



BOOK THE FIFTH.

CHAPTER III.

A. D. 1804.

April to August.

General Lake sends Colonel Monson and Lucan against Muharaj Holkur—Holkur engages Lucan, who is killed in action—Monson is defeated and retreats before Holkur, who pursues him to Muthra.

IT has been stated, that Muharaj Holkur had determined on taking the field against General Lake, who, after the capture of Dehlee and Agra, had cantoned his army in Alwur.⁽¹⁾ The General hearing that Juswunt Rao had commenced his march northward, and had come as far as Hurmara in Kishengurh, detached Colonel Mon-

⁽¹⁾ General Lake lay in camp at Beeana, on the Jypoor frontier, during the whole of January, 1804, watching Juswunt Rao, who pretending that he had detected a correspondence between his European Officers and the General,—put to death Captains Vickers, Todd and Ryan. His correspondence and proceedings showing the determination to commence hostilities, General Lake, at length, sent forward the detachment under Colonel Monson, in April, 1804. Tonk Rampoorra was taken by Colonel Don on the 15th May.

son and Lucan⁽¹⁾ with a force of six battalions and four thousand Hindoostanee horse recently entertained, also, five hundred horse of the Nabob of Buhraech,⁽²⁾ and four battalions and four thousand horse of Bapoo Sindheea, one of Doulut Rao's officers, as an advanced division, to act against the Muharaj. This army came to within three or four kos of Hurmara, and encamped there, while the General himself made a few marches in their support. Muharaj Holkur, in the absence of the Ameer and his troops, determined not to give battle, but retiring before the enemy, through the Boondée country, and levying by the way a contribution from Kota, passed by Kelwara, Chhitra, Gokul, and Munohur-Thana,⁽³⁾ into Malwa. He then moved to Mundisor to join his infantry.

General Lake marched into the Jyepoor country, as far as Lal-Sonth and Lowaeen,⁽⁴⁾ for the purpose of engaging Juswunt Rao. Hearing, however, of the slaughter committed by the Ameer in Bundelkhund,⁽⁵⁾ and fearing an irruption from that quarter, where there was no

(1) The Lucan here mentioned was a Mahratta Officer, who came over to Lord Lake under the Proclamation issued by Lord Wellesley, at the commencement of the war. He led the storm of Uleegurh, and was presented by Lord Lake, in consequence, with a Captain's Commission in His Majesty's 76th Regiment of Foot. He was, however, immediately after employed in raising a corps of irregular horse, which he commanded with much distinction, until his death, which took place on the occasion stated in this Chapter, though not precisely in the manner related.

(2) بھرا بچہ کیلوارہ - چھترا - گڑکل - منوہر تھانہ

(4) لعل سونمہ - لوائیں

(5) This is a motive for the return to Cawnpore that never entered into the General's imagination. The Ameer's expedition to Kalpee was never looked upon as more than a successful inroad of Banditti, to which no importance whatsoever was at any time attached.



one competent to oppose so active an enemy, he returned himself to Cawnpoor to make arrangements for its defence, carrying back with him a large force of tried battalions and a regiment of Dragoons, with other troops, and leaving Brigadier Monson with the six battalions, and Captain Lucan with his newly raised Hindoostanee horse, two thousand men, also Bapoo Sindheea's army, the Buhraech Suwars and others, as above stated, added to which, were one thousand Jypoor horse,—making altogether a force of ten thousand cavalry and infantry, to follow up the war with Holkur.

Colonel Monson and Lucan accordingly advanced into the Kotah territory, whence they sent back the Jypoor horse and Bapoo Sindheea's infantry, and took instead some troops of Kotah. Still advancing, they passed the Dura-Mukundra ⁽¹⁾ Ghat and encamped at Gurot, ⁽²⁾ one stage beyond, establishing posts at Rampoorra Bhanpoora, Hinglajgurh, ⁽³⁾ and other places belonging to Holkur.

Muharaj Holkur, who had retired before the English, upon his brigades and main army, which was at Mundisor, advanced now with all his troops to meet the invaders, sending his infantry a stage or two in advance. When the brigades were about one march from Gurot, Colonel Monson, with Lucan and Colonel Pohlman, ⁽⁴⁾ began

(¹) دره مکندره (²) گروت (³) بہان پورہ ہنگلاج گدہ

(³) Hinglajgurh, called by Europeans Hinglaisgurh, was taken by escalade in the first week of July, 1804.

(⁴) Colonel Pohlman was not with Colonel Monson's detachment. Colonel Gardner will, probably, be the officer referred to, or perhaps Colonel Don, as it would seem that an officer of infantry is meant.

to feel alarm, and consulted with Bapoo Sindheea and others as to the best course to be pursued. The Bapoo was in secret understanding with Juswunt Rao, and replied treacherously to the reference for advice to this effect—that, whereas the enemy had come up in great strength, he did not think it would be advisable to give battle with so inferior a force. He added, that he did not like to give advice, as from his being a Mahratta of the same race with the enemy, what he said might be suspected. The English Officers said, they had full confidence in him, and begged that he would speak out. Bapoo upon this gave the following deceitful counsel—That all the infantry should be sent back beyond the Mukundra pass, ⁽¹⁾ and encamped there, while the cavalry should be kept on this, that is, the Malwa side, ready to retire likewise, if too strongly pressed.

As the English officers were already panic-stricken, they did not see through the treachery of Bapoo Sindheea, but adopted his advice,—so much so, that Colonels Monson and Pohlman marched back that very day with their battalions, as well as those of Bapoo Sindheea, leaving Lucan, with all the horse, ⁽²⁾ on the side of the pass,

⁽¹⁾ Major Thorn describes the affair in which Captain Lucan was killed, thus. Colonel Monson having determined to retire within the Mukundra pass, sent off his baggage and stores at four in the morning to Sonara. The troops remained on the ground expecting attack, but seeing no enemy, moved in the same direction at nine A. M., leaving the irregular cavalry under Lucan and Bapoojee Sindheea, with orders to follow in half an hour. They were surprised by Juswunt Rao while thus waiting. This occurred on the 8th July, 1804. A night march from Sonara brought the Colonel within the pass on the morning of the 9th, and on the 12th July, he reached Kotah.

⁽²⁾ Lucan was deserted by most of the irregular cavalry of the force attached to him. Bapoo Sindheea fled on Holkar's first appearance, and carried the news of the attack to Col. Monson, after which, he went openly over to the enemy. All that stood by Captain Lucan were cut to pieces. These were his own corps, the Kotah and Boondee horse, some men of



next the enemy. Muharaj Holkur no sooner heard of this movement than he effected a junction with his infantry, which, as above stated, had been marching in advance of the cavalry, and so came with his best troops, inured to battle, to within three or four kos of Gurot. The Pindaras were sent to skirmish and annoy the English in their camp, and they commenced an attack of the picquets and out-posts. Juswunt Rao hearing of their being engaged, went himself with a considerable body to their support. The picquet guard was overpowered and put to flight on his arrival, when yielding to his natural impetuosity, he followed it, and coming on the English cavalry by surprise, he, in the twinkling of an eye, put the whole into confusion, and defeated it before it had time to form!

VERSE.

The Muharaj at Lucan flew,
As swoops a Falcon on its prey,
His water-tempered blade he drew,
And streams of gushing blood found way.
The broken host took fright and flight,
Death was among them freely dealt,
Sepoys and soldiers, black and white,
The sword's keen edge in plenty felt.
A raging Lion, Juswunt Rao,
Came upon Lucan, (1) brave and bold,
And striking at his neck one blow
His head upon the green sward roll'd.

Khetree and of Bulumgurh, and Fyztulub Khan, with about five hundred of the Buhraech horse. The rest of these last fled with their leader.

(1) This account of the death of Lucan, though more poetical, and reminding one of the battles of Roostum and Asfendiar, is not consistent with the fact. Lucan was wounded and made prisoner, and died afterwards of his wounds at Kotah.



The army saw their leader's fate,
And forthwith in confusion turn'd,—
Such the reward of those, whose hate
Like Lucan's against Holkur burn'd.

In short, after Muharaj Holkur had defeated and slain Lucan, and cut off his head, inflicting slaughter on his host (Afzul Khan, the Kota General, being amongst the killed, and Fyztulub Khan of Buhraech, wounded and taken prisoner,) a number of people, who for safety ran from the sea of strife to the banks of the river for escape, found the boat of life unable to stem the whirlpools and dangers of the stream, and were drowned; while others, standing firm on the hard ground of courageous fight, careless of life, had their honor saved by the water-temper of the Victor's swords. Muharaj Holkur obtained immense booty, and many trophies of guns, standards, musquets, and rockets. With these, he freshly supplied his army, and pursued the enemy to the Mukundura pass.

When Monson heard of the defeat and death of Lucan, coiling like a snake about itself in despair, he thought it no longer safe to remain where he was, but marched to Kotah, and asked Zalim Singh ⁽¹⁾ for protection, within the walls of that city. The Raj-Rana, though friendly to outward appearance, and with his regard for the English always on his tongue, avoided complying with this request; but desired Monson to encamp outside of the city, under its walls, promising assistance in case of necessity. Colonel Monson saw no help, but to adopt this plan. Zalim Singh, however, who was a cunning man, reflected that it

(1) راجراننا ظالم سندھ

218 RETREAT CONTINUED—GUNS ABANDONED.

would be a great point for him to get the war removed from his own territory. Accordingly, having held the Mukundura Ghat for one or two days, while Monson made good his passage across the Chumbul, (1) and, while Holkur also remained at the foot of the Ghat waiting for his artillery and brigades, he suddenly withdrew his troops, and allowed the Mahratta army free passage.

