on the outer on account of the rising of the rock. There was another wall, called the Fort Wall, about 150 paces farther on, which entirely encompassed the top of the rock, and between these two walls was a guard placed over some native prisoners, which we could not avoid passing very near. A slight shower, which fell just at this crisis, proved, therefore, extremely favourable; the rain drove the sentinels under cover, and we plainly saw them sitting smoking round a fire in the verandah of the prison

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in great security. The shower continued till we had safely cleared the outer wall, near which there was another guard, but not directly in our course; we now proceeded to the precipice which I had not been able to examine with sufficient preciseness to determine either the exact height or nature of, but as I had undertaken to conduct my companions down the rock, I proposed to descend first. Accordingly, I threw myself upon my hands, and in this manner, meeting no resistance or any rest for my feet, unable to recover myself, I slid down the rock greatly terrified at the rapidity of my fall, as I found the precipice higher than I imagined, or that it had appeared from the top of the rock; I was relieved at last by catching hold of the branches of a small tree which grew near the bottom, and broke my fall by bringing myself up against the trunk of it. I had, unfortunately, it seems, gone to the steepest part of the precipice. Shortly after I was joined by my companions, who had followed my example, and saved themselves by the shrubbery and small trees which covered the entire bottom of the precipice. It was near one o'clock at this time, and the moon, as we expected, began to shine, having calculated that we should be clear of the guard by the time of her rising, which was very *à propos*.

I have before mentioned we were twelve in number, eleven Englishmen and a Frenchman, who had incurred Tippoo's displeasure. We immediately directed our way towards the thick forest that environed the foot of the rock. I suffered extremely in traversing a thicket before I reached the wood, both from the sharpness of the prickles and thorns, and the ruggedness of the rock, being obliged to creep on all-fours. By the time I was half through it, I was alarmed by the challenge of a sentry, whom I could not see, nor do I think it possible he could have seen me, being buried amongst the bushes. It was probably the rustling amongst the leaves which attracted his attention, and he was undoubtedly more frightened than myself, tigers being very common in this part of the country. I made, however, a full stop, and turned immediately farther to the eastward (or up the rock), having attended particularly, when reconnoitring, to that part of it where no guards or sentries were posted, continu-

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ing in the manner described, by a very slow descent, to move round the rock by a south face, where I had slipped down to the opposite point, when I struck into the wood where the rock was not so steep, and the guards all cleared.

It had been determined that we should follow a northerly direction, in hopes of reaching the Nizam's dominions, but I missed my comrades the moment I had entered the thicket, and never heard of them afterwards. About two o'clock I had disengaged myself from the thicket, but the circumstance of missing all the rest of the party gave me much uneasiness, and naturally produced various conjectures; nor could I any other way account for so strange a separation, than by supposing that they had purposely deserted me, fearing, perhaps, that I might prove an incumbrance to them the rest of the journey, being in a very weak state of body from a fever which had assailed me a few days before; I thought they might, for this reason, have judged it advisable to get rid of me, although they had shown more consideration for my quota of the cakes, which they took along with them, wisely concluding that I should very soon have no occasion for them. Ungrateful as this procedure may appear, I rather hoped it might be the cause of our separation than that any mischief had befallen them, for I no sooner reached the country below, before I heard the sound of trumpets and *Tom-toms*,¹ which I conceived to be an alarm in the fort on missing us, and no doubt search was immediately made. I much feared, that in spite of the cautions I had given them, they might have descended through the thicket in too straight a line, which would either bring them direct upon some of the outposts I had warned them of, or throw them in the way of their pursuers. The loss of my poor cakes gave me, I confess, great concern, as I was extremely feeble, and very uncertain of soon meeting with any food; but reflecting that Providence alone could save me, and that it behoved me to make every personal exertion in my power before I gave up for lost, I continued my course on the plain which bounded the forest in a northerly direction. I can never be sufficiently thankful for

¹ Indian drums.

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a very extraordinary and fortunate circumstance, viz., that the fever, which had regularly visited me for some time before, never returned after this day, although the anxiety and pain to which the last twenty-four hours had exposed me could not be favourable to convalescence.

When I had advanced about five miles on the plain, I stumbled suddenly on a mud fort, which I never discovered until challenged by a sentry on the walls. I judged it most prudent to return no answer, and taking a circuit round it, I continued my course without farther interruption till daybreak, when I found myself within twenty paces of two of Hyder's troopers, who were cooking their victuals on the bank of a tank; it was too late to shun them, I therefore resolved to march boldly on, hoping to pass unnoticed as one of the country people, for which reason I wrapped myself up in my blanket, and passed them near enough to overhear their conversation: they were just deliberating who I might be; one said: 'There goes certainly an European'; the other repeated: 'You fool, from whence should an European come here; don't you see it is a woman?' At that instant my irons happened accidentally to rattle, which decided the contest, and confirmed the last opinion, the noise being taken for the sound of those bangles, or brass ornament rings, which the women of India wear round their arms and legs; I was, in consequence of this circumstance, suffered to pass without being interrupted, though not without having felt great anxiety for the ticklishness of my situation.

I walked on a couple of miles farther after this adventure to a wood, which I reached after sunrise, and immediately found a spot pretty well covered, where I laid down to rest for the day, judging it imprudent to travel but in the night. I had not lain down long, before I grew quite stiff, and felt a pain in my bones; examining the leg that, my irons were fastened on, I found that constant rubbing against it had made a deep hole, which now gave me great uneasiness, though whilst agitated and warm with walking I had not perceived it. I now discovered that unless I could disengage myself from the irons, it would be vain to think of proceeding, as, independent of what I suffered

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from them, my feet were extremely sore from traversing the sharp-pointed stones of the rock. Fortunately the large knife had remained with me; with this I fell to work, and happily, before night set in, had totally removed the fetters. I felt my spirits much exhilarated from this circumstance, and seemed quite refreshed, though I ate nothing the whole day. Intent on pursuing my journey, I mounted a hill near me, from whence I reconnoitred the country for many miles round, and gained a tolerable idea of the direction proper to follow, in order to avoid plains as much as possible. It was sunset when I resumed my course, and after passing the wood, I had, unavoidably, a large plain to cross, on which I had observed a mud fort and cattle grazing, but notwithstanding which I reached about midnight a range of hills that run between Bangalore and Seringapatam in an easterly direction, and which I had taken notice of before dark. I halted here, having to ascend the hills which were very rough and overspread with thickets, that rendered the passage undiscernible in the dark. Four days did I wander amongst these huge mountains and craggy hills, without meeting with any food, or even a drop of water, though I had been less cautious with respect to the time of travelling, finding no traces at all of human beings. I felt myself so very weak and reduced at last, that unless the next day brought me relief I must perish, and, therefore, resolved to make one desperate effort, the following day, for clearing the hills. I laid down to rest with this resolution, and fell asleep notwithstanding the gnawing hunger that promised speedily to put me beyond pain altogether.

CHAPTER FIVE

NEXT morning, which was the 4th of December, I rose with very miserable prospects, but tottering along, I was fortunate enough, almost immediately, to discern a hamlet of a few huts amongst the hills! This unexpected sight gave me new animation, knowing very well that I was in no danger from people with whose charitable dispositions I was well acquainted, and who seemed as dropt from Heaven for my succour; understanding, besides, the *Kennary* language, I had it in my power to pass for anybody I pleased, and should they even discover who I was, there was no room for apprehending they would hurt me; such is the humanity and peaceable temper of these harmless villagers. It may seem incredible to some, that I should have existed *five* days without food, and four without a drop of water, under such bodily fatigue and anxiety of mind, but to my very reduced state do I attribute my surviving it; let it also be remembered, that I had been pretty well inured to hunger during my long captivity, where our allowance was so frequently stopped, and where we often remained one, two, three, four, and five days without food whatsoever; nay, I well recollect, that during my close confinement in consequence of Lieutenant Rutledge's affair, I was near seven days without eating.

I approached the hamlet, and from the first person I met, which was an old woman, demanded some charity to save me from starving. She entered into conversation with me, and the sound of our voices instantly brought several other women out of the huts, who perceiving how weak and emaciated I was, expressed great compassion for me, and each went and brought me some of her homely fare, consisting of boiled raggy and gram water made into a curry, which proved the most welcome and savoury repast I ever made. I passed myself upon these kind old women for a *Rajepoot*, knowing few or none of that cast were to be found in this part of the country. The few men that belonged to the hamlet being all employed in the field, the women and children only remained at home, though I should have been

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equally safe had the men been present. When I had told them that I was returning to my own country, they pitied the painful and sore condition of my feet, and immediately brought some warm water, with which they bathed them. When I left these compassionate and benevolent creatures, they furnished me with a couple of raggy cakes, being all the prepared provisions the hamlet could produce after I had satisfied my hunger, and seemed much concerned for my safety. One of them pointed to a road which they warned me against following, saying, that it led directly to one of those polygar forts with which the country abounds; a piece of information which I received with pleasure, as it was the very route, till better instructed, which I had determined to take. I left my charitable benefactresses with a heart overflowing with gratitude and many melancholy reflections. Their hospitable treatment reconciled me so much to life and the company of mankind, that I could not avoid deploring the little probability which existed of my ever joining my countrymen. I rushed into the wood, and took a great sweep to avoid the polygar fort and such as might belong to it, knowing well how widely they differed, in point of meekness and humanity, from the simple and good-natured Kennarees, the recollection of whom afforded me sufficient subject of contemplation for the remainder of the day.

The following morning I was fortunate enough to fall in with a parcel of trees bearing a berry much resembling in colour, shape, and size, our slows; knowing this fruit to be very wholesome, I devoured as many as I was able to eat on the spot, and afterwards gathered as many more as I could carry away, being determined to reserve the cakes which I had received from the hospitable Kennarees for a last resource.

I continued to travel in a northerly direction, as much as possible amongst the woods, until the eighth in the evening, when coming to a plain which I must unavoidably pass, I all at once perceived, to my unspeakable terror, two tygers not above one hundred paces from me, coming right across the plain. It was the first time in my life that I had ever seen these animals alive: I saw them approach without losing my presence

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of mind, but they seemed not to notice me until the instant they were opposite to me, when, to my great satisfaction, they turned away with their tails between their legs, and in a long trot disappeared. It will easily be believed that I was in no hurry to follow or overtake them, but suffered them to get entirely out of sight before I proceeded. I am, however, from this adventure, led to give some credit to the reported pusillanimity of the tyger, who, it is said, will seldom attack a person unless by surprise, or a sudden leap, like that of a cat at a mouse, which he will not resume if he misses his aim; and I cannot avoid believing (as it flatters my vanity) that these two were actually afraid of me, which, could I convey the appearance I made at the time in an exact drawing, might produce less wonder.

About an hour after this encounter I fell in with a troop of polygars returning from hunting, and I truly confess their appearance alarmed me much more than that of the tygers, being the danger I most of all apprehended, and from what followed it will appear that my fears were not groundless. They instantly took me prisoner, and carried me to a mud fort, to the westward of the forest; it was not quite dark when we reached it, and I had just time to notice a large *tank* behind it, which immediately struck me as the securest road to follow should I be fortunate enough to give my new captors the slip. They conducted me into the fort, and took me immediately before the chief, or commander of their own party, who addressed me first in Kennary language, which pretending not to understand, he asked me in Moors, where I came from, and who I was; I replied, that I was a Rajepoot disabled in Tippoo's service, and now returning to my own country; he desired me to produce my pass or discharge, which I told him I had lost on the road. During this interrogation, I perceived that the bystanders eyed me very attentively, and casting my eyes down, I saw a hole in my blanket through which my skin appeared, the colour of which did not correspond with my face, which I had rendered pretty dark by washing it with tobacco water, the only remedy I had for the wounds which the briars and thorns daily bestowed

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on my naked feet. I overheard their conjectures, although not suspected of understanding them, which, after some altercation in the Kennary language, terminated in what was actually the fact, *i.e.* that I could be no other than some European deserted from the chaylahs. The chief then commanded them to secure me in the center of the fort, which had three different gates, one within another, being surrounded with a triple wall. I now perceived that I was not only discovered, but had fallen into the hands of people who were, by their discourse, adherents of Tippoo. My new lord told me in Moors to make myself easy, and that I should be well fed and not hurt; but his consolation administered little comfort to my mind, and I began to shudder at the thoughts of returning once more to the clutches of the barbarian. I was left in charge of one sentry until the killadar's determination with respect to me could be obtained, and had the satisfaction to hear my sentinel receive orders not to bind me before the commander had been consulted. It was evident that all hopes of escaping the impending danger, and of avoiding a second visit to Seringapatam, depended on the exertions and success of the moment. I therefore resolved to make the attempt, and the moment the crowd (who followed the polygar to the killadar's house, on purpose to have the earliest intimation of my fate, with as much eagerness as if their whole welfare depended on knowing it) was dispersed, I vehemently complained of thirst, and implored the sentry to bring me a draught of water. I was in reality very weak when taken up by these people, and on their seizing me I pretended to be much more so; this circumstance, and my poor appearance, deceived the sentry so easily that he never dreamt, I suppose, of my attempting to walk off, and therefore, without any suspicion of my design, he went for the water. The instant he was out of sight, not losing one second in reflection, I wrapped myself carefully up in my blanket, and strutted boldly out of the fort, passing all the three gates without any interruption or suspicion, the passages being crowded with people and cattle returning from the fields. I did not hasten my pace till I had got to the distance of about fifty yards from the outer gate, when, turning to the right, I

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crossed a *Paddy* field with all the expedition I could muster, and then waded through the tank which I had taken notice of on coming to the fort. When I had crossed the tank, I ventured to look behind me, and perceiving a great number of lights moving backwards and forwards, which I concluded to be the polygars in search of me, and fearing some of them might go round the tank without a light, and thus come unexpectedly upon me, I set forward with all the speed I could in a westerly direction for about an hour, when, finding I was not pursued, I turned again to the north, and travelled for threl' successive nights over an open country, being obliged during the day to hide myself in caverns and holes. In the meantime I found myself under the necessity to break upon my cakes, though I knew not when I might meet with another supply; I trusted, however, that the same Providence which had hitherto supported me would not withdraw its assistance when it should be no longer in my power to make personal exertions. I was, at any rate, reconciled to my fate, and had made up my mind to whatever my destiny might have prepared for me, being always indifferent to everything except that of being carried back to Tippoo.

I continued, notwithstanding the excessive fatigue attending that mode of travelling, to wade through innumerable tanks and water-courses which flowed from the hills that I was now approaching; I preferred this mode, troublesome as it was, to that of walking round the banks and borders, that I might not fall in with polygars, or other hostile people inhabiting the villages which in general are met with in India where there is a piece of water, not knowing of what dispositions or casts the natives of these parts might be, and having, ever since my last adventure, dreaded nothing so much as any animal in a human shape.

The fourth morning, which was the 12th of December, I fell in with some straggling rocks here and there covered with thickets, and being very tired, and exceedingly hungry, having consumed my cakes, notwithstanding the sparing applications I had made to them, I seated myself in a thicket, and over-

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powered with hunger and fatigue, dropped to sleep. After a rest of some hours I woke, and though excessively weak I thought myself refreshed by the nap, and consequently moved two or three miles farther, when, to my inexpressible joy, I again discovered some of those berries which had formerly relieved me. I instantly stripped every tree, by first satisfying my hunger, and then loading my blanket with the residue; which engaged me for the remainder of the day. With this last supply I continued to travel until the 15th at daybreak, when, to my great terror*, I found that I had got amongst a number of villages upon a large plain, with a mud fort lying immediately in front of me. I already saw the people quitting the fort to follow their occupations in the fields, and found that it would be impossible to avoid them. To give as little suspicion, therefore, as possible, I resolved to meet them boldly, hoping by that means to pass for a traveller unworthy of notice. I had hitherto, whenever forced in the night to traverse plains, observed the precaution of striking out of the way the instant I found myself on ploughed ground, or discovered any indication of inhabitants; but this time I had met with no tokens to warn me before the day brought to view the scene I have related.

I was not suffered to proceed far before a party of polygars stopped and examined me. Having already, from the conversation of the people who had passed, discovered that one of Tippoo's regular battalions garrisoned the fort, I conceived it would be impossible to pass for an Indian amongst men composed of all the different casts and nations of India; I therefore, without any seeming hesitation, sharply replied in Moors, that I came from the English camp, and was proceeding to Gootie. They asked, what carried me thither? - I answered, some of my companions and friends captured with General Matthews last war, had taken service with the Sultap, and had written me to join them, giving a very favourable account of their situation. Gootie was the only place on Tippoo's frontiers which I had ever heard of, and knowing it to be contiguous to the Nizam's territories, which was the road I proposed taking,

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I concluded it safest to name this place. They suffered me not, however, as I had wished, to proceed, but carried me into the fort, and brought me before the killadar, where I underwent a second examination in the presence of the polygars, but took care to repeat exactly the same story. The killadar put many questions respecting the Carnatic to me, at the same time informing me that he was a native of that country, and was always happy to hear from his home. As I was very unable to give him satisfactory answers on this head, I thought it best to say that I had only six months before arrived from*Bengal, and was a stranger on this coast, but that such parts of the Carnatic as I had travelled through appeared in a high state of cultivation. He inquired about the strength of our army; I answered, in general terms, that it was very numerous, and exceeded the utmost it ever had been during the last war. He asked, how I came to be so miserably reduced and naked, saying, it was not customary for Europeans to travel without clothes. I replied, that I had only brought four rupees out of Carnatic with me, which were long ago expended, as I had not expected the journey would be so tedious, since which time I had subsisted by begging; and with respect to my clothes, I had been obliged to throw them away, finding it unsafe to travel as an European, and that, if I had been retaken, nothing would have saved my life, beings deserter, but that my present disguise had afforded me protection. He seemed to credit this assertion, and having ordered me some victuals went away. In about an hour he returned to interrogate me afresh, and tried, I plainly discovered, if I would contradict anything which I had said, and by way of sounding me thoroughly, told me the Mahrattas had lately plundered the country all round, and that they then were encamped with a very strong force only seven or eight coss off, and advised me to take service with him. I answered, that since I had encountered so many hardships in order to meet my friends, I would by no means relinquish the attempt, or enter into service with any other power, but proceed directly to Gootie, if he would suffer me to continue my journey. To this at last, to my unspeakable satisfaction, he consented, and to

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impress him with greater confidence and faith in my sincerity, I requested permission to remain that night in the fort, and that he would be pleased to instruct me what road to take to avoid the Mahrattas.

Next morning, which was the 16th, I set out from the fort, provided with two large *Jarra* cakes, some *Chatney*, and a guide, who had the killadar's orders to show me the way. The moment I was restored to liberty again, my joy was so great that I scarcely could credit my own senses, and for some minutes thought myself under the illusion of a dream. It was certainly a wonderful escape, to get away from one of Tippoo's own forts when I had so little chance of making my own story probable: it was undoubtedly a very fortunate circumstance for me that the killadar proved a good-natured, simple man; the natives of the Carnatic are in high esteem with Tippoo, and many of those that were taken last war enjoy distinguished posts under his government; the *Deroga*, or chief of the treasury at Seringapatam, for example, is one of them.

The guide I had been provided with soon grew tired of his charge, and displayed no reluctance at being permitted to leave me. I did not long continue the same road after he was gone, but immediately took the old northerly direction, and travelled with all possible expedition upon the scanty subsistence of my cakes, and such berries as I could pick up, until the twenty-third night, when, coming into some very high and broken ground, I was discovered by the sentry on the walls of a mud fort, who challenged me. I had perceived lights on my first getting into the broken ground, which I strove to avoid by inclining to the left, and as I was moving off, I suddenly saw two lighted torches held up, and at that instant the sentry challenged me; this made me conjecture I was perceived, particularly as more lights immediately afterwards issued from a watch-house that was at the bottom of the rock on which the fort stood, and dispersed. Fearing, therefore, that I might be surrounded, I turned about and made for the wood in the rear which I reached in safety, and walked for three miles to the westward until I came to another rock, which was nearly at dawn of day; from this place

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I had a full view of the last-mentioned[^]fort, and finding a tolerable secure cave, I laid down to sleep. About three o'clock in the afternoon I was disturbed by the bleating of sheep, and looking through a crevice in the rock I saw men at work in felling timber; I remained quiet till sunset, when rising to take a view of the country, I heard a strange noise, and looking towards the place whence it arose, I beheld, to my utter astonishment, a bear very busy in preparing a den under the very cliff where I reposed.

The moment I was able to determine what road to take I descended the hill, much dejected for want of food: I travelled all night, only halting occasionally from extreme weakness, and the pain of my sore and swelled feet: in the morning I had the good fortune to reach a village, which lately, perhaps the day before, had been plundered by the Mahrattas; here I picked up, among the deserted ruins, about half a seer of rice, and nearly as much raggy, a few chillies, a little tobacco, an old earthen pot, and a strong bamboo walking stick, which proved of singular service to me afterwards as a supporter. I sat down and devoured some of the rice, which I soaked in water, without cooking it; after this seasonable meal I pursued my journey, and before I had gone far I discovered a jarra field, and thought the opportunity of laying in a supply of provisions not to be neglected; I therefore spent the remainder of the day in plucking off the heads of the grain, and rubbing them between my hands.

I found that I was much weaker at this period than I had imagined, being obliged, at very short intervals, to have recourse to rest, and with all my endeavours was unable to travel above five or six miles in the course of four and twenty hours. Notwithstanding the daily accumulation of my distresses, my spirits never entirely forsook me, but the impossibility of holding out much longer was now too evident, having so considerably added to the very reduced state of my strength since I left Outradroog; resolved, however, to exert myself to the last, and strain every nerve, I continued to saunter on, sometimes among woods and broken rocks, and sometimes over plains, until the 27th, when I came to the banks of a small nullah, which had

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nearly terminated my sufferings with my life. The attempt of crossing it so effectually exhausted my small remains of strength before I could reach the opposite side, that I should inevitably have perished, if I had not fortunately caught hold of some bulrushes which grew in the water on the side of the nullah. In this struggle for life I lost my earthen pot, my tobacco, and all the provisions I had left, besides I was so much fatigued and expended when I had climbed up the bank, that I laid myself down on the grass with very little hopes of being able to proceed. A few hours' sleep, however, refreshed me a little, and resolution lent me new strength; in short, I made shift to combat hunger and fatigue until the 1st of January. This hilly country was so extremely barren and inhospitable, that a few wild berries composed the whole of what I existed upon during the last five days. Without experiencing the horrors of hunger, anxiety bordering on despair, and great bodily pain, it cannot be conceived what I suffered and felt.

On New Year's Day I had got within sight of the termination of the long range of hills, at the foot of which I had so long been travelling; but just as I began to entertain some faint hopes of being at last within the reach of relief, a new and apparently insurmountable obstacle presented itself to my dejected eyes, as a bar to all future prospects of being rewarded for my late sufferings.

The Tangbaudar [Tungabhadra] River, which runs in an easterly direction, at the distance of seven or eight coss to the southward of Gopaul [Kopal], being the limits of the above-mentioned range of hills, now lay immediately before me. No human probability of gaining the opposite shore appeared, as no boats were in sight, and feebleness had so totally disabled me, that swimming was not to be thought of. In this dreadful perplexity I looked eagerly around, in order, if possible, to distinguish some piece of wood or branch of a tree that would help to bear me up through the stream; but in vain. Without allowing, however, distress and despair to conquer all my hopes, I moved slowly and sullenly along the banks of the river, and, after some time, I spied a ferry-boat; my heart now expanded

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with joy, and I fancied nothing remained but to step into the boat and be rowed over; but, as ill fate would have it, the ferryman, to my unspeakable disappointment, would not even suffer me to approach his boat. I feared, by too hastily soliciting a passage (for I was unequal to force), to hazard a discovery, the consequence of which I dreaded more than death itself. Obligated to submit to my destiny, I went back resolved to proceed in an easterly direction along the banks of the river, until I should meet either with a ford or some other mode of crossing, or, what seemed much the most probable, with a termination to my miseries by death.

After proceeding as before mentioned, on casting my eyes to the opposite side, I saw two large forts at some distance, and heard at the same time the discharge of cannon, whence I concluded the forts to be besieged either by us or some of our allies.¹ This increased my anxiety to cross the river, and redoubling my efforts, I continued travelling until the next day about three o'clock in the afternoon, when, perceiving a guard I halted. I afterwards discovered that this was a Mahratta guard stationed between the river and the extremity of the hills as a scout; but uncertainty and fear at this time determined me to avoid it, in consequence of which I was obliged to take a circuit, and cross the extremity of the hills. I reached the foot of them about sunset, and found them covered with verdure; perceiving no covert or shelter for wild beasts in the neighbourhood, I lay down less dejected indeed than might be expected, and slept till morning; at daybreak I began to ascend the hill, and had not advanced far before I met an old woman watching her cows, who gave me a raggy cake, and advised me to keep well to the left, if I wished to avoid another guard posted on the other side of the hills. My better destiny certainly directed my steps to this good-natured old woman, nor was this the first time since my captivity that I was indebted for my life to the aged part of the sex, my good genius of late had absolutely never appeared to me but in the shape of an old woman; the last

¹ The Mahrattas and the Nizam were then allied with the English: the Nizam was besieging Kopal.-[EDITOR.]

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pointed out the most traversable part of the rock, and on the fourth day I reached the opposite plain, where the adjacent field supplied me with some grain, which preserved me from perishing, and enabled me to pursue my course once more towards the river, the stream of which I continued to follow four days longer, but with so little effect, from the excessive reduced state of my strength, that I only advanced seven miles in all that time. On the fourth day I found myself near a mud fort, which I had not previously observed, and was suddenly surrounded by a number of Mahrattas, and taken up and carried before the Nalputty rajah who was proprietor of this fort. The rajah was then engaged in making preparations for taking the field in the morning, and had, therefore, no time to attend to me, but directed that I should be retained in the fort, and taken care of until he should return.

During his absence I gradually recovered part of my former health and vigour; it was soon discovered that I was an European, and the rajah's son, a humane young man, who was left to command the fort in his father's absence, was extremely kind to me. A native doctor was ordered to heal my wounded and excoriated feet, and abundance of provisions were given me, though I did not venture fully to indulge my appetite from the weak state of my stomach. I had recruited my health and strength pretty well by the 12th of February, when the rajah returned, and I was next day taken before him. Having learnt since my arrival that he was one of those Mahratta rajahs whom Tippoo had dispossessed in 1785 and 1786, but who had availed himself of the approach of our troops in 1790 (Bowberjung, the tributary, whom Tippoo had placed in the rajahship, having retired) to recover his ancient territory and right, and that he consequently was no partisan of the Mysore sultan, I frankly answered his interrogatories by a plain confession of the simple truth. He seemed much affected at my narrative, pitied my sufferings, gave me a piece of cloth, of which I stood in extreme need, having no covering to my nakedness but the blanket I had brought out of Outradrcog, and invited me to enter into his service. I concluded that the surest way of obtaining the

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liberty which I now panted after (finding myself sufficiently strong to face new fatigues) would be to assent to the rajah's request, I therefore readily accepted his offer; in consequence of which I was immediately released, and desired to demand whatever I wanted; I returned very submissive thanks for the rajah's promises of preferment, and affected to be much satisfied with my situation. That night and next day I walked about at pleasure, and had already inspired the people of the fort with so much confidence that nobody seemed to notice my departure, between the hours of nine and ten, on the 14th at night, when I proceeded directly towards the river, which at this place was about two hundred yards broad, but in general narrower, but so bold had my recovered strength rendered me, that I plunged in and swam over immediately, though I had been informed of a ford a couple of miles farther to the eastward.

The possession of the Nalputty rajah is called Comlipore, and the fort is remarkable for having a high rock in front of the entrance, with a white pagoda at the top that entirely commands it; it lies about four and twenty miles south-east of Gopaul.

I had discovered from the people in the fort that Gopaul was the place I had distinguished at my first approaching the river, consequently I directed my course towards it the moment I crossed, and walked without intermission or interruption until about eleven o'clock the next day; I then halted to take some refreshment, being in the centre of several villages; and provided with four pice in money, being the produce of my allowance of rice from the rajah's granary, received the day before I left the fort, which I immediately carried into the pettah, and sold it that I might not travel penniless. About three o'clock in the afternoon I set out again, and got near Gopaul half an hour after dark, when some of the Nizam's people, after hearing my tale, picked me up, and sent me on an elephant to Moubertjung's camp, where I was somewhat astonished to find myself confined under a guard; but reflecting that I was in the hands of an ally, that English troops were present, and that any mistake with respect to me would speedily be cleared up, I lay down to sleep

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pretty easy in mind. Next day, being the 16th, I was early in the morning taken before the *Bukshy*, who put a number of questions to me, all of which I answered by desiring to be conveyed to the English commander. A guard immediately was sent along with me to his encampment, but being absent on the batteries himself, I had to remain whilst his orders could be received, an object of curiosity to the troops, to whom I was represented as a Frenchman, sent by Tippoo to succour the fort, and taken up by some of the Nizam's people in the attempt. Some hours had elapsed, and my situation began to grow irksome, and the spectators troublesome, though no violence was offered to me, when fortunately Lieutenant English returning from duty on the batteries, beheld the crowd, and having enquired into the cause of it, carried me from the Nizam's guard to Captain Dalrymple's marquee. I related my history, together with the particulars of my escape, to this gentleman, who congratulated me on my fortunate delivery, ordered me what refreshments I wanted, and presented me with some rupees; he likewise gave me a coat, a hat, and some linen. Thus I found myself once more, after ten years of cruel captivity, apparelled like an European, amongst men of honour, and restored to liberty.

Next day Captain Reid, who commanded the English detachment, ordered me to come to him in the batteries. I related the whole of my sufferings from the time of my becoming a prisoner in the Carnatic; he heard me with surprise, and kindly offered to furnish me with a safe conduct either to Madras or Bengal, whichever I should desire.

I remained until the 26th of February in Captain Reid's camp, receiving every mark of generosity and favour from the officers, and supplied by their liberality with necessaries for a long journey; I set out from camp on the evening of the 26th of February 1791, with a guide and a servant boy, for Pangul, the Nizam's court, where Captain Kennaway, the resident with the *Subahy* was to renew my pass through the Decan. On the 8th of March, after travelling 216 miles in a stile very different from my former journey, I reached Pangul, and waited immediately on Captain Kennaway. After producing my pass,

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and relating my adventures to him, I requested his aid and permission to proceed to the grand army: he seemed, however, to think the undertaking too hazardous, if at all practicable, but offered to grant me a pass either to Fort St. George, from whence I might easily join the army with one of the convoys, or to Masulipatam, where I should be at liberty to follow my own inclinations. I chose the latter, and after remaining at Pangul till the 25th, and having continual kindnesses conferred on me by Captain Kennaway and the other gentlemen resident there, I set off for Masulipatam, well provided with¹ everything necessary for the road.

On the 3rd of April I reached Condepella, where Major — commanded; he was also extremely good to me, gave me ample supplies for the little that remained of my journey, and hearing that I could give some information respecting the works and situations about Seringapatam, and on the island, and also that I was extremely desirous of joining the grand army, and render any little services within the small compass of my power and abilities, he generously wrote a letter to Lord Cornwallis in my behalf. On the 5th of April, early in the morning, I set out again, and on the 7th reached Masulipatam, having travelled since I left Pangul 260 miles, and altogether from Captain Reid's camp at Gopaul 476 miles, without, however, having met with anything deserving to be mentioned, or suffering any hardships.

At Masulipatam I had the satisfaction of meeting one of the four men who fled from the detachment forming at Peripatam in 1782, and whose escape had proved so fatal to the remaining eight, and, in fact, to all the prisoners. This man's name is Richard Higgins, and he holds the appointment of Key Serjeant to the garrison. I staid with him five days, and was entertained with cordiality, good-nature, and all the kindness which the satisfaction and happiness of rejoining a fellow-captive, who, like himself, after incredible sufferings, had escaped from slavery, could inspire. He confirmed every circumstance I had heard respecting their escape, and seemed to recall those past misfortunes with a kind of awful pleasure to his memory.

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Seven days after my arrival at Masulipatam, I took the opportunity of an old *Parriah*¹ vessel, entirely manned by blacks, to embark for Madras with two more Europeans of that establishment. We were in sight of Fort St. George when a violent gale of wind drove us out to sea again and tossed the damaged and leaky ship about for several days with unabated fury. Fortune seemed not yet quite tired of persecuting me, for we laboured in vain to recover the roads of Madras. Thirty-six days we lived on a quarter of a seer of bad rice, a few salted onions, and half a pint of water per day, suffering consequently not less from want and the fear of starving than the danger of foundering. The southern monsoon drove the vessel, in the meantime, up the bay in spite of us, but we did not reach Ingelee until the 6th of June, two days after all our provisions on board had been consumed. On the 7th we made shift to proceed to Kedegree in hopes of relief, and luckily fell in with a pilot vessel, where, with the Europeans, I was taken on board, and some food and refreshment given us. The next morning we were sent on shore to Mr. Wheatley, who treated us very humanely, kept us a couple of days to recover strength, and then furnished us with provisions and a boat. On the nth of June, 1791, I arrived at Fort William, after an absence of ten years and eight months; three months and twenty-five days of which had been spent in the service of my country; nine years, nine months, and twenty-two days in slavery, partly as prisoners of war, and partly as a captive retained in defiance of faith and the law of nations.

The above is a relation of what one obscure individual suffered, whilst in the power of a conqueror who degrades humanity. A little before I left Seringapatam, I took particular notice of two merchants from the Nizam's dominions, who suffered with astonishing fortitude; they were daily, during the *Cutcherry* hours, which are from eight in the morning until six in the evening, pinioned with their arms and legs to the

¹ Many of the fishermen and sea-farers of South India are out* casts.-[EDITOR.]

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ground, and whilst in this posture, lying on their backs, with their faces to the sun, a fellow on each side kept continually pricking them with long and pointed needles. Three lacks of rupees was the stipulated price for their release, but nothing could be exacted from them, except the promise of remitting the money if they were suffered to return to their homes, on the performance of which Tippoo, however, did not seem much inclined to rely. The whole property of such as die (which is nothing uncommon) under the rack, if discovered, is confiscated, but as the proprietor, in general, entrusts very few with the hiding-place of his money, it is not often found out. I cannot tell what became of these two men, but I have known many others that were really thought and known to possess money, hold out till the last moment, without betraying their possessions. Martyrs of this kind are very common in India.

I cannot conclude this narrative without expressing my acknowledgments to the gentlemen in Bengal, who generously exerted themselves in my behalf on my first arrival, and moved by my sufferings, offered me their aid and support. The kind recommendation of these gentlemen, as well as that of several others, induced Colonel Murray, the Military Auditor General, to commiserate my situation; and to his good offices and liberal interposition, it is owing that I have recovered my full arrears of pay for the whole time of my imprisonment.

II

THE JOURNAL OF AN OFFICER OF COLONEL BAILLIE'S DETACHMENT

THE JOURNAL BEGINS AFTER THE BATTLE OF CONJEVERAM.