The Colonel had marched to the Chumbul, and the Ghat was still guarded, when a singular circumstance occurred at the river; for, while the artillery of the English army was crossing, about forty or fifty Suwars of the party with Gholamee Khan, the Ameer's Vakeel, who was at Kotah in treaty for the contribution demanded by Holkur from the Raj-Rana, and to see to its realization, happened to be wandering to the banks of the Chumbul. The English, in the excess of their panic, not knowing friend from foe, and finding the way very difficult, abandoned all the guns, (2) near thirty-five pieces, at the first sight of these troopers, thinking it impossible to carry them farther in the face of the enemy, and deeming themselves fortunate in escaping with life. Gholamee Khan's Suwars accordingly carried off the whole of the guns.

Muharaj Holkur passed the Mukundura Ghat immediately after Colonel Monson had crossed the Chumbul, and took up the pursuit of the English, urging their rear

جنیل (1)

(2) The fact is, that the guns were abandoned from the impossibility of getting them along the deep roads and ravines in the height of the rainy season. They were spiked and rendered unserviceable, and in this state must have been found by Holkur's parties, who freely scoured the whole country round. The guns were abandoned on the first march from Kotah on the 15th July, 1804.



and flanks with his best horse. Colonel Monson⁽¹⁾ carried his battalions in squares as far as Bugwuntgurb, and was on the point of crossing the Bunas there, when Holkur's army came upon him. Being compelled to fight in order to make good his passage of the river, the Colonel opened his remaining artillery upon Holkur's troops. The Muharaj having no guns with him, sent Bukhshee Bhowanee Sunkur across the river by another ford, and he finding a Ghat of near approach, attacked the troops, who were already passed, amounting to about half of Colonel Monson's army: on learning which, the Colonel abandoning the guns with which he held the Muharaj in check, made the best of his way across the river, and after effecting the passage with extreme difficulty and great loss, continued his flight. The Muharaj having secured these guns also, urged the pursuit with vigor, surrounding the Colonel's army on all sides. But as the English battalions were all thoroughly disciplined, no sooner did Muharaj Holkur's troops approach them,

(1) Colonel Monson retired first to Rampoor, and in this part of his march was not much molested by Holkur's army. He was, however, detained five days, from the 17th to the 22d July, by a little stream, the Chumbelee, which was swollen by the rains, so as to be unfordable. The retreating army reached Rampoor on the 29th July, where it was met by a brigade sent by Lord Lake, with four light guns, two howitzers, and some supplies. Doubting the sufficiency of the supplies, Colonel Monson determined on resuming his retreat, and on leaving a garrison in Rampoor. On the morning of the 22d August he reached the Bunas, and found it impassable. Next day, Holkur's army took up a position round him. By the 24th, the river had fallen so as to be passable with difficulty, some of the army was accordingly crossed over. Major Sinclair, with the 2d battalion 2d regiment, was left to cover the passage, and being attacked by the whole force of Holkur's infantry and artillery, this battalion was cut to pieces. Colonel Monson arrived on the 25th August, at Khooshalgurb, having sacrificed most of his baggage in the passage of the river. Here was a brigade of Sindhees's, which by treaty was to co-operate with the British army, but it had endeavoured to expel the British garrison, and was now at declared enmity. The army after this scarcely maintained its organization, but the Sepoys of each corps marching in bodies, made good their route to Agra, which the first parties reached on the 31st August.

than they formed square, and opened upon them with musquetry, and so continued their march. In this manner, broken and dispirited, and suffering all manner of hardships, they arrived at Khooshalgurh, ⁽¹⁾ by Toradoongur. ⁽²⁾ There they halted in a state approaching to absolute despair, and endeavored to refresh their broken spirits; but the Muharaj arriving, surrounded the place, and for want of supplies, they were compelled to abandon it, and continue their flight to Hindoun, ⁽³⁾ leaving their last gun a trophy to the enemy. The Muharaj, who still pressed on their rear, being provoked at their obstinacy and valor, made here a final attack; but they still formed square, and opposed to him a fire of musquetry,—so much so, that one hundred or two hundred of Holkur's men were killed, and many wounded, in the attacks made. Amongst others, slain on this occasion, was Maghun Singh, ⁽⁴⁾ a Colonel in Holkur's service. Nevertheless, the Muharaj, by his extreme activity and indefatigable exertions in the pursuit, slew an immense number of the enemy, until at last relaxing his efforts against them, he retired to Muthra, while a poor remnant of the English army made good its retreat to Agra. Here it was, that the Muharaj having won over Gholamee Khan, the Ameer's Vakeel, by conferring on him the title of Nuwab and other favors, sent him with a force of ten or twelve thousand horse into the Koel district, remaining himself at Muthra, in consequence of sickness. He was soon after joined by his infantry and artillery, who had been left behind under command of Hurnath Chela. By the

(1) خوشحال گدھ (2) تودہ دونگر- (3) ہندون
 (4) ماگھن سنگھ کرنیل



Muharaj's order, they advanced by Alwur on the Dehli road.

The above events happened in the year of the Hejira 1220. (1)

(1) The Hejira year 1220 commenced on the 1st April, 1805, and closed on the 20th March, 1806. In this instance also the Author is a year in advance, for all the events related occurred in the Hejira year 1219, which commenced on the 12th April, 1804.



BOOK THE FIFTH.

CHAPTER IV.

A. D. 1804.

August to December.

Lord Lake marches from Cawnpoor against Muharaj Holkur—arrives at Muthra by the Agra road—marches thence towards Dehlee to attack Holkur's infantry—Pursues Holkur thither, who suddenly moves against Futtehgurh, and is there defeated by General Lake—returns to Deeg in the Bhurtpoor territory, whither Hurnath Chela had marched with the infantry from Dehlee, defeat of the latter by General Frazer, retires within the walls of the place—General Lake pursues Holkur to Deeg—defeats him there, he retires to Bhurtpoor.

WHEN General Lake heard of Muharaj Holkur's arrival at Muthra, he put himself again in motion with all his veteran battalions and artillery, and came in a few days to Agra. Gholamee Khan, with his detachment, retired from the Koel⁽¹⁾ district in terror at his name, and rejoined



the Muharaj at Muthra. General Lake collecting what stores and supplies he could at Agra, marched without a halt to Muthra—as he approached, Muharaj Holkur, not deeming it prudent to abide attack there, came out of Muthra about two or three kos. Holkur's infantry were at this time besieging Dehlee, where General Ochterlony had shut himself up and was hard pressed, having but a very inconsiderable force. General Lake was induced, by the desire to relieve him quickly, to avoid ⁽¹⁾ an encounter with Muharaj Holkur, and marched for Dehlee against the brigades which had laid siege to it. The Muharaj seeing the General's purpose, wrote to order Hurnath Cuela to break up from before the place, and retire into Alwur, and he deputed Bhao Bhaskur, a most skilful negociator, and without equal in intrigue, to conclude a treaty with the Raja of Bhurtpoor, on terms of mutual assistance and protection. Having made these arrangements, the Muharaj followed the army of General Lake, and hung upon its march. All the way to Dehlee, he so surrounded and distressed the General and his troops, that the English for vexation, gnawed the backs of their hands, and had the finger of consternation constantly between their teeth, and although the Muharaj had three horses killed under him by the fire of their artillery, yet, by the blessing of God, he escaped without hurt. The General too was always planning night attacks, but gained nothing by them; while every day on the march, Holkur's troops, on both flanks, hung upon the line, and, watching their opportunity, sometimes opened like a falcon the wing of adventurous attack, and fell upon

(1) The avoidance of action was entirely on the side of Holkur: there was nothing Lord Lake more desired, than to bring the Mahratta army to battle, but Holkur had sent off his infantry and artillery to avoid being compelled to fight against his will.



224 MARCHES TO THE RELIEF OF DEHLEE.

the British column, tearing the livers of the quails and partridges of Europeans with the talons of their swords: sometimes again like a lion with roaring rage, they charged the sheepfolds, and scattered the herds.

General Lake every night sent out parties to beat up the quarters of the army which so hung upon him, but this experienced juggler in the legerdmain of war, and thorough master of the stratagems and secrets of the art, never passed the night in one spot. Like quicksilver or like a ruby in fire, he was here and there, and every where, but still not to be found. During the day, the English army forming square in close order, and with great caution made their march, but this Lion of bravery, by a sudden charge, would occasionally break through their line and make a slaughter amongst the ranks. Sometimes, again, with the speed of an arrow from a strong bow, crossing from one flank to the other, he would fall on a column where he was least expected, and thus did infinite damage. All the while the English guns poured grape like the rain of the day of judgment, till for terror the earth itself trembled. This glorious Chief, however, took no account of it whatever, but continued holding the army of the enemy, begirt like a jewel seal in its metal setting, while the reputation he gained gave a splendour to his achievements. This pursuit reduced the General's army to such straights for supplies, that the bird of sense left its nest in their brain.

VERSES.

Round Lake the gallant Holkur hung,
Close on his steps the warriors clung—
Now breaking in upon the rear,
And dealing death with point of spear—



Now stemming the advancing column,
Which wave-like moved in massy volume,
Now 'tis the right his troopers threaten,
While from the left the ruin's let in.
Harassed on all sides, hope was flown,
Shivered like glass against a stone.
Vainly they practised stratagem,
Too deep was Juswunt Rao for them—
But onward marched in iron square,
Sullen and sunk in deep despair.
From Muthra, thus, to Dehlee, all the way
Lake's army was by Holkur held at bay.

In short, Holkur having hovered about General Lake's army⁽¹⁾ in this manner, until it reached the neighbourhood of Dehlee, and having ordered Hurnath Chela with the brigades and battalions, and with the artillery, to return by the route of Alwur, as stated, wrote to the Chela to remain at Deeg, in the Bhurtpoor territory, and himself, with the forty or fifty thousand cavalry he had with him, marched suddenly to plunder the districts in the possession of the English to the east of Dehlee. He took the route of Bagput and Surdhuna⁽²⁾ (crossing the Jumna near Kurnal,) to Shamlee,⁽³⁾ where were two battalions of English,⁽⁴⁾ who applied for permission to retire into

(1) The above poetical description of the distress of General Lake's army is a pure flight of the imagination. Holkur's light troops hovered about all day, and encamped always out of reach at night. General Lake marched on uninterruptedly, having the relief of Dehlee for his object, and, except that his bazar was not over well provided, and every thing was at a high price, he was very little further inconvenienced.

(2) *باگپٹ و سرڈھنہ* (3) *شاملی*

(4) This was the 1st Battalion 14th Native Infantry and a Local Battalion, the whole commanded by Colonel Burn, who was surrounded for two days, and then relieved by Lord Lake, who crossed into the Doab at Bagput. The story of the refusal of the Shamlee Chief to admit the battalions is not true;—the town was too large to be defended by so small a force, and the fort was occupied by Colonel Burn by preference. He was relieved by Lord Lake on the 3d November, 1804.

the fort, but the Shamlee Chief was friendly at heart to Holkur, and refused to admit them. They took post, however, in a small ruinous fort close by, and made good their stand against the Muharaj, who calling off his troops, marched away with such speed, that in three ⁽¹⁾ days he arrived at Furukhabad, ⁽²⁾ and encamped on the river side, near the cantonment of Futeh-gurh, ⁽³⁾ which is close by the city. The public officers and functionaries of the civil station got immediately into boats and crossed the river, by which means they escaped. ⁽⁴⁾ Making one halt there, Muharaj Holkur designed a march forthwith upon Cawnpoor, but at the special invitation of Nasir Jung, ⁽⁵⁾ the Nuwab of Furukhabad, who played into the hands of the English, and sent his Chela Sirmust Khan ⁽⁶⁾ to urge a further stay, the Muharaj was induced to spend the whole day till midnight in natching, feasting, and drinking, so that his head became intoxicated with the wine of carelessness and neglect. While he was thus employed, General Lake, having at Dehlee divided his army, and detached one division, strong in infantry and artillery, and with some Hindoostanee horse, under General Fraser, to attack the brigades under Harnath at Deeg, himself, with the best of his cavalry regiments and Rusalas, and three or four tried battalions, lightly equipped, followed Juswunt

(1) This is not true, the march was made by Holkur very leisurely, he was content to keep about thirty miles ahead of General Lake.

(3) فتحگڑھ

(2) فرخ آباد

(4) This is not quite true : all the Civil Officers remained in the fort, which with the old cantonment was preserved. The cavalry lines and new cantonment, which were beyond the ravines, and therefore without the line of defence taken up by the troops at Futehgurh, were burned by Holkur.

(6) سرمست خان چیلہ

(5) نواب ناصر جنگ



Rao Holkur. And, because the Sepahees were unable to keep up with the cavalry, he gave each man at first five rupees, then a Gold Mohur, and at last five Gold Mohurs a piece, ⁽¹⁾ to encourage them. Thus, with extreme expedition, he arrived at about seven or eight kos from Futehghabad. Several village and Zumeendaree hurkaras came from good will to the Muharaj, and brought information of General Lake's approach; but as the Nuwab, to serve the English, though himself aware of the certainty of the fact, reported through his vakeels that the intelligence must be false, and the Muharaj was confirmed in his disbelief of it by an official report he had received, that General Lake was on the preceding day forty ⁽²⁾ kos off, he remained confident in his security, and took no precautions against surprise, but went to sleep as if no danger was near. Afterwards, in the course of the night, intelligence came by the dawk, that the General was only four kos off, but the servants would not awaken the Muharaj, taking on themselves to decide that the report was not true. Pending all this, at about midnight, General Lake came down upon Holkur's position ⁽³⁾ with two thousand cavalry, some Sepoy infantry and horse artillery. By some accident, a tumbril blew up just before the onset, and the report awakened the Muharaj to a sense of his danger, so that he was on horseback when the enemy came; and there were a few more, who

(1) This has no foundation in fact: there were with Lord Lake the 12th Native Infantry, the 21st Native Infantry, and two Flank Companies of His Majesty's 17th Foot. They formed a reserve, but did not reach Futehghurh till the second day after Lord Lake.

(2) At Khasganj, from which place to Futehghurh, Lord Lake made a march of sixty miles in one day, halting a few hours only for refreshment in the middle of the day. Futehghurh was relieved on the 17th November, 1804.

(3) It was just at day break that Lord Lake came upon Holkur's camp. The Tumbril burst as the morning gun of Futehghurh fired.



228 HURNATH CHELA TAKES POSITION AT DEEG.

had armed and prepared for action, and these collected about the Muharaj. But before the rest were well mounted, the General was upon them with his cavalry and horse artillery, and the bulk of Holkur's troops who were unprepared, and employed in saddling and arming, and making ready, suffered much from the fire of the guns—and, in short, the army was totally defeated with great slaughter.

In the mean time, Hurnath Chela, with his nine regiments of infantry, the Alee-Gholes, and twenty-five thousand horse, retired to Deeg, ⁽¹⁾ and encamped by the side of a jheel there. Generals Fraser and Brown, who with six battalions of Native infantry, a regiment of Dragoons, and another of European infantry, added to some Hindoostanee horse, had been detached on this service from Dehlee, marched with all speed to Govurdhun, ⁽²⁾ which is five kos from Deeg, and encamped there: marching again in the night with secrecy and speed, the division came to within two kos of the Muharaj's brigades, and as a jheel intervened between them and Hurnath's army, and the fort of Deeg was to the right, the English General leaving his baggage and reserve there, moved by the left to the attack. Hurnath had mounted some heavy guns upon the Shah-Boorj of Deeg, ⁽³⁾ and his army was drawn up on the ground between the acclivity on which the fort stands, and a village.

The fire of the guns on the Shah Boorj did infinite damage to the baggage and reserve, and to the

گوردھن ⁽²⁾

دیگ ⁽¹⁾

⁽³⁾ The battle of Deeg was fought on the 13th November, 1804. This account of it is not very correct, but it is to be recollected the Ameer was not present. The British attack was made by turning a jheel, or



English mainbody while turning the lake. In the attacks also, when made, General Fraser was wounded, and the troops were several times beaten back. But as the English are not wanting in cunning upon occasion, the General seeing the confusion created in his camp and reserve, which was such that the people there were on the point of taking flight ⁽¹⁾ to save themselves, bethought him to send notice by hurkaras, that General Lake was close by with succour, and had cut off the enemy's retreat, that as the battle was therefore just gained, no one should move or show alarm. On hearing this news, the reserve, recovering confidence in place of their despondence, made an attack on the brigades. Meerza Ushruf Beg, ⁽²⁾ the Darogha of Holkur's artillery, being in league with the English, had drawn up the ranks of infantry improperly; Bapoo Sindheea also and Tanteea Sindheea were not warm in the cause, and hence, the Muharaj's brigades were defeated, and the Furingee army took many guns, and encamped on the field of battle.

Hurnath Chela upon this retired with a few of his horse, and the remains of his infantry and artillery, into Deeg, receiving protection within its walls, whence every

morass, between which, and a large deep tank, the enemy were posted, with the fort of Deeg in their rear. General Fraser advanced in two lines, H. M. 76th Foot leading. They first drove the enemy out of a village in front, then captured his first line of guns, and advanced immediately on the second line, which was also captured, but in this attack General Fraser received his wound, and Colonel Monson completed the victory. The British loss was six hundred and forty-three killed and wounded, including twenty-two officers: but eighty-seven pieces of ordnance were taken, and amongst them fourteen that had been abandoned in the retreat from Kotah.

(1) Nothing of this kind occurred.

(2) This accusation of treachery is quite gratuitous, as is evidenced by the returns of killed and wounded on the British side.



day parties issued to skirmish and harass the English. General Fraser's wound proved mortal, ⁽¹⁾ he retired with his army to a distance of about five kos from Deeg on the Muthra road, and died there. Hurnath Chela then came out of Deeg with a force of near twenty-five thousand horse, and surrounding the English army, reduced it to such straits, that the men began to despair of life, and their courage and firmness were fast failing, when most opportunely for them, General Lake wrote from Furukhabad, announcing his victory over Holkur, and the letter was brought safely by the English dawk hurkarus; whereupon they fired a royal salute for the victory, and, in the course of the same night, this news was confirmed to Hurnath by a letter from the Muharaj himself. Giving up, therefore, his plan of surrounding and harassing the English army, Hurnath returned to Deeg at midnight, where the Muharaj himself joined him with the remnant of the army he had carried into the Doab.