1780. WHILE the enemy's horse and elephants marched again and again in barbarian triumph over the field of battle, the wounded and bleeding English, who were not instantly trodden to death by the feet of those animals, lingered out a miserable existence, exposed in the day to the burning rays of a vertical sun, and in the night to the ravages of foxes, jackalls, and tygers, allured to that horrid scene by the scent of human blood. Many officers, as well as privates, stripped of all that they had, after protracting hour after hour, and day after day, in pain, miserably perished; others rising, as it were, from the dead, after an incredible loss of blood, which induced for a time the most perfect insensibility and stupefaction, found means to rejoin their friends in chains, with whom they were destined to share, for years, the horrors of the gloomy jail, rendered still more dreadful by frequent apprehensions of that assassination which, they had the most undoubted proofs, had been practised on numbers of their fellow-prisoners, dispersed in different places of confinement, throughout the dominions of a barbarous enemy.

In Europe, the horrors are mitigated by the mildness of the climate, and the humanity of the conqueror. In Asia, an inveterate antipathy against Europeans conspires with a dry and parched land, where it is not an easy matter for the sick and wounded to obtain even the comfort of water, and, with the rigours of fervid heat, to press down the load of suffering on the defenceless head of him who has none to help him.

Hyder-Ally, seated in a chair in his tent, enjoyed at Damul, six miles from the scene of action, the sight of his prisoners, and the heads of the slain. Colonel Baillie, with several other officers, who, like himself, were inhumanly wounded, were carried to his camp. The vehicle on which the Colonel was borne was a cannon. While these unfortunate gentlemen lay on the ground, in the open air, at Hyder-Ally's feet, heads of their unfortunate friends were, from time to time,

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presented to the conqueror; some of them even by English officers who were forced to perform that inhuman service. One English gentleman, in particular, was forced to carry two heads of his countrymen, which proved to be Captain Phillips and Doctor Wilson. But, soon after the arrival of the English officers, Hyder, touched with a latent spark of humanity, ordered the practice of bringing heads before him, while the English gentlemen were present, to be discontinued; and the heads of Captain Phillips and Doctor Wilson he ordered to be removed. A dooley was sent to the field of battle in search of Colonel Fletcher; but he could not find him. The Colonel's head was afterwards carried to the barbarian's camp. As some of our officers were obliged to carry the heads of their countrymen to Hyder's camp, so others were obliged to carry heavy loads of firelocks. For every European head that was brought to the barbarian by any of his own people, who were volunteers in that service, a premium was given of five rupees; for every European brought alive ten rupees. The conqueror, enjoying a barbarous triumph over our captive countrymen, suffered them to remain in his presence till sunset, without ordering them the smallest assistance in their distress. The shell of a tent was then fixed for Colonel Baillie and his officers, but without a bit of straw, or anything on which they might lie, although repeated application was made for this accommodation, and many of these gentlemen were in danger by their wounds. This tent, it must be observed at the same time, contained only ten persons; the rest of the prisoners were obliged to remain in the open air. About seven o'clock towards the evening, Colonel Baillie was visited by Monsieur Goddard, a French officer, who, although in poor circumstances himself, assisted our countrymen to the utmost of his power. At ten, some *Pilaw* was sent to the prisoners from the *Circar*.

Several officers were also carried to Tippoo Saib, who treated them with great humanity. He invited them into his tent, gave them biscuit, and to each five pagodas. One of the gentlemen, Captain Monteith, who was a married man, expressed an earnest desire of sending a letter to his wife at Madras; with

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which Tippoo readily complied. Nothing could be more striking, on this sad occasion, than the contrast of the father and that of the son.

Hyder-Ally, on the day after the engagement, moved his army from Damul to Mussalawaulk, where he had left his baggage, with his tents standing, when he marched to attack Colonel Baillie. Some of our wounded officers were carried in palanquins without any covering, exposed to a sultry sun, and many of them were obliged to walk, subjected to the gross abuse, and even to the blows of their several guards. The moment they arrived at the limits of Hyder's camp, they had a pleasing instance of the superior humanity and courtesy of European officers contrasted with the inhumanity of Hyder's people. Fifteen French officers saluted them with the compliment of the hat, and they found the fly of a marqui with a small tent pitched for their reception. Soon after this Captain Pimoran, a French officer, who before the siege of Mahi had been sent from Pondicherry with 180 Europeans belonging to the regiment of Lorrain, visited Colonel Baillie, expressed his sorrow at seeing him reduced to his present unhappy situation, and presenting Mr. Lally's best respects, assured him that this commander had applied to Hyder-Ally for leave to visit him, but had been refused. Mahomed-Ally, one of Hyder's principal generals, was introduced to Colonel Baillie by Dr. Lloyd, who had formerly resided at Madras.

Captain Pimoran brought along with him some clothes, bread, wine, and two French surgeons to dress the wounded. Several other French officers, too, were active in administering to the English prisoners the utmost aid and consolation it was in their power to afford. No pen can do justice to the humanity of those gentlemen, without whose assistance many of our officers must have perished; but their merit will for ever be embalmed in the hearts and minds of all who felt or who witnessed their beneficence.

From Captain Pimoran Colonel Baillie received three hundred pagodas for a bill on Madras, which he distributed among the officers. Hyder sent five hundred rupees, which the

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Colonel declined to accept, as being too small a sum for distribution among his officers and soldiers.

On the 12th of September, at twelve o'clock in the afternoon, arrived in Hyder-Ally's camp, at Mussalawaulk, Lieutenant Bowser and Ensign Dick with some privates. They were carried to the head paymaster's, or Buckshee's tent, close to that of Hyder, where they remained for several hours, stripped of all their clothes, obliged to lie down on a bed of sand, their wounds exposed to a severe sun, and their burning thirst unquenched by a drop of water. On the same day arrived Lieutenant Cox and the Ensigns Maconichy and Wemyss. These gentlemen had reached Conjeveram, imagining that place to be still in our possession, and thus fell into the hands of the enemy. Lieutenant Bowser, under the same mistaken notion, was making for the same place, when he was taken by a party of the enemy's horse.

During the time that this party remained near the Buckshee's tent, the heads of upwards of ten Europeans were brought by different people, in order to receive the promised reward. The barbarians were so unfeeling, that many of the heads were thrown on the ground, close to the English officers. At the same time that many individuals of the lowest castes took frequent opportunities of doing and saying everything that they conceived to be calculated for the purpose of making impressions of horror and fear: if by chance any head-man, or persons of note happened to come near us, or to have any business with us, it was, in general, their manner to treat us, not indeed with expressions of hostile resentment or execration, but with every mark of disgust and contempt. They would, at the very time they were speaking, turn away their heads, and, on some occasions, communicate their sentiments, and learn ours, by means of a third person.

If the horrid scene, traversed in this part of our narrative, shall not offend, but rather interest the reader, it may be proper to bring it still closer to view, by a particular description of the situation of one or two gentlemen, whose cases, chosen as the first that occurred, bear but too near a resemblance to those of

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their unfortunate fellow-sufferers. Lieutenant Thomas Bowser, who, before Colonel Baillie displayed a flag of truce, had received a musket ball in his leg, after our little army surrendered, which it did about eleven o'clock, received eight desperate wounds with a scimitar. These, as might be expected, brought him to the ground, where he lay deprived of all sensation for seven hours. Towards the evening he awakened from his trance, stripped of all his clothes, except a pair of underdrawers, and part of his shirt, with an intense thirst, calling out, and imploring from the enemy a little water. Some, moved by compassion, and yielding to the natural impulse of humanity, forgot their antipathies, and in this extremity of distress, lent their assistance, while others answered his importunate supplications only with reviling language, and threats to put him instantly to death; which he entreated them to do, as there was nothing in reality which he so earnestly wished for. The water which was administered to him by some friendly hand, was deeply tinged with blood. It was brought from a small pool in the field of battle, about fifty or sixty yards from the spot where he lay. In this pool many of our men had been cut down, and others, bleeding and dying, had crawled to it under the influence of burning thirst. One of Hyder's soldiers was so humane as to furnish Mr. Bowser with an earthen pot, or chatty, holding about a pint, full of the tinged water already described, and, at the same time to inform him where he would find the pool from whence it was taken, advising him to make for it as well as he could. Thither accordingly he crawled; and when he arrived, was struck with horror at the sight of the dead and wounded, with which it was surrounded and filled. He filled his chatty, and endeavoured to proceed towards Conjeveram: but he had not advanced above three or four hundred yards, when he was quite overcome, and obliged to lie all night in the open air, during which there fell two heavy showers of rain.

In the morning of the 11 th, he made a second effort to proceed towards Conjeveram; but, after walking about a mile, he was met by some of the enemy's horsemen, who asked him who he was? In the hope that they would think him below their notice,

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he answered that he was a poor soldier, and that he was going to seek for some relief under his distresses at Conjeveram. They informed him that the place was in the possession of Hyder, and that he must proceed as a prisoner to his camp, taking charge of him at the same time, and obliging him to walk without any assistance. At eight o'clock, the horsemen delivered him up to two of the enemy's sepoys, who behaved to him with rather more humanity and kindness. They gave him water out of the palms of their hands, placed properly together for that purpose; for by this time he had become so stiff with his wounds, that he could not of himself bend or stoop, even in the smallest degree. Whenever he wanted to reach anything, the guard, taking hold of his arm, let him gently down and pulled him up. About twelve o'clock, he was equally surprised and overjoyed to come up with a brother officer, Ensign Dick, a quartermaster serjeant of artillery, and two privates. He was now joined to this party, who were nearly in the same situation with himself. The quartermaster serjeant had received so deep a cut across the back part of his neck, that he was obliged to hold his head in his hands, in order to keep it from falling to a side, all the journey. The least shake or unevenness of the ground made him cry out with pain. He once and again ceased from all attempts to proceed, abandoning himself to the despair of ever being able to accomplish his painful journey, or to prolong his miserable life; but being encouraged, called on, and conjured by his companions to renew his efforts, he did so, and they were successful. He recovered of his wound, and is now alive; the most striking proof, perhaps, that is to be found, of that power or principle of recovery and self-preservation which beneficent Providence has implanted in the constitution of our nature. As they moved slowly on, they perceived several Europeans lying dead on the road, and naked; others dying, and many calling out in vain for water. To their prisoners, however, who were able to walk, however slowly, the guards administered a little dry rice soaked in water. They were not indulged with water, as they could not stoop to assist themselves, so often as they wished for it. It was often refused to their most earnest

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entreaties. Nor were they allowed to rest oftener than at the spaces of two or three hundred yards, which appeared to them tedious and painful journeys; and permission to rest a little, even after these, was accounted a favour.

Between eleven and twelve o'clock at night, this little party arrived in Hyder's camp, where they were obliged, as has been observed, to lie on the bare ground, exposed to the winds and rain all night, although there were empty tents at no greater distance than ten yards. They now met with some assistance from certain sepoys, who had formerly been in our service.

On the 12th, as soon as it was daylight, this little party anxiously requested to be sent to Colonel Baillie, and the other officers, but were told they must be carried before Hyder. An order for this purpose arrived about ten o'clock; and on their way to his tent, they were accosted by several Europeans, who had formerly been in our service, but had deserted. These men sympathized with our situation, and insisted on our drinking a little arrack with them, which we did, in the midst of multitudes who crowded around us. They took their leave of their kind entertainers, whom, in the midst of their own distresses, they could not help considering as unfortunate; but they had not proceeded above a hundred yards before they were ordered to stop. They were at this time so overcome by fatigue, that they laid themselves down on a bed of sand, almost devoured with flies, and a spectacle to thousands of spectators. At this time Captain Pimoran came up to them, took down their names, expressed the greatest sorrow at their distressful situation, and gave to each of them one shirt, one pair of long drawers, one pocket handkerchief, and to each also a pagoda. He farther gave orders that some victuals should be dressed for them. About twelve o'clock another order arrived for them to proceed to Hyder immediately, but on their arrival at the Paymaster's tent, which was close to Hyder's as already mentioned, they were again ordered to stop, and proceed no farther. They were now so exceedingly reduced by their accumulated distresses, that there was not one of them who thought it possible they

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should live much longer, and who was not convinced that he should very soon die. At this time Lieutenant Bowser saw Dr. Lloyd, whom he had formerly known at Madras, coming out of Hyder's tent. He instantly requested one of the guards to call the doctor, and after making himself known to him, begged that he would obtain an order that his small party might be sent to Colonel Baillie and the other officers. With this request the doctor complied, without the smallest delay. There were some of them so exhausted with want, pain, and fatigue, added to previous loss of blood, that it was found necessary that they should be carried on the backs of French soldiers.

On the 13th, Kistna-row, Hyder-Ally's *Dewan*, or Treasurer, brought a thousand rupees, which Colonel Baillie divided in the following manner: To each Captain, thirteen rupees; to the Lieutenants, nine; to the Ensigns, seven; and to the non-commissioned officers and privates, one rupee each. This officer of Hyder's took a list of our names, and delivered to Colonel Baillie a quantity of silk cloth, *Palampore*, and some pieces of coarse cloth. The Colonel gave to the Captains, Surgeons, and Lieutenants of His Majesty's 73rd Regiment, each a silk cloth; to the Subalterns one piece of coarse cloth, and one small palampore; and to each private one piece of cloth. This day Ensign Wemyss died. On this day, also, a soldier brought the names of Captain Ferrier, Lieutenant Wade, and Ensign Moncrieff, written on a piece of an earthen pot or chatty. These poor gentlemen had taken this method of signifying that they were still alive, and of requesting some assistance. Serjeant Macormick, on the day after the engagement, found Lieutenant Wade and Ensign Moncrieff thrown into a bush full of thorns, and so desperately wounded, that they were incapable of administering to themselves, or to one another, the smallest relief or assistance. The serjeant, not without difficulty, removed these unfortunate gentlemen to the shade of a tree, and having supplied them with a little water, left them to the care of Providence. It was not in his power, nor, alas! in ours, to afford to our friends the smallest aid, or to console them

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under their sufferings, by any token of our sympathetic sorrow at their extreme distress.

September 14th. - Some trunks of cloth were sent, by orders from Hyder, for the use of the whole of his prisoners. Colonel Baillie presented the commandant of our guard with an hundred rupees. About eleven in the forenoon Kistna-row, Hyder's treasurer, came and ordered such of us as were capable of walking to stand up. This order was instantly obeyed; and a separation took place. Colonel Baillie, the Captains Baird, Rumley, Ltacas, Menteith, and Wragg, with the Lieutenants Lindsey and Frazer, were ordered to remain in the enemy's camp. The officers not wounded, who amounted to the number twenty-three, were sent to Bangalore; and those who were wounded, of whom there were twenty-seven, to Arneé. The wounded privates were in like manner sent to Arneé, and those not wounded to Bangalore. All this was done so suddenly on the part of Hyder, that we had not so much as an opportunity of speaking to each other, and if any one had dared to solicit this privilege, he would undoubtedly have been treated by the guards, who were under the necessity of carrying their master's orders into prompt execution, with great abuse. However, as they could not prevent us from seeing, we beheld our brother sufferers mounted on small horses called *Tattoos*: and soon after this, some doolies were brought for the party destined for Arneé who were hurried into them with every mark of contempt. These doolies are the most inhuman vehicles in which Europeans were ever placed. The common sort of them are from three feet and an half to four feet long, and about two feet and an half broad. They are composed of a frame made of bamboo or common wood, with four posts at the corners, to which the sides and ends are fastened, at the distance of eight inches from the ground. To each of these posts is fixed a straight bamboo, or large pole, by means of which the machine is carried by four coolies or bearers. The frame is lashed together by ropes made of the fibres of the cocoa nut, and sometimes by small rattan canes, which, at the same time that they serve to fasten the machine, supply the place of a seat. The

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doolies are usually covered over with coarse cotton cloth; but as ours had no coverings of any kind, many of our gentlemen suffered very severely.

The poor soldiers, who laboured under every misery, were some of them put into these doolies, and above fifty of them placed on arrack *Bandiers* or carts. It is impossible to describe the inexpressible sufferings of these unfortunate men, desperately wounded, their bodies exposed to a severe sun, placed six or eight of them together on these arrack bandiers, knocking against each other from the jolting of the machine, and refused even a drop of water. When we had advanced, in this painful manner, about four miles from Hyder's camp, we made an halt. A fly of a *marqui* was now pitched, to shelter us from the weather. About eight in the evening there fell an heavy shower of rain, which proved so destructive to some of the soldiers that they died raving mad; for these poor men having neither tent nor covering of any kind, the water penetrated even to the cerebellum, through the fractures of the skull. About twelve o'clock at night a sheep was brought, with some rice, and dressed by our servants.

Doctor Campbell, one of our surgeons, being at the point of death, requested leave to bid his last farewell to his brother, who was with the Bangalore party, encamped at the distance from us of about an hundred yards. His request, after a good deal of hesitation, was granted.

September 15th.- At sunrise, we were ordered to eat some cold rice, and about eight o'clock we moved onward to Scolore; at which place we arrived about five in the afternoon. Captain Ferrier, and several privates, died here, and were thrown carelessly into an hole close by us. The dooley boys, of the hill or Cannery cast, during the course of our journey thither, behaved to us in a most barbarous manner, often beating us with sticks, refusing to give us water, and wantonly and cruelly exposing us to the sun. At any time when we were permitted to halt for a little rest and refreshment, if they had an opportunity of setting us down under the shade of a grove or tree, they would give themselves trouble to expose us to suffering, by carrying us

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about to that side of the grove or tree where we should not enjoy the cooling shade of their leafy branches, but suffer the rage of the noonday sun, in its utmost rigour. The men who carried these doolies, as well as some of the lower casts of people in Hyder's dominions, would frequently revile us in terms not to be repeated. They would tell us, that we should be forced to eat our own dung, and express their hopes and confidence, that when we should arrive at the place of our destination, Hyder would not fail to put us to death.

September 16th.- We moved off this day at the same time as yesterday, and reached Arnee' (which with the adjacent country, had taken *Choul*, or come under the protection of Hyder) at three in the afternoon. Here we were crammed together into a filthy dungeon, barely sufficient to receive us. Lieutenant Cotton, just as he entered within the prison, dropped down dead. It is probable, that had we not halted at Arneé, the whole of us would have perished. In the evening some rice was sent to us, with a little *Massal*, which is a species of spice, or pepper.

September 17th.- Our daily allowance at Arnee was to each of us one sear of rice, and sometimes a little lean mutton, one spoonful of ghee, a small quantity of curry stuff, half a spoonful of salt, and two or three sticks of firewood. Our servants were allowed each three cash per day, and one sear of rice with a little salt. Application was made for a little straw to sleep on, but without success. We were forced to rest on the bare ground, without wine, tea, sugar, or any other comfort or refreshment than has been already specified.

At the time of our leaving Hyder's camp, Monsieur Castro, a surgeon, came with two or three rusty instruments, and attended us, during our stay at Arnee'. Monsieur Castro, it is justice to say, shewed us great humanity and attention. Our only medicine was a composition of wax and oil, -which was purchased in Hyder's camp.

September 18th.- In the evening died Doctor Campbell. The death of this gentleman was an object of sincere regret to all the prisoners. Application was made to the Keeladar for

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some cloth for bandages. This necessary article being refused, we were obliged to tear up the piece of coarse cloth we had received as a present from Hyder. Many of us were under the necessity of going, for several days, naked, being in possession of only one shirt and trousers, which, having already worn them six days, we were obliged to get washed. Shoes we had none. We had nothing of any kind to supply the place of either bedding or bed-cloaths; and the rain, falling on us through the crazy roof of our prison, disturbed and annoyed us by night and by day. We were this day visited by an Hungarian Serjeant in the service of Hyder. This man, although he was as great a rogue as could be imagined, proved afterwards of very great service to us. After repeated applications to the Keeladar we at last received, on this day, five old mats, and made a division of them by cutting them in pieces: but they were so bad that we could scarcely use them.

1780 - *September 19th.* - We applied to the Keeladar, chiefly on account of the wounds that many of us had received in our heads, for a barber.

September 20th. - This day was marked by the death of Mr. John Baillie, a cadet.

September 22nd. - As this was by that of Ensign Dick.

September 29th. - And this by that of Lieutenant Cox.

Mr. Baillie, during the course of the preceding night, had fallen into a delirium; and as we were not allowed any light in our prison, he walked over several of the wounded officers, who, in the greatest anguish, cried out in vain for assistance. We had these gentlemen as decently carried out as our situation would allow. However, we learned afterwards, that they were stripped of the piece of cloth which covered them, and thrown into the bed of a river, exposed to jackalls and tygers and other ravenous animals.

October 4th. - Ensign Gordon, who had now recovered from his wounds, was taken out of prison and sent to Seringapatam.

October 27th. - lieutenant Mackay received fifty pagodas sent by our resident at Pondicherry, Mr. Skardon, and conveyed to us by means of our good friend the French doctor.

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This gentleman, touched with our miserable situation, carried a letter to the humane, to the godlike Captain Pimoran, whose name it is impossible to mention without the liveliest emotions of gratitude, admiration, and love, attending his duty in Hyder's army, employed at that time in the siege of Arcott, which is distant from Arne* about eighteen English miles. The goodness of the doctor was the greater that he undertook and performed this friendly journey, notwithstanding the mean insinuations of the Hungarian Serjeant above-mentioned, who assured him that he would be undoubtedly detected, and dragged to death at an elephant's foot. Captain Pimoran presented his sincere respects, and begged leave to assure us, that he had sent all the ready money in his possession by Monsieur Castro, but that he would on every occasion assist us to the utmost of his power. If we had not been favoured with these supplies from this generous Frenchman, a private friend though a public foe, the greater part of us must have perished through want.

Soon after this we received the melancholy tidings that Captain Pimoran had fallen before Arcott. An honourable death secured to this generous spirit the glory of a life that was an honour to human nature. But we felt inexpressible regret, that we could no longer indulge the hope of testifying, by some visible token, that inward gratitude and esteem which had been awakened in each of our breasts, by his generous goodness.

About this time, the doctor having represented to us the miserable situation of our unfortunate soldiers, we purchased for their relief twenty-seven pieces of cloth: but on applying to the Keeladar for permission to send them, we received no answer to our request. So that the sufferings of the poor soldiers remained unassuaged by the comforts which their friends had provided. Nor was this the only, or the most pressing request that we were under the necessity of making to our enemies. Our place of retirement, which was situated within the walls of our dismal dungeon, became so offensive, that we made the most importunate applications to have it

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cleared. But no orders were issued for this necessary service by the Keeladar, and none were to be found who would do it voluntarily. The sufferings that arose from this putrid source, in a sultry climate, to men afflicted and worn down with fluxes; the swarms of odious vermin that assailed our naked and sore bodies, and that, penetrating and nestling in the wounded ear of a certain officer, turned the auricular nerve into an instrument of the most exquisite pain for several days and nights: these cannot be recollected without horror, nor related without disgust. Nor is it worth while, after hinting at such distresses as these, to relate that in the prison of Arneé, many of the English officers, on account of the want of servants, were obliged to wash their own pots, to kindle their own fires, and dress their own victuals.

We left Arnee about nine in the morning, penetrated with sorrow at parting with our friends and fellow-sufferers. We were under charge of a Brahmin, one Commandant of the troops, consisting of a few firelock men, one hundred and fifty *Colleries*, and a few horsemen. *Piats*, or small horses, were given for our conveyance. A horse-keeper was allowed to each *piat* horse, who had a rope fastened to the head stall of the bridle, with positive orders not to quit his station. The whole of us were ordered to move on in a rank entire. We suffered much from this mode of conveyance, having only a pad in the room of a saddle, and no stirrups; crowds of people gazing at us, and many behaving in a most insolent manner. When we arrived on the glacis, we met thirty-two of our unfortunate soldiers handcuffed, two and two, barefoot, and almost naked. Every exertion on our part was made, in order to alleviate their distress.

We arrived in Poloor about four in the afternoon. Some rice was boiled for us and the soldiers, with a little salt. The rice, after being boiled, was rolled into a ball for the soldiers, about the size of a football, and each person received his ball. The soldiers, at the different halting places, were kept separate from us. As many of these were not recovered from their wounds, they were allowed, after repeated applications, to attend the

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surgeons of the country; but under particular restrictions not to ask for news. Many of the soldiers suffered much from the want of shoes. These men not being able to walk, bullocks were provided, on which they were forced to ride, still remaining handcuffed to their comrades. This piece of cruelty we pointed out both to the Brahmin and Commandant; but only received for answer, that they had no orders from the *Bahauder* to take off their irons. Whenever we approached near a village, tom-toms, a kind of drums, and winding collery horns, advanced in front, that*the inhabitants might, by this discordant music, be assembled together to gaze at us, as we passed through. We suffered much, during our march, from the intense heat, as they would not travel in the night, but only in the daytime, and that during the hottest part of it. The daily allowance which we received was one small sheep, divided between us and the soldiers, in all forty-one persons, one sear of rice each, with a little salt. In the villages through which we passed, some of the people would express sentiments of compassion, and suffer us to drink water, not indeed out of their vessels, which would have been pollution, but out of the palms of their hands; while others would revile us, and pray that we might be put to the sword without mercy. Such is the extreme difference of natural tempers.

December iSth. - Arrived at Bangalore, and visited by the Keeladar, who made us many flattering promises, but executed none.

December 2yd. - About five in the evening arrived at Seringapatam, where we were led in triumph to Hyder's palace, surrounded by crowds of people, till near seven o'clock, during which time our names were taken down in writing by the Keeladar, and then ordered to a small confined prison, where we found Captains Baird, Wragg, Menteith; Lieutenants Lindsey, Massey, Chace, Turin; Ensigns Wilson and Stringer, Our joy on this occasion was great; we were allowed one gold fanam each per day, and a French surgeon to attend us (Monsieur Fortuno). The guards here consisted of two *Goloks* (civilians who acted as field deputies), two havaldars, twelve

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sepoys, one *Duffadar*, and twelve collerees, a lower class of soldiers. Our servants were permitted to attend the Bazar morning and evening, and allowed by the Keeladar to purchase one bottle and two-thirds of pia arrack (a liquor distilled from the bark of a tree), weekly, for each gentleman, the amount of which was one fanam and eight *Dubs*. The poor soldiers who accompanied us were sent to a different prison.

Ensign Gordon, who left Arneé the 4th of October, was amongst the soldiers here, and in irons. Repeated Applications were made to the *Myar*, or Town Major, to remove him to us, in vain: but at last, on our solemn assurances that he was an officer, his irons were taken off.

December 2yrd. - Repeated applications have been made to the Keeladar, for cots to sleep on, but without success. We are, therefore, necessitated to make use of straw. The Keeladar will not even allow the door of the prison to be kept open during the course of the day, in order to admit a little air, although we have often told him of the dangerous consequences to be apprehended from its exclusion, and also informed him that several gentlemen were very much indisposed. To all our representations and supplications we received for answer, that if any of us died, they would carry us out lashed to a bamboo, for the prey of the tygers and jackalls.

1781 -*January 19th.*- An head Brahmin belonging to the Circar, ordered us all to turn out of our berths, and, after assembling us near his person, attempted to engage us in the service of Hyder, with the flattering promises of great pay, horses, palanquins, women, slaves, etc. On our refusing to take service, he said, we were fine men, and that it grieved him to see us in that situation. He assured us, that when he invited us to take service, it was not understood that we should fight against our country; and that we were to do nothing but walk about at our pleasure.

January 22nd. - Received the following letter, brought in privately:

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To Captain Wragg

'DEAR FRIEND,

'I shall never forget you at Combitore. You was my Ensign; you behaved yourself to the Company honourably. I am sorry to hear of your being prisoner. Pray be so good as to take in patience for twelve years, two men, being prisoners in Seringapatam. The two men are Samuel Spencer and John Wilton, both London born. We were taken at Errod, in 1768.¹ I hope your honour will be so good as to acquaint the Commander of Madras about us two captives, if God gives liberty for your honours to return back.

'(Signed) SAMUEL SPENCER,

'JOHN WILTON.'

These two unfortunate men, as we learned afterwards, are by trade armourers. They have each of them five gold fanams a day, with two drams of arrack; but they have guards over them, and appear quite dejected. They are allowed to dress in European style, but are very dirty.

Arrived Captain Menteith's servant from Arnee', and informed us of the fall of Fort Gingee, and the death of Lieutenant Knox.

January 29th. - Raised by subscription, and sent to Ensign Gordon, eight and a half pagodas.

Arrived this afternoon, Captain Lucas and Ensign Macauley; the latter taken at Gingee.

March 8th. - Arrived Lieutenant-Colonel Baillie, Captain Rumley, and Lieutenant Frazer: the two first of these gentlemen in irons, as they also had been during their journey from Arcott to this place, which is upwards of two hundred and forty English miles; they were lodged in a veranda, an open gallery, opposite to our prison, at the distance of about two hundred yards. Arrived at the same time Mr. Skardon, resident at Pondicherry, Mr. Brunton, late an Ensign in the Company's service, and a Mr. MacNeal, mate of a country ship; the two last sent amongst the soldiers, and Mr. Skardon to our prison,

¹ In the first Mysore War, 1767-69. - [EDITOR.]

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with the daily allowance of six *Cash*, one sear of rice, half a sear of *Doll*, and a little *Ghee*: this allowance was poor indeed, but as we were on every occasion ready with our small pittance to assist our brother sufferers, we made a monthly subscription in order to put him on a level with us.

March 28th. - Visited by the Keeladar, who behaved to us in a most contemptuous manner, refusing to speak but through an interpreter. He was very particular in examining our irons.

March 29th. - Ordered to be mustered three times a day.

May 3rd. - Visited by a black Commandant, who played a game of chess with Captain Lucas: this game was brought from India into Europe.

May 4th. - Several letters taken by the French doctor's servant for our friends in the Carnatic, requesting a supply of money, and to know if there was any prospect of peace.

May 10th. - The whole of us (except Captain Baird of the 73rd) put in heavy irons; and the French surgeon ordered not to attend us. Each pair of irons was from eight to nine pounds weight. This was the commencement of a deliberate system, as afterwards more fully appeared, for cutting us off! - This is a melancholy day.

May 20th. - Arrived Lieutenant Coke, and put in irons. He was taken at Pandanalore, in the Tanjore country.

May 24th. - Lieutenant Turin's irons taken off, on account of a wound in his thigh.

June 4th. - In consequence and in honour of his Majesty's birthday, we had for dinner fowl, cutlets, and a flower pudding, and drank his health in a chatty of sherbet.

August 6th. - Arrived prisoners, five Europeans, with a number of Carnatic slave boys and girls torn from our country.

August 28th. - We received accounts of the French doctor's servant having returned from the Carnatic: but no letters from our friends.

September 7th. - Mr. Christie, serjeant of the Bengal detachment, arrived this afternoon. He belonged to Colonel Pearce's detachment, and was taken prisoner near Pulicat the 3rd of August. Mr. Christie, when it was discovered that he

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was not an officer, was on the 9th sent among the soldiers. Favourable accounts received at this time of the spirited exertions of Mr. Hastings diffuse a general joy throughout the prison.

September 10th. - Several gentlemen's legs are found to be very much swelled on account of the weight of their irons. Repeated application to the Keeladar to have them taken off, but without success.

September 18th. - A grand *Gentoo* feast, at which the King of Mysore was present, a lad about twelve years of age. This royal prisoner is allowed to appear in public only at this particular time. We were allowed, as a very particular favour, to indulge our curiosity with a sight of his Majesty.¹

October 1st. - Visited by a Commandant, who asked a few trifling questions.

The guard very particular in examining our irons at the different musters.

A sepoy of our guard informs us, that sixteen soldiers had been taken out of one of the prisons in Seringapatam and circumcised, and that they intended to remove some of us for the same purpose.

October 25th. - This evening we saw the Europeans at exercise, and dressed in the Mahomedan fashion, corresponding in number with the sepoy's information.

Our servants, and those who attended the soldiers, met together every day, in order to receive their daily allowance of rice. Hence we had an opportunity of corresponding with our

¹ On the death of Krishna Raja II in 1766, his eldest son Nanja-Raja was installed on the throne by order of Haidar; but, since he proved too independent, he was deposed in 1767 and strangled in 1770. The nominal successor was his brother, who died childless in 1775. Haidar then selected an heir by assembling all the male children of all the branches of the royal house, and after throwing toys and sweets among the children, chose a child who had picked up a dagger and lime. 'That is the Raja,' cried Haidar, 'his first care is military protection, his second to realize the produce of his kingdom.' Thus Chama Raja became the puppet king whom the imprisoned officers saw on this occasion. - [EDITOR.]

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fellow-captives in the different prisons by means of a rice cake, or hopper, and a *Cheroot* or *Sagar*, which is some leaves of tobacco rolled up in the form of a tube so as to be smoked without the aid of a pipe or any other instrument. One would ask another if he would eat a bit of hopper. The person who offered this refreshment took care to give that part of the cake which contained the letter. In like manner one would ask another for a *sagar*: and the other, understanding the meaning of the request, would give him what he wanted, if any intelligence was to be communicated: if not, he would perhaps say that he had none. In this manner we had an opportunity of interchanging sentiments, of condoling with one another, and of contributing what little was in our power to the relief of those who were in the greatest want or distress. The consolation we felt in this intercourse of sympathetic affection induced us even to encounter the danger of death; for this most assuredly would have been our lot if our correspondence had been discovered.

November nth.- A report prevails that our correspondence with the different prisons is discovered, which gives the greatest alarm. We proceed instantly to destroy or to conceal papers, knives, scissars, razors, etc. This journal, which was written within a very small compass, on a slip of Indian paper, in such an hand as that in which innocent idlers write out the Lord's Prayer within the circumference of a halfpenny, was concealed on this, as on other occasions of alarm, which were not unfrequent, in a small hole dug deep in the earthen floor of our prison, carefully filled up and beaten into a perfect equality and resemblance of the contiguous surface.

November 12th. - It is reported that a man was intercepted who had undertaken to carry a letter from us to Colonel Baillie.

Having made repeated application for medicines for the sick, we were informed that the strictest orders had been issued, that no medicines should be administered to us by any person, under the pain of the most severe and shocking mutilation. We had not come there to live, we were told; and that nothing could be more acceptable to the Nabob than the news of our death.

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These melancholy tidings had a visible effect on the minds of the gentlemen who were indisposed. Cut off from all hope of relief, but that alone which might possibly arise from the unassisted efforts of nature, they began to droop and despond exceedingly. We repeated and pressed our solicitations for medicines to no purpose. The sentries to whom we applied, declared, that they would willingly bring in some, if they could do it with safety; but that their orders were express, and that their ears and noses, and right hands, must pay the forfeiture of disobedience.

Received the following letter from Ensign Clarke:

GENTLEMEN,

'I was this day, to my great surprize, accosted by one of your servants, who informed me, calling me by name, that the officers in general were unwilling to deliver any letter from me, without seeing the contents. I might complain of the manner they have behaved some time since their arrival here; which has indeed been such, as shewed they were happy to have it in their power to insult anyone who had been of a rank superior to themselves with impunity. However, it is wrong to mention anything of this kind, as I am at present in a situation so very disagreeable in many respects, that any one thing is scarce worth mentioning, even were it likely, on my complaints, to be remedied.