General Lake following the Muharaj came to Muthra, where he soon restored to order and confidence the army of General Fraser. In three or four days, he marched with it for Deeg, ⁽²⁾ and immediately, upon arrival, attacked the Shah-Boorj, where the heavy guns of the Muharaj were captured. The Muharaj, who was at this time within the walls of the place, withdrew his forces, and the General thereupon breached the walls of the fort with the guns he had taken, and so established his garrison in Deeg. The Muharaj having for two or three

⁽¹⁾ He lost his leg, and died after amputation.

⁽²⁾ This account of the capture of Deeg is not very correct. The place was besieged in form, and the Shah-Boorj breached and stormed, whereupon the fort was evacuated, twenty-eight of Holkur's guns were in trenches under the Shah-Boorj, and so fell into the hands of the British. The citadel was occupied on Christmas Day, A. D. 1804.

**HOLKUR RETIRES TOWARDS BHURTPOOR. 231**

days harrassed the General's army, retired to Komher. Ushruf Beg Khan deserted from him at this time, and went over to the General.

These events happened in the Hejira year 1220. ⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ A. D. 1805—1st April, to 20th March, 1806. This date is, therefore, one year in advance like the preceding.—See pages 197 and 221.



BOOK THE SIXTH.

MAHRATTA WAR WITH THE ENGLISH—SECOND PART
—FROM THE SIEGE OF BHURTPOOR TO THE PEACE
WITH JUSWUNT RAO HOLKUR.

CHAPTER I.

A. D. 1805.

January and February.

Muharaj Holkar retires on Bhurtpoor, which place is besieged by General Lake—The Muharaj sends for the Ameer from Bhilsa—His departure thence, and arrival at Bhurtpoor—General Lake's first storm before the Ameer reaches the place—its failure—The Ameer joins Holkur—Difficulties of the English in the siege—The Ameer engages in two affairs against convoys—Expedition proposed to him into the British possessions—Undertakes it.

BHAO BHASKUR, Juswunt Rao Holkur's Vakeel to the Bhurtpoor Raja, had by his arts and intrigues completely won over Runjeet Singh, the Raja, to the Holkur interest, and there was a firm friendship established between the Chiefs: accordingly the Muharaj retired on Bhurtpoor, and encamped his brigades, and the Uleeghols with



Bapoo Sindheea, and Tanteea Sindheea's troops, making altogether four or five battalions, and four thousand horse, under the city wall to the west near the Anar⁽¹⁾ and Komher Gates, ⁽²⁾ while himself with a large body of independent horse, in number near forty thousand, took up ground from Kudum-Khundee⁽³⁾ to the Muthra and Atulbund Gates, ⁽⁴⁾ that is, to the north-east of the city. General Lake having taken Deeg, brought his army, ⁽⁵⁾ consisting of twenty-four battalions, a strong artillery, and fifteen or twenty thousand cavalry, as well regular as Hindoostanee, (including Mohummud Khan's and other Rusalas, that had gone over from Holkur,) to within two kos of Bhurtpoor, on the western face, that is, in front of the Anar and Komher Gates. The Raja sent to make humble excuses, representing to General Lake, that he was now the master of all Hindoostan, and would lose nothing in reputation by passing over his fortress, but on the contrary would gain credit by dealing liberally with him. General Lake, however, would not hear of such a thing as forgiveness.

The Ameer was at this time in Malwa, besieging Bhilsa, ⁽⁶⁾ the Muharaj wrote him word of his defeats at Furukhabad and Deeg, and intreated, nay conjured him, to come to his aid. If, he wrote, the Ameer deserted him in his present need, or kept aloof from the contest, it was up with him entirely. The Ameer, though much

(¹) انار دروازہ (²) کومہیر دروازہ (³) کدوم کھندی

(⁴) ایل بند دروازہ

(⁵) The half of these numbers is the utmost that Lord Lake ever had at one time before Bhurtpoor.

(⁶) بھیلہ



grieving to hear of the bad state of the Muharaj's affairs, still, looking at the folly of his conduct, and in particular at his having enticed over the Ameer's Vakeel, Gholamee Khan, and held him out as the Commander in Chief of the Ameer's troops, with the evident design of secretly undermining the authority and breaking the power of his old associate in arms, was unwilling to join the Muharaj. As the siege of Bhilsa drew to an unexpected length, and sickness fell on the Ameer and his army, he felt great trouble and distress of mind—so much so, that he made an offering to the service of God of all his property, including his tents, Toshuk-khana, and every thing he had. The bounty of Providence was, in consequence, manifested in his behalf, and Bhilsa was taken, yielding an immense booty. Fyzoollah Khan Bungush, a Rusaladar in the Ameer's service, took at first a lease of the place for eighteen lakhs of rupees, but after paying four or five, resigned the engagement from inability to pay more. Then Yoosuf Khan, the Amil of Seronj, who was with the Ameer, offered thirteen lakhs, and took the lease of Bhilsa at that rate. The Ameer gave his troops assignments on the revenues of it to the amount of forty or fifty lakhs, and then marched with his army to Gunj Basouda.⁽¹⁾ As, by reason of the two months' siege of Bhilsa, there were heavy arrears due to the troops, and the Ameer had no money for a journey to Bhurtpoor, he bethought him of the means of raising funds for his immediate wants. Accordingly, he left the bulk of his army to provide themselves, and follow as they might, and himself with only three hundred horse, moved on Deeree Koorchhamur⁽²⁾ between Sagur and Jubulpoor, distant from Gunj-Basouda about forty kos. The Ameer was

(1) گنج باسودہ (2) دیوری کورچہامر ماہین ساگرو جبل پور



LEVIES CONTRIBUTIONS EAST OF SAGUR. 235

still so unwell as to be obliged to travel in a palkee; but he reached the place in two days, and told the Raja that he came on behalf of the Ameer to demand a contribution. The Raja seeing his small numbers, would come to no terms the first day, but on the following, when other detachments of the Ameer's army began to show themselves, he came to an audience with the Ameer, and agreed to pay one hundred and fifty thousand rupees. Bunaek Rao, ⁽¹⁾ the manager of Sagur, compounded for three lakhs. Murdun Singh, of Mundela, ⁽²⁾ with other Rajas of that neighbourhood, paid also contributions, and all united in advising the Ameer to penetrate by the Rewa Ghats into Mirzapoor and Bunarus, and they promised each a party, with themselves for guides, for the service.

General Lake seeing the mischief the Ameer had done in Bundelkhund, and the detachments and battalions he had cut off, made several offers through Major Ahmuty, ⁽³⁾ the Civil Officer of Bundelkhund, tendering thirteen lakhs of rupees, beyond what General Wellesley had offered, as a Jageer, or Jaedad, for his quiet settlement under British engagements. But the Ameer's ambition was then high, and he refused every overture of the kind, and sent back for answer that the conquest of the whole of Hindoostan was his aim and object, and he could not

(¹) بنایک را اورا جہ ساگر

(¹) Bunaek Rao was manager for Rukhma Baee, widow of the former Chief of Sagur.

(²) مردن سنگہ را جہ گدہ مند لہ

(³) Captain, afterwards Colonel J. Baillie, was the Political Agent in Bundelkhund, and Major Ahmuty had no official charge that could make it probable, he should be the medium for such an offer. The whole story has the appearance of romance and gasconade.



bring himself to accept of any terms as the price of his forbearance from the pursuit.

Pending these events, frequent letters came from Muharaj Holkur, full of supplications and excuses, and urging the Ameer's immediately joining him, with such aid as he could bring. Seeing how matters stood, and being unable to resist his importunity longer, the Ameer marched with his army from Deoree Koorchhamur to Koorwae Bhourasa. ⁽¹⁾ Thence taking with him the brigade of Mohummud Shah Khan, and the troops immediately attached to himself, and ten or twelve thousand of Kadir Bukhsh and Ramzan Khan's ⁽²⁾ Pindaras, inviting also to accompany him Nagoo Punt ⁽³⁾ and Nuwab Shuhamut Khan, who were then employed by Holkur in making collections in that neighbourhood, the Ameer commenced his march by Mulhargurh and Tomyne Bichhar to Toda, ⁽⁴⁾ in Malwa, and came as far as Seepree Kolarus. ⁽⁵⁾ Ambajee Ingolia, ⁽⁶⁾ a Sirdar in Doulut Rao Sindheea's service, was there stationed: he met the Ameer with all kindness, and in the course of conversation said, that both Doulut Rao and Juswunt Rao were unfortunately very young men, whose judgments were not equal to the exigencies of the time, adding—"my honor or shame is in your hands." The Ameer desired by all means to gain this Chief to his purposes, and said—"If you will engage to make no terms with Doulut Rao Sindheea without my knowledge, and through other channels,

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- | | |
|---------------------|-------------------------|
| (1) کورواٹی بھوراسہ | (1) قادر بخش ورمضان خان |
| (2) ناگو پنمہ | (2) تومین بچھار ٹودہ |
| (3) سمپری کولارس | (3) انبا جی انگلیہ |



I am then ready to engage myself in your service." Ambajee was much encouraged by this declaration of the Ameer, and regular conditions, stipulating friendship and mutual assistance, were committed to writing: after which Ambajee proposed, that the Ameer should leave Mohummud Shah Khan with the reserve and baggage of the army, and his own family, at Kolarus, where he engaged for their being taken good care of. He promised also, in case of need, to furnish from two to four thousand horse in aid of the Ameer.

Being induced to confide in Ambajee, the Ameer left Mohummud Shah Khan and his family, as proposed, with him, having first conferred the title of Nuwab Mokhtarood-Doula⁽¹⁾ on this officer. Then, marching by the pass of Narwar,⁽²⁾ without a halt, the Ameer came to the neighbourhood of Gwalior, whence four battalions of the English, who were encamped in the neighbourhood, moved back in alarm, and with all haste on Koonch. The Ameer staid two or three days about Gwalior, levying contributions, in the course of which, he learned that General Jones, with the Unta-Goorgoor⁽³⁾ (Bombay,) army, had advanced from Buroda⁽⁴⁾ in Gujrāt to Malwa,

(¹) نواب مختار الدوله (²) گھاٹہ مرور (³) اناگرگر

(³) Unta-Goorgoor is a nickname, or term of reproach, applied by the Natives of Hindoostan to the Natives of the Malabar Coast. When General Jones' army joined that of Lord Lake, the use of this term in the camp of the latter, gave great offence to the Bombay Sepoys, and was on the point of leading to serious quarrels; whereupon it was prohibited by beat of drum, under His Lordship's orders. The Ameer invariably designates the Bombay troops by the term, which appears to have its origin in mockery of their pronunciation or style of speech. The European reader will not be ignorant, that the armies of the three Presidencies have all familiar nicknames amongst the English likewise. The Koe Hys, the Muls, or Muleekitanees, and the Ducks.

(⁴) براودہ

238 ZALIM SINGH GIVES REFUGE TO THE AMEER'S FAMILY.

and had written to Ambajee, that as peace existed between his master Doulut Rao and the English, his giving refuge and protection to the family and baggage of the Ameer was highly improper; that he expected, therefore, the troops would be immediately dismissed, or he should be compelled to bring the English army against him. General Lake wrote to the same effect to Ambajee,—whereupon he dismissed Mookhtar-ood-Doula's brigade in a hurry. The Ameer being then well on his way to Bhurtpoor, the new Nuwab was at a loss how to act. Raja Doorjun Sal Kheechee, however, who was with Ambajee, restored Mookhtar-ood-Doula to some confidence, and conducted him to Sadhoura, ⁽¹⁾ in Malwa. The Raj-Rana Zalim Singh, of Kotah, who was a man ever on the watch, consulted with his advisers, and observed to them, that he should gain the Ameer for life by receiving his family in their distress, into some place belonging to Kotah. The Raj-Rana's counsellors approved the scheme, and he sent thereupon an Afghan, named Mohummud Noor Khan, ⁽²⁾ a man of skill and intelligence, to invite the Ameer's family. The Afghan went to Mookhtar-ood-Doula and explained on the part of the Raj-Rana, that although he dared not, under existing circumstances, receive the brigade, and avow himself a partizan of the same side, still that the fort of Sheergurh ⁽³⁾ was open as a place of refuge for the Ameer's family. Mookhtar-ood-Doula and the other faithful adherents of the Ameer approved the scheme, and eagerly seized the offer. Accordingly, the fort of Sheergurh was occupied by the Ameer's family, who were hastily sent off thither for the purpose. Mookhtar-ood-Doula continued making col-

(¹) सादहورة (²) نورمحمد خان (³) شیرگڑھ

lections in the neighbourhood where he was, and by his courage and exertions maintained and kept together his force. For some time also he took service with Sindheea, and disciplined other brigades for that Chief.

Meanwhile, the Ameer proceeding on from Gwalior, crossed the Chumbul at Dholpoor⁽¹⁾ Baree. Here he was met by Mohummud Khan Afreedee⁽²⁾ and others, charged with offers from General Lake, to confirm all that had been promised by General Wellesley, and to treat, in short, for the Ameer's transfer of his services,⁽³⁾ in consideration of assignments in money and territory. They offered eighteen lakhs in territory, increasing upon previous overtures. The Ameer replied, "Never entertain the hope that I shall be so gained. God has given me a higher ambition, and the completion of my hopes is in his hands." Raja Runjeet Singh⁽⁴⁾ of Bhurtpoor hearing of this overture, asked of Muharaj Holkur what he thought of it, saying, that if the English should succeed in gaining the Ameer over, the result would be fatal to them. The Muharaj replied, "I look upon the Ameer as a brother, and have full confidence in him. Let not your mind be disturbed with any misgivings on the subject." After this, the Bhurtpoor Raja also was satisfied.

In the mean time, the Ameer advanced from Dholpoor to about twenty kos from Bhurtpoor. General

(2) محمد خان افریدی

(1) دھولپور

(3) There is no confirmation of this in any record, nor do the living witnesses of these events recollect any overtures of this kind, as having been made to the Ameer.

(4) راجہ رنجیت سنگھ راجہ بہرت پور



Lake hearing of his approach, determined to attempt a storm ⁽¹⁾ before his arrival, thinking that, if he joined the troops engaged in the defence of the place, success would be more difficult. Accordingly, although there was yet no practicable breach in the wall of the place, a storm ⁽²⁾ was attempted with extraordinary boldness and perseverance; but as Raja Runjeet Singh was a man of courage and well on his guard, and at the very time of the storm was watching in the defences, the assailants were driven back, and many European soldiers and sepoy were slain in and about the ditch. General Lake disheartened at this failure, retired to his camp. The Muharaj to make his peace with the Ameer, sent Gholamee Khan to him with a lakh of rupees, and with many excuses for the past, and intreaties for present aid: Gholamee Khan, it was added, as the Ameer's servant, might be dealt with according to his pleasure. Upon the arrival of this messenger, the Ameer distributed the money he brought among his troops, and marched forthwith to Futehpoor Seekree. ⁽³⁾ The Muharaj hearing of his arrival with a small force of only one or two thousand horse, came out to meet him there, and repeated in person the excuses, made before through others, for his past conduct. Marching then with the Ameer, both alighted at a spot distant about five kos from Bhurtpoor, and the Muharaj thence

⁽¹⁾ This motive for hurrying the storm is very gratuitously assumed, and assuredly never occurred to Lord Lake.

⁽²⁾ The first storm took place on the night of the 9th January, 1805, and was intended to be a surprise, but owing to the broken ground and to some confusion in getting over the wet ditch the columns got scattered, and the alarm was given. A party of the Flank Companies of H. M. 22d ascended the breach, however, and made a lodgment, which they held for a considerable time. But not being supported, they were finally driven out, and Colonel Maitland, who commanded the storm, being killed, the party was recalled after a very persevering attack. The heaviest loss was suffered in the retreat.

⁽³⁾ فتحپور سیکری



returned to his own camp, which was two kos from the town. The Ameer remained where he was for that day, but next morning at about 9 or 10 A. M. before his main body had joined, he moved the camp to a position, close to Bhurtpoor, leaving order that his troops, as they came up, should be sent on to the new ground. The Ameer himself, without dismounting, went on with fifteen or twenty horsemen to wait upon the Muharaj, whose camp was two kos distant. The meeting accordingly took place, and the two Sirdars having eaten together, were engaged in converse, when a heavy cloud of dust appeared over the spot where the Ameer had ordered his camp to be pitched. An hurkaru brought intelligence that twelve regiments and four battalions of the English army were marching straight for the Ameer's camp, while the rest of the enemy's army were preparing again to storm the town. (1) The Ameer mounted forthwith, and went to his camp and moved out against the enemy with such horse as were arrived. The English, however, being well disciplined, formed square, and receiving the Ameer with a fire of grape and musquetry, drove back his charge. Finding, therefore, that an open attack in a body was of no avail, the Ameer hit upon this expedient for harrassing the English army. He ordered all the horse with him to separate and surround them on all

(1) It is quite true, that as the second storm was leaving the trenches, the Ameer's troops were observed coming into their camp, and a strong party of cavalry and horse artillery were sent to keep them in play, and prevent their obstructing the storm. Lord Lake went in person with this covering party, but the enemy could not be brought to action. A distant cannonade was all that occurred. The second storm took place at 3 P. M. of the 21st January, 1805. The column went provided with portable bridges for crossing the ditch. These, however, proved too short, and there being eight feet water in the ditch at the point, it was found impossible to cross. After suffering much, therefore, while waiting at the edge of the glacis, the column was recalled.



sides, and to fall upon the enemy each as opportunity might offer. The Ameer's men acting on this principle, and being inspired with fresh courage, separated into small parties, and commenced attacks from all sides, whereby they greatly harrassed the English columns. Meanwhile, further troops of the Ameer's army came up and joined in the action, and such a series of successive attacks commenced, that the enemy lost the advantage of his discipline and square formation. (1) The Muharaj also had mounted, and the Ameer, seeing him coming to his assistance, was well pleased, and sent to say, that if he would make a movement on the English rear, so as to draw their attention to that quarter, the business would soon be settled, as a lamp expires when the oil is expended. The Muharaj, however, was envious, and thought that if he were to give aid in this manner, and the Ameer were in consequence to succeed against the enemy, the entire credit would be his. He accordingly kept aloof, and did not mix at all in the action.

While this was passing, General Lake had ordered another storm, and after repeated attempts to scale the walls, had been beaten back and returned to his camp. The English regiments and battalions, who were engaged with the Ameer, seeing this, returned likewise to their camp in great confusion, being followed part of the way by the Ameer's troops.