'I arrived at Madras in January, 1781, in a style superior to that of the rest of the cadets in general, having been two years an Ensign and Lieutenant in the Militia, and of course being used to a very expensive way of living, together with a carelessness for money, and lending to too many who had no prospect of being able to pay me. Notwithstanding this, I was largely supplied by General Munro, to whom I was particularly recommended, and at whose house I lived at Madras, as well as to Mr. Mawbrey, who was very much my friend, and two or three others. I soon fell into debt to such a degree, as obliged me to think of going to camp, or somewhere else, in order to get out of the reach of the Mayor's Court: for which purpose I

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applied to the Governor, who told me, that as soon as a ship sailed for Cuddalore, where our army then lay, I might go. But as there was danger in waiting so long, I set off for camp on horseback, leaving directions with a boy, to send my things as soon as possible. I arrived safe at Pondicherry, where, when at dinner at a French tavern, I was made prisoner, and that evening sent to Meer Saib's, one of Hyder's generals, camp, since killed. Next morning, after I arrived at Pondicherry, I was offered three hundred rupees per month, and again at Meer Saib's camp, if I would take service, which I again and again refused. I staid a short time in the camp of Meer Saib, and was afterwards sent under a guard of two havaldars and six sepoy to Hyder's camp, then lying near Tanjore, commanded by Colonel Braithwaite. Two days after my arrival, I was taken before the Nabob, who asked me the usual questions; to all which I professed ignorance, alledging, that my short stay at Madras, and my station, I having been appointed Ensign in the 2d battalion of 2d regiment, commanded by Major Hopkins, prevented my having any insight into the management of affairs at Madras. The next day we marched to Trichinopoly, where I understood he was to lay for some time. In a few days after, good God! what was my surprize, to be sent for by the Commandant of the battalion, with which I was confined, and then informed it was Hyder's desire that I should embrace Mahomedanism. I refused, notwithstanding the most dreadful threats, and most alluring promises, to consent to a thing so much my abhorrence. The next day, my usual allowance of rice was brought; but on asking for the three pice, my daily pittance, I was informed it was stopped, till I agreed to the proposal of yesterday, of becoming a proselyte. I was a little shocked, but resolved to persevere, till some relief or other should come. On the second day after this, I received no rice at all, nor the two next days. Being now almost worn out, not having tasted any food, except a little rice which the sepoy afforded, I with my tongue consented to a thing which my heart abhorred. On this I received my former allowance, and what had been stopped the several days foregoing. I shortly after marched to Seringapatam, in the

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most horrid despondence of mind. On my arrival here, I was questioned with regard to my knowledge of the exercise, which I said I knew nothing of: but on the appearance of the chaubuc, or horsewhip, I soon went through the manual to the satisfaction of the two Myars. I was then questioned with regard to my having consented to embrace their damned religion, which I denied. However, I was soon, from the second appearance of the chaubuc and the recollection of former usage, induced to speak my consent, though on my arrival at the boys you daily see, and bHng asked if I would teach them your exercise, I refused, saying, I had refused to take service, or become a Mussulman, and that I would rather do both, or even die, than teach others to fight against my country, which in my idea was worse than either. I was then removed to prison where I now am, and found a European of the name of Smith, of the 2d battalion, 2d regiment, in as miserable a situation as any to which a man could be reduced by vermin, dirty cloaths, bed, etc. The second night after my arrival, I was made a Mussulman; about three months after my arrival, I was very much surprised one morning to see a set of young men very cleanly dressed, brought for the same dreadful operation of which I had lately recovered. That night they were circumcised after the usual dose of majum had been administered: what ensued with regard to them you have received from them before. I had forgot to mention, that at first the usual allowance of mutton, ghee, etc., was very great, but that we had only three cash per day. However, on their arrival we had six, and afterwards one gold fanam.

'I have done all in my power to prevail on them to refuse going to exercise. Though I was tied up once to be flogged, I would not go on any account. The usage from the privates towards me has been most rascally, which, together with other things, makes it my daily wish to die, and has almost tempted me more than once to lay violent hands on myself. I hope soon, however, and have very good reason to expect, that in a short time, the arrival of our army will at once put an end to our confinement and Mahomedanism. My having confessed many

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things against myself, which otherwise could never have appeared, is a sufficient proof that I scorn to palliate any part of my offence or misconduct by a lie.

'I am, my dear brother officers, if my folly has not forfeited my right to call you by so dear a name, your affectionate sufferer,

'HENRY GEORGE JAMES JENNINGS CLARKE.'

Visited by a head man, or man of consequence from the Durbar, who enquired very affectionately after our health, and if we were in want of anything. He took his leave with great promises of friendship; but he executed none.

Received a chit, or note, from Colonel Baillie, offering us two hundred and fifty gold fanams.

The cash received from headquarters (so we called Colonel Baillie's prison), when each gentleman received ten fanams.

1782 - *January 4th.* - Arrived prisoners, three Europeans, with a number of Carnatic children.

January 5th. - Fourteen Europeans taken out and circumcised.

January 6th. - A Circar Bramin visited us, and in a very peremptory manner ordered us to fall in; and we had reason to suspect he came to single some of us out for his diabolical purpose.

January 18th. - Serjeant Higgins, of Captain Powell's battalion, voluntarily took service. This he did with an intention, which he afterwards found means of carrying into effect, to make his escape to his wife, whom he had lately married.

Received a letter from Ensigns Brunton and Gordon, informing us, that they are threatened by the Bramin with being made Mussulmen, and that they intend some of us for the same purpose.

January 26th. - Ensigns Brunton and Gordon, with one hundred soldiers, removed to Shittle-Droog: the soldiers handcuffed, two and two.

January 27th. - Very much alarmed by the appearance of a Circar Bramin, who ordered the whole of us to turn out. His

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orders being complied with, he looked stedfastly at six of the stoutest, and then said to a man who stood near him, these six will do. The six were, Captains Baird and Wragg; Lieutenants Lindsey, Bowser, Coke; and Ensign Macalister.

February 3rd. - Visited by the Keeladar and My ar.

February 24th. - Pursa Rama, Colonel Baillie's boy, was detected in carrying contraband goods to his master; the boy was put in irons and removed to the soldiers.

A European Mussulman put in the stocks, and stripped naked, for striking a caffre, or black man of the negroe or African kind.

February 26th. - The European Mussulman released.

February 28th. - A number of sepoys, who were taken prisoners in a sally at Trichinopoly, and sent here, have, on account of their cruel treatment, taken service. The few who have not consented, are chained two and two, with the daily allowance of one sear of *Baggee* (a poor small grain), and three cash.

March 17th. - Colonel Baillie, Captain Rumley, and Lieutenant Frazer's irons taken off.

March 18th. - A corps of Carnatic slaves, taken since the commencement of the war, and disciplined by Serjeant Dempster, with the other European Mussulmen, marched to join an army to be led against Calicut, where we had some troops.

Abdiel Wahab (Mahomed-Ally's brother), who was taken prisoner at Chitteput, and sent prisoner here, allowed for himself and family, consisting of seventy persons, one thousand rupees per month; his eldest son remains at Arcott with Hyder.

Ensign Macauley sent his shoe buckles to the Keeladar, in order to obtain his leave to dispose of them, that he might raise a few fanams. The buckles detained by the Keeladar.

March 26th. - Arrived prisoners this evening a number of Europeans, and lodged in a veranda near our prison. Their number, rank, and the place where they were taken, we have not been able to learn.

March 27th. - Visited by the Myar, who, after reconnoitring our prison, ordered the cook-room to be cleaned out, for the

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unfortunate people who arrived yesterday. We hear the sound of the armourers employed in putting on irons. Various are our conjectures where they have been taken. However, we at present flatter ourselves that they may be the officers separated from us in Hyder's camp, and sent to Bangalore.

Two of our servants removed to Colonel Baillie. A letter sent to the soldiers.

Abdiel Wahab sent us word, that Hyder meant to force Colonel Baillie, and the rest of the officers, to enter into his service.

The prisoners that had been lodged in the veranda were brought in here this evening: seventeen European officers, one surgeon, and one black commandant. They are the officers of Colonel Braithwaite's detachment, and fell into the hands of Tippoo Saib, in the Tanjore country, the 18th of February, 1782, about forty miles from Tanjore. During the time they were with Tippoo Saib, he paid them every attention that was necessary. He not only furnished them with cloaths and money, but at the same time gave strict orders to all his Keeladars to be attentive to them during their march to Hyder's camp, who was then lying at Conjeveram. But on their arrival at this place, their money, and every other little thing they had, was taken from them; and they were told, that if they concealed the most trifling article, their nose and ears would be cut off. The next day, a few piah horses were provided for their journey; but many of them were obliged to walk the whole way, with the daily allowance of six or seven sears of rice, with a little salt, amongst the whole. Colonel Braithwaite and Ensign Holmes remain in Hyder's camp. We are informed that our army is lying near Madras, for want of carriage bullocks, and that it was believed a French fleet had passed Pulicat.

These circumstances aggravated the melancholy gloom that had long hung over the place of our confinement.

April 10th. - Lieutenant Lind, at the point of death, is allowed, with the utmost difficulty, to have his irons taken off.

April 12th. - Lieutenant Coke's irons were taken off, by the

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means of a bribe to the *Verduvalla*, a military officer non-commissioned, about the rank of a serjeant-major.

April 11th.- Lieutenant Lind died.

April 15th.- The dead body of Lieutenant Lind, lashed to a bamboo, was carried out on the shoulders of three men. We all of us stood round the body of our departed friend, while Mr. Skardon read the funeral service.

May 9th. - Visited by the Myar, who enquired in a most pressing manner, if there were any carpenters or smiths amongst us. We replied that we were all gentlemen. He did not seem satisfied with this answer; but desired the Commandant, Sid Abrim, to make particular enquiry, and inform him the next visit he should make, as the Keeladar meant to take some of us out.

May 15th. - An order arrived from Hyder for our servants to discontinue going to the Buzar. Henceforth our guards are our market-men, who cheat us most unmercifully.

May 31st. - Ensign Graham's irons taken off, on account of sickness.

June 1th. - In honour of his Majesty's birthday, we have celebrated it with a pilaw, and drank his health in sherbet.

As Mr. White, Colonel Braithwaite's surgeon, was unacquainted with the simples and compositions used as medicines in this country, and was deprived of his own chest of medicine, the arrival of that gentleman amongst us (against whose professional abilities this ought not certainly to be considered, and is not intended, as any insinuation), in the character of a fellow-prisoner, did not avail us. We therefore continued to be our own physicians, and to use those medicines with whose powers several of us had become acquainted in the course of a long residence, in various stations and situations in India. The natives of this country, in which nature is very powerful and luxuriant, and where maxims and observations are accumulated and handed down from generation to generation, from very remote antiquity, are undoubtedly acquainted with many medicinal properties of herbs and fruits, and other simples,

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unknown to European nations. It is generally known, that the practice of inoculating for the smallpox is common in all Asiatic countries. But there is an art in Hindistan, not yet known in Europe, by which the women effectually prevent all traces of the smallpox on the faces of their little ones. This preservative is composed of a salve made of certain Indian herbs, and a certain kind of oil, which they apply the moment the pock begins to blacken. It does not appear, that any of the Company's surgeons have ever enquired, or at least enquired with success, into the nature of this preparation. That the Hindoos, however, know how to save their skins from the ravages of the smallpox, is a fact which cannot be doubted. On the subject of Hindoo surgery and physick, another well-attested fact may be mentioned, which is attended with the happiest effects. When any person happens to receive a bruise or wound in any part of his body, by a fall or blow, or otherwise, those who are nearest to him, presently strip off the greater part of his cloaths, and, with the palms of their hands, gently rub the afflicted part, or 'if that is not to be touched, the parts nearest to it; and proceeding from that spot, rub over, with greater force, the whole of the body. This good office is generally performed by the women, who are indeed the surgeons and physicians of this country, and who handle their patients with all the easy address of the most experienced member of the faculty in Europe.

It was from the natives of India, that the English, at Madras, learned the qualities of the junglicarandee, or what are commonly called by our soldiers Jack Spratt's Nuts, three of which will operate as an emetic, with very salutary effects. Cassia, jaggeree, and tamarinds, were the *Materia Medica* of our cathartics. These materials, with some quicksilver, which we formed into pills and ointments, we were obliged to introduce by stealth, by means of handsome rewards to individuals belonging to our guards; for, as has already been observed, all medicines were prohibited by the Keeladar, under the severest threats.

August 10th. - One of our officers struck by a centinel, for attempting to look out at the prison door.

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August 13 th. - Lieutenant Coke and Ensign Graham put in irons.

Lieutenant Lindsey's irons taken off, on account of sickness.

The French, we hear from every quarter, have made over three hundred seamen, and others, whom they have taken prisoners, to Hyder; and that the French Admiral received from Hyder, on that account, fifty thousand rupees. This was publicly affirmed at the Keeladar's Durbar; but it is given merely as a report.

September' 22nd.-We are informed that Colonel Baillie is in a dangerous way; yet that the Keeladar will not allow him a physician to attend him, or even assist him with medicines, although many applications have been made to him for that purpose.

Arrived prisoners, three hundred Carnatic boys.

October 13th.- The whole of us have offered one hundred and twenty thousand rupees for our enlargement; and not to serve against Hyder during the war. No answer.

October 18th.- Arrived prisoners, seven Europeans.

October 26th. - A letter taken charge of by one of our guard, to the soldiers' prison, with a promise, if an answer is received by us, to give him three pagodas. Subscribed one fanam each for that purpose.

October 30th. - Arrived forty Europeans, part of those men that were given up by the French. They have been circumcised.

November 2nd, - Arrived prisoners, eight hundred Carnatic boys and girls.

A sepoy has undertaken to carry a letter to the circumcised Europeans.

November 13th.- Received the melancholy news of Colonel Baillie's death.

As his merit and rank had rendered him an object of terror to the conqueror before he fell into his hands, so he became an object of barbarous resentment afterwards, and was treated, accordingly, with unusual and marked severity. In the enemy's camp, he was separated from his fellow-prisoners, the Captains Rumley and Frazer, and thrown into irons even on his journey

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to Seringapatam from Arcot. On his arrival on his way to the capital of Hyder, at Bangalore, five guns were fired in order to assemble the people to insult his misfortunes. And during the whole course of his illness, he received not the least comfort or assistance from the advice of any physician.

November 1st.- Account of a treaty of peace being on foot in the Carnatic, but on account of the arrival of some French troops, with the King of France's picture (for Hyder), it was broken off.

Received the following journal from Serjeant Dempster, which had been sent to him from some of the unfortunate Europeans, dated March 14th, 1782:

'Assembled at Seringapatam, under the command of Buffadar Cawn, Jemmidar, who received the chaylacks (Carnatic boys circumcised and made slaves) from Seatibie Jemmidar, beside the chay lack battalion, twelve hundred horse, three battalions of sepoys, with firelocks, of about five hundred men, eight gunners, twelve Lascars, four rocket-boys, one man with a bow and arrows, three thousand seven hundred and seventy-five poly gars with pikes, match-locks, etc., five thousand, and our artillery park of four three-pounders, iron. When our camp is pitched, 'tis all of a cluster, about twenty tents, an old marqui, and one thousand huts.

'Agreeably to Seatibie's orders, our victuals was cooked with the Commandant's and Subadar's. However, they soon shook off that incumbrance, and put us on the footing of the slave boys. This evening they had taken the currey pot away, and we had been waiting for it a considerable time: but they not serving themselves, Green and Woodley seized it, and ran off with it, and we served ourselves, to the great mortification of the Commandant, Subadars, and Myars, who swore they would be revenged on all the *Feringees* next day.

March 15th. - Marched to Mysore; the old Commandant, agreeable to his vow of vengeance yesterday, orders the slave-boys' rice to be cooked for us: but we all refused it, Higgins excepted. The Commandant went to the Jemmidar and in-

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formed him that we had been drinking arrack: whereupon we were made prisoners, two and two, and put under centinels of an out battalion, our swords being taken from us. About midnight they sent us some good rice. The next day they released us, and gave us back our swords. An order issued to deter us from buying arrack and toddy.

'March 17th. - Arrived at a fort where we received a reinforcement of one thousand Polygars from Shittle-Droog: halted three days and left two guns behind us.

¹*'March 22nd.* - Entered into very thick woods. After marching eight miles within the woods, the Polygars in front were surprised by about eighty of the enemy, the Niars, by the Moors called Nimars, a set of people formerly subdued by Hyder, but now in a state of rebellion: of this cast is our Commandant and two of our Subadars. They discharged a few matchlocks and arrows at the Polygars, who came running back with their usual bravery. However, they were beat back again to the attack with large bamboos and clubs, by the Verduvalla belonging to the chaylacks. On this a small skirmish ensued; and as the chaylacks advanced, the English drum beat, which caused the enemy to retreat to the woods. Seven of the enemy were taken, one of whom was hanged on a tree, and ten killed. Halted at this place two days.

'March 25th. ~ Marched near twelve miles, and came upon about three hundred of the enemy; a skirmish of about a quarter of an hour happened, in which five of them were killed and four taken. We had three killed and wounded. The enemy set off to the woods.

'March 26th. - In our march took three Niars, who gave information of the enemy being posted in a village to the right. Upon our arrival there, we found that the enemy had fled. An alarm happened here about midnight: it was a false one: however, our troops were very much frightened.

'March 27th. - The Niars taken yesterday were hanged.

The Europeans were put under centinels to their companies, on which account we refused doing duty, and gave up our swords; for which Higgins was bound with his hands behind

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him all day. - Smith, Innwood, and Clements, beat with rattans, and in the evening after we encamped, we were all tied in one rope, and ordered to be beat: however, we received our swords and were released.

March 28th. - Arrived at a small mud fort in which were three hundred of the enemy. They fired a few *Ginjauls*, a long kind of guns made of bar iron bound by hoops, of which they had twenty, at our mob: and early in the morning they quitted the fort and escaped. At daylight our people entered it: halted here twenty days: parties sent out daily, and brought in prisoners, some of whom were hanged, others discharged after paying a fine of their noses, ears, or left hands.

'April 4th. - About five hundred of the enemy in sight. The troops being formed for battle, and the enemy amongst the bushes in front, they fired at them from the three-pounders, and afterwards advanced, and platooned with small arms. The enemy fired pretty warmly several times, but being close pursued by our mob, they made off to the woods; how many of them were killed is unknown. Nine heads brought in to the Jemmidars. Thus ended the affair with the Niars for this time.

'April 18th. - We marched out of this woody country, and, on the twenty-first, arrived at a fort called Goondull. - N. B. Greens, an old Subadar, was convicted before the Jemmidar of endeavouring to persuade the chaylacks to leave the guns, and go to the Niars, being one himself; he was tied to a post, and reduced to a private Sepoy, but is excused all duty by his brother Niar the old Commandant.

'April 23rd. - Arrived at the fort we had left on the twenty-third of March. The Jemmidar ordered a Sepoy to be beat in a barbarous manner by four men with large bamboos, and then to be dragged round the camp, on his belly, by six men, for cutting his wife with his sword in two or three places.

'April 24th. - Arrived at a fort called Perripatam, and halted five days.

'May 1st. - Marched to a village called City Pore, near which was the ruins of a small fort, which had been possessed by the Corakees, a set of people formerly subdued, but who had after-

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wards rebelled, destroyed the fort and fled. The country here is woody, and the Niar country distant from Perripatam twenty miles.

'May 2nd. - Arrived on a plain, where a Corakee Rajah joined our mob, with three hundred of his men, armed with matchlocks and broad knives: proceeded on till we came to a small fort built with large timber, in which were two hundred and fifty Corakees: some of our troops were detached with three companies of chaylacks to fire musquetry at it under cover of a bank, which' was not of the least service; the other chaylack company staid in the rear for a bodyguard to the Commander-in-Chief. The enemy behaved obstinately and resolutely. Although they had no guns, they fired very hot from their ginjauls and matchlocks, of which our three-pound balls scarcely pierced the timber. At night we drew off to encamp, after firing about eight thousand musquet balls. During the night the enemy left the fort, and did not lose a man in their retreat, and at ten o'clock in the morning, the place was entered by the four companies of Sepoys. Thus ended the Corakee affair at present. Within sixteen miles of this fort, are near twenty Corakees hanging on trees for their late insurrection. The Corakee Rajah and his men sent to Citty Pore to settle there, for their loyalty. This is the most cowardly mob that was ever known, from the Commander-in-Chief to the wild Polygars: on the line of march we were like a flock of sheep.

'May 6th. - Arrived at a stone fort called Marcarry, where several Bramins had been defrauding the troops, who made their complaint to the Jemmidar, who ordered a cock of a firelock to be fixed upon their ears, and made them stand upon one foot, till they agreed to make good the damage sustained by the troops of the town, through their villainy. At this place, are seven companies of Sepoys with musquets, lately came from Nagram, and a Portugueze captain who commands thirty musteer artillery men. Halted here eight days. The monsoons and rainy season setting in. The mob ordered to canton at Perripatam till orders from the Nabob, where a stabula was to be built for the chaylack battalion; what will be the next exploit

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God knows, but neither Niars nor Corakees are settled yet. After steering all points of the compass, we are about forty miles from you: this is a most plentiful country.

'August 21st. - Intelligence came to the Jemmidar that a large body of the Corakees were assembling near Marcarry; three thousand Polygars were detached from Perripatam cantonement, and three hundred Sepoys from Marcarry; they came up with the enemy near a large river; they skirmished for above three-quarters of an hour, when the Corakees charged the Polygars. The whole of our party were defeated: only fifty Sepoys escaped.

'September 2yd. - A *Harcarrah* came with intelligence, that the Corakees had made an attempt upon Citty Pore, with an intention of putting to death the Rajah and his men. The Jemmidar marched with his mob of about four thousand cowards, to Sickle Boor, six miles, and encamped.

'September 27th and 28th. - Continually skirmished by the enemy, who often surprized our mob by springing out of the jungle or wood. In the evening of the twenty-eighth arrived at Citty Pore; relieved the fort by leaving two hundred and fifty Sepoys in the room of the Rajah and his men received in camp; our loss before we arrived here thirty men.

'September 29th. - Marched from hence; on our way back skirmished; lost fourteen men and encamped at Sickle Boor that evening: all but fifty of the men belonging to the Corakee Rajah deserted us.

'September 30th. - In the evening, the enemy very near our camp. The Jemmidar ordered the music belonging to the matchlocks, the infantry drums, and cavalry trumpets, to be beat and sounded all round the camp every *Gurry* (twenty-three minutes) during the night, in order to frighten away the enemy.

'October 2nd. - Marched about ten miles, and found the woods stopped with large trees laid across; during the time the labourers were clearing them away, the enemy fired very hot, both sides of the road, and put our negroes to the rout, and took all our buzar and baggage. Several skirmishes happened on our way to Citty Pore, in which we had one European, upwards of

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one hundred blacks, killed; and three Europeans, sixty blacks wounded. In great confusion we arrived at Citty Pore that evening, where we remained five days; during which time a treaty of peace was concluded between the Jemmidar and the Corakee prince.

'October 8th. - Our mob was escorted by three thousand six hundred Corakees on each flank within five miles of Perripatam: it was undoubtedly great folly of the Corakee prince to let us come off so easily, as they must have cut us off entirely.

"The fort of Citty Pore was given over to them, as well as all other pretensions to their country.

'On the eighteenth of October two thousand men joined us from Seringapatam.'

Here ends the journal transmitted to us by Serjeant Dempster.

The following was sent from Bentall Woodley to Serjeant Dempster:

'DEAR D,

⁴¹I assure you our situation is very bad, much worse than yours. The old Commandant draws five pagodas per month; but our pay and the Subadar's is only one fanam a day, which changes only for eight pice and three cash. The Verduvalla serjeant draws three-fourths of a fanam a day, the Verduvalla corporal one pice, one cash, the Havaladar half a fanam, a Sepoy one-fourth of a fanam per day, and the provisions that are cooked for the Europeans and boys are all on an equality. The Commandant and Subadars eat (like gentlemen) by themselves; but we like slaves, have rice, boiled twice a day in a dirty poisonous manner, with a little curry made with doll only. Five sear of ghee per day for five hundred men. We have not had any meat but twice these two months past, on which account it costs us all our eight dubs and three cash per day for victuals. We are treated ill by the old Commandant, who has full command of the battalion; for we have no command, only at exercise. The Jemmidar, Commander-in-Chief, who hates all Europeans, answers all our complaints with *jow, jowl* (go, go!)

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'Mackinnon, being wounded at the Corakee fort through the arm with a musket ball by one of our own mob, the Jemmidar made him a present of a red turban and a set of gold beads, value ten pagodas: all the boys that were wounded received a present of silver bangles to wear on their wrists, value twenty-six rupees. On the twenty-fifth of June, Smithey, Green, Clements, Anderson, Wyllies, Mackenzie, and your humble servant, endeavoured to venture towards Calicut, with a determination to extricate ourselves out of Hyder's service. After walking by the light of the moon near six coss, through the thickest woods, we were surprized by wild elephants and tygers, and by accident lost our bread, which determined us to turn back again, which we accordingly did; and it seems Higgins, being afraid he should be brought into trouble, reported us gone to Seringapatam, to complain of the Jemmidar's usage. The horse being sent out after us, met us about five miles from the cantonement, and brought us to the Jemmidar. We said, by way of excuse, that we had been out a-shooting, having a carbine and two pistols with us: we were stripped and all tied in one rope: an hundred of the stoutest of our battalion received each a twig of a tamarind tree and served us out a lash each: we had no centinels over us before we began this adventure, but now we are closely guarded.

' (Signed) BENTALL WOODLEY.'

November 2nd. -- Tippoo Saib and Lally on their march to the Malabar coast.

Arrived prisoners, two European with fifty Carnatic boys.

November 25th.— Received a letter from the soldiers, and gave the Sepoy who brought it five fanams.

December nth.— Forty-seven seamen, who were given up to Hyder by Suffrein, appeared this morning on the parade opposite to our prison, and have been circumcised since their arrival here: they were in the Mahomedan dress, white turbans, white linen jackets and long drawers; sixteen of these unfortunate victims could not be above twelve or thirteen years of age.

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A European Mussulman in irons.

Arrived prisoner, one European.

December 12th. - The European Mussulman who was put in irons yesterday, is this evening attending the drill in irons.

December 15th. - Received accounts of Hyder's death, and that his corpse was carried to Collard [Kolar]. He died of an ulcer in his back, which had afflicted him for seven years.

Tippoo Saib was in the Calicut country at the time his father died, and immediately on his hearing the news, he ordered a new Keeladar here, with one battalion of Sepoys, and proceeded himself (with Lally) to take charge of the army in the Carnatic. It was twenty-seven days from the time of his father's death until the time he took charge of the army, and everything went on as smooth as before.

1783 -*January 19th.* - The whole of us turned out to satisfy the curiosity of a visitor; a black man of some consequence.

Lieutenants Lindsey and Massey put in irons.

Sid Abram (our black Commandant), by the desire of the whole, requested of the Myar to deliver the following particulars to the Keeladar.

1 st. - That we had been in heavy irons for near two years.

2nd. - That we had no medicines, nor were even allowed to purchase any for the relief of the sick.

3rd. - That we might be allowed one bottle of pia arrack for the use of the sick only, and to be kept always in charge of the centinel.

4th. - That our allowance of a fanam per day was too small.

5th. - That Mr. Skardon might be put on the same allowance as the whole of us, he at present receiving only six cash, one sear of rice, half of doll, a little curry stuff, and ghee per day.

To this we received no answer.

February 14th. - Mustered by the Myar, who particularly examined our irons.

February 26th. - Removed to Mysore, Captain Rumley, Lieutenants Frazer and Sampson: poor Sampson was exceedingly ill of an ague at the time he left us; we made up a small

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sum of forty gold fanams for him: strange are the conjectures concerning the fate of these three gentlemen.

February 27th.-Four European Mussulmen detected in attempting their escape.

March 1st. - Received a letter from Colonel Braithwaite: he and Ensign Holmes are allowed one fanam per day each. Colonel Braithwaite having represented to us their miserable situation, we in consequence raised by public subscription seventy gold fanams, and have desired the Colonel, to convey, if possible, part of the above sum to Captain Leech, who we understand is starving on six cash per day: this unfortunate man was taken at Puddelotah, thirty miles from Trichinopoly, and is now confined along with two Serjeants and three Subadars.

March 16th.~ Received a letter from Colonel Braithwaite requesting more fanams.

March 19th. - Two o'clock a.m. a total eclipse of the moon.

Sent Colonel Braithwaite thirty-four fanams, which we raised with the utmost difficulty.

March 22nd. - Arrived the reliques of the late Hyder-Ally-Cawn, and interred in the Loll Bang garden, one mile east of the fort.

March 25th. - Received a letter from Colonel Braithwaite, wherein he informs us that he has only received sixty fanams. A Verduvalla who was over the Colonel at this time, attended our prison on account of his indisposition; consequently we thought this a favourable opportunity to remit the money, and accordingly entrusted him; but found, to our sorrow, that he kept up forty fanams and two letters.

April 1st. - Colonel Braithwaite having pointed out a channel of corresponding with Tanjore, and wishing to have fifty fanams transmitted to him for that purpose, we have raised that sum by subscription, and sent it to him, together with a list of our names, in order that they may be forwarded to our friends.

May 6th. - The person who engaged with Colonel Braithwaite to transact the correspondence with Tanjore, has declined to execute it.

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May 16th. - The whole of us have subscribed half a fanam each per month to Captain Leech, which puts him on a level with us, as we understand he is in a most wretched situation.

June 19th. - Sent by the washerwoman to Captain Leech thirty-three gold fanams. Two months' subscription.

July 2d. - The whole of us have subscribed one dub each for the doctor's medicine box. This we do occasionally.

Received a letter from Colonel Braithwaite, of which what follows is an extract:

'As we burn all your letters, we could be glad you would send us the names of those herbs good for sore legs. Captain Leech's are swelled, and very sore: he has no covering for them but old rags, from which I conjecture that his w — will let no cloth be bought for him; therefore it would be an act of charity, if, amongst you, you would make up for him four suits of shirts and drawers, and deduct the money out of his next month's supply: you can send them from time to time by the waistcoat washerman.'

July 24th. - Our servants, in going for water this evening, accosted a Subadar for news. This man was formerly in our service. He desired the servants to give his particular *Salam* to us, and tell us to keep up our spirits, for that we would very soon be released.

Sid Gofforr, who was a Commandant of a battalion of Zebundy Sepoys, and taken prisoner in the Tanjore country, is appointed Commandant to a regiment of cavalry, and allowed a palanquin. This is a particular mark of Tippoo's favour, as no one is permitted to make use of a palanquin, unless by express orders from the Nabob. Sid Gofforr, previously to his appointment, sent for his wife and children, as pledges of his fidelity.

This is a piece of policy very common among all the princes of India. If any person is distinguished by fortune, by connections, or by any trust in government, care is taken that his family, or those who are most dear to him, shall be placed under

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the immediate observation of the prince, or the minister in whom he confides. The head men, as they are called, of different villages, quarters of towns, etc., keep registers of all families of any note within their districts.

At five o'clock, p.m., receive intelligence of a project contrived in order to reinstate the King of Mysore. How dangerous soever this conspiracy might appear to be, yet every member at first appeared steady and undaunted. The parties who entered into this plot, were the *Inchivalla*, head postmaster to Tippoo Saib, and keeper of the privy seals; the Prime Minister of the old King of Mysore; two Subadars; and nine other headmen. One of the Subadars had the command of one hundred men: the other had been a Subadar in Captain Keating's battalion, and taken prisoner on the fall of Amboor, a garrison in the Carnatic. The whole of the conspirators assembled several times, and after matters were arranged, they each swore solemnly to observe secrecy. Letters were then dispatched to our army at that time in the Combitore country, the Marrattas, and Corakees, requiring their assistance. Everything promised success. They then agreed to disperse for the present, and to meet at the general rendezvous about seven the same evening: but unfortunately for them, and likewise all the prisoners, the Subadar who had command of the hundred men instantly went to the Keeladar and informed him of the whole plot. Guards were ordered, and the whole party secured and thrown into dungeons.

The first object of the conspirators was, to have made sure of the Keeladar, the head Myar, and Asoff-Cawn; these three were to be put instantly to death: their next, to have released all the European and other prisoners, and then to have murdered the whole of Asoff-Cawn's battalion, the Sepoys of that corps having charge of all the prisoners, magazines, gates, etc.

August 8th. - A current report that we are all to be burned, as a retaliation for the loss Tippoo has sustained on the Malabar coast.

Tippoo's son, a lad about eight years of age, frequently takes an airing on horseback in a street adjoining to our prison: which

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street, since the plot has been discovered, is lined with centinels, and no one is allowed to pass or repass.

On this occasion we peeped eagerly through some small apertures we had found means to make, or to improve a little, in the walls of our prison. The young Sultan was mounted on a beautiful managed Arabian horse, finely caparisoned. He was attended and preceded by a number of people, some of whom bore up his umbrella, others fanned his face, others proclaimed his rank and high descent. At one particular place by which he passed and repassed, two elephants were stationed to pay their compliments to the young prince among the rest of his adorers. The creatures were not only taught to kneel at his approach, and shew other marks of obedience, but to fan his face as he went along, with fans which they grasped and wielded with their trunk or proboscis.

August 11th. - An addition to our guard of two troopers, and the Myar has visited our prison three times this morning, with orders to the guards to be particularly vigilant.

A most melancholy sight this morning: one of the conspirators stripped naked, and dragged to death at an elephant's foot. In the afternoon two more of them, with their noses and ears cut off, riding on jackasses, were hanged at the north gate of the fort.

August 12th. - The washerman acquaints us that General Matthews is put in irons.

August 13th. - Our Havaladar says peace is making.

We hear that eleven thousand horse have died in Tippoo's camp since his arrival on the Malabar coast, many elephants and camels, and a vast number of bullocks; and that his army in general is very sickly.

This day a list was made out of the following articles, fabricated by the English officers, prisoners with Hyder-Ally-Cawn, and Tippoo Sultan Bahadar, in Seringapatam:

Hats of leather.

Caps of coarse dungeree.

Stocks of ditto.

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Neckcloths of coarse dungeree.

Banyan shirts, ditto.

Jackets, ditto.

Waistcoats, ditto.

Trowsers, ditto.

Socks, ditto.

Buttons of thread.

Tables of Bamboo, and covered with a mat.

Stools of ditto.

Cots of Bamboo, by the means of an old knife, converted into a saw; the cot lashed with coir rope, made from the cocoa nut.

Bird cages of Bamboo.

Trunks of ditto, 1100 pieces in one trunk.

Rat traps of ditto.

Squirrel traps of ditto.

Forks of ditto.

Back-gammon tables of ditto.

Dice, sawn with an old knife; the ivory acquired by stealth in the Buzar.

Chess-boards, of paper and cloth.

Cards, two folds of paper, one of cloth, pasted together with thick *Conjee*, and polished with the jawbone of a sheep.

Ink, of lamp-black, with a little gum water. One chatty was placed over head of another, to collect the smoke of the taper or wick of a lamp, which was swept off every day.

Pens of fowl quills.

Paints brought in by stealth - indigo, red wool, and turmeric.

August 25th.- Sent Captain Leech a supply of thirty-four fanams per the washerman.

Troops and guns arrived from Tippoo's camp, all corroborating the accounts of peace.

August 27th. - Our paymaster says, that thirty heavy guns are arrived here, in consequence of peace. This good man

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seems to take a pleasure in giving us any information that may contribute to ease our situation.