Two or three days after this, Raja Runjeet Singh sent for the Ameer, and received him with all honor, saying,

(1) The close formation of the cavalry regiments, with their artillery, were the object of the Ameer's respect on this occasion, for there was no infantry. General Lake returned with the covering party into camp after the storm had failed.



that he relied on the Ameer's courage and skill to carry him through the siege, so that he might acquire for himself a name and reputation. The Ameer replied, "Man may be daring, but God must aid the cause. Please God! my horse shall be spurred once home to the charge in the battle-field of courage, and my spear shall mix with their bayonets, and from a fight with musquetry and cannon it shall be brought to a trial with sword and dagger, and be the victory then to those, to whom the Great God of Battles may assign it: but for the present wants of my troops I require ten lakhs of rupees." The Raja agreed to advance this sum, and a settlement was made to the effect. A few days afterwards, news arrived that a convoy⁽¹⁾ of provisions was on its way from Muthra, and had reached to about five or six kos from Bhurtpoor. Raja Runjeet Singh hearing of it, sent word to the Ameer that now was the time to put his professions to the test, for that the convoy must not reach the English camp. The Ameer immediately started, with such troops as were at hand, towards the point where the convoy was approaching, and although Jumsheed Khan, Mohummud Saeed Khan,⁽²⁾ Suroor Khan,⁽³⁾ and other Rusaladars were then on camp-duty about two kos off, the Ameer would

(1) A Regiment of Native Cavalry, the 1st, and one Battalion of Infantry, the 15th Native Infantry, were sent from Lord Lake's camp, on the day after the second storm, under command of Captain Walsh, to bring up a convoy of twelve thousand bullocks coming to the besieging army. They were beset by Ameer Khan on the 23d January, and took post in a village at day break. The Ameer captured two guns, and got possession of part of the village, but at about eight in the morning, Colonel Reed arrived with a Regiment of Dragoons, and another of Native Cavalry, and on seeing their dust the troops in the village sallied out, recovered their own guns, and captured four of the Ameer's besides. The Ameer is said by Major Thorn to have escaped on foot, and in disguise.

(3) سورو خان

(2) جمشید خان محمد سعید خان



not wait for their joining, but went with all haste to meet the escort which was bringing up supplies for the English army. Making repeated charges, he put hors-de-combat many Sepoys of the battalions on this duty—many of them fell victims to the swords and spears of the Ameer's men, and the guns of the convoy, with a great part of the stores and supplies, fell into his power, and were plundered. Two or three companies of Sepoys who were separated from the rest, took refuge in a village about a kos distant from the English camp. Bapoo Sindheea hearing of it, brought up some artillery and battalions, with some of his horse, to attack the village, and a fire was opened upon it. The Ameer hearing the guns, called out "What artillery is that?" and was told, it was Bapoo Sindheea's artillery, firing at the Sepoys of the escort⁽¹⁾ in the village. The Ameer upon this frowned in rage, and called out, "Such folly as this of Bapoo Sindheea's, no fool in the world ever committed before. Here is the English army close by: on hearing the report of these guns, they will be sending succour immediately, and we shall then be in a pretty plight." While the Ameer was still speaking, the head of a column of European troops made its appearance, and the Ameer sent word to Bapoo Sindheea, to see now the fruits of his act. Soon after, a force with guns approached, and the Sepoys in the village seeing themselves thus strongly supported, acquired fresh courage, and opened on Bapoo Sindheea's troops with musquetry out of the village, aided by the fresh troops which had arrived with artillery.

(1) This part of the story is not consistent with the fact that the escort itself had guns, which were captured by the Ameer, after many rounds. The report of them could be heard just as well in Lord Lake's camp as that of Bapoo Sindheea's guns.



Thus the English not only recovered the guns that the Ameer had captured, but took also those brought up by Bapoo Sindheea; and his troops, as well as those of the Ameer, who were acting with them, were compelled to make a precipitate retreat. The party about the Ameer's person, according to the proverb, one melon acquires flavor from another, seeing the Bapoo's troops in flight, turned their backs also on the enemy, without coming at all to close quarters. The Ameer himself, with two or three troopers, was standing watching the battle, and desired at this time to charge. One of his companions, however, when he gave the word, said, "Look before and behind you! where are the troopers to make the charge?" The Ameer seeing how matters stood, and recollecting the words of the Poet,

There needs an army for a war,
What can be done by one Suwar?

turned himself, also, in the direction the flying troops had taken, and with blows of his cane attempted to rally and bring round the fugitives, but it was all in vain. Hereupon the Ameer made for his standard elephant, and, with two hundred horse who were about it, turned against the English batteries, and having checked them by his charge, retired himself to camp.

Raja Runjeet Singh who had been watching and saw the whole, and was witness therefore to the bravery and good conduct of the Ameer, and to the manner in which Bapoo Sindheea had interfered to ruin and spoil every thing, sent for the Ameer, and spoke encouragingly to him, and said, he had now seen verified what he had before heard of his bravery—but that Bapoo Sindheea's ill-advised conduct



had been the cause of failure, and he kindly added, "But my friend is safe, and his friendship remains." A few days after this, Raja Runjeet Singh and Muharaj Holkur sent again for the Ameer, and said that they had certain intelligence of another large convoy⁽¹⁾ being on its way to join the English army, that it was to come from Muthra in a day or two. If therefore the Ameer could succeed in cutting it off, it would be a great victory gained in the first place, and in the next must compel the English to raise the siege. On the other hand, if the convoy should arrive safe, matters would go hard with them, through the additional means the besiegers would thence obtain. The Ameer cheerfully undertook this service, and started immediately for its execution. Moving from his ground, he proceeded with his troops to a distance of about three kos from Bhurtpoor, and two from the English army on the northern road, and there sat himself down. But as the enemy were very near, he kept a most careful watch night and day, and to guard against surprise, he had parties of horse at a miles' distance always in picquet. As his own charger was constantly caparisoned and ready, he mounted when he chose, and rode skirmishing close up to the enemy's out-posts. While thus employed, a Dak Chuprasee brought him word, that a large convoy was coming from Muthra, under the escort of four battalions and two thousand horse.

(1) On the 24th January, a Regiment of Dragoons, two of Native Cavalry, and three Battalions of Infantry left Lord Lake's camp to bring up a convoy from Agra of fifty thousand bullocks. On the 29th, about midway, between Agra and Bhurtpoor, the convoy was attacked by the whole of Holkur's, Ameer Khan's, and the Raja of Bhurtpoor's Cavalry. Lord Lake, however, moved out of camp with all his remaining Cavalry, and effected a junction with the convoy. Remaining that night in bivouac, the convoy was next morning brought safe into camp without any fighting, except the occasional opening of a galloper, and one skirmish of a few men of the 8th Light Dragoons.



The Ameer immediately gave orders to his party to march along the Muthra road, while he returned nearly alone to the Muharaj, to say, that as soon as General Lake should learn, that the Ameer was off for the convoy, he would immediately move out his best troops to cover and secure it, and that would be the time for the Muharaj to fall on the General's camp, which would be ill-provided for defence—that he must, therefore, on no account, lose such an opportunity for striking a blow: and if the Muharaj thought the enterprise hazardous, and preferred going after the convoy, that he (the Ameer,) was ready to undertake the attack of the camp. The Muharaj said, "Go you after the convoy, I will not fail you here. We shall see what can be done." The Ameer accordingly mounting again, formed his men, who were on march, and in the twinkling of an eye, was upon the convoy, which had reached to about five kos from Bhurtpoor. On the Ameer's first appearance, the English battalions, who were all well trained, formed their squares, and prepared for action, and some skirmishing commenced. Before an hour had passed, however, General Lake came out with four battalions, twelve regiments of cavalry, and two thousand Hindoostanee horse, and some horse artillery, to rescue and secure his convoy. Several of the Ameer's men who had been left behind to watch, brought intelligence of this movement. The Ameer was preparing for action with reference to this expected contingency, when Holkur came into the field with all his light troops. As this was not in conformity with the plan laid down, the Ameer was much vexed at the folly, which had induced him to come. Riding up to the Muharaj in great anger, the Ameer said, "If your Highness had but stuck to the plan which was arranged between us, our wishes would



have been crowned with complete success." The Muharaj, making excuses, said, "I thought it would be better this way, but hereafter will be more careful." The day was by this time drawing to a close, and the Ameer and Muharaj accordingly bivouacked for the night. In the morning the army was drawn up in three bodies. On the right was the Ameer, with some Pindaras and Dukhunees, and his own horse. On the left, Holkur commanded, with his personal troops. Chimna Bhao, one of Holkur's principal Commanders, was thrown forward with the centre, consisting also of Pindaras and Dukhunees. The fighting lasted all day. Chimna Bhao, who had to sustain the brunt of the action at the commencement, was beaten back by the fire of musquetry and cannon, and took to flight. Holkur likewise, when he advanced to charge with the left wing, made no impression, and turned to the right about. But the Ameer, with the right wing, kept the enemy so in play with his skirmishing and irregular attacks, that he could make no advance in his march. Night closed over both armies,⁽¹⁾ and they encamped on the ground close to one another. The Ameer and the Muharaj surrounded the enemy all night. When two hours remained to morning, General Lake forming his troops into a square, and placing the convoy on the centre, began his march. The Ameer recommended a pell-mell charge, but the Muharaj taking upon himself his old authority, forbade the thing, saying, "The enemy is now cautious, and has formed square in preparation against such an attempt. The attack would be ill-timed, and a mere useless waste of courage

(1) The Ameer is in error in making this affair extend to a second day—Lord Lake was out but one night. The troops were never formed into squares, but moved in two columns, with the convoy between and an advance and rear guard. The march was uninterrupted.



and life. My troops too, who have been beaten at Furukhabad and Deeg, will not have the confidence, nor will they inspire the terror necessary for success in such an attack. Your troops again, who have been successful in Bundelkhund, and are much dreaded by the enemy, must not hazard the loss of this advantage by unsuccessful charges. There is still much for you to do." The Ameer not thinking it proper to act contrary to the Muharaj's injunctions, kept out of the battle which followed, and returned to his own camp. After a day or two, Raja Runjeet Singh sent for the Muharaj and for the Ameer, and said, "As both Sirdars could not act well together in the same field, it would be better that one should remain at Bhurtpoor, while the other headed an incursion into the enemy's territory, and carried the war thither." Muharaj Holkur recollecting his misfortunes at Furukhabad and Deeg, declined undertaking this part, saying, that his army had suffered so much in action, that it wanted the spirit and equipment for such light service; but he turned to the Ameer, and said, "Do you, brother! now take your turn in such expeditions, and carry the war into the enemy's country with all vigour." The Ameer cheerfully undertook the service, and prepared to march.

These events happened in the year of the Hejira 1221. ⁽¹⁾

⁽¹⁾ 21st March 1806 to 10th March 1807. This date also is one year in advance. The events, indeed, come down only to February, 1805, which was before the close of 1219 Hejira.



BOOK THE SIXTH.

CHAPTER II.

A. D. 1805.

February to April.

The Ameer marches towards his Native Country Sunbhal—Visits Seer-Kot and other places under the hills of Rohilkhund—Affair with General Smith—The Ameer retires in consequence of the desertion of his men with the booty they obtained—His return to Bhurtpoor—Occurrences there during his absence—The Raja accepts terms from the English.

THE Ameer having thus learned the wishes of Raja Runjeet Singh and of Muharaj Holkur, marched with a body of horse, lightly equipped, for Kuthér, ⁽¹⁾ (Rohilkhund) and crossed the Jumna by the Ghat of Muhabun. ⁽²⁾ Here he commenced levying contributions, and, plundering Gokul ⁽³⁾ by the way, he made for Kumona, ⁽⁴⁾ by the route of Juwar. ⁽⁵⁾ There were four English battalions then beseiging Kumona, which was

⁽¹⁾ Ameer Khan crossed the Jumna on this expedition on the 7th February, 1805.

⁽¹⁾ کٹھیر ⁽²⁾ مہابن ⁽³⁾ گوکل ⁽⁴⁾ کمونہ ⁽⁵⁾ جوار

held out against them by Doondee Khan, the Zumeendar. Thinking the Ameer had come upon Doondee Khan's invitation to succour the place, they immediately retired upon Uleegurh, ⁽¹⁾ The Ameer leaving Kumona passed by Busteenugur, ⁽²⁾ Sursuteepoor, ⁽³⁾ and Julalpoor, ⁽⁴⁾ places on the Ganges, and still advancing, reached the Ghat of Poot, ⁽⁵⁾ and encamped. The Ameer had gone that day seventy kos, looking all the way for a ford over the Ganges, but could find none practicable. Giving up the search in that direction, he made for Prichheetgurb, ⁽⁶⁾ and began the search there, and near the Ghat of Kumr-ood-deen-nugur, ⁽⁷⁾ but found no practicable ford at either place. That day he had marched thirty kos, and still his object was not accomplished, and he felt that the time and labour lost, like water that has once flowed from the fountain, could not be brought back. Giving up the search in despair, the Ameer was thinking of making immediately for the Ghats of Hurdwar ⁽⁸⁾ and Surfuraznugur, ⁽⁹⁾ which were still a long way off, when, while he was travelling on, troubled in mind on this account, an old man of intelligence was sent by Providence from the invisible world, and pointed out a road to the shore of his desires. He told the Ameer there was, close by, a Ghat of easy passage. Hearing these words

(1) Colonel Grueber, with two battalions and two companies of regular troops, and some Sebundeas, also one thousand five hundred of Skinner's irregular horse, had proceeded against Kumona, and retired, as here stated, to Uleegurh, on hearing of the Ameer's approach. General Smith, who had been detached by General Lake in pursuit of the Ameer, directly his purpose was known, made a night march on the 11th February, in hope of overtaking him at Kumona, but arrived too late.

(4) جلالپور	(3) سرستی پور	(2) بستی نگر
(7) قمرالدین نگر	(6) پرچیہیت گڈہ	(5) گھات پوٹ
	(9) سرفراز نگر	(8) ہردوار

of the old man, which the Ameer looked upon as a revelation from the Deity, he was much delighted; and by the old man's guidance, which was like that of Elijah (Khizur,) to the fountain of life, he was taken to a part of the river where the man told him boldly to cross, and immediately disappeared. The Ameer looked upon this as a special dispensation of Providence in his favor, and went upon his knees to offer thanksgiving. Again, he reflected, that he knew not yet whether the river was fordable at the spot or no, and how was that to be ascertained; but as he had great faith in religion, he brought the boat of his resolution out of the whirlpools of hesitation to the shore of confidence, by the strong rope of his reliance on the favor of the Deity. The Ameer stood on the bank of the Ganges, and made an offering to it of some beetul leaf, roses, and money, and said, "Oh Gunga, the Hindoos worship thee, and look upon thee as an image of the Divine power. If then it be true, that you represent the attributes of the Divinity, and a ray of the Omnipotence of God is displayed in my person also—give me now a propitious passage." The Ameer said this, and with a clean heart, summoning courage for the adventure, mounted his elephant, and pushed into the river. As in all things, the splendour of the divine beauty is apparent, the Ganges proved to be fordable at the point, and the Ameer crossed with all his horse, ⁽¹⁾ the girths even not being wetted, so shallow was the water. Even the goats and sheep crossed without difficulty. The Ameer then encamped at Dhunoura, ⁽²⁾ on the left

⁽¹⁾ General Smith crossed in pursuit, at the same Ghat, on the 15th February, and found the river nearly half a mile wide, and the water breast high. Some tattoos and bullocks were carried down the stream, and the people drowned.

⁽²⁾ دھنورہ



bank of this famous river. Next morning he went on to Amroha, ⁽¹⁾ and marching thence by night, at about 9 or 10 A. M. arrived at Moradabad, ⁽²⁾ where was a party of English, with whom he had an action. ⁽³⁾ Several fell victims to the swords and spears of the soldiers of the faith, and many fled and escaped. Thousands of prisoners were released by the Ameer from the jail, and money was given them for their immediate support. The Ameer had an affection for this city, and spared it. He had also another motive; viz. that were he to plunder and destroy so famous a place as Moradabad, the reputation of the action would go before him, and every body would fly at his approach, and he would find nothing in the country any where. Crossing the Ramgunga, ⁽⁴⁾ which was fordable, and passing a village on the opposite bank, the Ameer encamped on the side of it towards Rampoor.

Here an informer brought him intelligence of a buried treasure deposited by Raee-Rutun Chund, ⁽⁵⁾ a Lukhnou Dewan. He said, there were heaps of money, rich stuffs, and other goods. The Ameer sent his nephew, Ahmed Khan, ⁽⁶⁾ with Fyzoollah Khan Bungush and Ubdoollah Khan, ⁽⁷⁾ an old servant, to bring away this treasure. Coming to the place pointed out, Ahmed Khan and the

(2) مراد آباد

(1) امروده

(3) The Sebundee lines, the jail, and all the gentlemen's houses, except that of Mr. Leycester, which had been prepared for defence, were destroyed by the Ameer. His people lay for two days before Mr. Leycester's house, firing at the windows, and had begun collecting bags of cotton for a storm of the works thrown up, but decamped on hearing of General Smith's approach.

(6) احمد خان

(5) راي رتن چند

(4) رام گنگا

(7) عبد الله خان



rest commenced digging and soon discovered bales of cloth, kimkhab, shawls, &c. They next came to some silver coin. Ahmed Khan being a liberal man, divided the goods and silver amongst the people with him, giving each much beyond his hopes, and brought back to the Ameer only thirty-five thousand rupees in all. The informer reported that gold would be found underneath, but as the day was drawing to a close, Fyzoollah Khan Bungush told them to search no more, as there was nothing else.

Next morning, the Ameer commenced an attack upon a house⁽¹⁾ the English had prepared for defence, and where there were some companies of Sepoys. In consequence of the depth of the ditch, his attack failed. He continued before the place, however, till the middle of the night, when his men brought to him some hurkarus of General Smith,⁽²⁾ who had English and Persian letters addressed to different people of the station. From these, the Ameer discovered that General Smith might be expected with a considerable force at midday of the following date. Thinking it inexpedient, therefore, to wait longer, he set off by night, and proceeded by Tanda to Kasheepoor,⁽³⁾ which place he plundered, and encamped there. It had scarcely dawned next day, when General Smith arrived at Moradabad with Mr. Metcalfe, and Captains

(1) The house here referred to must be that of Mr. Leicester, the Judge and Magistrate of Moradabad. It had been surrounded by parties of matchlock-men, from the time of the Ameer's arrival at Moradabad, but was attacked in force the second day.