September 1st. - Saw forty of the European Mussulmen at drill. Visited by the Myar, and a Circar Bramin, who took all our names, with the rank, corps, and monthly pay of each.

September 8th. - The washerman gives us the melancholy accounts of General Matthews' death. He died the 7th instant; and at the time he departed this life he was in irons. The washerman further informed us, that he had not changed his linen for twenty days, on account of his knowing that the Keeladar had mixed poison in the victuals he daily sent him. It appeared, indeed, from the treatment that the General at first met with, that Tippoo meant to use unfair means with him. Had he intended to use him agreeably to his rank, he ought to have allowed his staff to accompany him during his confinement: but so far from that, that he first broke a solemn treaty with the General and his officers. The General was then separated from the whole of his little captive army, brought here under a strong guard, thrown into a filthy dungeon; his baggage, cot, and everything of the smallest consequence taken from him; his servants removed, and he himself thrown into heavy irons; and at last, to put a finishing stroke to the horrid scene, was dispatched by poison.

The General, when he learnt from a combination of suspicious circumstances, as well as hints let fall from those that were occasionally about his person, that it was the Sultan's intention to cut him off by poison, refused to taste of the victuals that was sent to him at stated times from the Keeladar's. Some of the guards, and even the servants who carried the poisoned victuals, took compassion on the General, and gave him now and then a little of theirs. The Havaldar, who had the charge of the General, connived at these acts of humanity at first, and manifested symptoms of uneasiness and dissatisfaction with the part assigned to him in the scene going forward. But this officer, when it was found that General Matthews still protracted his miserable existence, was sent for by the Keeladar, who told him that the General's life, if much longer continued, must be paid

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for by the Havaladar's death. Upon this the Havaladar communicated his orders, with the threats that accompanied them, to his unfortunate prisoner, who had now no other alternative than that of perishing by famine or by poison. The anxious love of life maintained, for several days, a struggle with the importunate calls of furious hunger. These, however, prevailed in the issue of the contest. He ate of poisoned food and he drank too, whether to quench the rage of inflamed thirst, or to drown the torments of his soul in utter insensibility, of the poisoned cup. Within six hours after this fatal repast he was found dead. This is a faithful and true account of the death of Lieutenant-General Matthews, which has been set forth in various ways. The manner in which these particulars were brought to light was this: The death of the General being reported to the Keeladar, it was mentioned, on that occasion, that a brass bason was found in his prison, with some writing on it: which must have been done with a fork he had with him. This was brought to the Keeladar, and read and interpreted by an European who had engaged in the Sultan's service.

The paymaster tells us, that peace is broke off, and that the Commandants of horse and infantry, contened in this vicinity, have received orders to recruit men with the utmost expedition.

September 9th. - The washerman says, that immediately on his delivering General Matthews' linen to the Circar, it was tore to pieces and thrown into the streets.

September 18th. - The head *Derroga* of the slaves, who visits the Keeladar daily, is attended by nine of the European slave-boys who have been circumcised: each of them having a silver pearl in their right ear, this being a badge of slavery amongst the Mahometans.

September 19th. - The head *Derroga* appeared this evening on the terrace of Tippoo Saáb's house, which has a flat roof with one turret on each corner, attended by five of the European slave-boys. On his perceiving us in the yard of our prison, he immediately called the unfortunate victims to the edge of the house, and particularly pointed us out to them. They were so very much affected that they burst into tears, and retired. The

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Derroga again brought them, and spoke to them in a very serious manner; we were not near enough to hear the conversation. It was the horror that the boys felt at the thought of being for ever shut out from the society of their countrymen, and the hope of returning to their country, that wrung their souls with tender anguish. The pain they felt was merely of this social kind, for, as far as we could judge from appearances, or from concurring reports, they were not subjected to any species of toil or drudgery, or to ill-usage of any sort. They were, on the contrary, well clothed and fed, and supplied with every accommodation that was either necessary or convenient. They were sent to school to be instructed in the Persian language, in arithmetic, and algebra; and, in general, they were trained up in all the knowledge and accomplishments of the country, being intended for the household of the Sultan, and to be about his person. The officers, to whose care they were entrusted by the monarch, had orders to treat them kindly, and to tell them that, being weaned from their attachment to the countries beyond the great ocean, and initiated in the religion of the Holy Prophet, they would become the sons of the Sultan, who would not fail to cherish, to bestow his confidence, and promote them in his service according to their merit.

Nor were these fair promises and expressions of kindness on the part of the Sultan, altogether insincere and affected. In India, where the human character possesses great sensibility of temper, ideas of adoption are quite familiar among the people: and the young ones that are adopted, dependent on the bounty, and obedient to the nod of the adopting parents, are embraced with all that affection which is usually shewn to real children.

September 27th. - The annual Gentoo feast commenced this evening, which was continued, according to custom, for nine days. The King of Mysore made his appearance in a veranda, in front of his palace, about seven o'clock.

This young prince, in whose name the family of Hyder-Ally, who assume only the title of Regent, carry on the administration of government, is allowed, for himself and his family, an

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annual pension of one lack of rupees. He is treated with all those marks of homage that are paid to crowned heads. In his name proclamation is made of war and of peace, and the trophies of victory are laid at his feet. Like kings, too, he has his guards: but these are appointed and commanded by the usurper of his throne, whose authority and safety depend upon the prince's confinement. Yet such is the reverence that is paid by the people of Mysore to the blood of their antient kings, and so formidable are they rendered even in their present state of subjection to the most vigorous character as well is powerful prince in the peninsula of Hindostan, by their numbers, and the extent of their cities, especially of Seringapatam, the capital, which would facilitate their intercourse and co-operation, if any common principle or cause should spread the flames of discontent and insurrection, that it is thought expedient by the present government, not to cut off the hereditary prince of Mysore, according to the usual policy of despots, but to adorn him with the pageantry of a crown, to furnish him with all that is necessary to a life of sensual pleasure, to immerse him in voluptuousness, to unnerve his mind, and at stated times to present him, a royal puppet, to the view and acclamations of his people. -

The spacious palace in which the young King of Mysore resides, stands in a large square, in the very centre of Seringapatam, in an angle of which our prison was also situated. Hence we had an opportunity of enjoying the sight of this annual festival, in which we were indulged during the whole time that it lasted. The prince, who is quite black, but exceedingly comely, appeared, as already mentioned, in a royal veranda or open gallery in front of his palace. The curtains with which the gallery was hung being drawn up, discovered the King seated on a throne, with numerous attendants on each hand; some of them fanned him, others scattered perfumes on his long black hair, and on his cloaths, and others presented his *Hooker*, replenished from time to time with betel, and other narcotics. The veranda was decorated with the finest hangings, and resplendent with precious stones, among which a diamond of

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immense size and value shone with distinguished lustre. On a stage extended in the open square, along the front of the palace, musicians, balladiers, and a species of gladiators, entertained the King with his train in the gallery, and the multitude that filled the square, with music, dancing, tumbling, wrestling, mock engagements, and other pantomimical diversions. The ladies of his Majesty's harem, as well as the European prisoners, were, on this occasion, indulged with greater freedom than usual, being allowed to enjoy the spectacle, through lattice windows, as well as the other subjects of Mysore. They were not black, but fair, and exceedingly handsome. Their number seemed to be from forty to fifty. The girls of Hyder's Seraglio, who were maintained by Tippoo, in their usual residence after his death, amounted to the number of five hundred.

The King having sat motionless in great state for several hours, rose up, when he was about to retire, and advancing to the edge of the gallery showed himself to the people, who honoured him with marks of the most profound and even superstitious veneration. The curtains then dropt, and his Majesty retired to the inner parts of the palace. It is only on occasion of this anniversary that the King of Mysore is visible to his nominal subjects.

September 28th. - Saw forty of the European slaves at drill, under the charge of a black Commandant: very dirty and dejected.

A tom-tom went about this evening, forbidding any of the inhabitants to appear in the streets after nine o'clock at night, on pain of losing their noses and ears.

October 5th. - Comrah, Sepoy, a Tanjore man, formerly on our guard, arrived this morning from Kavel Drook, and acquaints us that all the officers confined there have been poisoned, by express orders from Tippoo Saib. He believes there were eighteen or twenty of them.

October 8th. - Our worthy friend the paymaster says, that peace is on the eve of being concluded.

October 11th. - Visited by the Myar; he particularly enquired for our black Commandant's name, as also the officer's name

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who commanded the detachment in the Tanjore country, taken by Tippoo the 18th of February, 1782.

October 12th. - Received a letter by the washerman from Colonel Braithwaite, telling us that the washerman had kept twelve of the fanams which we sent for the use of poor Captain Leech; as also of the death of Rumley, Frazer, and Sampson: and that many of General Matthews' officers, confined at Kaval Drook, were dead, and the rest dying.

The washerman, who is our constant *Toppall*, or post, was a Havaldar in Captain Nixon's battalion, and taken prisoner the 10th of September, 1780, and took service in the style of a washerman (the men wash and iron clothes): of course we had every reason to suppose he would be assisting; but, on the contrary, he has taken every opportunity to pilfer us, although we have made him frequent presents, and promised him, on our enlargement, a Jemmidar's commission with a sum of money, provided he would not embezzle those fanams which we, with the utmost difficulty, raised for those in extreme distress.

October 12th. - Colonel Braithwaite applied to the Keeladar for a cot to sleep on, but was refused.

The French have passed this place on their way to Pondicherry, in consequence, as we are informed, of a peace in Europe.

October 13th. - Lieutenant Butler, at the point of death, is allowed, after many applications, to have his irons taken off; and several other gentlemen are dangerously ill.

October 21st. - Sid Abram, our black Commandant, who had been bred up in our service, was this morning ordered to the *kutcheree*, and there told by the Keeladar, that it was Tippoo Saab's orders, that he should enter into his service; as also to give information where his wife and family were, in order that they might be sent for. The Keeladar advised him to take service without any hesitation, and observed, if he did not, that God only knew what would be the consequence. The Commandant was remanded back to our prison, and allowed to reflect on the business.

October 22nd. - We have made up four shirts and four trow-

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sers for Captain Leech, and have sent them by the washerman, together with twenty-four fanams. The fanams are put, or worked into the buttons of the shirt, which we have contrived to deceive the washerman.

October 24th. - Seven European artificers, arrived here, are forced into Tippoo's service. They were selected from those men taken at Bedanore or Nagram.

October 27th. - Mirtozee, the commanding officer of the guard placed over our prison, who, by the humanity of his behaviour, had acquired our esteem, affection, and even confidence, corroborates the melancholy tidings we had received, of General Matthews' officers having, all of them, been carried off by poison at Kavel Drook, by the express orders of the Sultan; which, he said, was owing to the garrison of Ananpore being all of them put to the sword by one of our European officers. He warned us of a search that was soon to be made in our prison, for what we called contraband goods, such as razors, scissars, knives, and other offensive weapons; and papers, pens, and ink; the means of correspondence and discovery.

The commanding officer, to whom the inhuman task of poisoning our men at Kavel Drook was committed, having been often present with them, and of course been moved with compassion, successfully exerted his influence to be removed from that station. The officer who had the charge of our soldiers' prison, at Seringapatam, was sent for to Mysore, and appointed in his stead, with an express charge to carry the orders and directions, that had been given for poisoning our men, into immediate execution. This being done, the officer returned to his charge of our soldiers' prison at Seringapatam, which he occasionally visited as usual. Certain of our men, who had heard some surmises of the horrid purpose for which he had been absent, and who were moved with the liveliest inquietude and apprehensions, ventured to put the question to him, Why they had so long been deprived of the honour of his visits? He made not the least scruple to tell them the shocking business in which he had been employed, apologizing, at the same time, for his conduct, by observing, that if

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he had not obeyed orders, he would himself have been put to death.

October 29th. - Colonel Braithwaite has received a cot and some Margoza bark, from the Keeladar; and was at the same time desired to apply for anything that he wanted. The Colonel requested he might be removed to us, or see the French doctor, as also to sit on the outside of the prison door, during the time his servants were dressing his victuals. The Keeladar to these demands gave an evasive answer.

November 1st. - Serjeant Higgins (who voluntarily took service), with two other European Mussulmen, have made off to Mangalore from Nagram, but one of the three was unfortunately detected.

November 2nd. - The European Mussulman taken in endeavouring to make his escape, was shot in Tippoo's camp, and six more of the European Mussulmen, who were also in his camp, are ordered to Shuttle Dook.

November yd. - The Europeans given up by the French were at drill this morning, and attended by four Havaldars.

All the Europeans who have been made Mussulmen are confined in a large square, and no one is permitted to go out without a sentry.

Our allowance of one fanam per day (or eleven dubs) is reduced to nine dubs and two cash, a loss of six cash each per day; which affects us in the most serious manner. We shall be puzzled how to exist. Mr. Skardon has received an addition of three cash per day.

November 4th. - The European Mussulmen, and black slaves, are given in charge of the black officers of cavalry, whom they are to instruct in the infantry duty; a most melancholy sight to us. All this is owing to Monsieur Suffrein.

The Inchivalla, who was ringleader in the conspiracy, still remains in heavy irons, and on low diet.

November 8th. - About ten this morning, fifty of the European Mussulmen, with firelocks, and a body of native troops, escorted the Keeladar to a mosque, one mile west of the fort. They were commanded by a black officer, who frequently, in our hearing,

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called out to them, as they were passing our prison, *Chillow Feriffjee Banjoot*,¹ with other expressions of insolence and contempt.

November 9th. - The paymaster informs us, that Mangalore is given up in consequence of peace; that Tippoo is to be here in eight days; and that an officer of rank is on his way from Madras, in order to receive the prisoners. The paymaster has assured us in the strongest manner, that the above information is undoubted, and requests that we would, on our enlargement, make him a small salam, which he intends to appropriate to his daughter's marriage. This good man is deserving of everything we can do for him, as he has on every occasion shewn humanity and attention towards us.

The paymaster's news corroborated from all quarters.

Six o'clock, p.m., departed this life Lieutenant Butler. This unfortunate man was sick for near six months, and although the two Myars saw his wretched situation, and repeated applications were made to the Keeladar for medicines, and a little Pia arrack, yet the cruel barbarian gave no kind of assistance, but allowed him to linger out a life of misery and wretchedness.

The washerman having made a demand of eight dubs for bleaching the shirts and drawers sent to Captain Leech, we have, in consequence of his application, raised that sum by a subscription of one cash each.

Two divisions of the European Mussulmen were at drill this morning, each division commanded by a black officer.

November 9th. - The funeral service was this morning read over the late Lieutenant Butler, who was carried out as decently as the prison would admit of.

The Keeladar sent for the effects of the late Lieutenant Butler, consisting of a few old rags. The Verduvalla took as much care in examining them, as if they had been of the utmost consequence.

November 10th. - Preparations making, such as whitewashing the houses, cleaning the streets, etc., in order to receive Tippoo Sultan Bahadar.

¹ Go on, ye white slaves.

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Various and uncertain accounts of peace; one moment we are informed that peace is finally concluded; the next, there is fighting; and in this miserable situation are we daily tortured with alternate hopes and fears, which produce a state of anxious and painful suspense.

The Corakees have defeated a party of Tippoo Saab's troops at Perripatam, nineteen miles west of this, and a reinforcement of Chaylahs and Colleries are ordered from hence to reinforce them.

November 16th. - The reduction of our allowance of the six cash has so materially affected our mode of living, that we are obliged now to breakfast on two cash of coijee and two cash of milk. Two dinners in the week of doll pepperwater, each dinner nine cash; one ditto of cutcheree, twelve cash, two mutton curreys, and two soup dinners.

November 17th. - Forty Europeans and two battalions of black slaves with firelocks (no bayonets) marched out of the fort at two o'clock in the afternoon, in order to be reviewed by the Keeladar; the European slaves were divided in the ranks with the Chaylahs, very dirty and but indifferently dressed. Some had handkerchiefs on their heads, others turbans, and from their mid-thigh downwards they were entirely naked. Surely no situation on earth is equal to theirs: however we flatter ourselves that whenever we meet with that happy hour of liberty, and their case is made known, every step will be taken in order to recover them from slavery and Mahomedanism. The Europeans and black slaves have all a silver pearl in their right ear.

The Keeladar with their slaves returned at eleven this night.

November 18th. - Colonel Braithwaite informs us by letter, that he has only received twenty fanams from the washerman on account of Captain Leech. The washerman has taken the remainder: this villain's cunning outreaches all our schemes. The Colonel and Ensign Holmes's allowance reduced to nine dubs and two cash each per day, and Captain Leech and the serjeant are raised to ten cash each. The Colonel daily sends Captain Leech a six cash breakfast.

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November 20th. - Our good friend Mirto Jee says, that peace is certainly broken off.

The Commandant asked the Verduvalla for news. He gave him for answer, that the news was very cold.

Captain Judson has received thirteen pagodas by the hands of an old woman, come to Seringapatam in search of her son, a Sepoy in our service, which was sent with a letter by Mrs. Judson, his wife, from Trichinopoly. The old woman, ever since the tattle near Conjeveram, had wandered in a continual state of pilgrimage, not being able to rest long in one place, under the anxious and tender concern that inwardly preyed on her maternal breast. After visiting every place that report had suggested as the probable scene of her son's confinement, if in life, she at last made her way to Seringapatam, where she found him; and we all of us participated in her joy. The woman faithfully delivered the money which Mrs. Judson had committed to her care, to our servants, whom she found at the well, where they attended daily to fetch water, and v/hich had become a kind of post office. Mrs. Judson, we were sometimes inclined to think, must have received by some means or other a description of the well. But if this had been so, how could we account for the commanding officer at Trichinopoly's not taking the same opportunity of correspondence that was embraced by Mrs. Judson? The attention of government, indeed, could not well be expected to equal the cares of maternal and conjugal affection.

This is the only letter or money received in Hyder's country from our friends.

November 21st. - Captain Judson receives through the old woman a letter from Mrs. Judson, dated the 14th of last month, in answer to one he wrote in February last, acquainting him that he might expect to be supplied from time to time with money, and that there was a talk of peace.

November 27th. - The guard that was stationed over the European officers, prisoners at Kavel Drook, returned here three days ago, and gave us the melancholy account of all General Matthews' officers being poisoned.

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A Circar Verduvalla with armourers, this morning, particularly examined our irons. The Verduvalla corroborated the account we had received of the dreadful catastrophe of the officers at Kavel Drook; as also of Rumley, Frazer, and Sampson, at Mysore; and said, that he made no doubt but that the Nabob would poison all English prisoners.

Several thousands of troops, and most of them Carnatic people, are drilling here, for the cavalry, artillery, and infantry. Tippoo copies our mode of discipline in every respect.

December 1st. - The nine slave-boys, who attend the Derroga, are intended for the Nabob's family.

December 4th. - Arrived prisoners, twenty Europeans, and two European women, chained two and two.

December 5th. - Arrived prisoners, twelve Europeans, chained two and two; they were shipwrecked on the Malabar coast.

December 10th. - The Subadar who impeached the conspirators, is made a Commandant of Collieries, and has received many other favours from the Nabob: we have part of his battalion over us, and he frequently visits the prison, and seems very anxious to enter into a conversation; however, as he has been particularly pointed out to us by some of our friends, we act with caution.

Colonel Braithwaite acquaints us, that he has repeatedly applied to the Keeladar for a greater allowance, and for taylors, but without success.

December 12th. - A European officer, who was taken prisoner on this coast about two months after the fall of Nagram, and sent here, is circumcised and appointed Commandant to a battalion of Chaylahs: we have not been able as yet to learn anything farther concerning this unfortunate man.

December 19th. - This evening, the whole of the European Mussulmen were marched to Mysore. Seven miles south.

December 21st. - Received from the Keeladar two Banyans, two short drawers, and a sheet; they were made of the coarsest dungeree, and the same quality as delivered out to the black slaves, so very unfit for our purpose, that we begged of the Verduvalla to return them, and endeavour to procure us a piece

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of cloth each in their stead: the cloth to be about four or five fanams per piece. On the Verduvalla's reporting this to the Keeladar, he replied, Very well, that we might wait a few days. Strange are the conjectures which are formed concerning this present, as it is the only instance of generosity we have met with from that quarter, during our imprisonment; it has made a number of gentlemen very melancholy - apprehensive of force to take service. Not like peace.

December 22nd. - Many of our guards assure us that we are all to be circumcised, and taken into the Nabob's service; and that the dungeree we received yesterday was given in consequence of that resolution.

Captain Judson has sent two pagodas to Colonel Braithwaite.

Sent by the washerman Captain Leech's supply, thirty-one fanams. A current report of peace, and that our ambassadors from Madras are only a few days' march from this.

Received a letter from Colonel Braithwaite, acquainting us that he has only received twenty-four fanams for Captain Leech.

December 29th. - Reports of our ambassadors being at Malvaree, twelve coss north-east of this place; that they have applied to the Keeladar to send us money and clothes; but that the Keeladar would not comply with their request, as he observed that he had no *Hookum*, or order, from the Nabob.

Three Europeans, who were taken at, or near, Calicut about two months ago, and sent here, are forced into the barbarian's service as stone-cutters.

December 31st. - The two men, Spencer and Wilton, who were taken at Errode, passed our prison.

December 30th. - The Verduvalla, by an order from the Keeladar, told Sid Abram that he must consent to enter the Nabob's service, and give an account where his wife and family were, that they might be sent for. The Commandant replied, that he had, from his boyish days, been brought up amongst the English, had met with every attention and encouragement that a soldier merited, and that he would on no account give information where his wife and family were, nor would he consent to enter into the Nabob's service.

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A message, or salam, from Meer Nazer Ally, formerly an officer in our service, but who had fallen prisoner and taken service, to Sid Abram, that peace was certainly concluded, and applauding him for his steady conduct in refusing to take service. Meer Nazer Ally was a Subadar in Captain MacAlister's regiment of cavalry, and taken prisoner with Lieutenant Crewitzer; he now commands a regiment of cavalry, and is doing duty here.

1784 -*January 13th.* - Our guards doubled and the centinels particularly vigilant. A report prevails that we are all to be put to death.

January 14th. - The two troopers who came on our guard at the time of the conspiracy, were this morning relieved.

The whole of us turned out in order to be mustered by a Subadar sent by the Keeladar.

January 22nd. - Abdull Russel, Commandant to Captain Alcock's battalion, and taken prisoner with Colonel Braithwaite, was sent to Arneé and thrown into heavy irons, on three cash per day, and one sear of raggee, because he would not enter into the barbarian's service: many others, for the same reason, were treated in the same manner, until they consented to take service, and send for their families.

January 24th. - A European boy about twelve years of age informed our servants at the well this evening, that he belonged to his Majesty's thirty-second or forty-second regiment, that he was taken prisoner at Nagram, and since circumcised. His name is Lindsey.

January 27th. - The Inchivalla was this morning publicly flogged, near our prison, and his back rubbed with chilley, or cayenne pepper.

Arrived from Mangalore, thirty elephants with their *Howders*.

January 29th. - The nine circumcised European boys still remain under the charge of the Derroga; two of them were this morning on the terrace of Tippoo Saib's house: they made signals that the Nabob would be here in fifteen days, and that we should then be released. We were greatly affected by their

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melancholy signs of their situation: on their retiring they shed a flood of tears, and took off their turbans.

An increase of our allowance of one cash per day, owing to the exchange of the fanam.

February 13th, - Fourteen Subadars, or Captains, and a number of sepoys, have been carrying mud for many months past, in order to force them to take service.

February 20th. - Sent Captain Leech a supply of eighteen fanams.

The subscriptions of late have come so heavy on us, that we are obliged to make four dinners in the week of rice and ghee, each dinner seven cash.

February 21st. - Two sepoys who are at present attached to our guard, have given us the melancholy accounts of our brother-sufferers at Kaval Drook. They say that the Keeladar of Kaval Drook received orders from the Bahadar to dispatch the whole of them with poison; that the Keeladar made no secret, but explained his orders, and observed, that unless they were instantly put into execution, his own life would pay for his disobedience. The first he called positively refused to taste the poison. The Keeladar instantly ordered several Coffres to seize and tie him up to a tamarind tree. After being most severely flogged, he at last consented to drink the finishing draught. Many others were flogged and inhumanly treated, on account of their opposition. The sepoys observed, that the scenes of distress, after the poison began to operate, were beyond description; some being perfectly insensible, others thrown down into violent convulsions, and others employing the few moments they had to live in committing themselves to God, and in embracing and taking a last farewell of their companions and friends. Immediately after the whole were dispatched, the armourers knocked off their irons, and their bodies were then thrown into a wood as a prey for tygers.

March 1st. - The whole of us ordered to fall in, in order to be mustered by a Myar and a Bramin: they say that peace is broken off, and that we are to be sent to Kaval Drook.

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March 2nd. - In consequence of yesterday's information relative to our being sent to Kaval Drook, the whole of us have seriously and unanimously determined to avail ourselves of the first opportunity to make our escape, by murdering the whole of our guards, and selling every drop of blood as dear as possible; being thoroughly convinced, that if we submit tamely, we shall, on our arrival at Kaval Drook, be dispatched in the same manner as General Matthews' officers.

One of the circumcised European boys informed our servants at the well this morning, that peace is broken off.

March 7th. - Received the following letter from the soldiers' prison, written by a black man; the same who had been interpreter to the Keeladar of the above-mentioned particulars respecting the death of General Matthews:

'Since my arrival here, I have instructed myself to learn English from a spelling-book which I purchased from a European, which is now entirely broke to pieces; I therefore humbly beg the favour, if you have any book of any sort to spare, to send me by the bearer, that will be a means of my not losing what little I have learned. I must inform you, that my teacher, Serjeant Hillingsworth, departed this life about twelve months ago. The Europeans taken with Colonel Baillie join with me in their duty to you, and all their officers. Serjeant Brazier sends his duty to Captains Mentieth and Wragg, and to inform them that there is himself and eleven privates remaining here: Serjeant Macormick deceased the 29th of December, 1782. All the news we have is, that it is a peace, and that some of our gentlemen is with the Nabob, and expected here daily. At about eight or nine months ago, a poor distressed European woman, with a fine boy, and big with child, taken in Nagram, belonging to a serjeant of grenadiers of the hundredth regiment; since which she has been delivered of a girl: her allowance is one pice and one sear and a half of rice per day. About six months ago twenty-seven Europeans of the different regiments were taken on

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the Malabar coast, and sent amongst us, which makes in all sixty-two Europeans: our allowance is two pice and one sear of rice per day.

¹ VANKATACHELLIEM.'

The guards acquaint us, that several black prisoners have been taken out in the dead of the night, and murdered, and that they seriously felt for our situation.

In consequence of the miserable situation of the European woman and her two infants, we have raised with the utmost difficulty twenty gold fanams; and at the same time have assured her, that we will on every occasion be assisting.

March 7th. - At nine o'clock, p.m., Sid Abram, our black Commandant, was by an order from the Keeladar removed from our prison. This truly good man was exceedingly affected at his being separated from us, and frequently requested, that, whenever we should be enlarged, we would remember him to his wife and mother; as he never would consent to enter into the barbarian's service, which would of course prevent him from ever seeing his family.

March 9th. - Sid Abram, with twelve other black officers, taken prisoners since the commencement of the war, are all in irons, with the daily allowance of three cash and one sear of raggee.

One of our gentlemen alarmed us all exceedingly by a fit of insanity, during which he raved on the subjects that most concerned us all, and that were uppermost in our minds. He had been afflicted with several fits before this time; but we always endeavoured to conceal his situation from the Havaladar of the guard, being apprehensive that he would have been removed from our prison to some place of confinement, which solitude, and perhaps other circumstances, might render still more dismal. This day, however, he was extremely ill; and made repeated application to the Havaladar to have an interview with the Keeladar, to whom, he said, he had something to communicate of the last importance. This alarmed us exceedingly: for when we reflected on the constant fears of the barbarians, lest

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we should make our escape either by force or fraud, or find means of communicating some useful intelligence to our countrymen, and at the same time considered that so many of our officers, soldiers, and sepoys had been slaughtered in cold blood by the sword, or forced to die by poison, there was not a doubt that the discovery of our utensils, our correspondence with other prisons, and some parts of our conversation, would be followed by certain and speedy death. We judged it expedient, in the present extremity, however much against our inclinations, to acquaint the Havaladar that he was really insane.' This the Havaladar would not believe; but affirmed that we all of us told lies, as he concluded, he said, from the circumstance that the gentleman discoursed to him with perfect reason and propriety. The insane person, unfortunately for us, spoke the Mahomedan language with great fluency: if he had not, we could have told our own story.

We endeavoured to reason with the Havaladar, and mentioned many particulars in our own vindication in vain. We then requested that our servants might be called, and examined whether they had not frequently perceived him in a state of insanity, before this time. They were accordingly called, and they confirmed everything that we had said. The Havaladar then said, that he believed there was some truth in what we had asserted, and that he must make a report of what had happened. We entreated of him to make as favourable a one as possible, as we would be exceedingly unhappy if our fellow-officer, though unhappily disordered in his understanding, should be removed from us.

The Havaladar requested, and insisted with him to declare what he had to say. But this he refused to do, again and again, saying that he would not communicate the important business to any other person than the Keeladar, and that he would be revenged on the whole of us, as we were a set of villains and rascals, and that we had made many attempts to poison him. In fact, he had frequently entertained ideas of this kind, and would often attend and overlook the servants while they were employed in dressing the victuals. It was fortunate for us, and

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the circumstances, beyond all doubt, under Providence, saved our lives, that his madness turned on poison, and not upon our having papers, journals, knives, scissars, and other things concealed, and, above all, on our secret correspondence with the other prisons.

Several gentlemen endeavoured to reason with this unhappy man, to no purpose. In the course of the evening the Havalдар waited on the Keeladar to acquaint him that an English officer, in one of the prisons, wished anxiously to see him, having something to communicate to him of the greatest consequence. The Havalдар was desired to come again to the Keeladar next morning.

From the time that the insane person applied to the Havalдар, we were busily employed in burning papers, digging holes in the ground in which we might hide things, and in putting things under the tyles of the prison, until we should have an opportunity of burning them afterwards. During the course of the evening we burned upwards of one hundred sheets of paper, which we had got in by stealth, in order to amuse ourselves by learning different languages. The people who brought in these things for us, were equally alarmed with us, and dreaded the fatal consequences of a discovery.

The insane person, with a pair of irons of about eight pounds in weight, began to walk about in the prison at five o'clock in the evening, and continued to walk, at a great pace, without ceasing, till two o'clock in the morning, raving all the while, and vowing vengeance against all his fellow-prisoners. The state of our minds, on that horrible night, is not to be described. It was proposed at one time to put him instantly to death, and, by that sacrifice, to save the lives of the whole. But kind Providence saved him from that fate, and us from that fatal deed.

At last the wished-for morning came, and about eight o'clock the Havalдар was announced. Our emotions were now wrought up to the highest point of anxiety and suspence. The Havalдар, coming forward into the prison-yard, called out for the insane gentleman. The question on which our safety or our destruction

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now hung in suspense, was, Is the insane person to be carried before the Keeladar or no? Our joy was extreme when we heard the Havaladar tell him, that if he had anything to say, the Keeladar had ordered that he should mention it to him. Yet still there was reason to apprehend that he might make such discoveries as the Havaladar could not pass over, though he was naturally humane, had taken a present, and was inclined to save us. We, therefore, during the conversation which he held with the Havaladar, crowded around him, spoke in a threatening tone of voice, used menacing looks and gestures, and did everything to embarrass him, and excite his madness. To the Havaladar, who repeatedly put the question, What have you to discover? he constantly replied, that he would not reveal it but to the Keeladar, and poured forth at the same time indefinite reproaches of murderous intentions towards himself against his fellow-prisoners. The Havaladar then told him that he was a fool, and desired that he would go about his business, meaning that he should retire to his cell.

We then requested the Havaladar, that when he should be relieved, he would report to the commanding officer who should succeed him, the insanity of our fellow-prisoner. If we had used this precaution at first, we might have avoided this dreadful scene. But we had compassion on the infirmity of this poor man, which was brought on by long confinement, lowness of spirits, and the melancholy prospect of death, or perpetual slavery.

We felt as much joy at being freed from this dangerous embarrassment, as if we had been set at entire liberty. The insane person had in his possession copies of many letters, with papers, knives, and other contraband things. These we wished above all things to get out of his hands. And, after this violent fit of insanity, he fortunately recovered so far, in the course of a few days, as to be reasoned into the propriety of giving up or destroying these suspicious articles. He behaved pretty well during the remainder of our confinement. He is now on half-pay.

A current report that peace is broken off, and that our ambassadors have embarked for Tellicherry.

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Raised by public subscription twenty-eight fanams, which we have sent by a trusty hand to our good friend Sid Abram.

For these four preceding nights, many black prisoners have been murdered, and a report at present prevails, that they intend visiting our prison for the same end.

We are informed that the draught which was administered to General Matthews' officers, to the number of twenty, was the milk of the cocoa-tree. We learned afterwards, from undoubted authority, that Lieutenant Matthews of the Bengal establishment, brother to General Matthews, and Lieutenant Weldon of the Bombay establishment, were, by orders of Tippoo, taken out of the fort at Bednore, at ten o'clock at night, carried to the Jungul, a place overgrown with long grass and underwood, and there cut to pieces: of which the officers confined at Bednore received the most certain accounts the next morning, when the clothes of these unfortunate victims were brought to them for sale. Directions had in fact been sent by the Sultan to murder all the English officers in the different prisons in his dominions, who would not enter into his service: but intelligence being received that the commissioners for negotiating the treaty of peace had set out for Madras, these bloody orders were countermanded.

From the soldiers' prison:

'On the 27th October the Keeladar sent for Vankatchelliem, our linguist, and told him to acquaint us all that the Nabob and Company had made peace, and that we would soon be sent to Madras. The whole of us at that time were handcuffed two and two together. Soon after the Keeladar came into the prison, and ordered the handcuffs to be taken off. We were shut up together at that time about twelve o'clock at night, and remained so forty days. About four months ago in the dead of night, we received the second alarm of that kind. We were handcuffed singly, since which the Bramin has been four different times to enquire for mechanics, taken all our names down, our pay, *Batta*, and rank, in the Company's service, which makes us all very

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uneasy, as we cannot imagine what they want to do with us: another fresh alarm that there has been a number of black prisoners taken and massacred, which is transacted every night. We hear that a Commandant and some Sepoys belonging to Colonel Braithwaite's detachment have suffered the above fate.'

March 15th.-A letter from Colonel Braithwaite acknowledging the receipt of seventeen fanams for the use *pi* Captain Leech.

March 19th.- Sent Captain Leech a supply of eighteen fanams. The Subadars who were confined with him, as also General Matthews' servant, are removed.

March 22nd. - Ten o'clock, p.m., visited by the Myar and a Bramin, who ordered Captains Baird, Menteith, and Lindsey's irons to be knocked off. These gentlemen were removed from our prison under the charge of one Havalдар and two Sepoys.

Three o'clock, p.m., the Havalдар returns and acquaints us, that the three gentlemen are at present with Colonel Braithwaite: that they were removed to him in consequence of peace, and that we should in all probability have our irons knocked off in a day or two, and be sent to Madras. Little credit is given by us to this piece of information, having been so frequently disappointed before; and we are very uneasy, and apprehensive that they intend very unfair means with Colonel Braithwaite, and indeed the whole of us, as reports have been current for many days, that Tippoo intends murdering the whole of the European prisoners.

While we were in this gloomy state of mind, and ready to sink under the pressure of melancholy and despair; behold, within the walls of our dismal dungeon, a Bramin sent from Tippoo Sultan, with a formal intimation of the final conclusion of peace! - And that our irons were to be knocked off next day. The emotions that sprung up in our breasts on receiving this intelligence, were so strong and lively, and raised to such a point of elevation and excess, as almost bordered on pain! We

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gave vent to the ardour of our minds in the loudest as well as most irregular and extravagant expressions of congratulations. The whole prison resounded with the frantic voice of sudden as well as excessive joy and exultation. This tumult having in some degree subsided, though we were incapable of entire composure and rest, a proposal was made, and most readily embraced, to collect all the ready money in our possession, without the least regard to equal shares or proportions, and to celebrate the joyful news of our approaching deliverance with some plaintain fritters, and sherbet; the only articles of luxury we could then command, on account of our extreme poverty. By nine o'clock at night, supper was announced, consisting of sixty dozen of plantains, and a large chatty of sherbet. Every one being seated on the ground, the repast was received with the utmost content and satisfaction. Friends and toasts were drank, as long as our chatty stood out; and such was the agitation of our minds, that there was not one of us who felt the least inclination, or indeed who possessed the power to compose himself for sleep. We now waited with the utmost impatience for the return of day and were impressed with a strong desire that our irons might be knocked off immediately; but, to our great mortification, about seven in the morning, there arrived only one armourer. Every one struggled to have his fetters knocked off first. Promises, threats, bustling and jostling; every expedient that could be imagined was put in practice, in order to obtain that which would come unsought for, in the course of a few minutes, or hours at furthest. The same men who had suffered the rigours of imprisonment, and the menaces of a barbarous policy, with invincible resolution and patience, as well as with mutual sympathy and complaisance, for years, were so transported by the near prospect of liberty, that the delay of a few moments, seemed now to be more insupportable than even the tedious languor of our long, most alarming, and anxious confinement. Between two and three in the afternoon, our irons were all knocked off, and then we were conducted, under the charge of a guard, to the Keeladar. In crossing the parade to Hyder's palace, several European boys, in the

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Mahomedan dress, who had been forcibly circumcised, came near to us, imploring our assistance in a most distressful manner. The only consolation we could give them, was to assure them, that whenever we arrived at Madras, their melancholy situation should be faithfully and feelingly described to the Governor, in order to procure their enlargement. We now were brought before the Keeladar, who was lodged in Hyder's palace, and sat in a veranda, surrounded by his guards. Our names being taken down, with our rank and other circumstances, we/vere conducted to Colonel Braithwaite's prison, where we found the Colonel, Captains Baird, Lindsey, Menteith, and Ensign Holmes: here we remained several hours, and were, in a most friendly manner, supplied by these gentlemen with money, which gave us an opportunity of rewarding those good men who had at different times been our guard. Towards the close of the evening, after the soldiers and black prisoners were collected, we moved off from the fort to Soomner-Pettah, a village distant about two miles. On our arrival at the Choultry of this place, we had an opportunity of conversing with our soldiers. Their marks of affection, respect, and joy, at meeting with their officers, after so long a separation, were not less sincere than extravagant. The sight of the country, the fair face of nature in a rich and delicious climate, from which we had been so long excluded, excited in our minds the most various and pleasing emotions, and struck us all with the force of novelty. At the same time, it may not be thought unimportant to observe, that we had lost, in some degree, that intuitive discernment of the magnitude and relations of objects, which is the effect of experience, habit, and the association of ideas. At Soomner Pettah we were indulged with permission to walk about in the Buzar, and to bathe in the river, a most delicious as well as salutary refreshment. Every object, and every recreation, became now a source of exquisite satisfaction and delight; all that satiety, and indifference to the bounty of nature, which arises from undisturbed possession, and perhaps still more from vicious habits, being effectually overcome and destroyed by the painful purification of months, added to months,

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in a succession that threatened to terminate either in perpetual slavery or death.

March 25th.- Having received no allowance of rice, or the three pice, for the preceding day, we asked for some victuals; and some hours after, a seer of rice, and three pice, was delivered to each person. We were amazed, and did not know how to account for the neglect of our pittance; for as peace was concluded, we naturally imagined our allowance would rather have been augmented than curtailed; but on making enquiry into the cause, we were told that the Commissioners of Madras, employed in negotiating the treaty, had stipulated no kind of provision for us; and that the Nabob had sent orders to furnish us with just as much as would keep us from starving, and no more.

Though our irons were knocked off, it was a long time before we recovered the entire use of our limbs, and learned to walk with perfect freedom: never was the inveterate power of habit more forcibly displayed than on this occasion. We could never get the idea of our being in fetters out of our heads. No effort of our minds, no action of volition, could, for several days, overcome the habit of making the short and constrained steps to which we had been so long accustomed. Our crippled manner of walking was a subject of laughter to ourselves as well as to others.

On the 25th of March, doolies having been provided for the sick, and a few bad horses, we began our march to Vellore, the place agreed on by the treaty for the delivering up of the British prisoners, guarded by an escort of one hundred cavalry and five hundred infantry, under the command of a native commandant.

On the 15th of April we arrived at Ooscottah, a fortress situated eighteen miles eastward of Bangalore, and sixty miles distant from the pass into the Carnatic. Here the whole of the British prisoners, who had been taken at the battle of Tricoalum, or of Perambaukum near Conjeveram, and at Bednore, were assembled together. Their number amounted nearly to one hundred and eighty officers, nine hundred European

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soldiers, and sixteen hundred Sepoys, besides some hundreds of servants of different castes and occupations. The officers who had been confined at Bangalore, having received frequent supplies of cash from Madras, had it in their power to supply us, as well as the gentlemen from Bednore, with many articles of which we stood greatly in need. This many of them did, sharing their clothes and money with such of their brother-officers and fellow-soldiers as most wanted their assistance.

On communicating to each other our respective sufferings, it appeared that the officers who were left wounded at Bednore, were much better used than at any other place. They were permitted to keep all their clothes, doolies, cots, chairs, tables, knives, forks, and other articles. They were indulged with the free use of pen, ink, and paper. A certain part of the rampart, including two towers, was given up to them, in which they were at liberty to range about at pleasure. Their servants were permitted to go into the Buzar to purchase whatever they chose to send for, though their daily allowance was only one seer of rice, and one pice to each. They were allowed a French surgeon to attend them; and when they recovered of their wounds they were not put in irons.

Ensign Manly, of the Bombay establishment, who had been taken in a sally at Mangalore, was sent to Bednore, and there confined in the same prison with some Sepoys, with no other allowance than one pice a day, and a seer of raggee.

The officers who were confined at Darwaur, a fort near Goa, were lodged with the private men, upon the same allowance with the other officers who were in prison at Bednore: but they were afterwards removed to Simoga, where they were kept on a seer of raggee and one pice each a day. Their irons were connected together by a straight bar, in such a manner that the unfortunate prisoners could never expand their legs or contract them.

The gentlemen confined at Bangalore were not only permitted to purchase every article they wanted, but, during the latter part of their confinement, they were allowed to visit each other in their different prisons. The private Europeans also

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received different treatment, in the different parts of the country in which they were imprisoned. The Sepoys were treated with equal severity everywhere.

Four days before the British officers were removed from Bednore, all the Commandants, Subadars, and Jemmidars, of the Bombay establishment, who had been taken prisoners by Tippoo Sultan Bahadar, were, by his orders, removed from thence, and have not since been heard of. It is but too easy to conjecture the fate of those unfortunate men, when we reflect that he had repeatedly threatened to put them to death for refusing to enter his service, and on the melancholy examples exhibited of the certainty rigour with which his bloody menaces were carried into execution.

April 17th. - Lieutenant Dallas, who had been appointed by the Commissioners for peace to receive the prisoners, with a detachment of the Madras cavalry, and two companies of Sepoys, dismounting his horsemen, and supplying as many officers as he could with horses, the whole of the prisoners, escorted by a small guard of the Sultan's, began their march towards Vellore, at which place we all of us arrived on the 25th of April, 1784. Beem Row, a Bramin, whom Tippoo Sultan had appointed to conduct the prisoners from Ooscottah to the confines of the Carnatic, received from Mr. Dallas a receipt for all the prisoners whom the Sultan had delivered up. On this, we were restored to liberty, the value of which we had been taught to estimate by a long and painful confinement.

III

THE LIFE OF JAMES SCURRY, SEAMAN

CHAPTER ONE

IN the year 1780, when a boy about fourteen years of age, being a native of Devonshire, I sailed from Plymouth Sound in his Majesty's ship *Hannibal*, of fifty guns, commanded by Alexander Christie, as convoy to the outward-bound East India fleet; and, on our arrival in a certain latitude, our orders were to separate; the fleet steering for their different destinations, and the *Hannibal* for St. Helena, at which port we were to wait, to convoy back the homeward-bound East India ships. In this island we lay about three months, during which period we were joined by his Majesty's ship *Prothde* (formerly French), of sixty-four guns, which ship was also to accompany the homeward-bound fleet. After an anxious expectation of many weeks, their arrival was announced by signals from the hill, stating their number to be fourteen sail; comprising eleven Indiamen, and three sail of the line. This was a great satisfaction to us, as we well knew we should shortly proceed for England. The next morning they came to an anchor in St. Helena Bay, when we found them to be a very valuable fleet, under the command of Commodore Gardiner, of the *Belleisle*, sixty-four; the other two ships of the line were, the *Asia* of sixty-four, and the *Rippon* of sixty guns. Some days elapsed in preparation for our return to England, such as watering, etc., etc., when our Commodore's signal was hoisted for weighing, which duty was executed with cheerfulness and alacrity, and particularly so by the crews of the *Belleisle*, *Asia*, and *Rippon*, which had been in India a long time, and consequently they were very intent on seeing Old England once again.

Our voyage was pleasant, until we arrived in the chops of the channel, where our Commodore received intelligence that a very strong French fleet were cruising for the purpose of intercepting us. On obtaining this news, we bore away for the West of Ireland, and fortunately escaped them. Our fleet came to an anchor in Creak-haven, whence our Commodore sent off his dispatches for Government; and after lying here about ten days, we received orders to unmoor and steer for England, where we

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all safely arrived, after a very pleasant passage, without sustaining any damage. The Indiamen left the Downs for the Thames, and the men-of-war for their different ports, as per orders. Our ship steered for Portsmouth, from whence, after two months' refitting, we were ordered to convoy the outward-bound fleet to the same latitude, and then proceed to St. Helena as before, there to wait the arrival of the homeward-bound fleet, in order to take them under our protection as soon as they arrived. We had a tolerable passage out, and left the Indiamen in the same latitude as on the previous voyage, shaping our course for the island, where we safely came to an anchor.

The fleets from India were not expected for some time; and after inspecting our rigging, taking in water, etc., our captain, to fill up the intermediate space, resolved to cruise off the Cape of Good Hope for a few weeks. We had not been but a very few hours in sight of the Table Land, before our man at the mast-head descried a fleet consisting of eight sail, apparently Targe ships, right in our wake; this was a cause of some alarm, particularly as we had a large reef of rocks ahead, which we could not weather. We were assured of their being enemies, and supposed them to be ships of the line, standing towards us with all the sail they could crowd. We were close-hauled, and, as I observed before, could not weather the reef of rocks ahead. What could be done, my good reader, in this crisis? Our captain consulted his officers, and the result was, to tack and stand towards them; in fact, we had no other alternative, for we were upon a lee-shore, and the extreme point of the rocks was bearing upon our weather bow.

Our crew were called aft, and informed of the situation of the ship; but it is a well-known truth, that whatever the danger may be, English seamen are always ready, yes, and proud, to run any risk, or face any kind of danger, for good officers; to say nothing of their innate courage, of which they have given proofs to the world. About we went, in order to run the gauntlet, as it is commonly phrased, for we were convinced to a man they were all ships of war. As we were now head to head, we neared each other very fast, and in the course of an hour or two, to our no

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small surprise, we perceived them tack, and stand from us; this was by no means an unpleasant sight, but the cause of a rapid transition in our view; for, prior to this, we were thinking that many (if we should have the good fortune ultimately to escape) must have fallen; but now, the prevailing idea was, prizes and prize-money. At this time our ship sailed remarkably well; consequently, we neared them fast, and soon made them out to be six stout merchantmen, under convoy of two frigates, which we were positive were no match for us, having as brave a crew as ever went to sea. The two frigates hove their maintop-sails to the mast, in order to receive us between them, which corresponded with our intentions. We were now within gunshot, with a large French ensign and pennant flying, and our lower deck ports closed. Had we continued this a while, the two frigates must have been ours; but our captain ordered our lower deck ports to be hauled up, the French ensign and pennant to be struck, and the English hoisted, which was done in an instant; but no sooner done, than the French frigate *Bellona* was under a press of sail. This frigate could, without much difficulty, have been taken by us; she had money to a very large amount on board, for the troops at the Mauritius; it was the same frigate that did so much mischief to our trade in the East Indies, afterwards; but profit and honour are often at variance. The other we captured, together with a valuable merchantman, richly laden; they were all bound to the Mauritius, or Isle de France. This frigate struck immediately on the first shot being fired, but, to the disgrace of the French captain, he ordered his weather landyards to be cut away, when all her masts went overboard. She had nine chests of money, with other valuables, among which was a handle of a sword valued at £5,000, designed as a present from the King of France to his black majesty Hyder Ali Cawn: these treasures we took on board our own ship.

With our two prizes we bore away, and arrived safely with them at St. Helena, where we learnt that a sanguinary affair had taken place at St. Jago, between Commodore Johnson and Count de Suffrein; each chief had the command of five sail of

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the line, but the latter had the advantage in point of heavy ships. Commodore Johnson, not looking for an attack from any quarter, did not, perhaps, take that precaution he otherwise would have taken; two or three of his best ships being inside of several of the Indiamen. In this situation, the French Admiral came upon him unexpectedly, and made a desperate effort to destroy the fleet. The effect of this affair was, the capture of one of our Indiamen (which was afterwards recaptured), and the dismasting of the French ship *Hannibal*, of eighty guns. It was very strongly reported at the time, that if one of our captains had done his duty, she must have been taken. After this sharp and well-contested conflict on both sides, the French steered direct for the East Indies, and the commodore took another route. On leaving St. Jago, he directed his course to the Cape of Good Hope, where he gained intelligence of a valuable fleet of Dutch East Indiamen, homeward-bound, lying in Soldanah Bay: thither he repaired, and was not long in taking and destroying the whole. Shortly after this, he arrived at St. Helena with five valuable prizes; several of our ships had also arrived, and we only waited for one more, which was hourly expected, to weigh for England; but, to our no small surprise and mortification, we were very unexpectedly and precipitately ordered off to the East Indies with dispatches to Admiral Hughes, and to reinforce his fleet.

The beginning of December, 1781, we got under weigh, and sailed, with as favourable a breeze as ever blew from the heavens for the space of a month, when we were overtaken by a gale, which nearly terminated our voyage and existence together: the heaviest sea I ever saw, struck us on our beam; the long-boat in the waist, and our barge on the booms, were stove to pieces; two feet of water at the same time were rolling on our lower deck, so that both officers and men were seized with consternation. But not to dwell on a subject, which many must have experienced whose business leads them to sea, I shall pass it by, observing, that Providence, whom both the winds and the seas obey, was better to us than our fears; the storm ceased, the waves subsided, and we proceeded on our voyage.

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According to our calculations, we were within five days' sail of Madras, when we discovered a large fleet of ships, which, by signal, we soon found to be enemies. We ran for it, they chasing us with their fleetest vessels; but by trimming, wetting our sails, and favoured by the approach of night, we fortunately got clear of them. This, however, was of short duration, for on the second morning, by supposed bad management, we found ourselves so enveloped as to preclude the possibility of an escape; particularly so, as *Le Heros*, the French Admiral's ship, about two leagues on our lee quarter, brought the breeze with her, while we lay becalmed; and when sufficiently near us, she opened fire, and continued it until the shot of two more line-of-battle ships, one on our weather quarter, and the other on our bow, began to tell: resistance was now useless, and our captain very prudently struck his colours. The enemy instantly hoisted out his boats, boarded us, and separated our crew amongst his fleet. I do not know how far it was countenanced by their officers, but although taken in a man-of-war, many of us suffered by theft, which I presume was never tolerated by our officers to their ships of war.

About three months prior to this, the crews of the two prizes we took, which I before mentioned, amounted to more than our crew; and I can positively aver, they were treated with every indulgence: when on board our ship, I felt for their distressed situation, and every day gave one or another of them my allowance of wine, or what else I could spare of my provisions; but I am sorry to say, we met with very different treatment from them in return. If they are on a par with English seamen in point of personal courage, which I very much doubt, sure I am that they are not in point of humanity.

A circumstance, however, occurred, very much in my favour, which exempted me from the common lot of my fellow-prisoners. A captain of the engineers, whose name was Byrus, particularly noticed me, and through his influence I had permission to sleep on the poop, which is no small privilege in that climate, while our seamen were every night counted down into the hold. We were on board their ships during two severe

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conflicts with our own fleet, commanded by Admiral Hughes. At those times we were all sent into the hold, but we should not have remained on deck, I presume, had we our choice. Many of us losing our clothes when taken, nothing remained to fill up the crevices of the cables on which our men slept; and I think, that stones would have been preferable to such a bed. From the commencement of each engagement, in some ships, the prisoners were not thought of till twenty-four hours after the termination of the affair; and all this time they w#re without water. In this situation were many, and the reader may easily judge of our condition; the hatches down, the natural heat of the climate, the darkness and contractedness of the place, together with the smoke of the lower-deck guns descending through the gratings in columns, nearly suffocated several; and such was their extreme thirst, that several made use of their own water! But in this case the remedy was worse than the disease, for instead of allaying thirst, it excited it more strongly.

The second action was stubborn and bloody; the two fleets fought nearly the whole day; and in this affair they were well matched, the French having twelve sail of the line and the English eleven; though in the former they had twelve and we only nine. Night, together with shoal water, put an end to this sanguinary contest; and the fleets being near the island of Ceylon, parted as by mutual consent, and came to an anchor; perhaps apprehensive of greater danger from rocks, etc., etc. The next morning presented both fleets to view, about four miles and a half distant from each other; here, no doubt, the minds of all in both fleets were more or less occupied, from admirals to the cabin-boys: here were complicated scenes of distress; masts, yards, carriages, bodies, or trunks of bodies rather, floating in every direction! Our fleet appeared to have had the worst of this severe conflict; two of our line-of-battle ships were nearly dismasted, and one was aground: the French suffered materially in men and rigging, but not in their lower masts. Eight days elapsed in repairing their damages; at the expiration of which time, the enemy was ready, and getting under weigh, stood out, and then tacked, and stood in, offering

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our fleet battle; but Admiral Hughes, from his recent losses and crippled state, was too wise to accept any overture of the kind; and very prudently lay close, until he had put his ships in the best condition he could. The place where this sanguinary battle terminated was Battecalo, but the seamen named it Bloody Bay, which perhaps it will long retain: its distance from Trincomalee, the principal seaport in the island of Ceylon, is about sixty miles.

After this affair, the French fleet steered for Tranquebar, a Danish settlement on the coast of Coromandel. Here Captain Byrus solicited the French Admiral for leave to go on shore on his parole, being sorely afflicted with the stone and gravel: he included me in this request, but it was not granted; nor was his own, till after several applications, and a rapid increase of his disorder shamed them at a refusal. He was lowered down the ship's side while I stood on the gunwale; the tears trickled down his manly face, though he strove to hide them, and his eyes spoke paternal affection: for my own part, I was truly sorrowful, and felt, and still feel, all that an affectionate son ought to feel for a worthy parent.

I informed my reader, in a preceding page, that I had permission, through this gentleman's influence, to sleep on the poop. I could swim very well, but the ship lay at least two miles from the shore, and I knew I had a heavy surf to contend with, should I reach it; these were weighty considerations, but I was resolved to try it, and thought it prudent to inform two of our officers, a Mr. Western, who was taken in the *Chaser*, and another young gentleman, whose name was Covey. They both dissuaded me from any attempt of the kind: but my affection for Captain Byrus, to whom I was conscious, could he have seen me, it would have been a balm in his afflictions - together with an idea of liberty - induced me to form a resolution, which is not easily shaken. Accordingly, when night came, I laid myself down on the hencoop as usual, waiting an opportunity of stealing down to the mizzen-chains. In order to accomplish this preparatory step, I conceived it essentially necessary to watch very minutely the quartermaster and sentinel, who were pacing

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it slowly on the starboard side. It was done; I found myself in the mizzen-chains, the spot I had been some time watching to gain, but no sooner was it gained than fear seized me; the darkness of the night, the appearance of the sea, which was very rough, and the distance I had to swim, staggered my resolutions, and I cowardly sneaked back again to my coop with as much caution as I had descended to the chains. Here I lay an hour, revolving what was to be done; hope and fear swayed alternately; I knew the danger was great, and now for the first time the sharks, which infest the whole coast, came into my mind. No language can describe my sensations at this crisis; I had used the most solemn asseverations that I would go that night; and, thought I, what will those young gentlemen think, should they see me in the morning? This, with the hope of seeing him, whom of all men, next to my father, I most revered, got the better of my fears, and resolution once more resumed her seat. I cautiously gained the mizzen-chains again, and determinately lowered myself into the water by the main sheet. As soon as I was fairly in, I swam under her stern, and instantly dived, going under as far as I could, in order to elude the vigilance of the watch on the poop: the darkness of the night favoured me much, for when I came up, I could scarcely see the ship; and in this case I was well assured they could not see me. I had nothing about me but a silk handkerchief with two rupees, all my treasure, tied up in the corner; this article was very injurious to me, for as I had a side wind to cope with, it would frequently blow over my face, and cause me to turn my back to the sea till I got it righted again; nor could I by any means untie it, though I often tried. Under those circumstances, I stretched towards the shore; there was a Moor ship about half the distance, which vessel I reached within, I suppose, ten or twelve fathoms, and here I had hopes of resting; but here all my exertions proved fruitless, owing to the handkerchief about my neck. I conclude I must have been under her counter for at least ten minutes; and when I could gain a yard or two the handkerchief would be blown over my face: here I nearly exhausted my strength, without gaining my point, and I was under the necessity of

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relinquishing the hopes I had entertained of resting, turning my back to the wind, and treading water in order to recruit my strength.

I was soon astern of this ship, and knew not what to do; in fact, I could do but one thing, and that was, to go the way the wind and tide drove me; I knew there were many vessels inside the French fleet, and as I considered myself in the direction of them, I was not without hope. Twenty minutes, or thereabout, brought me alongside of a large ship; I swam astern of her, keeping as near as I could, where, to my no small consolation, I found a boat: I got hold of the gunwale, and after resting myself some time, made a sufficient effort to see a man in her stern sheet asleep: I called, he awoke, and with the utmost humanity, hauled me into the boat. Here, thank kind Providence, I found a resting-place; and after a while I proposed to this merciful man (for such I found him) to go on board; he immediately hauled the boat under the ship's stern, and with his assistance I got up the ladder, walked to the waist and sat down on the booms; but I very shortly was saluted with a volley of oaths from the mate, who was apprised of an English boy being in the ship. I was not sixteen years old at this time, but it would avail nothing with this monster in human shape: my naked condition, a dark night, a rough sea, and a coast infested with sharks, made no impression on this brute, for I cannot give him the appellation of man. I solicited, I entreated, to stay a few minutes longer; but it was unavailable, for he swore if I did not instantly leave the ship he would throw me overboard! This roused me to a state of desperation; I called him a monster, ran to the gangway, and sprang into the sea. Judge of this wretch, reader, when I inform you he threatened to throw a six-pound shot at me when in the water! I fear the poor merciful man in the boat was punished for his kindness to me; but surely 'there is another and a better world!'

Once more I had to contend with the watery element; it still remained dark and blew fresh. I had taken the precaution of untying my handkerchief in the boat, and tying it round my waist. The ship I had just left was a small Danish East India-

man, and I knew, by her situation, that there was another about three-quarters of a mile in her wake; this thought animated me and gave me hopes. I had no great cause for exertion, the wind and tide being both in my favour. The day was now breaking, and seeing the ship, I swam alongside of her. The men were beginning to wash decks, and on perceiving me they threw out a rope, which I laid hold of; they hauled me about a yard from the water, but not possessing strength enough I was under the necessity of letting go; they immediately made a running bowline knot, and threw it to me; this I got under my arms, when they drew me, to my great joy, on board. Here I was treated with the utmost tenderness and humanity; but my comforts were transient. After being refreshed with the best they had, I was put into the carpenter's cot: my recent exertions soon helped me to sleep; but a few minutes after I was awoke, and informed that a French barge was making direct for the ship I was then in, and I soon saw she was from the ship that I swam from, *Le Flemant*, of fifty guns; this, to me, was alarming indeed. I was hurried down the forehold by these humane Danes, and stowed away between the cable and the deck, and I thought all was well, for their search would have been in vain; but the mate betrayed me to the French Lieutenant, who desired him to produce me; he learnt where I was, and ordering me on deck, I was obliged to obey. The Danes, I remember, pitied me very much, and inveighed severely against the mate. I was taken to the quarter-deck, and by the French officer ordered into the boat: I had on then a jacket and trowsers, and was stripping myself to restore them to the merciful man from whom I had them, but the poor fellow refused them, and the tears gushed from his eyes at the time: here the sweet milk of humanity was visible indeed I I was now peremptorily ordered into the boat, and I have every reason to believe that the crew, had they not been awed by the officer, would have put an end to my existence before I reached the ship; and when we came alongside, I never saw a vessel manned to give another three cheers more numerous; they shouting and exulting as if they had taken a first-rate.

I could not at this time assign any reason for their extravagant

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conduct; but in the course of the next day I understood, that it was firmly, though erroneously believed, throughout the ship, that I had taken a bundle of letters from the English officers on board, to Captain Byrus on shore. I was handed on the quarter-deck, and surrounded by numbers; the captain, who was at breakfast, being apprised of my arrival, came up: his countenance was at all times terrific, but now particularly so. After some conversation with his officers, I was ordered on the fore-castle; when there, I was informed by a Welshman, who belonged to the ship, that I was to be hung at the yardarm, if I did not immediately confess. Every means of intimidation was made use of; and when they found it ineffectual, I was ordered to the galley, where both my legs were put in irons, my arms tied behind me, and an iron bolt was forced into my mouth in such a savage manner, that the blood ran from both corners. In this situation I remained about three hours, when they took the gag from my mouth and untied my arms. Both legs, however, still remained in irons, and in this condition I was kept by these *humane* Frenchmen, with an allowance of rice and water once in twelve hours, and that after their blacks were served, for they had in each ship from forty to fifty to do their dirty and heavy work, until we were all landed at Cuddalore.

But notwithstanding the treatment I received, they were incessantly soliciting me to enter into their service. I was, and ever shall be, at a loss to know, what kind of an acquisition I should have been to them; but so it was: they used every means to induce me; officers would come, day after day, I supposed sent by the captain, with promises and fine words; but it was useless.

One day I was taken out of irons, and conveyed to the captain's cabin; here the Welshman was, who had been sent for by the captain as an interpreter; the captain appeared all affability, and the Welshman was desired to ask me, how I dared swim from the ship? I told him I should dare to do it again, if I had an opportunity, and a prospect of success; at this he paused, and looked at me with mild attention: the Welshman was now desired to resume the subject of entering into the French service,

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with great promises from the Captain himself, if I would consent; and to enforce this argument, a Dutch cap full of dollars stood by him: I requested him to tell the captain that I should never think of anything of the kind, and begged to be troubled no more on that subject. This closed the conversation, and he with indignation ordered me to my former situation, during which period not an Englishman was permitted to come near me. At length we were all, to the number of five hundred, taken in the different ships by their fleet, landed, as before observed, at Cuddalore, after being on board their ships six months.

CHAPTER TWO

THE air and soil were witness to our joy at meeting; but alas! how transient! Our troubles, which we now supposed were drawing to a close, were just commencing! We were shortly escorted and sent to Chillembroom, one of Hyder Ali's strong forts.

In this fort I have seen whole families, or their carcasses rather, lying in different spots, some eight, some ten, according to their number. The few miserable survivors would plunge at one of our carrion bones, though thrown into the middle of excrement. May my eyes never see the like again! Here a dreadful famine raged; and our provisions consisted of bad rice and carrion beef; this, with the saltpetre ground on which we lay, was the cause of the loss of numbers of our men. I have seen many stout fellows taken one hour, and dead the next. Their disorder was the cramp, and, when seized, their distortions were such, that they scarcely retained the shape of human beings. What cause induced the French Admiral to deliver us up to this unprincipled barbarian we never could discover. We were equally at a loss to conceive why we were abandoned by the English when they might have demanded us. I can only attribute it to the deplorable state of British affairs in India at this time.

We were here about two months, when a circumstance took place, which we then considered very fortunate, but soon to our sorrow found it the reverse. Nineteen of our men, with Lieutenant Wilson of the *Yarmouth*, effected their escape; they had a few blankets among them, of which they made ropes; and by this means, availing themselves of a dark night, descended to the ditch over a stupendous stone wall; but they knew nothing of the country, or which way to steer. Nineteen of them were the next day brought in with their arms pinioned; and the other, our boatswain's mate, was drowned in attempting to cross a river. Lieutenant Wilson was stripped and flogged with tamarind twigs very severely, when they plastered his back over with sugar, and exposed him to the sun, by way of finishing the

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punishment due to his crime; the men were put in irons. In consequence of this affair, in a day or two after, we were marched to a strong prison, and the whole of us put in heavy leg-irons, with a scanty miserable allowance; and the guards were doubled. In this situation we remained two months, when an order came from Hyder Ali to march us from thence to Bangalore; in consequence of which, our irons being knocked off, we were coupled two and two in hand-irons. This being done, we were marched out of the fort, not knowing our destination. In this case there was no distinction, except that the officers were kept separate; for all were linked, both officers and men. We had the painful sight of seeing them pass us in irons; a state of degradation which affected many of us, and myself for one. Our First Lieutenant and the Lieutenant of Marines, named Carthew, were brothers; these worthy men were coupled together in a double sense, viz., fraternal affection, and strong bolts of iron. They were, however, released from bondage in the year 1784, and are, I believe, both still living, one an admiral, and the other a clergyman.

We soon understood that our destination was Bangalore; our march commenced, and a severe one it was: several had no shoes, which was no small misfortune; many being coupled together whose tempers were by no means congenial, was another source of evil, and particularly so after a heavy day's march. It frequently happened that we were kept, though I believe not designedly, without food for many hours after reaching the ground on which we were to sleep; and woe to the poor weary wretch who should attempt to sit down to rest himself, for in this case he would be sure to have the application of the butt-end of a musket between his shoulders: in short, no butcher ever drove oxen with more cruelty than we were driven. In order to prevent a surprise, we were taken by the most unfrequented ways; and one day, in a most dreadful abyss on the margin of the road, we heard the noise, as we supposed, of a rattlesnake, which alarmed us all; but if it was such, it must have been of an enormous size, otherwise it could not have made the noise it did.

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A curious circumstance took place at one of our halting spots, which were mostly under trees, and which, though alarming at the time, was very laughable afterwards. Two of our men, about one o'clock in the morning, were preparing their rice coffee, in order to be ready for the morning's march; when taking their cugeree-pot off the fire, it broke, and scalded one of them, who gave a terrible roar, which was mistaken for a tiger's by those near him, who were not half awake. This induced them to bawl out- a tiger! a tiger! which was quickly communicated to the whole, as they were successively roused from their sleep. Our officers, being near us, took the alarm also; and such a scene of confusion ensued, as would require an abler pen than mine to describe. All were intent on personal safety, but all were not of one mind; hence, one hauled this way, and another that, till twenty or thirty pairs came into contact; numbers fell on each other, while some endeavoured to haul their weaker partners up into trees. The guards were running about like madmen, not knowing the cause of this hurly-burly; and I am persuaded to this day, had we not been ironed, the guards would never have entered our thoughts, and many would have been miles distant in a very short time. Several had the marks of this dragging business, on their wrists, for months afterwards. Smith, our corporal of marines, being the only man out of irons, and who could talk Moorish well, was sent for by the chief of the guard, who, I believe, was as much frightened as ourselves; but when he understood the cause of all this confusion, he was highly pleased, for he was apprehensive of something worse. Many of the guards were at a considerable distance at this time; but the panic gradually subsiding, the tom-toms were sounded, the horns were blown, the guards collected, and we composed ourselves to sleep, wondering at what had happened.

At the expiration of twenty-one days, under many distressing circumstances, we reached Bangalore. Here we were halted, and after three days, the Mohammedan and Brachmin grandees came from the fort, and separated us into three parties. The division I was in was sent to Burrampour, three days' march from Bangalore. I do not recollect ever seeing a day of more

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sorrow. On parting, the tears flowed copiously from many, and grief was portrayed in almost every countenance. When we reached the place of our destination, prior to entering the prison, our hand-irons were knocked off, and leg-irons substituted. They gave us rice for the first eight or ten days, when they changed it to raggee, the flour of which is nearly as black as coal. This, no doubt, occasioned the death of numbers of our poor fellows, who died in excruciating agonies, which I think would not have been the case, had they had medical assistance; but they might as well have asked for mountains of gold, as anything of this nature.

Here we remained three months, at the expiration of which time, being all ordered out to muster, the youngest were selected from the rest, to the number of fifteen, myself one; our irons were knocked off, and we were put for that night in the prison, as usual. This was mysterious to us; we knew not what to make of it. The next morning, we, the fifteen boys selected, were sent off to Bangalore, where we were told we should be taken good care of. We sorrowfully parted from our companions, and, after three days' march, arrived at the spot. Here we met with more English youths, who had been taken, in like manner, from other prisons, and sent hither also. We were exceedingly glad to see each other, and, of course, mutual enquiries took place as to the cause of our being thus collected; but we were all equally ignorant, and a kind of gloomy pleasure was the result. We now mustered fifty-two boys, the oldest seventeen, and the youngest (a Mr. Randle Cadman, whom I shall have to mention again) twelve. The first of their operations was, searching us for knives, scissars, etc., and such as they found, they very good-naturedly took from us; they then sent us several legs of mutton, with cudgerees, pots, water, salt, etc., but carefully prevented our having anything to cut it with. Nine of us formed a mess, and boiled one of the legs, which was our portion; but when ready, we were at a sad loss how to divide it, having been deprived of every instrument necessary for that purpose. After a hungry debate, one, more sagacious than the rest, procured a tile, with which instrument, and our

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exertions in tearing, we reduced it with much difficulty into three parts; we then formed ourselves into three parties, three in each, and as we had made three joints of it, each party took one; and after taking it in our hands, and tearing as much as our mouths would contain, we passed it to another, till our turns came again.