(2) This officer is uniformly called General Scott at the commencement of this Chapter, but as there can be no doubt that General Smith is the person referred to—the Translator has given the right name.

(3) کاشی پور ٹانڈہ

Skinner and Murray, followed by several battalions and parties of Hindoostanee horse. These had come in pursuit of the Ameer, who was already at Kasheepoor, as above stated: thence he made for the hills under Kumaon and arrived at Tajpoor, ⁽¹⁾ which he sacked. In that neighbourhood he remained near a week, sending his Pindaras and other parties to plunder as far as Peeleebheet and Roodurpoor, ⁽²⁾ under the hills. General Smith advanced from Moradabad to Rampoor, and began enquiring of the Nuwab Nussur Oolah Khan ⁽³⁾ where the Ameer might be. He replied, that the intelligence of his being at Tajpoor was certain, but beyond that, it was doubtful where he might be. The Ameer fearing he might be shut in, if he waited the arrival of the English army in that position, took the route of Kasheepoor ⁽⁴⁾ and Seerkot, ⁽⁵⁾ which he plundered, and so came to Dhampoor Nugeena. ⁽⁶⁾ That day his troops were much scattered from marching in the evening. He, consequently, arrived at Nujeebabad ⁽⁷⁾ with only about two or four thousand horse, but there he got a large booty, and went on to Keerutpoor. ⁽⁸⁾ Here he collected the stragglers, and as they came in, caused all prisoners of the religion of Mohummud to be released as an act of charity. It was the Ameer's intention to have moved again on Moradabad, but while he was preparing to do so, General Smith approached with his army, and skirmishing began, which continued till the evening. At midnight, the Ameer marched, and having it in design to tire

(1) تاج پور (2) پیلی بیٹ رودر پور (3) نواب نصر اللہ خان

(4) کاشی پور (5) سیرکوٹ (6) دھام پور نگینہ

(7) نجیب آباد (8) کیرت پور

out the enemy before he joined battle, moved back by Seerkot, towards Afzulgurh, (1) to which place he called in all stragglers, making a halt to allow them time to come in. The Pindaras and stragglers had but half joined, (and some of the former, on account of a private quarrel with the other troops, would not encamp at less distance than two kos from the main body, which led to the force being further scattered,) when General Smith came up with his dragoons and horse artillery. The Ameer went out to meet him with a body of horse, from two to four thousand strong. On his right was Jumsheed Khan and Mohummud Sued Khan and Ruhmut Khan. (2) To the left, Bagee Mohummud Khan and Shuhamut Khan, (3) with the Afreedees. The Ameer himself was in front of the centre with about three hundred independent horse, picked men, in armour, and with these he determined to bear the brunt of the action. Jumsheed and Mohummud Sued Khan went boldly on from the right against the head of the English column, whence a tremendous fire of artillery was opened, which fell like hail amongst the Ameer's men. The effect was such that Bagee Mohummud Khan with Shuhamut Khan, and the Afreedees from the left, were driven to the right about, and kept aloof from the action. The Ameer seeing the confusion in that quarter, hastened to rally the Afreedees, and bring them again into the field, and he desired his Yeka (independent) horse, (4)

(1) افضل گدہ (2) جمشید خان محمد سعید خان رحمت خان
(3) باقی محمد خان - شہامت خان

(4) The Yeka horse made a charge upon the horse artillery, which was for a time in some jeopardy, when Captain now Lieutenant-Colonel Skinner, C. B., came up with his corps of seven hundred Hindoostanee horse, and completely destroyed the Yekas, capturing seven golden standards and two Chiefs. The Ameer himself was with his Yekas, though as they were defeated, it is convenient to represent himself as in a different part of the field at the time. This affair took place on the 2d March, 1804.



on no account to move from where they were until his return—neither to advance nor retire, though it might be for victory or defeat. The Ameer had scarcely got to the Afreedees, when his choice troops advanced to engage, notwithstanding this positive injunction to the contrary: for, seeing the bold attack of Jumsheed Khan, their courage and impetuosity could no longer be restrained, but on they went to the charge for his support. Many of them were killed and wounded by the English grape. Jumsheed Khan and Mohummud Suede Khan, who had distinguished themselves by the boldness of their advance, drew up when they saw Bagee Mohummud Khan hesitate, and thus became much exposed, and suffered greatly from the grape fire, so as at last to break, and fly before the enemy. In the mean time, the Pindaras of the Ameer's army having got into the rear of the English, plundered a few elephants, and made off from the field. The Ameer, in this extremity, returned to where he had desired the Yeka horse to wait for him, intending there to take his measures to retrieve the battle. There, however, he found nothing but a beggarly account of killed and wounded: he ascertained, however, that although his men had advanced contrary to his orders, and so had unnecessarily met their fate, they had behaved well, and their boldness had excited admiration. The Ameer then made for his standard elephant, which was in some Jharjungul, (bush-cover) near the field of action.⁽¹⁾ Collecting there some forty or fifty horsemen, he brought up his standard to the field, and displayed it. The enemy, thinking the main body of the Ameer's army must be about it, refrained from further pursuit. The Ameer remained

(1) The Ameer's army was routed and disappeared entirely from the field. No standard elephant was seen by the victors, but the length of the preceding march precluded a very active pursuit, and General Smith encamped on the field of battle.

in sight of the enemy for four hours afterwards, and then moved to Ruthur, ⁽¹⁾ and on afterwards to Astpoor, ⁽²⁾ which he plundered. At midnight he continued his march to Thakoordwara, ⁽³⁾ and Kasheepoor, and Tanda, and so returned to Moradabad. The march, in consequence of windings through hills and ravines, was seventy kos on that day. Halting for the night, he marched next morning three kos to Sumbhul, ⁽⁴⁾ and Surree Tureena, ⁽⁵⁾ his birth place. He arrived there at about 3 or 4 P. M., and gave audience to all the principal people of the neighbourhood, making presents to each according to his rank and deserts, and taking precautions for their security, and for the protection of the country from pillage. The Ameer had ordered his main body, which was encamped at Ferozpoor, to march on Chundousee, ⁽⁶⁾ and he started next morning, after prayers, to meet them. He staid there two or three days to realize a contribution, and he wrote from thence to the Mooftee at Burelee, with whom he had some previous acquaintance, to make ready for his reception. General Smith hearing of this, came with his army from Moradabad, and took post between Chundousee and Burelee. Some hurkaras now brought the Ameer intelligence, that Skinner, ⁽⁷⁾ the Furingee, was at Sum-

(¹) رتھر	(²) است پور	(³) تهاکرد واره
(⁴) سنبھل	(⁵) ترينه سراي	(⁶) چند ووسي

(⁷) This was Lieutenant Robert Skinner, the younger brother of the present Lieutenant-Colonel James Skinner, c. b. He had with him only three hundred horse unprovided with any thing, but what they carried, yet he held out against Ameer Khan for two entire days, repulsing all attacks, which were frequent. The Ameer further endeavoured to win over the Suwars by an offer of six months' pay if they would give up their Commanding Officer, but they were faithful, and spurned the offer. Captain James Skinner wrote from General Smith's camp, promising immediate succour, and this letter being intercepted as was intended, led the Ameer to decamp hastily. This occurred on the 8th March, 1805.

bhal, with two thousand horse, he immediately gave up his plan of marching on Burelee, and went to Uleepoor, (1) which is three kos from Sumbhul. Skinner alarmed at his approach, took post in a Karuwan-Suraee and garden of Nuthee Khan, (2) which was walled round. The Ameer having sent for carts out of the village, was preparing to storm under their cover, and to put the enemy to the sword. But Skinner fearing that he would be overpowered, sent a message, to the effect that there was nothing to be gained by slaughtering him and his men, that this would be no victory, but on the contrary, his men were Afghans, like the Ameer himself, whose death would do him no credit or service. Ula-oo-deen Moolvee (3) also, who was an intimate friend of the Ameer's, dissuaded him from forcing the party to extremity, and entreated him to spare them for the sake of God. The Ameer, therefore, marched away, and left them, encamping next about two kos from Amroha. Here the Pindaras, who were with the Ameer, and were much dissatisfied at the restraint put on their plunderings, went off in displeasure towards the Dooab, but being pursued and roughly handled by Captain Murray, rejoined the Ameer, bringing Murray at their heels with two thousand horse. The Ameer prepared for battle, but the English fearing to meet him in the field, took post behind a wall at Ibrahimpoor. (4) The Ameer not thinking it prudent to attempt to carry the position with his horse, and his reserves of infantry being away, prepared an attacking party of about five hundred foot soldiers, (5) when some

(1) علی پور (2) نٹھی خان (3) میر مولوی علاؤ الدین
(4) ابراہیم پور

(5) This affair occurred near Amroha. Captain Murray, who was escorting treasure, was surrounded and took shelter in a village where he maintained himself all day. In the evening, Colonel Burn arrived

Pindaras spread intelligence, that another party of English was advancing in the direction of Sumbhul; whereupon a panic fell on the Ameer's troops, and doffing shoes and stockings before they saw water, they took to immediate flight. The Ameer thus lost the opportunity of overpowering this detachment, and marched in the night to Chandpoor, where he encamped. In the morning, he halted to celebrate the Eed. General Smith, ⁽¹