Three days having expired, we were sent for by the killadare, or governor, who, after viewing us with apparent good nature, gave us sojne fruit; which kindness we could not account for, all was mystery still, though we were repeatedly told that we were high in the estimation of Hyder, and considered as his children. On this piece of information, some were thoughtful, and some thoughtless. After a few days had elapsed, we were marched off to Seringapatam, Hyder's capital; but our marches were easy, and our food was abundant. On the ninth day after we left Bangalore, we reached the capital, where we were seated between two gates for nearly three hours, and gazed at by innumerable multitudes, who were passing and repassing through the place, and who had never beheld such a sight before. From thence we were ordered to a *Tabla*, or square, where they continued their kindness to us; but we were all this time quite ignorant of their base intentions. One month passed over our heads very comfortably, when the guards being increased, we were ordered out to muster. Near us stood a number of *Hodgams* (barbers), who had orders to shave our heads. This we positively refused, and they did not use force, as this was only preparatory to something of greater moment.

In the midst of these mysterious kindnesses, an European made his appearance, clad in the Mohammedan dress, with a large red turban, and a formidable pair of mustaches. This man saluted us in a very gentlemanly manner, but we looked on him with suspicion and surprise. He gave us to understand, that he was sent directly from the killadare, to use his influence with us in having our heads shaved, etc.; he also more than intimated, that if we persisted in a refusal, they would take such steps as would be very disagreeable to us, which no doubt was true enough. He appeared to be our friend, and sincerely advised us

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quietly to submit; which we did. This being done, they left us to ourselves another week, when, one morning, the same barbers came, with twelve of the most robust men I ever saw; these were some of Hyder's *Geties*, all from Madagascar, kept by him for feats of strength and agility, which I shall, in the sequel, attempt to describe. Their appearance told us plainly that something was going on, although we could not form any opinion of the object which they had in view; but the arrival of Dempster, the name of the European before alluded to, once more unravelled the mystery. He addressed us in the most endearing, though hypocritical language, and gave us to understand, that we were to be circumcised, and made Mohammedans of, by the express order of Hyder. We were thunderstruck; but what could be done? He saw our agitation, and playing off his persuasive artillery, his artifice and address had more influence with us than the guards; in short, they forced each of us to take a quantity of majum,¹ a drug well calculated to stupify the senses and deaden pain; but it had little effect this latter way.

A mat, and a kind of sheet, being provided for each of us, we were ordered to arrange ourselves in two rows, and then lie down on our mats. This being done, the guards, barbers, and those twelve men before-mentioned, came among us, and seizing the youngest, Randal Cadman, a midshipman, they placed him on a cudgeree pot, when four of those stout men held his legs and arms, while the barber performed his office. In this manner they went through the operation, and in two hours the *pious* work was finished, and we were laid on our separate mats; where, with the effects of the majum, some were laughing, and others crying; which, together with the pain, rendered our condition truly curious and ludicrous. In the evening they placed several sentinels over us, not for the purpose of guarding

¹ This opiate is made either into liquid or solid, with sugar, from the *Boang* tree, the produce of which they smoke with tobacco; it causes the most astonishing sensations. In the course of a few years, we were in the habit of smoking it freely, to drown our troubles; and we well knew its effects.

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us from an escape, this being impossible, for more reasons than one; but to protect us from the bandicuts, a species of the rat kind, as large as young sucking pigs, which they much resembled, and which were very numerous there. We were soon convinced that this was an act of mercy on their part, as those creatures (lying in our blood as we were) might have done us considerable mischief. In this state we remained two months, when, with the exception of two,¹ we all got well.

During our illness, or rather soreness, the clothes we had were taken from us, and coarse habits given us; but we were not, even yet, completely Mohammedanized, and, therefore, more evils were at hand. Four large coppers were brought into the square, accompanied by *Facquars* or priests, *Worstards* or schoolmasters, and a religious train - to consummate the business, and make us genuine children of the Prophet. Each copper would, at least, contain one hogshēad and a half of water, which was made unusually warm. The reason assigned for this, was, as we understood afterwards, that we had eaten a great quantity of pork in our time, and consequently were very unclean. Here was so small diversion for idle spectators, to see us jump out of the coppers half scalded; the *facquars*, in the midst of their prayers, suspending their ceremonies, and joining the guards in running after and bringing us back; for, by the time two were taken, they would be in pursuit of two more, who had made their escape from this terrific ordeal. In this we found some advantage; for during our short absence the water naturally cooled, so that we could at length stay in it until the prayers were finished by the priests. This continued three days successively, in conjunction with the confused prayers of the *facquars*, the threats of the guards, and our own apprehensions at this mode of scalding. These preparations and performances being ended, we were hailed as the children of the Prophet, and the favourites of the Nabob.

Now, exclusively of our mental feelings, we had every good

¹ One, whose name was James Murrell, died; and the other, from the great quantity of blood he lost, never had any colour in his face afterwards; his name was Alsop.

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in abundance; and thus they continued to treat us for three months; but, alas! our troubles had only just begun. About this time, 1783-4, Hyder Ali Cawn died. The more immediate cause of his death was an ulcerated back; and reports were then circulated in the capital, that towards the close of his life, when the ulcer was rapidly spreading, he, by advice, ordered several criminals at different times to be killed, in order to apply their livers to his sore. It is, however, but just to state, that for this I have no other authority than hearsay, though I have no reason to doubt that it might be truth.

We were now formed into a company, but having Dempster for our commander, was so small mortification to us; knowing him to be a base wretch, and a deserter from the Bengal Artillery. Dempster was a man of considerable abilities, and, as we soon learnt, had been a chaplain to one of the regiments at Gibraltar. This man, with a native named Abdel Gunney, both formerly officers in the Company's service, was at the bottom of all the cruel treatment we received for the period of a year afterwards. We were now, every morning and evening, paraded before the palace in full Mohammedan dress; and this scoundrel would very frequently march us up and down before the English officers' prisons, and particularly before that of the brave but unfortunate Colonel Bailey, of whose end I shall have to speak shortly.

CHAPTER THREE

ABOUT this time, Tippoo Saib, who had succeeded his father, Hyder Ali,¹ sent an order to the killadare of Seringapatam to incorporate us in his four battalions of slaves - which was accordingly done; but we had no doubt it was so done through the malicious insinuations of Dempster, whom, after we knew, we treated with the most sovereign contempt. Here each individual was supplied with a stick of about four feet and a half long, as a substitute for a firelock, and our pay being shortened, we led wretched lives indeed; fabrications being circulated, and groundless complaints made against us, merely from a malignant antipathy. We did not at this time know much of the language; and when questioned relative to these complaints, many got severe beatings;² for our silence was generally construed into guilt.

Once we were kept without food for two days; and conscious we had done nothing to deserve it, we sallied forth to the *Durbar* (a seat of justice so called), in order to exhibit a complaint of our grievances to the killadare; but Abdel Gunney, to whom I have adverted, learning our intentions, was before us, and intimated to the killadare to take care of his person, for that we were coming in a body, and he knew not for what purpose. This alarmed the governor; and we no sooner arrived, than we were surrounded by a battalion of Sepoys, and our interpreter, Clark, a lieutenant in the Company's service, who had begun

¹ A curious and tragic circumstance took place on his first visit to his father's mausoleum: in his going through the Gangam gate, a bullock's head on one side, and a man's head on the other, were lopped off at one time. The real meaning of this ceremony we never could learn.

² A Mr. William Drake, midshipman of the *Hannibal*, for striking one of the slaves that had struck him, was led to the front of one of the battalions, and there had his hands and feet tied together; this done, they forced his knees between his arms, and then pushed a pole under his hams. In addition to this, three stout men flogged him as long as they had strength. What must have been our feeling at this time? He survived it; and we were surprised, for his body was as black as a coal.

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to speak, was knocked down, and beaten in a most shocking manner. While he lay on the ground, they put him in heavy irons, and took him away, nor do I recollect ever seeing him afterwards. All this time we were secured by the Sepoys, who had orders to prime and load, and to fix their bayonets; and all this against fifty-two defenceless boys. We were seized, and each of us was bound with two new ropes, confining our hands behind us; and, to make us secure, a strong man enclosed our arms, and with his knee almost dislocated our shoulders: many of us had the marks in our arms for some years after. This done, we were wheeled to the right, then to the left, by the my re, or adjutant, in broken English, who would frequently, in the most contemptuous manner, cry out, 'General Matthews* - 'Colonel Bailey' - Captain Rumney,' and repeat the names of many officers they then had in their custody, of whom I shall very soon give the reader an accurate account.

We were hauled in this degrading manner, until I and several more fainted; when I came to myself, we were all seated on the ground. I was bound between two lads, both midshipmen of the *Hannibaly* who told me, when I fell they fell, with most of the rest; those who did not informed us, that so many falling, they were ordered to sit down. The skin of our breasts was like a drum head, and I am conscious to this day, if it had not been for the humanity of the Durga, an officer equal to a Serjeant, in slackening the ropes about twelve o'clock at night, very few would have survived till morning. This was done on his part at a great risk: may God reward him for it!

The next day we were ordered to be untied, one by one, and our heads to be again shaved, which was performed; our ears also were bored, and a slaved mark was put in each of them. This being done, we were prohibited from speaking to each other in English, under pain of severe punishment. We were then marched, or led crawling, rather, to our square, where they gave those who could immediately make use of it, some food. Here we met every day, more or less, with severe treatment, until the year 1784, when a peace was concluded between the East India Company and Tippoo. This was a woeful and

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heartrending peace for us; but prior to my saying anything on that head, I shall introduce the condition and fate of many of our brave officers; together with the fate of the unfortunate brachmins, as it fell immediately under my notice. And first, of Colonel Bailey, who was in leg-irons, with Captain Rumney, and Lieutenants Fraser and Sampson. The three latter had their throats cut at Mysore. Colonel Bailey appeared much emaciated; I rather think grief was the cause of destroying his constitution; for when he was insulted by Dempster, who took a pride in marching us before him, we could frequently see the tears trickle down his manly face. He was alone, after the captain and lieutenants were taken from him; but not long, for he was removed also, and we supposed very secretly, for we never could learn what became of him; and whether he died by poison, or a natural death, we could not positively ascertain; but we could easily believe the former.

The next whose fate I shall endeavour to describe, is General Matthews, who, with many of his officers and men, arrived prisoners at Seringapatam (about the time of Colonel Bailey's exit) from Bednore, or Hyder Niger. They had surrendered by capitulation, but it was first violated on the part of the General, relative to the treasures; this, together with another circumstance which I shall presently state, was the cause of his miserable end, together with that of many of his officers.

Onore, or Ananpour, a fort about two days' march from Bednore, had been stormed by part of his army, and all the inhabitants wantonly and inhumanly put to death, and their bodies thrown into several tanks in the fort: this was fresh in Tippoo's memory. The cause of this cruelty was, that two flags of truce had been sent, and both detained. How far such conduct for such a crime could be justifiable, on the part of the English, I leave to those of superior judgment. This was told me by several, to whom I had, at times, opportunity of speaking; and had he taken Hyat Saab's advice (the killadare of Hyder Niger), and who gave him no great trouble in the conquest of the place, he would have done well; but it appears, from many circumstances, that it was to be so. It was intended that he

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should die by poison,¹ administered in milk; but as it did not operate, in their view, sufficiently expeditiously, his guards closed his existence with the butts of their firelocks. Perhaps Tippoo, as a Mohammedan, considered this as a just retaliation for the butchery at the before-mentioned place. Several of his fife and drum boys were Mohammedanized, and placed in the seraglio for the purpose of castration; but this operation never took place: and many of his principal officers left him for Bombay, prior to his being captured. Such was the end of this ambitious and ill-fated general. But before I close, it may be necessary to state the following circumstance, which I conceive will corroborate what I have before observed relative to the cause of his melancholy end.

George Bush, of the *Yarmouth*, country ship, which was

¹ One Smith, a deserter from the Company's service, was sent for one morning, to read what was written on the bottoms of four pewter plates or dishes; but not pleasing the killadare in deciphering the words, he was sent away, and another, who could read better, ordered to be brought to the durbar, or place of justice. I was selected; and approaching with fear, I made my salam with as much reverence as I could to one of the greatest men in his kingdom. He ordered the buxer, or paymaster, to give me one of the dishes. It was very legible, and I read it to his satisfaction, interpreted by a youth who was taken with the general; the other three were put into my hands successively, and I read them all. The purport was, that he knew he was poisoned, and by order of Tippoo; that his time was short; that he must submit to his fate; that he had borrowed 330,000 rupees from the Malabar Christians, for the support of his army, since he left Bombay; closing with a sincere request, that those who read what was written (or engraven rather, for it appeared to have been done with a fork or a nail), and should be so fortunate as to reach any of the presidencies, should make it known to the governor and council, when they would be amply rewarded. When the passage relative to the money was first mentioned, the killadare appeared quite sanguine, under an idea that it was attainable; but when he understood the meaning of it, he, with the most sovereign contempt, and in the most indignant manner, cried, '*Ah! BaunchutP* the meaning of which I cannot, with decency, explain; those who know the Moorish language will understand it. One of the general's servants suffered with him. The other, George Madan, was with us some years after; he was not removed till the general was taken away by night: where he was buried, we never could learn, but, no doubt, in some dirty hole.

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captured by *La Fin*, French frigate of forty guns, and James Forsythe, who were separated from us some years after, but who finally made their escape, and joined us in the Mahratta camp, were, with many more, sent direct to Hyder Nigër. In the course of their journey thither, they halted at Ananpour; and being excessively thirsty, they were instantly led to one of the wells, which, I am sorry to observe, the English had filled up some years before with their slain. One James Duffee was then with the above, and had been one of the storming party in this inhuman business; and such was the indignation of the residents on this spot, that, had they not been prevented by the guards, they would have sacrificed those innocent men to their fury, from a remembrance of what had taken place. I mention this circumstance, because I have seen an attempt to justify this branch of the General's conduct.

Now followed the fate of the poor Malabar Christians, of which I shall ever consider myself the innocent cause, in reading what was written by General Matthews, as stated in the preceding note. Their country was invested by Tippoo's army, and they were driven, men, women, and children, to the number of 30,000, to Seringapatam, where all who were fit to carry arms were circumcised, and formed into four battalions. The sufferings of these poor creatures were most excruciating; one circumstance, which came under my immediate notice, I will attempt to describe. When recovered, they were armed and drilled, and ordered to Mysore, nine miles from the capital, but for what purpose we never could learn. Their daughters were many of them beautiful girls, and Tippoo was determined to have them for his seraglio; but this they refused; and Mysore was invested by his orders, and the four battalions were disarmed and brought prisoners to Seringapatam. This being done, the officers tied their hands behind them. The *Chumbers* or sandal-makers, were then sent for, and their noses, ears, and upper lips were cut off; they were then mounted on asses, their faces towards the tail, and led through Pataw, with a wretch before them proclaiming their crime. One fell from his beast, and expired on the spot through loss of blood. Such a mangled

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and bloody scene excited the compassion of numbers, and our hearts were ready to burst at the inhuman sight. It was reported that Tippoo relented in this case, and I rather think it true, as he never gave any further orders respecting their women. The twenty-six that survived were sent to his different arsenals, where, after the lapse of a few years, I saw several of them lingering out a most miserable existence. Some time after our initiation (about nine months), many of the mechanics were brought from their different prisons to Patam, and sent to his arsenal, to their different employments; about eighty was their number; they had a tolerable allowance, but were all circumcised. One, whose name was William Williams, effected his escape, but was taken, and treated as the above, with the exception of losing only one ear, with his nose; which was executed before us, as a terror, no doubt, to prevent our attempting anything in the same manner. Most of these unfortunate men were put to death; nine of them, including two carpenters' mates, belonging to the *Hannibal*, Archy Douglas, and another whose name I have forgotten, were hung on one tree, because one of the party, named Flood, a serjeant-major in the Company's service, to pass away a tedious hour, had been taking a sketch of the surrounding scenery; this was the crime for which they all suffered death!

The deserters had no lenity shown them; most of them suffered also, and among them was Dempster, whom I have named before, who was piked to death in his hut; which we were very happy to hear, as this wretch had been the cause of much cruelty towards us. Randal Cadman, who survived those evils (through illness), although in the midst of them, escaped on the night our troops, under Lord Cornwallis, defeated and followed Tippoo's army over the river into Seringapatam;¹

¹ The war of 1790-2 was almost fatal to Tipu; his alliance with the French remained a mere hope while the alliance of the English with the Nizam and Mahrattas became a fact, exposing his possessions to attack from all directions. In 1791, the Governor-General, Cornwallis, took command, and concentrating his forces at Vellore, advanced on Bangalore, which he took in December. On 5th February of the next

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we were then at some distance from the capital, but saw him when we afterwards joined his lordship. He was then all but dead; he survived, however, and from him we had this information. He also informed us, that prior to his lordship's arrival, the principal street in Seringapatam, on each side, was ornamented with paintings, such as, elephants whirling Europeans in the air, tigers seizing whole battalions of English Sepoys, five or six English officers supplicating for mercy at the feet of one of his troopers, and companies flying frightened at the charge of ten or twenty of his horse: with a variety of other worse than silly representations. But when his lordship had taken Bangalore, and was on his way to the capital, Tippoo thought it prudent to order these daubings to be cancelled. But to return to the years 1783 and 1784.

Shortly after the arrival of General Matthews, Tippoo, thinking his mode of punishment towards those poor creatures who happened to fall under his displeasure not severe or terrific enough, ordered nine large tiger cages to be made, and placed opposite his *Kerconah*, or treasury. They were arranged there according to his order, and soon tenanted, each with a large tiger. After the death of Colonel Bailey, we were paraded before those ferocious animals, and had an opportunity of seeing them fed once or twice a day; one of the nine was as black as a coal, the only one I ever saw of that colour. They were all taken in the Curakee jungles, which abound with elephants, tigers, wild boars, panthers, tiger-cats, leopards, etc., and lie about twenty miles from Patam, and about ten from Mysore. Those tigers, above stated, were designed for the punishment of high crimes and misdemeanours: three of his principal officers,

year he was encamped six miles north of Seringapatam with the intention of attacking the following night. During the suspense, 10,000 Coorgis and many Europeans escaped. Unfortunately for the English, Tipu surrendered before the fortress could be taken. Negotiations were nearly broken off by Tipu when he heard the demand for Coorg: 'Why do they not ask for the key of Seringapatam?' he said. Coorg, however, was ceded as well as Malabar, while the allies recovered the territories which they had lost in 1785-87. - [EDITOR.]

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namely, his head inchewalla, or general postmaster, his buxey, or paymaster-general, and another, were severally thrown to the tigers, and devoured in an instant, all but their head; for which purpose the tigers were always kept hungry! These all suffered within the short space of four months.

Confinement, however, soon proved destructive to the animals themselves, as scarcely one of them survived above eleven months. At this period, there was a regular import of wild beasts at least twice a week, taken from the jungles by himself, on his hunting excursions; to which exercise, at one time, he appeared very partial. One thousand horse, five hundred puliigars, or pikemen, with some food, formed his hunting party. His tiger-cats, or leopards, would always accompany him, and with these he used to course, as our gentlemen *do* with hounds. The elephants were caught in pits; and the tigers and other wild beasts in cages, by fastening, at the other end of the cage, a young pig, a lamb, etc. The wild elephants, though he had numbers that were domesticated, and tigers, were designed for his games, which I shall presently attempt to describe; but I will first mention the manner in which he punished criminals. Amongst numerous other instruments, he had a wooden horse, of a full size, resembling those adopted for his cavalry, curiously and infernally contrived, on the saddle of which were nine rows of sharp spikes, about three-quarters of an inch long. The machine was moved by springs; and as soon as the culprit mounted, the horse, by some mechanism, would rear on his hindlegs, and then, falling with a jerk on his forefeet, the spikes would enter the posteriors of the rider. The time of riding was proportioned to the crime; though it was said, that one of his horsemen rode this machine with such dexterity as to avoid the spikes, in consequence of which he was pardoned. I have oftentimes seen the horse, with its furniture, etc., but never saw a culprit on his back, though I was at Seringapatam at the time that several were punished that way. It was removed when Lord Cornwallis took possession of Bangalore.

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But his most common method of punishment was, that of drawing to death by the elephants feet; the manner of which was as follows: the poor wretches (for several were drawn at one time) first had their arms tied behind them, above the elbows, and then a rope put about the small of their legs, which was fastened to the elephant's foot. This being done, the criminals stood with their backs towards the elephant's posteriors, waiting sometimes an hour for an order for their execution. The distance Aey stood from the beast was about six yards, and the first step the elephant took would throw the poor unfortunates on their faces; thus they would be dragged over rough and smooth ground till dead, and with no faces left. There was a singular circumstance respecting one of his elephants, called Immaumbucies, which, when young, and about the size of a buffalo, came into Seringapatam with a herd of those animals. It was the largest he had, and measured 15 feet in height. He was much caressed, and appeared sensible of every kind action; in fact, he was more sagacious than any of his fellows, and wonderfully docile. This incident transpired about fifty or sixty years prior to Hyder Ali's usurpation, when Seringapatam was in possession of the Mysorean chief, as sole monarch of the whole country.

Some error, of no great import, discovered in the accounts of fifteen fine young Bramins, who were in one of his offices as clerks; for which they lost the forefinger and thumb of their right hands, all except one, who was left-handed, and he had his left finger and thumb cut off; but the suffering of the Bramins in general were indescribably cruel. Poor inoffensive men! Were they accused of being rich, it was enough; and no small pains were taken to procure their accusation, Tippoo's emissaries and spies being in every corner of his kingdom. Once informed against, all pleas were useless, and they were instantly dragged to Seringapatam. On their arrival, they were sent for by the paymaster-general, who would address them mildly, stating, that he had received information they were worth a certain sum of money, which he named, and that he wanted so much for his master's services. If the proposal was

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acceded to, all was well, and perhaps the Bramin would be put in a more lucrative situation; but a denial, or a supposed prevarication, was sure to be accompanied with the most exquisite tortures. In this process, the first mode was, piqueting for a given number of hours; then, if this was found of no avail, the addition of scourging; if this also proved ineffectual, needles, fixed in corks, were incessantly applied to their bodies, while still under the scourge. This mode of punishment continued several days; and if all this could not make them confess where their supposed riches were, they would be then led to the large pagoda yard, and there put into cages of iron, on half a pound of rice, and a certain quantity of salt, per day, but not a drop of water, or anything but these two articles. In this situation I have seen them, with their souls looking through their eyes, and God knows my Feelings at the time; but a look of pity at them from us would have been construed into guilt. They would thus linger a few days, and expire in agonies.

The situation of the oppressors and the oppressed, in pecuniary matters, is, I believe, widely different now. It is generally believed in India, that the Bramins are very tenacious of their money; which may be the case, and I give it credit; but I am strongly of opinion, that numbers of these inoffensive people suffered as above described, having no property whatever; a strong information against them being a just ground with Tippoo for all these cruelties.

About this period, in the year 1785, he seemed more bent on barbarities than at any other time that I was in his country. It was not infrequently that two or three hundred noses and ears would be exhibited in the public market, but to whom¹ they belonged we could not learn. We must, however, leave these tragic scenes awhile, and turn to something less horrible.

We were one day strangely informed, that each of us, who was of proper age, was to have a wife; for this piece of news we were extremely sorry, but there was no possibility of our preventing their designs. There were, at this time, a number

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of young girls, who had been driven with their relations out of the Carnatic, when Hyder infested that country, which he almost overran, as already stated. Some of these poor creatures were allotted for us; and one morning we were ordered to fall into rank and file, when those girls were placed one behind each of us, while we stood gazing at one another, wondering what they were about to do. At last the durga gave the word, 'To the right about face'; with the addition (in the Moorish language) of 'take what is before you.' This, when understood, some did, and some did not; but the refractory were soon obliged to comply. Thus they fed their vanity, by making our first interview as ludicrous as possible, each being by this means supplied with a piece of furniture, for which, however valuable in general, we had neither want nor inclination. When this ceremony was completed, we were ordered back to our square, and on our return with our young black doxies, we had the bazaar, or public market, to pass, where the crowd was so difficult to penetrate, as to separate us. This laid the foundation for some serious disputes afterwards, many insisting that the women they had, when they arrived at the square, were not the same they had at first. This scene was truly comic, for the girls, when we understood them, which was many months afterwards, had the same views that we had; and were frequently engaged with their tongues, on this score, long before we could understand the cause of their disputes. Our enemies seemed to enjoy this in a manner that would have done honour to a British theatre. Two months passed on, when the priest came to consummate our nuptials; and the conclusion of the ceremony was as curious as the beginning. The bride and her consort were led to an eminence, with flowers round their necks, and seated; after which, their thumbs were tied together, when the priest muttered something which we could not comprehend, and we were married. They, however, gave us to understand, that we were subject to pay eighty rupees to the *cadi*, in case we divorced our wives, very few of whom exceeded eleven years of age. The one who fell to my lot was a native of Arcot, and had been driven with thousands more when Hyder and Tippoo spread

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destruction almost throughout the Company's territories. She was an affectionate creature, by whom I had two children; one died, and the other I left in the arms of its distracted mother. But I shall waive this subject for the present, and resume it again, if possible, towards the close.

CHAPTER FOUR

ABOUT four months prior to the ratification of peace with the Company and Tippoo, our circumstances were bettered, and we had liberty to walk where we thought proper in the fort, and sometimes permission to go to Sanagangam, about two miles from the fort, where Hyder Ali lies buried, in a garden called Col-bog, or the Red Garden. We were taken to this spot, with many more good Mussulmen, to pray for the soul of the deceased, when we had an opportunity of viewing his mosque. It is situate in the centre of the garden, and in the centre of the mosque is the tomb of this hero. It is a magnificent square building, with four doors, east, west, north, and south; and is ascended by steps, on the top of which, you immediately see, through the doors, his tomb, which, when I saw it, was covered with black velvet, and a steel ball was suspended over it, larger than a forty-two pound shot, of an amazing brightness.

There is another garden worth notice, called Derea Dowlah-bog, or, the Rich Garden of the Sea; this is a most charming spot, nearly surrounded by a lofty wall, at the foot of which runs the river. Here was a great variety of fruits of the most exquisite flavour, lofty trees of a sublime appearance, together with a representation of the defeat of the brave but unfortunate Colonel Bailey.¹ Outside of this delectable spot, and near the walls, is a vast tank, in which numbers of large fish were kept (consecrated, I suppose, for they were never disturbed) by the highest order of the faquirs, who had their dwelling on the margin of the tank. But when the English took possession no doubt these fine fish were appropriated to some other use.

A brief description of Seringapatam and its environs may not be amiss here. This capital of Mysore (though Mysore itself, distant nine miles, was, prior to Hyder's usurpation, the seat of

¹ Colonel Baillie is represented in profile, seated in his litter, unconcernedly smelling a rose, amidst the bleeding bodies and severed limbs of his men: both the unconcern and the carnage are burlesque. Haidar, too, on his side, smells his rose while his men die. - [EDITOR.]

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government) is an island in the midst of a continent, charmingly situated, and surrounded by the Cavery River;¹ distant from Madras 296 miles. It is about four miles in length, and about one mile and a half in breadth across the middle, where the ground is highest, whence it gradually narrows, and falls toward the extremities. At the western end there is a fort of very considerable strength, about three miles in circumference, mounting at least 190 pieces of cannon, including what were on the cavalices. Its appearance, at about three miles' distance, was calculated to strike every beholder, being distinguished by magnificent buildings and ancient pagodas,² contrasted with the more lofty and splendid monuments, lately erected in honour of the Mohammedan faith.³

At the east end of the island is the pettah, or suburb, called Sanagangam, which was finished while we were there; it was beautifully laid out, about half a mile square, divided into regular streets, all very wide, and shaded on each side with trees, surrounded by a strong mud wall. It was designed for merchants and troops, and possessed all the beauty and elegance of a country retirement, and was dignified by the mausoleum of Hyder. They were about erecting a new and magnificent palace in the year 1787, the last time I ever saw it but one, which will be noticed hereafter. We were all mustered before Hyder, in his palace, once, but not seeing much of the interior, I am not competent to give an accurate description. It is a very extensive building, flat-roofed, with two wings, one of which is his seraglio, and the other his treasury. The front of the palace

¹ On the margin of this river the Bramins burn their dead; it was infested by numbers of alligators when I left it, though there were none when I first went to it: they are not formidable, being remarkably timid. I and others have frequently amused ourselves by throwing stones at them.

² Uncouth stupendous buildings, the grand residence of their *Swarmy*, or deity.

³ These monuments were ornamented by an engraver and sculptor, whose name was Elliott, an Englishman, and a deserter from Bombay; what became of him I never heard, but suppose he shared the fate of the rest.

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was an extensive open place, supported by strong pillars, where the killadare and his retinue sat to administer justice; the palace door being about four yards behind them.

Four beautiful Arabian mares, two elephants, and two palanquins, were always in waiting when Tippoo was in his capital; but he approved of the latter mode of conveyance most: I never saw him on horseback, and only once on an elephant. In his person he was majestic, about five feet nine inches and a half in height, with large eyes, an aquiline nose, and remarkably broad shoulders; his complexion was about two shades lighter than quite black. In short, he must have been a very powerful man, though, in my opinion, contrary perhaps to most, not possessing any great portion of personal courage. I have never seen but one striking likeness of him since I have been in England.

I was an eyewitness twice to his games, once before the peace of 1784, and once after. These games were something after the manner of the Pythian or Olympic, and continued ten days without intermission. After the usual preparations were arranged, which consisted of a strong rope network, attached to stanchions fixed in the ground, forming a semi-circle in front of his palace, different descriptions of beasts were brought in, viz.: elephants, tigers, buffaloes, and rams; then followed his getiees, men who, being trained from their infancy to fighting, were wonderfully active and strong; these were seated in different groups, having come from different schools. The games commenced with the rams, perhaps thirty or forty pair each day; their mode of fighting is well known, and, therefore, needs no description: they would fight ferociously, but were seldom suffered to be completely conquered. This being over, the getiees would be sent for, who always approached with their masters at their head, and after prostration, and making their grand salams, touching the ground each time, they would be paired, one school against another. They had on their right hands the *Woodguamootie*, or four steel talons, which were fixed to each back joint of their fingers, and had a terrific appearance when their fists were closed. Their heads were close shaved, their bodies oiled, and they wore only a pair of short drawers.

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On being matched, and the signal given from Tippoo, they begin the combat, always by throwing the flowers, which they wear round their necks, in each other's faces; watching an opportunity of striking with the right hand, on which they wore this mischievous weapon, which never failed lacerating the flesh, and drawing blood most copiously. Some pairs would close instantly, and no matter which was under, for the gripe was the whole; they were in general taught to suit their holds to their opponent's body, with every part of which they y^ere well acquainted. If one got a hold against which his antagonist could not guard, he would be the conqueror; they would frequently break each other's legs and arms; and if any way tardy, Tippoo had means of infusing spirit into them, for there were always two stout fellows behind each, with instruments in their hands that would soon put them to work. They were obliged to fight as long as Tippoo pleased, unless completely crippled; and if they behaved well, they were generally rewarded with a turban and a shawl, the quality being according to their merit.

There were, at this time, two men of prodigious size and strength; one, who was called the Nabob's gettee, from Madagascar, challenged the other, whose name was Yankertramen, from Tanjour, to fight with *Creeses*. This being made known to Tippoo, he ordered the latter into his presence, and asked him if he would fight his gettee with a creese. He immediately answered in the affirmative, prostrating himself at the same time; when ordered to rise, he humbly solicited that Tippoo would take care of his family, should he fall: in which he being satisfied, creeses were brought, and one was delivered to each; this attracted the utmost attention of, I suppose, twenty thousand spectators. All eyes were bent upon these two powerful men. They stood fronting each other for the space of ten minutes; the Nabob's gettee looked terrible at any time, but more particularly so now. He was not so stout as his opponent, but he was daring, and appeared sure of conquest. Tippoo watched them narrowly, to ascertain if any symptoms of fear were shown, or if either of them would decline the combat; but finding them both staunch, his heart, perhaps for the first time, relented, and he graciously

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ordered both of them presents, and to withdraw, and be friendly with each other.

Outside the semicircle, there would every day appear a man on lofty stilts, with one of the Company's uniforms on; at one time he would seem to take snuff, at another tobacco; then he would affect to be intoxicated; in short, it was intended as a burlesque on the English, and to make them appear as ridiculous as possible in the view of the numerous spectators.

This being over, the tigers and buffaloes would be introduced, the former in large boxes, as they were caught in the jungles. The largest had generally chains round their loins. I have seen one of these last-mentioned tigers defeat nine buffaloes, each of which would have been an overmatch for the fiercest bull I ever saw in Europe. He was chained at the time, though he had full scope to reach his antagonist. Many of the smaller ones were let loose singly on the pulligars, or pikemen. One of these fierce creatures, although he had twenty or more pikes in him at once, broke them, and strung over their heads, killing one man and wounding two others. It appeared singularly strange to us, that this tiger and another, which made their escape out of the ring by surprising efforts, should both of them make direct for the prison in which our officers were confined. The brave Captain Baird, now Sir David Baird, was there at the time, with many more of our unfortunate officers, who, no doubt, if living, will remember this circumstance.

Towards the close of the evening, would follow eight or ten pair of these getiees, either of whom, had they one of their own holds of our first-rate pugilist, would soon make him cry for mercy. In the evening the elephants would be ordered in, when there would be lying on the ground, a dozen or more supposed dead tigers.¹ The business of these elephants was to trample

¹ One of these creatures, after lying on the ground many hours, and supposed dead, rose, on the touch of the elephant's foot, and coped with him, the elephant roaring dreadfully, till numbers of the pikemen assailed him again, and put an end to his existence. After this circumstance, their whiskers were always burnt, to ascertain if any life remained.

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on them, which the keepers could not compel many to do, though they inflicted severe punishment on the refractory. The stoutest elephant always appeared to me to be very uneasy at the sight of a tiger! These games were concluded every night with fireworks, some of which were superlatively grand and curious, exciting at once our astonishment and admiration.

At length, the fatal 1784 arrived; now we had the painful knowledge, that our destiny was irremediable! A peace was concluded with Tippoo by the East India Company and we had the mortification of seeing numbers of our officers and men marched out of the fort for Madras, while we were cut off from every hope of ever reaching our country or our friends. The humane reader will be able to appreciate and judge of our feelings under those trying circumstances. For my own part, it preyed upon my mind for three months, to such a degree as to reduce me much; and I can positively say, I never went to sleep till nature was completely worn out and exhausted with grief and tears!

One morning, we were all sent for in a great hurry, and seated on the ground in front of the palace. An hour elapsed, during which period hope and fear alternately succeeded. A few were quite sanguine that we were going to be released. Vain imagination! We were escorted under a strong guard to Mysore, nine miles from the capital, where we were separated, and sent to different prisons. The spot I was in, was the fatal place where Captain Rumney, and Lieutenants Fraser and Sampson, had their throats cut; and, about this period, Lieutenants Rutledge and Spediman were Mohammedanized. The latter cut his own throat between the Mysore gates; and the former, an amiable character, after surviving him about three years, being suspected of correspondence with the English, was sent to Nairandroog, or Rock of Death, perhaps as unwholesome a spot as any in Asia. If this did not answer the end intended, that of putting a period to his existence, it is highly probable that poison, or the butt-ends of muskets, did. This Nairandroog was the place to which the afflicted Hindoos were sent by hundreds.

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Whether we were ever demanded by the English, or not, we could not ascertain, seeing nothing of the kind in any public paper, after we made our escape; but we supposed we were, and assigned that as the cause of our being sent to Mysore in such haste.

Our lives were now at stake; we expected every hour to be our last by poison, and coppers for that purpose were ready; but after keeping us in the most alarming suspense for several hours, exposed to the scorching heat of the sun, we were remanded to our prison. Tippoo's force at this time was equal to any, singlehanded, in India; but the Company not pressing their demands, or from some other cause, for which we could not account, our lives were spared. At the expiration of six months, we were again joined, and marched back to the capital, where we were put in a square by ourselves, wondering what they were going to do with us next; our guards, however, treated us civilly, which we looked on as a good omen. A month elapsed, when we were again incorporated in his four slave battalions, and promoted to habildars, equal to a sergeant; each of us having a silver plate, value two rupees, to hang upon his breast. We were now once more separated; myself and about twenty others were removed into four of his Christian battalions, which I have before mentioned, and sent to Chindroy-patam, a town situate about four days' march from his capital, the rest remaining where they were.

Tippoo wished now to strengthen himself by an alliance with Nizam Ali Cawn; in consequence of which, he sent his *Vackeil*, or ambassador, to demand his daughter in marriage to Abdel Killick, his eldest son. His presents were not accepted, and his request was denied; in consequence of which, an army was assembled of 100,000 men: they encamped near the capital ten days, then struck their tents, and marched direct to the Mogul's territories, in order to chastise him for his insult. Our lads, who were left in the before mentioned battalions, were taken by Tippoo to this campaign. His marches were rapid, and he soon reached Idonia, a strong fortress belonging to Nizam, to which he immediately laid siege; and, after losing a great number of

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men, he got possession of the place. One thing looked well in his character during this siege; opium and bang, which are both much used by the Asiatics, and particularly in their armies, he ordered to be collected, wherever found, and burnt in the most conspicuous places in his camp. A few days after he had made himself master of Idonia, he intercepted a letter from the Mahrattas (a designed thing on their parts), stating that they were in full march to join the Nizam: this intelligence caused him to decamp with the greatest precipitancy; and his retrograde movements were so rapid, both by night and by day, scarcely halting four hours at a time, that numbers died of fatigue. During the siege, two of our youths made their escape by swimming across the River Tungabhadra; the result was, the rest were directly put in irons, and sent off to Patam. In their route to this place, they were halted at Chindroypatam, the place in which we then were; and on seeing their condition, and hearing the cause, it gave us no small uneasiness, for we well knew we should partake of their fate. The next morning they proceeded to Patam, and, three weeks afterwards, we also were marched thither.

On our arrival, we joined them, and remained three months in a state of starvation. One of our lads, James Fletcher, died, merely from want of food. Nor was it in our power to relieve him, however we might wish to do so; as we had not enough, even of the worst kind, to suffice nature; and we every hour expected death in one shape or other. While we were in this wretched state, brooding over our misfortunes, calculating on the worst, which we had every reason to do, who should make his appearance one morning, but the myre, the same who had bound us so unmercifully some years before! He was by no means a pleasing object to us, for we well guessed he came on no friendly errand. Having morosely ordered us to pack up what we had, the guards, which were doubled, hurried us away to the square in front of the palace. Here, being ordered to sit down, the guards surrounding us, we remained four hours, under a scorching sun, nor could we procure a drop of water, or stir one step from the spot. Here was a scene indeed! Our

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women in tatters, our children naked, and ourselves nearly in the same state, without food, or any means of procuring it; the women weeping aloud, the infants crying for nourishment, and ourselves expecting to be massacred. Whilst under these trying circumstances, four men approached us: on their appearance, something like a glimmer of hope seemed to shed a faint ray; but, alas!

They approached us, but with baskets laden with irons, instead of food. Exclusive of the women and children, whose cries now became loud and strong, we were ourselves differently agitated; some wringing their hands, others casting a piteous look toward heaven, and not a few looking at our persecutors (who were now exulting) with a manly defiance. After being ironed two and two, to which we were well accustomed, we were marched out of the fort, to the distance of a mile. Several poor Bramins were with us in heavy leg-irons, and in that condition forced to walk, or stride rather, as fast as their unfeeling guards could make them go. Our situation was bad enough, but theirs was still worse; we were certain their fate was sealed, but there was still room for a little hope on our parts. Here we were halted for the night, as motley a group of miseries as ever met together. In the evening they gave us a small portion of rice, and the next morning early we were on our march; but for what place we knew not. The Bramins continued with us - for we were halted when they were behind - for about six miles, when their guards took another road, and, no doubt, they were soon murdered.

About an hour after this, we were halted at a spot where three roads met, and divided into three parties; when the division was complete, the parties were driven one on each of those roads, and such was the haste of the guards, that we were at some little distance before we knew we were to be separated. Here we waved a final adieu to each other in this world, as the sequel will show.

The next day, the party I was in learned that our destination was for Chittledroog, about sixteen days' march distance; and our poor wives and children following us, made the march more

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than wretched. We had every day given us our poor pittance of rice, with *Chiliq* and salt. The result of our journey was our grand object; our wives were assiduous and indefatigable in their endeavours, which was no small consolation to us under the most dreary prospects; and such was their affection, that I am inclined to think some of them would have braved death in our stead. Every evening when we came to a halting place, we were lodged in one of the Hindoo pagodas; and in one of these a circumstance occurred which may be worth rating.

On one occasion, being asleep in a closely confined hole, we were greatly alarmed, about two o'clock in the morning, by two large snakes crawling over us. It is impossible for me to attempt a description of our sensations, particularly in the dark, and so crowded as we were. I conceive our noise, aggravated by our fears, was the cause of these creatures retiring; perhaps frightened as much as we were, as they troubled us no more. We represented this affair to the priests of the pagoda in the morning, who gave us a curious interpretation. When they understood the story, they smiled at our foolish fears, and added, that it was the most fortunate event that could have happened to us, and we might consider it as a happy omen. I leave the reader to judge the construction we put on their observations.

Three days after this curious visit, we arrived at Chittledroog, a place situated on seven hills, and which might very easily be made impregnable. Many poor unfortunate wretches were put to death in this fortress, and several paid the debt of nature in the same prison to which we were sent. One week passed, when the smiths came and knocked off our irons; something was also added to our allowance: what a contrast in our minds, now, and fourteen days since! Here we were again distributed in four battalions, of the same description as we had joined five years before in Patam.

Of the other two parties, one was sent to Hyder Niger, and the other marched back to the capital. One only survived at the latter place, viz.: Randal Cadman, whom I have before mentioned, and from whom we had the information of the fate of the rest. Two made their escape from Niger, of whom I

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have also spoken; and who met us at the Mahratta camp, with two females belonging to their party, who gave them to understand, amidst sighs and tears, that, shortly after they were gone, the rest had their throats cut! that they had lost their husbands, and found means to escape. They were in a wretched condition, but were seasonably and amply relieved by these humane men.

The confidence of the natives here, in our medical abilities, led several of us to take an advantage of their credulity, necessity being the prompter, for we were often in a state of starvation. One circumstance, among many, may suffice. The punishment, in India, of cutting off the nose and ears, is common, but they have a method of substituting a piece of their forehead for another nose: this operation is painful indeed! But to my subject: John Levesley, who had been taken in the same ship with myself, and who was a presumed doctor, undertook, for six rupees, to put a nose on a poor wretch's face, who had lost his own fourteen years before. The ignorant man, believing in the abilities of this surgeon, consented to undergo the most painful operation, that he might accomplish the business. Accordingly, to work Levesley went. His first performance was, cutting a piece sufficiently large from the shoulder, and forming it in the shape he wanted it; this done, he immediately scarified the remains of the old nose, and sewed the part of the shoulder on. It remained for three weeks with every appearance of doing well; but, unfortunately, the stitches decayed, and the artificial nose fell off. The poor man, as his only alternative, demanded his six rupees; but he might as well have asked for Tippoo's turban jewel.

Here three tedious years rolled over our heads, during which period we learned, that, previous to Hyder's usurpation, this place was held by a rajah or prince, happy in his subjects, having a district to himself, as we were informed by some intelligent Hindoos; but in process of time, Hyder got possession of this strong fortress.¹ In consequence of this revolution, a certain

¹ Chittledroog was taken by Haidar in 1779, when he made his Nair favourite, Ayaz, its governor. - [EDITOR.]

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man of the cast of Bramins, whose covering I have often seen, lay in one spot fourteen years: he uttered scarcely anything but imprecations against Hyder and his son Tippoo. The situation he was in was so low, that it appeared to me strange how he escaped destruction by inundations in the monsoon seasons. We were for three years in the pettah, or suburbs; but all of a sudden, our habitation, with the walls in which we were immured, being destroyed, we were removed into the lower fort, during which time, about nine months, we all saw this, strange character, or the spot where he lay, rather; hearing him speak frequently, and once or twice seeing his hands. We often spoke to him, and sometimes he would reply, but at times he would not. When he did speak, he would either use abusive language towards Hyder, or ask for *Patamy*.¹ We were informed that he had a guard over him six months prior to our arrival, in order to detect the imposition; but his supposed madness saved him, for the Mohammedans have a great respect for all of this description. Many strange stories were told about this singular person. All I shall add is, that we were many months near him, both by night and day, he still continuing the same language, and lying in the same spot. We often laughed at the strange stories relative to this man; but, from auricular and ocular demonstration, we could not avoid believing some of them.

This place abounds with apes of the largest size I ever saw, the ourang-outang excepted, and the natives do not injure, but rather indulge them. This made them bold, which was by no means an addition to our comfort; for we found it absolutely necessary to act on the defensive; one of our meals out of two being generally taken from us by these depredators; and such was their temerity, that a stout stick would scarcely alarm them. In short, we were forced to oppose cunning to cunning; they to

¹ A kind of grain, resembling a split pea. It was positively asserted by many, that he made use of no kind of food; but this is false, as he would frequently ask for the above grain. He was in the same spot when we left the place; and what seemed most strange to us, was, his not moving to obey nature's calls. What became of him I know not, but should be highly gratified to learn.

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steal our *Rooties* (cakes baked on a flat earthen pan), and we to hinder them. They might frequently be seen in multitudes on their inaccessible hills, parading in squadrons; and various reports were handed to us relative to these creatures, but I pass them by as such. A brief description of one more curious animal, and I will resume my narrative.

We killed a snake at this place, not exceeding two feet in length; out of the middle of its belly grew an arm, similar to a human arm, from the elbow downwards; the whole of which was formed with the most exquisite delicacy. The joints, the nails, and every part belonging to it, equalled, if not exceeded, anything I ever saw, in point of formation. I have often regretted I did not bring its skin home, as I had it in my possession; but at that time there was very little prospect of my bringing home my own. Numbers of the natives who saw this reptile, considered it as something ominous.

Often have I paraded in the most disconsolate manner, in the silence of those delicious nights peculiar to that country, and which are not to be described by the most masterly pencil; when the moon appears in the midst of the firmament with her beams gradually dispersed, surrounded by a soft curtain of clouds. But alas! they were no beauties to me; the ever-prevailing impression still corroding my mind, with my heart ready to burst at the thought of being for ever cut off from all that were near and dear to me. I had no prospect, not the most distant hope, of ever seeing again my country, parents, friends, or one who was equally the object of my tenderest solicitude. I have digressed thus, in stating the ideas that continually preyed on my heart, because they were really grievous to me.

The melancholy hours we passed here would take a more able pen than mine to describe; in fact, I do not think any could do it justice. I have observed before, that we were all young, yet none of us dared sing 'Rule, Britannia,' or even hum it with impunity. We prohibited it between ourselves, under the impression of bitterness, and the idea of every hope being marred of ever seeing our country or friends again.

The taunts and insolence of the guards were no small

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addition to our misery. We had the feelings of Englishmen, and we suffered from their insults more severely than from their punishments. We could not forbear uttering the most bitter invectives against them, although at the expense of our lives, had we been heard; but we were almost unmindful of their hate. Barbarity and cruelty were all we did, or could expect, from a tyrant; therefore we were almost callous to his power to injure us. We remembered our own native soil, where the freedom of the subject is co-equal with that of his sovereign, and despised those wretches, who so far swerved from the dictates of every honourable and manly principle, as to treat us with such baseness.

When we could meet together, which at this period was very dangerous, our conversation was very scanty, having no subject but our misfortunes to discuss. Hence a question would be, after perhaps a long silence, started by one of the party, 'Do you think we shall ever see our parents or country more?' This never failed to draw tears from some eyes, and sighs from others' bosoms; and here we could not refrain from inveighing bitterly against the government. But alas! of what use! Our hopes were cut off, and we were secure. Patience, and an affiance in the Almighty, were our only consolation.

CHAPTER FIVE

NEARLY four tedious years had rolled away, during which we had scarcely heard of war; at length, Bangalore was taken by Lord Cornwallis: this was new* indeed! but we were forced to dissemble, and affect to be very sorrowful. How necessary to act the hypocrite in some cases! We soon learned also - for they were kinder to us now, through fear - that the Mahrattas were making (to us glorious) inroads into Tippoo's country, which afforded us some hopes of one day having an opportunity of making our escape. The Mahrattas, our allies, had, in the course of a few months, taken and destroyed two-thirds of the district of Chittledroog; when Dowlah Saib, then killadare, or governor, not so unfriendly to the English as many others in his situation, collected together a force of about 3500, inclusive of the four battalions in which we were. With these he frequently made excursions, in order to retake from our allies what they had taken from him; and in these excursions we were always excepted.

We now more than ever put our mental powers to work, to effect our escape; the plan we adopted, was, apparently to be more zealous than ever we had been, in Tippoo's service. When we supposed this was sufficiently noticed, we went to the commandant, who had the sole direction of the battalions. We could now all talk the language fluently, and we appointed Mr. Drake, midshipman of the *Hannibal*, to negotiate this, to us, important business, in which he acted the hypocrite admirably, and to our entire satisfaction. On our arrival before him, after paying our most reverential Mohammedan obedience, we humbly asked him the reason that we were not taken with our battalions? He frankly answered us, for he was by no means a cruel Moor, that he was apprehensive we should leave him. Here he was perfectly right; but duplicity was our only alternative. We, therefore, began to work on his credulity, giving him to understand, that we had been a long time in the service, and had long eaten the Sultan's salt (a common expression among the Moors); that many of us had children, and that we

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were become as themselves; that we did not consider ourselves deficient in personal courage, and wished for an opportunity of showing it. Our reasons had the desired effect: he placed confidence in our observations, good man; and the next day each was ordered a musket, bayonet, and twenty rounds of ammunition, etc.

We were not long unemployed, for our killadare receiving advice that Tilligore, a mud fort of some little strength, had been taken, not by the Mahrattas, but by a banditti of Canaries, he ordered his forces to be in readiness to march the next morning against them. We were taken with our battalions, and two days brought us near its walls, a distance of sixty miles. Here we halted for the night, and the next morning our commander, the killadare himself, sent a summons to the fort to surrender; but their answer being of a spirited nature, we were ordered to advance, and such was their tenderness towards us, that we were selected, and placed in front, like a forlorn hope; with this exception, that a forlorn hope is generally composed of volunteers, but we had no choice.

The fort was surrounded by a formidable thicket, which is always the case in the interior, where wild beasts abound; which we breached with our bayonets, throwing it in different directions. While doing this, we were assailed by stones, some of them a pound weight, from slings; one of our number, which was twelve altogether, was knocked down by a stone, and lost an eye. On entering the thicket, three more fell; two were killed, and one was wounded by a ball through his shoulder. The blacks now came to our assistance on the glacis; but here we had no chance of doing any execution, unless we could pass a shot through their loop-holes while they were in the act of firing. Scaling ladders were at length brought, and the poor wretches who had to erect them were scalded in a dreadful manner, by the besieged pouring on them boiling oil mixed with cowdung. However, one ladder was erected, on which about thirty mounted, when they threw a large log over the wall, which struck the ladder about the middle, and broke it; they all fell; and several with their swords through the bodies of their

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companions. Two small field-pieces were now brought out, served by Frenchmen, and by cannonading for about three hours, a breach in the wall was made, and deemed practicable; but the ladder was found considerably too short. Here numbers fell; and had they stood to it, they would have repulsed 3500 with about 90 men; but their ammunition failing, they grew timid, and ran from the breach, which they had defended awhile with bravery.

In shert, the fort was stormed, the males were put to the sword, with the exception of a few, whom I am proud to say we were instrumental in saving, and who called upon all the deities they ever worshipped, to bless and preserve us. Mr. Wentworth Augustus Lesage, a midshipman of the *Hannibal*, was shot through the heart. He was the next man to me; we were like brothers, so firm a friendship existed between us, and were never apart more than necessary. As he was falling, I caught him in my arms, and at the same instant a black from the fort was deliberately levelling his musket at me. I fortunately observed him, laid the body of my unfortunate friend down, took up my musket, and, although it was unloaded, presented at the deliberate villain; at which he was alarmed, and ran from his situation. Thus, by a sudden presence of mind, I saved my life. Lesage was one of the finest, and perhaps strongest, young men in India, both in body and mind, and was lamented by all who knew him, both black and white. He had made such rapid proficiency in a knowledge of their manners and customs, that, had he lived, he would have been an honour to his country, and a rival to Sir William Jones¹ in Asiatic literature. They wished us to leave him where he fell; but myself and Mr. Drake, whom I have already mentioned, got a *Camel* (a blanket made of camel's hair), tied the four corners together, put a pole through it, and in this way carried

¹ Sir William Jones was one of the earliest students of Asiatic languages and the first to learn Sanskrit. He became a Judge of the High Court in Calcutta in 1783, where he lived till his death in 1794. One of his earliest acts was to found the Bengal Asiatic Society. - [EDITOR.]

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him to a paddy, or rice-field, where, with our hands and bayonets together, we secured him as well as we could underground; but doubtless the jackals, which were remarkably numerous, soon had him up again. This being done, the night advanced apace; and when the butchery was over, which is more or less the consequence of storming, everything that was inflammable was set on fire.

We now considered it a fair opportunity of pushing off; but the tears and forcible entreaties of two of our party, n-ho were wounded, prevented us for this time. Poor fellows! they knew what their fate would be, had we left them; besides, they belonged to five of us, who had bound ourselves many years before never to forsake each other. In short, we returned to Chittledroog, after losing about 200 men; and knowing we had not behaved amiss, expected soon another opportunity, but this did not offer for three months afterwards.

In the intermediate period, our good commandant, in a fit of madness, from taking too much opium, cut his throat, and thus saved himself from reprehension respecting us. Three months elapsed, when one night we were assembled for an excursion.¹ Late in the evening, the order came to prepare for marching. I had then one child, sixteen months old, by one of the most affectionate women; she was always suspicious I should leave her, if opportunity offered. She was certainly right in her conjectures; and my answers were uniformly evasive to her questions on that score. The battalion was under arms, while I was in my hut, looking at her and the child alternately. Her soul was in her eyes; and surely never a woman looked at a man

¹ His surviving friends have observed, that Mr. Scurry, on his return to England, repeatedly sent letters to India, in the hope of their reaching his wife; and, in two or three instances, when he found persons of his acquaintance going to those districts in which she probably resided, he has requested them to use every effort to find her out, and bring her to this country. At the same time he was not without his fears, from the early age at which women die in India, that she was no more. Still, he had always sanguine hopes of finding the child, whom he left smiling in its mother's arms; but in this his expectations were never realized.

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with more eagerness and anxiety. I fain would have taken her with me, and the child, who was then smiling in my face. I was eager to give them a final embrace; but fearful of the consequences. O my God! what were my sensations then! and even now, after a lapse of more than thirty years! I am still sure a thousand will never obliterate that moment. In the midst of these mutual distractions, I was repeatedly called by my Moorish name, Shum Shu Cawn, to come and fall in. At last, I resolutely tore myself from her and the child without speaking a single word, and I never saw them more.

About half-past ten, we marched from the fort, and at day-break encamped ten miles distant from Chittledroog, where we lay inactive for several days. Here they kept a jealous eye over us, particularly by night, so that it was next to impossible to effect anything; knowing this, we were determined to try the day for the attempt. Noon was agreed on as the most proper time. The five¹ of us who had long bound ourselves to each other for this purpose, accordingly stole out of the camp, singly, in different directions, and met at the distance of a mile, as by agreement; immediately pushing for a jungle, or wood, which lay about six miles distant, which, if we could reach, would crush the alarming fears we were under from the pursuit of their cavalry. We had no arms at this time, but a carbine, which Mr. Drake carried behind him, covered by his black camel. We were now pushing on rapidly, when, to our great consternation, we saw a company of armed men coming the same road we were going. They could not but see us; we instantly separated, and, providentially for us, a tremendous shower of rain came on at the moment, which well covered our retreat back to the camp. We learned, in the evening, that a company of sixty men were the day before sent on a reconnoitering expedition: this was the party; and we were not a little rejoiced at our narrow escape.

About eight o'clock in the evening, an order was issued to

¹ William Drake, midshipman of the *Hannibal*; dead - William Whitway, midshipman of the *Fortitude*, J. Pudman; living - John Wood, of the *Chaser*, Sloop-of-war; living - John Jourdain, of the *Hannibal*; unknown - James Scurry, of the *Hannibal*; the author.

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strike our tents, and from the hurry and bustle that prevailed, we concluded that an enemy, or friend to us rather, was near. Immediately, the line took arms, and was on its march for Chittledroog. The sky darkened, and an approach of rain was near, the effects of which they were intent upon guarding against; this was our time. We belonged to different companies, but the heavy rain did away with all restrictions. We joined, and pushed through several battalions which were on our left, in order to gain a jungle, which was at no great distant. It was now very dark; we entered the jungle, and slackened our pace. Being in the rear, I thought I could discern something behind me, when halting and turning round, I distinguished a person following us; I asked in Moorish, 'Who is that?' 'Richardson,' was the answer. This poor fellow who was suspicious of our design, had narrowly watched our motions: we were glad to find it was he, and asked him what was his motive for this conduct? He replied, 'To go with you.' We gave him our hands, and desired him to come on, which he did for a quarter of a mile, when he suddenly stopped, and wept aloud. We asked him the cause of this behaviour, but received no answer for some time, when we forced him to explain himself. The poor fellow, then, in broken accents, told us he could not leave his children! He had two; thk wrung my heart, but it did not alter my resolutions! we gave him all the encouragement we could, but all to no purpose, and he went back with his heart ready to burst, but made his escape afterwards.

We soon, to our comfort, got out of the jungle; and it then appeared a little lighter, but not a star was to be seen. Here we should have been in an awful dilemma, had the winds been variable, as they are in the western world; but the trade wind, so called, was very much in our favour; in fact, it was our compass, for keeping it on our right cheek, we knew we were steering due north, which was our proper course to a place of safety.

Here a circumstance happened, which had every appearance of proving a sad misfortune to one of our party. Those who are acquainted with the interior of India, know what kind of

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thorns are there, as stiff as nails, and as sharp as needles. One ran into Whiteway's foot, which precluded him the possibility of walking. He sat down, and in a manly tone requested we would make the best of our way, with a 'God prosper you, for I cannot move a step farther.' This was a lamentable case, but we were not disposed to leave him so: we had provided ourselves with little useful articles for our design; we had in our *Butwaws*,¹ flints and steel, and one fortunately had some cotton; and as necessity is the mother of invention, we put our wits to work. One struck a light, another rolled up a piece of the cotton, while the other two held a camel over his head. Mr. Drake stood surgeon, and, with time and difficulty, extracted the thorn, which was full an inch long. Thus delivered, he joyfully rose, and away we pushed as cheerfully as circumstances would permit. Our chief care now was, to preserve our arms and ammunition in order: these were our secondary dependence; Providence was our first. We knew not how soon we might want them, for it was essentially necessary to be all eye and all ear.

We had not gone three miles farther, when we suddenly fell on a party of armed men, whose numbers we knew not; they were busily employed in preparing their rice and currie. They left all on our approach, and fled one way; and ourselves, no less surprised, turned off another; our business was not fighting, but flying. Shortly after this adventure, we came to a thicket, which we considered a safe and convenient place to take a little refreshment. We consumed what we had, with the exception of a small quantity of raw rice, which we still held good. When the day began to break we found ourselves near a rising ground, which we lost no time in ascending. Here we had a view of two villages, belonging to Tippoo, where we could discern the people preparing their food, and at their different employments. We lay snug the whole of the day, exposed to the scorching heat of the sun, and torrents of rain, alternately. We could see Chittledroog at a distance of about twenty miles. Here more genuine sorrow oppressed me; and not speaking to an affectionate

¹ A bag with four pockets.

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woman, or even kissing a lovely child, preyed on my spirits. Great Being! Thou, and Thou only, knowest what the joyful, gloomy reflections of a mind under similar circumstances are! I fain would have gone back, could I have done so with safety, yet that was more dangerous than proceeding; but enough.

About five in the evening, we descended the hill, whilst yet good daylight; and fortunately for us, since having a thick jungle to pass, an attempt to have done it in the dark would have proved fruitless. One of the party, who carried out a poor pittance of rice, unfortunately fell into a deep pit, and it was with great difficulty we got him out again; and had we not descended the hill when we did, the obstructions would have been insurmountable after dark. Here some good being directed our weary steps. After passing this difficulty, we saw, by the little light that yet remained, a man driving two or three buffaloes to a ruined village. He saw us, and hastened his pace; but we neared him, and desired him to stop: he was terrified, and made the more haste, until we called out to him in the Tilingey language, which he understood, and stopped immediately. From this poor fellow, for such he was, we gained some information; and one branch appeared to us extremely gratifying, viz.: that there was a fort, not more than three miles distant, in the possession of the Mahrattas. We requested him to show us the road, which he promised to do after he had secured his cattle; we desired him to make haste, which he very reluctantly did. We took the old man with us; and when we came to the fort, he begged we would suffer him to depart - adding he should lose his life if he were discovered. This we could easily believe; and after making him swear by his gods, that what he had told us was strictly true, we rewarded him in the best manner we could, and dismissed him.

We entered the fort, which we had no sooner done, than we were surrounded by at least fifty armed men, with pikes, swords, and muskets. A number of haughty questions were asked us; such as, Where we came from? What we were?, etc., etc. And as they spoke, they closed on us much; when one roared out, in the Canary language, to seize and bind us: this they supposed

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we did not understand. We instantly, for not a moment was to be lost, charged the thickest of them, not with a design of injuring, but to intimidate them; it had the desired effect, they fled in all directions, the two sentinels at the gate only remaining. We addressed them, saying, we had no intention of hurting any, and particularly those who were allies of the English; closing with a request that they would show us the way out of the fort. They were very surly, and one of them asked us which way we came in? Thinking it would be time thrown away to stand parleying with these wretches, we insisted upon one of them (it was now about midnight) showing us the way out of the fort; and the man who asked us how we came in, prompted by fear, complied with our demand. This place, we afterwards learned, had recently been taken possession of by the Mahrattas, but Tippoo's people were still in it, who affected to be well disposed towards the former; but supposing it would soon be in the hands of Tippoo again, would have treated us as they said, but fear checked them. We were not a little joyful on this occasion, and reflected severely on one of our party for advising us to go into the fort. This proved a very fatiguing night's march indeed. The red heavy soil sticking to our sandals the thickness of an inch, the heavy rains lately fallen, the darkness of the night, with scarcely any rice left, were circumstances truly discouraging; but having no alternative, we pushed on, one leading the van, who was relieved every half-hour, as nearly as we could guess, he having the most danger to encounter. This plan was adopted in consequence of three tumbling into a ditch together, during the first night's march.

About daybreak, we found ourselves near a *Tallow*, or lake; here two of our number alarmed the other three, by positively asserting they saw a tiger on the other side of the water. This was very unseasonable, as we were much exhausted from the efforts we had already made. I could see nothing of the kind myself, though I rather think they did, as they were positive afterwards. Here we laid ourselves down, and notwithstanding our bodies made impressions of three or four inches in the mud,

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I do not recollect I ever experienced such refreshing sleep. When we awoke, it appeared, by the sun's height, to be about nine o'clock; and after refreshing ourselves with a few mouthfuls of rice, the last we had, and some water, adjusting our priming, etc., we pursued our journey. About eleven, we saw a fort at no great distance, which somewhat alarmed us; but meeting a person who appeared very intelligent, we learned the state of the country, and informed him of our affair the preceding evening. He gave us to understand, that he was a Mahratta himself, and that there was no cause for fear now, as the fort was commanded by a Mahratta. With this news, we cheerfully advanced under its walls; but, to our no small surprise, found ourselves a second time surrounded! We remonstrated, but notwithstanding, were kept nearly two hours, during which time two officers were sent from the fort to examine us; and, when they had done, they returned to the killadare's, to give him an account.

In this interval, we could not tell what to make of it, and particularly as a few of the guards were gradually closing. We requested them to stand at a less menacing distance; which they refused, and we insisted on. Here was all but - they threatened; we were resolute: they said they would disarm us; we dared them to do it; asking them, at the same time, whether many of them had not fathers, mothers, brothers or sisters, wives and children, to lament their loss? and did they suppose we would submit with impunity? We were on the alert; our bayonets fixed, and looking as fierce, perhaps, as Falstaff did when giving an account to Prince Henry of the numbers he had slain. But, waving this, we expected nothing for awhile but fighting for it. We had arranged our plan of attack long before this, viz.: in case anything of this kind should occur, to charge immediately after firing our pieces, with what effect we could: and I humbly think that none of us would have been taken alive, for we had well weighed the result in such a case; but, thank God! we were speedily relieved from this untoward situation by the arrival of the killadare himself, who, at our request, ordered the guards to withdraw. He was very inquisitive; in fact, our appearance

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was enough to excite curiosity; and as we were very hungry, we said we would barter with him. He asked, how? We replied, if he would be pleased to order us something to satisfy our craving appetites, we should then cheerfully give him all the information in our power. He laughed heartily, repeating several times, 'What a curious barter!' He, however, readily acceded to our request, ordering some rice, doll, and ghe, which we soon converted into a good dish of cudgeree, and while preparing, one or other was answering his questions, for we could all talk Moorish, but learned it not from choice. In short, he appeared pleased with our information, and grew kind; and we were no less pleased with his bounty. He made us large offers to stay with him, which we thankfully declined; and after gaining what information we could relative to the Mahratta camp; where they were? whether any English were with them? who had command of them? etc., though, by the bye, we had learned his name before; and our mentioning it, we afterwards conjectured, induced him to treat us with kindness; we heartily thanked him for the refreshment we received, and he as heartily wished us safe to the Mahratta camp: thus, with mutual good wishes, we left him.

When we were about a mile distant, we looked back, and saw a man running after us; we stopped, and waited his arrival: when he came up, he gave us to understand, that the killadare had sent his salam (compliments), to request a few cartridges. We would sooner have parted with our clothes, such as they were, than our ammunition, for we knew not what dangers we had still to encounter; however, we could not refuse without ingratitude, and we agreed to send him five, one from each, with our respects, etc.

Towards the evening, we came to a river, which, with much difficulty, we forded; and, after gaining the opposite side, we began to think of our night's lodging, and of preparing the only meal of rice we had left from the killadare's bounty. Some little distance from the margin of the river, we found a spot which suited our purpose; here we pitched, and after preparing our food, and sleeping soundly that night, we found ourselves

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in the morning quite refreshed, and cheerfully pursued our journey.

About twelve o'clock, we saw some men coming towards us; they did not appear numerous, and we met them: they were eight pulligars, or pikemen, belonging to a fort in the possession of our allies, which was distant a coss, or three miles. We asked them who commanded the fort? They answered, a Moor, and a cheerful good-natured man. This information was received by us with much pleasure, and we immediately made for the fort, without fear. On arriving at the gates, we inquired for Eusin Cawn, the killadare, for we had learned his name from the pulligars; when we were answered, that he was in the interior of the place, and that they would send a messenger to him to announce our arrival. On the Moor's return, we were informed that the killadare wished to speak to one of us, unarmed. We had confidence here, and deputed one of our party, disarmed, to speak to the chief; and on his return, we found everything to our wishes, with the additional pleasure of hearing that at a distance of eighteen miles there was an English doctor, with a number of sick Sepoys. This, to us, was news indeed! This killadare was just the man he had been represented to us; open, generous, and facetious, he formed a striking contrast to the generality of Asiatic Mohammedans, who are empty, subtle, and cruel.

We were now led to a *Choltree*,¹ where we were soon informed that the killadare would pay us a visit. We received, prior to his making his appearance, provisions of an excellent quality, and while in the act of preparing it, he, with his guard, was approaching. On his arrival, we made our salam, which he most cordially returned; then followed interrogatories: our answers were extremely pleasing to him, and he appeared highly gratified. He paid us many compliments on our courage in effecting our escape, and closed by shrewdly observing, 'I suppose you will soon lose sight of the Prophet, now.' To this we made no reply, not being willing to offend our benefactor. We gave him a hint that we were hungry, which he quickly understood, and politely

¹ A place set apart for the use of travellers.

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withdrew. Here we staid one night, and fed on the best this good Mussulman could procure for us; and as our fears and eares were in a great measure removed, we enjoyed ourselves in a superlative degree.

In the morning, we waited on the killadare, to thank him for his kind attention to us. He very warmly expressed himself our friend, and most cordially invited us to tarry with him; adding, that everything should be done to make our stay comfortable: but to thiawe could not accede; and after many jocose remarks on his part, and mutual wishes on both, we proceeded on our journey towards Hurry hur, a place of some strength, situate on the margin of the Tungabhadra River. At noon we came within sight of the fort, which we beheld with transports of joy.

We now concluded ourselves safe from the fangs of Tippoo, and fired *a feu de joie*, in our own way, on the occasion,. On our approaching the gate, the first object that struck our attention was an English Sepoy sentinel: he very properly asked us, where we came from and what we were? and when he received our answers, his heart participated in our pleasure; for numbers of the Sepoys, taken by Hyder and Tippoo, had suffered more cruel treatment than the Europeans, and with this they were well acquainted. He kindly pointed out where the English doctor resided, whose name he informed us was Little. We immediately went to his abode, where we found another Sepoy sentinel. We asked him if Dr. Little was within? He answered in the affirmative. We requested to see him, and his servant made his appearance at the door. This man was an English, or, which is all one, a Scotchman. His surprise was so great, that we could not, for a while, get any words from him, and no wonder, for he had never seen such a sight before. We were in Tippoo's full uniform, that is, all that was left of it; blue turbans on iron hoops, tiger jackets, with a camel over our shoulders and tied round our loins, mustaches nearly reaching our ears, two of us sorely wounded by falls, and the whole in pushing through thickets, completely scarified. Finding this man to be the doctor's servant, we requested to speak to his

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master; who soon appeared. His surprise was not less than his servant's. He asked, who we were ? where we came from? and several other questions, almost in one breath. We informed him we had been taken in the *Hannibal*, fifty-gun ship, in the year 1782, by Count de Suffrein, and delivered over to Hyder Ali; and that we had, after a variety of hardships, providentially effected our escape. Here a pathetic scene took place; the good doctor's sensibility was touched, and the tears trickled down his face as fast as they could flow. Recovering from his emotions, he, in broken accents, requested us to walk in, when he kindly desired us to sit down; but some minutes passed before any conversation took place. Here we had many good things provided for us, and among them some French brandy, of which we drank moderately, thankfully, and cheerfully. The good man partook of our joy, and was very attentive to everything we said; in fact, he used every effort in his power to make our stay comfortable. Two months elapsed, while we were in this place, when it was announced that the Mahratta army was within three days' march of us; and as there were three battalions of English Sepoys acting in conjunction with their army, commanded by Major Little, our good friend, the doctor, thought this a safe and favourable opportunity to send us to the camp. We accordingly set out, in company with some Sepoys, who were recovered of their wounds and disorders; mustering about fifty altogether, well armed and accoutred, and, after three days' march, we reached the camp.

Here we were treated like little kings; and Major Little, in company with his officers, was pleased to say, we were an honour to our country. This observation, from a gentleman of his known courage and ability, was not a little in our favour; we were respected by all who knew our circumstances. Here we ranged every day where we pleased, having nothing to do, but to march with the camp, and strike and pitch our tent when we came to the ground. The Mahratta army consisted of forty thousand, and its followers three times that number; their infantry was the most contemptible I ever saw, but the cavalry was good, and has often proved fatal to troops once broken.

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Here we had some painful opportunities of seeing the Bramin women ascend the funeral pile with the dead bodies of their husbands, apparently with as much composure as we would sit down to our breakfast.

We were several months in this camp; during this time, the Mahratta chief, in conjunction with our little detachment, took the important post of Simoga, with several other places of some strength, and defeated Riza Saib, and near ten thousand of the Sultan's cavalry. This success flushed Purso Rhamboo to that degree, that he immediately pushed on for Hyder Niger, or Bednore (the fatal spot for General Matthews, which I have already mentioned), with an intention of laying siege to it. This was a wonderful undertaking for a Mahratta army; but in those cases he placed his confidence in our little detachment, who were always in the van in all danger.

In pursuing our march to the above place, we learned that a body of Tippoo's troops was strongly entrenched at the extremity of a thick bamboo jungle, to dispute the passage. Our brave Major, with his three battalions, and a weak company of European artillery, was ordered to proceed through the jungles, to dislodge them. They consisted of four thousand men, and the road would admit of but four abreast. This service was performed in a most gallant manner, but with heavy loss both of officers and men. Nine pieces of cannon, with their tumbrils, etc., were brought into the Mahratta camp, amidst the acclamations of thousands, who were astonished at the bravery and rapidity of this affair.

Nothing now remained to prevent our reaching the Gauts, which is a range of hills defended by numerous batteries, at the foot of which we encamped, and the next day one of the battalions was sent to reconnoitre; when they opened a fire from several spots at once, but with little execution, being at too great a distance. Our loss was one Sepoy, whose death was so singular that it deserves to be recorded. This poor fellow was struck on the head by a spent shot, a six-pounder, which lodged there. It was seen by me and thousands more before he

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was interred; and although I have witnessed many strange wounds, this appeared to be to me the most remarkable, the shot being half in and half out of his temple.

While these preparations were going on, an express came from Lord Cornwallis, who was about commencing the siege of the capital, to hasten our march thither. No time was lost on the part of the Mahrattas; for the next morning, Purso Rhamboo, the chief, ordered the tents to be struck early, and by seven o'clock the whole camp was in motion. We were much elated on this business, under an idea that we should be of great service to his lordship, knowing every creek and crevice of Patam. The first day we passed Ananpour, the spot where so much barbarity had been practised by our troops, as before related; and twelve days brought us within one day's march of Tippoo's retreat, and his lordship's camp. Here we applied to Major Little, to quit his camp for the grand army, assigning as our reasons, the service we might be of, in case of Lord Cornwallis's storming Seringapatam. Major Little highly approved of our plan, and as there was no necessity for an escort, we departed, and reached his lordship's camp that evening; but, to our no small mortification, we found that a capitulation had taken place, and that Tippoo's two sons had been received by Lord Cornwallis the day before our arrival.

The conditions acceded to, on the part of Tippoo, were: to lose half his territories, which were to be given up to the allies, with a vast sum of money to defray the expenses of the war; that all prisoners, from the time of his father to the present period, were to be unconditionally liberated;¹ and lastly, that

¹ There were very few surviving at this time; and although his lordship's humanity ought ever to be remembered in this case, yet, we well knew, or guessed, that he would never have any delivered to him. Neither had he. There were none, who had been prisoners, that ever reached the English, unless by making their escape; except two officers, who were detained, contrary to the capitulation, at Coimbatam. These were loaded with presents, and liberated, when the capital was in danger, in order to pave the way for future overtures. They were fortunate indeed!

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two of his sons were to be surrendered as hostages,¹ for the due performance of this treaty.

After remaining some days in the camp, we understood that the two men, whom I have before mentioned, were on the north side of Seringapatam, with General Abercrombie, who commanded the Bombay army. We repaired thither, and met them as brothers, supposed to be lost; and after a mutual detail of our various trials, and the manner of making our escapes, respectively, etc., etc., we parted, they for Bombay, and ourselves for Madras.

Here were a number of half-starved Europeans, all deserters, who were taken in the pettah or suburbs, when our troops followed Tippoo's over the Cavery. These were all in irons, and what his lordship did with them I know not; but suppose, as mercy was a leading feature in his character, that he did not put them to death. We were now ordered to Madras, having an escort of Sepoys for our safety; and his lordship understanding our wishes to go to England, very humanely gratified them. With our escort, we quitted the camp at Seringapatam for Madras, which place we reached in twenty-one days.

On the morning when we heard the surf, our joy was inexpressible, not having seen the sea for ten years. A few days after our arrival, we embarked as passengers on board of the Honourable Company's ship *Dutton*, East Indiaman; and after encountering some tremendous gales off the Cape of Good Hope, which few ships escape in those latitudes, we, through Providence, safely reached the Downs in 1793.

¹ Abdul Kallick the eldest, and Masza ud Dieu the youngest; the former very dark, the latter very fair and personable. The eldest, I well remember, while at Seringapatam, once ordered one of our lads, whose name was Kelly, to be bound with his hands behind him; this being done, he was hoisted by a pulley a yard from the ground, and in this condition severely beaten. And all this, because Kelly would not sing and dance in the English manner, for him to laugh at. We felt for poor Kelly at the time, but it was the subject of mirth among us afterwards. He was a curiously grown Irish lad, and could not talk much English; and as to dancing and singing, he knew as much about it as a Hottentot.

THUS far the narrative of this unfortunate adventurer has been written by himself: the remaining particulars have been collected from the statements of his widow and son, and partially from detached papers.

On landing at the Downs, Mr. Scurry and his companions repaired to London, where the singularity of their dress, their manners, and their colour, so far excited attention, that they were followed by troops of boys, as objects of curiosity. On appealing to the proper authorities, and giving proof of their identity, all arrears of pay, from the time of their capture to their return, were instantly paid. Mr. Scurry also obtained a pension of £7 per annum, which was continued for several years. It was afterwards augmented to £18, which he retained through life. Being thus amply supplied with cash, their prodigality increased with their resources, and, like true British sailors, a considerable portion was squandered away in thoughtless extravagance. On one occasion, Mr. Scurry attended a sale, and laid out about forty pounds in articles, of which he scarcely knew either the quantity, the use, or the names. His lot was, however, packed up altogether, and forwarded to Devonshire, to which place he also after some time repaired.

From his long confinement in India, and his voluntary conformity to Asiatic manners, he had nearly forgotten the customs of his early years, and the delicate refinements of his native land. To the wearing of English clothes he felt the greatest aversion; nor could he even sit, except according to the manner to which he had been so long accustomed. Of a knife and fork he had almost lost the use; nor could he eat anything with comfort, only in the style to which stern necessity had compelled him to submit. His language was broken and confused, having lost all his vernacular idiom. His body was disfigured with scars; and his skin was likewise so deeply tinged with the heat of the climate in which he had so long resided, and by the rays of the sun, to which he had been so much exposed, that it was only a few shades removed from black. It so nearly resembled the

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swarthy complexion of the negroes, that he might have passed through Africa without being at all noted for the singularity of his colour. These combined peculiarities exposed him to several inconveniences, and brought upon him many an eager gaze, and many a curious inquiry, and pointed observation.

On leaving London, he travelled by coach to Exeter, to visit his friends, but stopping at an inn on the road to dine, instead of conforming to the customs of his fellow-travellers, he followed those which he had been obliged to adopt in Asia, to the no small amusement of his companions, and the equal astonishment of the people belonging to the house. His bones, offal, and rejected food, without ceremony were thrown on the floor, no regard being paid either to company or carpets; and when admonished of the impropriety of his conduct, his inattention to the hints that were given, and perseverance in domestic irregularity, only served to confirm those who witnessed his singularities, that he was either deranged, or some foreigner totally unacquainted with the refinements of civilized life. A British sailor, however, in any disguise, if flowing with money, can easily make his peace with a waiter at an inn, and metamorphose a frowning aspect into a smiling countenance.

On reaching Exeter, he learned that his mother, and sister Dannan with her husband, were living at Porlock. Thither he repaired; and, that he might reach this place in a style suited to his purse, he entered it in a chaise drawn by four horses, and drove immediately to their door. Surprised at this equipage, his sister first appeared, of whom, on putting his head out of the window, he inquired if Mrs. Scurry lived there, and was within? He was answered, that this was the place of her abode, but that just then she was not within. He then requested that she might be called, but could scarcely restrain his impatience during the absence of the messenger. On his mother's arrival, he inquired whether she had not a son in India? She replied, that she once had a son there, but not having heard from him for many years, she concluded he was dead. This latter was a point he seemed to doubt, but his mother was not to be dissuaded from a belief which she had so long indulged.

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While this conversation was carrying on, his sister, Mrs. Dannan, who sat listening with much attention, and viewing this stranger with eagerness, imagined that she could discover, amidst the scars of conflict, the effects of an equinoctial sun, and the furrows of distress, some remnants of features that had once been familiar. Full of this persuasion, she hailed him as her long-lost brother, nor did he keep her in any tedious suspense. His mother, however, was not so easily convinced. She had concluded that her son was dead, and the appearand of this stranger was not calculated to remove the unfavourable impression. But the chaise and four being dismissed, his mother's unbelief gave way, and mutual recognition and joy succeeded to the astonishment that had been excited.

Having, during his long absence, and the scenes of distress through which he was called to pass, lost nearly all his European acquirements, Mr. Scurry turned his attention to learning for nearly two years, improving himself in writing and arithmetic, under the tuition of his brother-in-law at Porlock. During this period, he made such proficiency, as qualified him to engage in mercantile employment, in such departments as might probably present themselves.

On quitting his brother-in-law, he repaired to Plymouth, and entered into an engagement with Mr. Andrew Kinsman, a wholesale grocer of that place, and superintended his business. With this gentleman, and another named Harvey, he continued from about 1795 until 1799. He then took a house in Frankfort Place, and commenced business as a grocer for himself. In the following year he married, since which time he has had eight children, of whom one son and one daughter only survive.

It is somewhat remarkable, that while he was engaged with Mr. Kinsman, the *Button*, in which he had returned from India some years before> was wrecked near Plymouth garrison, and sunk. The hull, lying under the water, was purchased by Mr. Kinsman and a Mr. Andrew Snow; and as Mr. Scurry was an excellent swimmer, and perhaps at that time the best diver in England, he offered his services to assist them in endeavouring

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to rescue all that they could find from the wreck, which lay about three fathoms under water. After much hesitation, they consented that he should make a trial. A day was accordingly appointed, when, amidst numbers of spectators, he succeeded in hooking some pigs of ballast, and part of her timbers, thus at once gratifying their eager curiosity, and the anxious expectations of his employers. This attempt was made a few months after she sunk. Finding, however, after several ineffectual efforts, that nothing of considerable value was likely to be obtained, the remains were sold, about two years afterwards, to a Mr. Joseph, a rich Jew, for £10. As soon as this transfer took place, Mr. Scurry received a polite note from the new purchaser, requesting him to try once more to rescue something from the sunken ship. With this request he complied; but on his descent, he found that the *Button* was now five fathoms beneath the surface of the water. In this attempt he succeeded in bringing up some of her copper sheathing, and some timber; but the former was so corroded, and the latter so much decayed, that no encouragement was held out to perseverance. Her guns were by this time sunk in the sand; and as nothing promised to reward their exertions, all further efforts were abandoned.

Mr. Scurry continued his business as a grocer on his own account, from 1799 until 1804, when, on an application being made by Messrs. Fuge & Langmead, spirit merchants of Plymouth, to travel for their house, he surrendered the management of his own concerns to his wife, still taking orders for goods as he prosecuted his journeys. In this situation he continued from 1804 to 1812, when, on discovering some irregularities, he quitted their employment, and formed an engagement with a Mr. Slade, of Plymouth, under whom he went to Swansea to manage a colliery. Shortly afterwards, Mr. Slade having fitted out a privateer to cruise in the Bay of Biscay, and knowing Mr. Scurry to be both expert and enterprising in maritime affairs, he sent for him to go out as steward, and to keep a watchful eye over the concerns of the vessel. Accordingly, in the year 1813, he repaired again to Plymouth, and sailed in the *Cerberus*,

CAPTIVES OF TIPU

privateer, commanded by Captain Tregotheth. He continued in this vessel about four months, during which time they took one prize, for his share of which he received £18. Returning from this cruise, they put into Fowey, in Cornwall, where he received a letter from Mr. Slade, stating that his son, James Scurry, was then on the point of death, and having a particular desire to see his father, requested his immediate attendance for a day or two. In consequence of this letter, he hastened to Plymouth, where he arrived on the 12th of April, 1813 and his son died on the 24th. Scarcely had he left the vessel, before the captain, without receiving any orders, again put to sea, and, on the day after he left Fowey, the *Cerberus* was captured by a French privateer, and carried to France.

In 1814, he again went to Swansea, under Mr. Slade, and on their voyage from Ilfracombe to Wales the vessel was nearly lost. In the midst of their distress, the captain grew dispirited, and the panic was communicated to the passengers and the men. In this emergency, Mr. Scurry's native energies were all called into action, and such was the confidence which his example and precepts inspired, that they were roused from their lethargy, and, by unremitting exertions, succeeded in reaching the port. Having, in the course of his journeys, discovered some clay of a very superior quality, he visited Worcester, London, and some other places, with a design to procure a market, but the supplies of clay being more abundant than the demand for porcelain, his efforts proved unsuccessful. Early in 1815, he again returned to Plymouth, and once more engaged himself with Messrs. Langmeads, Mr. Fuge being now no longer connected with the concern. Here he continued until the death of Mr. John Langmead, when, being in want of a situation, he repaired to London early in 1816, and engaged himself at a coal wharf, where he continued about three years.

Having obtained some knowledge of mining, he was several times sent into his native county by the adventurers, to inspect various works in which they had become speculators. During these journeys he was occasionally exposed to the inclemencies of winter, which in all probability sapped the foundation of a

THE LIFE OF JAMES SCURRY, SEAMAN

strong constitution, that had so long sustained the rigour of the torrid zone. In the autumn of 1822, being on a journey to Devonshire, to superintend a mine in the neighbourhood of Buckfastleigh, he took a severe cold, by which he was laid up at Exeter. This was followed by an inflammation, and was succeeded by a mortification, of which he died, aged fifty-seven, at the house of his sister Dannan, whose husband being a port-gauger of that city, had removed thither some years before. He was buried at St. Thomas's, Exeter, December 14th, 1822.

In Justice to the memory of Mr. Scurry, it ought to be stated, that for a considerable time prior to his death, his mind had received serious impressions, which his subsequent conduct proved to be both deep and lasting. This circumstance gives an additional weight to the truth of his narrative - a narrative that might be deemed incredible from the miseries which it records, were it not supported by strong internal evidence, and corroborated by numerous testimonies drawn from the same unhappy source. It is one of those tales which presents its claims alike to justice and compassion; and the writer of these paragraphs feels much gratification in having made this effort to transmit the memorial of his sufferings to posterity.

GLOSSARY

- Bahaudar*. - Hero or champion, title of honour.
Canary, Cannery. - Kanarese-speaking Hindu.
Cawn (Khan). - Chief.
Chaylah (Chela). - Disciple. Applied to men forcibly converted to Mohammedanism.
Choltree (Choultry). - A place set apart for travellers.
Chopper. - Thatched roof.
Collery. - Name of a thief tribe.
Conjee-house. - Lock-up; so-called from conjee (rice-water), the principal prison diet.
Coss. - $1\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 miles.
Cutcherry. - Office or court-house. In Tipu's service equivalent to a department.
Deroga, Durga. - Treasurer; also official in police or customs.
Doll. - Split peas.
Droog. - Hill.
Dubash. - Interpreter (lit., man with two languages).
Duffadar. - A petty official.
Durbar. - Audience.
Fanam. - The gold fanam was worth a few pence.
Gentu. - Hindu. From Portuguese *Gentio* (heathen) and still used in Madras when applied to Telugu-speaking Hindus.
Ghee. - Buffalo butter.
Harcarrah (Hircarrah). - Spy or messenger.
Havildar. - Officer about equivalent to a sergeant.
Jemmadar. - Officer of superior or commissioned rank.
Keeladar, Killadare. - Commander of a fort or garrison.
Kennary. - Kanarese-speaking Hindu.
Kutcheree. - See *Cutcherry*.
Lakh. - 100,000.
Looties. - Plunderers.
Moherrum (Muharram). - New Year's month, a Mohammedan festival.
Moor. - Moslems. From Portuguese.
Moorish. - Urdu.
Nay ah (Naik). - Leader, chief.

GLOSSARY

Nayar, Nyar (Nair). - The military class in Malabar, next in rank after the Brahmans.

Notch (Nautch). - Dancing or stage-playing.

Paddy. - Growing rice.

Pagoda. - The European name for a certain gold coin: the origin of the term is obscure, but may be from the device of a temple upon one side of the coin. There are twelve varieties of the pagoda: worth about 7/- here.

Pettah (Pitta). - The extra-mural suburb of a fortress, or town attached to a fortress.

Poly gar, Pidligar (Palegar). - Local chieftain.

Raggy (Rāgi). - A coarse grain of millet species.

Sepoy. - A native soldier of European dress and discipline.

Tillingey. - Telugu.

Vakeil (Vakil). - Attorney or authorized representative.

Verduvalla. - Adjutant.

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Daily Graphic

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76. CONFESSIONS OF A YOUNG MAN

by George Moore

§ Mr. Moore, true to his period and to his genius, stripped himself of everything that might stand between him and the achievement of his artistic object. He does not ask you to admire this George Moore. He merely asks you to observe him beyond good and evil as a constant plucked from the bewildering flow of eternity.' *Humbert Wolfe*

77. THE BAZAAR. Stories

by Martin Armstrong

§ These stories have considerable range of subject, but in general they are stay-at-home tales, depicting cloistered lives and delicate finely fibred minds. . . . Mr. Armstrong writes beautifully.' *Nation and Athenaeum*

78. SIDE SHOWS. Essays

by J. B. Atkins

With an Introduction by JAMES BONE

§ Mr. J. B. Atkins was war correspondent in four wars, the London editor of a great English paper, then Paris correspondent of another, and latterly the editor of the *Spectator*. His subjects in *Side Shows* are briefly London and the sea.

79. SHORT TALKS WITH THE DEAD

by Hilaire Belloc

§ In these essays Mr. Belloc attains his usual high level of pungent and witty writing. The subjects vary widely and include an imaginary talk with the spirits of Charles I, the barber of Louis XIV, and Napoleon, Venice, fakes, eclipses, Byron, and the famous dissertation on the Nordic Man.

80. ORIENT EXPRESS

by John dos Passos

§ This book will be read because, as well as being the temperature chart of an unfortunate sufferer from the travelling disease, it deals with places shaken by the heavy footsteps of History, manifesting itself as usual by plague, famine, murder, sudden death and depreciated currency. Underneath the book is an ode to railroad travel.

81. SELECTED ESSAYS. Second Series

by Sir Edmund Gosse, C.B.

- ¶ A second volume of essays personally chosen by Sir Edmund Gosse from the wide field of his literary work. One is delighted with the width of his appreciation which enables him to write with equal charm on *Wycherley* and on *How to Read the Bible*.

82. ON THE EVE

by Ivan Turgenev. Translated by Constance Garnett

- ¶ In his characters is something of the width and depth which so astounds us in the creations of Shakespeare. *On the Eve* is a quiet work, yet over which the growing consciousness of coming events casts its heavy shadow. Turgenev, even as he sketched the ripening love of a young girl, has made us feel the dawning aspirations of a nation.

83. FATHERS AND CHILDREN

by Ivan Turgenev. Translated by Constance Garnett

- ¶ 'As a piece of art *Fathers and Children* is the most powerful of all Turgenev's works. The figure of Bazarov is not only the political centre of the book, but a figure in which the eternal tragedy of man's impotence and insignificance is realized in scenes of a most ironical human drama.' *Edward Garnett*

84. SMOKE

by Ivan Turgenev. Translated by Constance Garnett

- ¶ In this novel Turgenev sees and reflects, even in the shifting phases of political life, that which is universal in human nature. His work is compassionate, beautiful, unique; in the sight of his fellow-craftsmen always marvellous and often perfect.

85. PORGY. A Tale

by du Bose Heyward

- ¶ This fascinating book gives a vivid and intimate insight into the lives of a group of American negroes, from whom Porgy stands out, rich in humour and tragedy. The author's description of a hurricane is reminiscent in its power.

86. FRANCE AND THE FRENCH

by Sisley Huddleston

- ¶ * There has been nothing of its kind published since the War. His book is a repository of facts marshalled with judgment; as such it should assist in clearing away a whole maze of misconceptions and prejudices, and serve as a sort of pocket encyclopaedia of modern France.' *Times Literary Supplement*

88. CLOUD CUCKOO LAND. A Novel of Sparta

by Naomi Mitchison

- ¶ Ridl and frank in passions, and rich, too, in the detail which helps to make feigned life seem real.' *Times Literary Supplement*

89. A PRIVATE IN THE GUARDS

by Stephen Graham

- ¶ In his own experiences as a soldier Stephen Graham has conserved the half-forgotten emotions of a nation in arms. Above all he makes us feel the stark brutality and horror of actual war, the valour which is more than valour, and the disciplined endurance which is human and therefore the more terrifying.

90. THUNDER ON THE LEFT

by Christopher Morley

- ¶ 'It is personal to every reader, it will become for every one a reflection of himself. I fancy that here, as always where work is fine and true, the author has created something not as he would but as he must, and is here an interpreter of a world more wonderful than he himself knows.' *Hugh Walpole*

91. THE MOON AND SIXPENCE

by Somerset Maugham

- ¶ A remarkable picture of a genius.
'Mr. Maugham has given us a ruthless and penetrating study in personality with a savage truthfulness of delineation and an icy contempt for the heroic and the sentimental.' *The Times*

92. THE CASUARINA TREE

by W. Somerset Maugham

- § Intensely dramatic stories in which the stain of the East falls deeply on the lives of English men and women. Mr. Maugham remains cruelly aloof from his characters. On passion and its culminating tragedy he looks with unmoved detachment, ringing the changes without comment and yet with little cynicism.

93. A POOR MAN'S HOUSE

by Stephen Reynolds

- § Vivid and intimate pictures of a Devonshire fisherman's life. 'Compact, harmonious, without a single—I won't say false—but uncertain note, true in aim, sentiment and expression, precise and imaginative, never precious, but containing here and there an absolutely priceless phrase. . . .' *Joseph Conrad*

94. WILLIAM BLAKE

by Arthur Symons

- § When Blake spoke the first word of the nineteenth century there was none to hear it; and now that his message has penetrated the world, and is slowly re-making it, few are conscious of the man who first voiced it. This lack of knowledge is remedied in Mr. Symons' work.

95. A LITERARY PILGRIM IN ENGLAND

by Edward Thomas

- § A book about the homes and resorts of English writers, from John Aubrey, Cowper, Gilbert White, Cobbett, Wordsworth, Burns, Borrow and Lamb, to Swinburne, Stevenson, Meredith, W. H. Hudson and H. Belloc. Each chapter is a miniature biography and at the same time a picture of the man and his work and environment.

96. NAPOLEON : THE LAST PHASE

by The Earl of Rosebery

- § Of books and memoirs about Napoleon there is indeed no end, but of the veracious books such as this there are remarkably few. It aims to penetrate the deliberate darkness which surrounds the last act of the Napoleonic drama.

97- THE POCKET BOOK OF POEMS AND
SONGS FOR THE OPEN AIR

Compiled by Edward Thomas

- ¶ This anthology is meant to please those lovers of poetry and the country who like a book that can always lighten some of their burdens or give wings to their delight, whether in the open air by day, or under the roof at evening ; in it is gathered much of the finest English poetry.

98. SAFETY PINS : ESSAYS

by Christopher Morley

With an Introduction by H. M. TOMLINSON

- ¶ Very many readers will be glad of the opportunity to meet Mr. Morley in the rôle of the gentle essayist. He is an author who is content to move among his fellows, to note, to reflect, and to write genially and urbanely; to love words for their sound as well as for their value in expression of thought.

99. THE BLACK SOUL : A Novel

by Liam O'Flaherty

- ¶ * *The Black Soul* overwhelms one like a storm. . . . Nothing like it has been written by any Irish writer.' "JE" in *The Irish Statesman*

100. CHRISTINA ALBERTA'S FATHER :

A Novel

by H. G. Wells

- ¶ 'At first reading the book is utterly beyond criticism; all the characters are delightfully genuine.' *Spectator*
* Brimming over with Wellsian insight, humour and invention. No one but Mr. Wells could have written the whole book and given it such verve and sparkle.' *Westminster Gazette*

102. THE GRUB STREET NIGHTS

ENTERTAINMENTS

by J. C. Squire

- ¶ Stories of literary life, told with a breath of fantasy and gaily ironic humour. Each character lives, and is the more lively for its touch of caricature. From *The Man Who Kept a Diary* to *The Man Who Wrote Free Verse*, these tales constitute Mr. Squire's most delightful ventures in fiction; and the conception of the book itself is unique.

103- ORIENTAL ENCOUNTERS

by Marmaduke Pickthall

- ¶ In *Oriental Encounters*, Mr. Pickthall relives his earlier manhood's discovery of Arabia and sympathetic encounters with the Eastern mind. He is one of the few travellers who really bridges the racial gulf.

105. THE MOTHER : A Novel

by Grazia Deledda

With an introduction by D. H. LAWRENCE

- ¶ An unusual book, both in its story and its setting in a remote Sardinian hill village, half civilized and superstitious*. The action of the story takes place so rapidly and the actual drama is so interwoven with the mental conflict, and all so forced by circumstances, that it is almost Greek in its simple and inevitable tragedy.

106. TRAVELLER'S JOY : An Anthology

by W. G. Waters

- ¶ This anthology has been selected for publication in the Travellers' Library from among the many collections of verse because of its suitability for the traveller, particularly the summer and autumn traveller, who would like to carry with him some store of literary provender.

107. SHIPMATES : Essays

by Felix Riesenberg

- ¶ A collection of intimate character portraits of men with whom the author has sailed on many voyages. The sequence of studies blends into a fascinating panorama of living characters.

108. THE CRICKET MATCH

by Hugh de Selincourt

- ¶ Through the medium of a cricket match the author endeavours to give a glimpse of life in a Sussex village. First we have a bird's-eye view at dawn of the village nestling under the Downs; then we see the players awaken in all the widely different circumstance of their various lives, pass the morning, assemble on the field, play their game, united for a few hours, as men should be, by a common purpose—and at night disperse.

**109. RARE ADVENTURES AND PAINFULL
PEREGRINATIONS (1582-1645)**

by William Lithgow

Edited, and with an Introduction by B. I. LAWRENCE

- ¶ This is the book of a seventeenth-century Scotchman who walked over the Levant, North Africa and most of Europe, including Spain, where he was tortured by the Inquisition. An unscrupulous man, full of curiosity, his comments are diverting and penetrating, his adventures remarkable,

no. THE END OF A CHAPTER

by Shane Leslie

- ¶ In this, his most famous book, Mr. Shane Leslie has preserved for future generations the essence of the pre-war epoch, its institutions and individuals. He writes of *Eton*, of the *Empire*, of *Post-Victorianism*, of the *Politicians*. . . . And whatever he touches upon, he brilliantly interprets.

in. SAILING ACROSS EUROPE

by Negley Farson

With an Introduction by FRANK MORLEY

- ¶ A voyage of six months in a ship, its one and only cabin measuring 8 feet by 6 feet, up the Rhine, down the Danube, passing from one to the other by the half-forgotten Ludwig's Canal. To think of and plan such a journey was a fine imaginative effort and to write about it interestingly is no mean accomplishment.

112. MEN, BOOKS AND BIRDS—Letters to a friend
by W. H. Hudson

With Notes, some Letters, and an Introduction by
MORLEY ROBERTS

- ¶ An important collection of letters from the naturalist to his friend, literary executor and fellow-author, Morley Roberts, covering a period of twenty-five years.

113. PLAYS ACTING AND MUSIC

by Arthur Symonds

- ¶ This book deals mainly with music and with the various arts of the stage. Mr. Arthur Symonds shows how each art has its own laws, its own limits; these it is the business of the critic jealously to distinguish. Yet in the study of art as art, it should be his endeavour to master the universal science of **beauty***

114. ITALIAN BACKGROUNDS

by Edith Wharton

- ¶ Mrs. Wharton's perception of beauty and her grace of writing are matters of general acceptance. Her book gives us pictures of mountains and rivers, monks, nuns and saints.

115. FLOWERS AND ELEPHANTS

by Constance Sitwell. With an Introduction by E. M. Forster

- ¶ Mrs. Sitwell has known India well, and has filled her pages with many vivid little pictures, and with sounds and scents. **But** it is the thread on which her impressions are strung that is so fascinating, a thread so delicate and rare that the slightest clumsiness in definition would snap it.

116. THE MOON OF THE CARIBBEES : and Other Plays of the Sea

by Eugene O'Neill. With an Introduction by St. John Ervine

- ¶ 'Mr. O'Neill is immeasurably the most interesting man of letters that America has produced since the death of Walt Whitman.' *From the Introduction.*

117. BETWEEN EARTH AND SKY. Stories of Gypsies

by Konrad Bercovici. With an Introduction by A. E. Coppard

- ¶ Konrad Bercovici, through his own association with gypsies, together with a magical intuition of their lives, is able to give us some unforgettable pictures of those wanderers who, having no home anywhere, are at home everywhere.

118. THE HOUSE WITH THE GREEN SHUTTERS

by George Douglas. With an Introduction by J. B. Priestley

- ¶ This powerful and moving story of life in a small Scots burgh is one of the grimmest studies of realism in all modern fiction. The author flashes a cold and remorseless searchlight upon the backbitings, jealousies, and intrigues of the townsfolk, and his story stands as a classic antidote to the sentimentalism of the kailyard school.

119. FRIDAY NIGHTS

by Edward Garnett

- ¶ Of *Friday Nights* a *Times* reviewer wrote: ' Mr. Garnett is " the critic as artist," sensitive alike to elemental nature and the subtlest human variations. His book sketches for us the possible outlines of a new humanism, a fresh valuation of both life and art.'

120. DIVERSIONS IN SICILY

by Henry Festing Jones

- ¶ Shortly before his sudden and unexpected death, Mr. Festing Jones chose out *Diversions in Sicily* for reprinting in the Travellers' Library from among his three books of mainly Sicilian sketches and studies. The publishers hope that the book, in this popular form, will make many new friends. These chapters, as well as any that he wrote, recapture the wisdom, charm, and humour of their author.

121. DAYS IN THE SUN: A Cricketer's Book.

by Neville Cardus ('Cricketer' of the *Manchester Guardian*).

- ¶ These sketches were first published in *A Cricketer's Book* (1922) and in *Days in the Sun* (1924), they have now been revised for re-issue in *The Travellers' Library*. The author says 'the intention of this book is modest - it should be taken as a rather freely compiled journal of happy experiences which have come my way on our cricket fields.'

122. COMBED OUT

by F. A. Voigt

- ¶ This account of life in the army in 1917-18 both at home and in France is written with a telling incisiveness. The author does not indulge in an unnecessary word, but packs in just the right details with an intensity of feeling that is infectious.

123- CONTEMPORARIES OF MARCO POLO

edited by Manuel Komroff

- J** This volume comprises the Travel Records in the Eastern parts of the world of William of Rubruck (1253-1255), the Journey of John of Pian de Carpini (1245-1247), the Journey of Friar Odoric (1318-1330), the Oriental Travels of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela (1160-1173). They describe the marvels and wonders of Asia under the Khans.

124. TENNYSON

by Hugh I'Anson Fausset

- J** Mr. Fausset speaks of Tennyson on his deathbed as 'the monument of the conscience and the poetry of more than half a century,' and his study of his qualities as poet, man, and moralist is by implication a study of some of the predominant characteristics of the Victorian age. His book, however, is as pictorial as it is critical, being woven, to quote *The Times*, 'like an arras of delicate colour and imagery.' It has been revised for issue in 'the Travellers' Library' and a new preface added.

125. CAPTIVES OF TIPU: SURVIVORS' NARRATIVES

edited by A. W. Lawrence

- J** Three records of heroic endurance, which were hitherto unobtainable at a reasonable price. In addition to the well-known stories of Bristow and Scurry, a soldier and a seaman, who were forcibly Mohammedanized and retained in the service of Mysore till their escape after ten years, extracts are given from an officer's diary of his close imprisonment at Seringapatam.

126. MEMOIRS OF A SLAVE-TRADER

by Theodore Canot. Set down by Brantz Mayer and now edited by A. W. Lawrence

- J** In 1854 a cosmopolitan adventurer, who knew Africa at the worst period of its history, dictated this sardonic account of piracy and mutiny, of battles with warships or rival traders, and of the fantastic lives of European and half-caste slavers on the West Coast.

127. BLACK LAUGHTER

by Llewelyn Powys. Author of *Ebony and Ivory*, etc.

¶ *Black Laughter* is a kind of *Robinson Crusoe* of the continent of Africa. Indeed, Llewelyn Powys resembles Daniel Defoe in the startlingly realistic manner in which he conveys the actual feelings of the wild places he describes. You actually share the sensations of a sensitive and artistic nature suddenly transplanted from a peaceful English village into the heart of Africa.

128. THE INFORMER

by Liam O'Flaherty. Author of *Spring Sowing*, etc.

¶ This realistic novel of the Dublin underworld is generally conceded to be Mr. O'Flaherty's most outstanding book. It is to be produced as a film by British International Pictures, who regard it as one of the most ambitious of their efforts.

129. THE BEADLE. A novel of South Africa

by Pauline Smith. Author of *The Little Karoo*

¶ 'A story of great beauty, and told with simplicity and tenderness that makes it linger in the memory. It is a notable contribution to the literature of the day.' *Morning Post*.

130. FISHMONGER'S FIDDLE. Short Stories

by A. E. Coppard. Author of *The Black Dog*, *Silver Circus*, etc.

¶ 'In definite colour and solid strength his work suggests that of the old Dutch Masters. Mr. Coppard is a born story-teller.' *Times Literary Supplement*.

Note

The Travellers' Library is now published as a joint enterprise by Jonathan Cape Ltd. and William Heinemann Ltd. The new volumes announced here to appear during the summer of 1929 include those to be published by both firms. The series as a whole or any title in the series can be ordered through booksellers from either Jonathan Cape or William Heinemann. Booksellers' only care must be not to duplicate their order.

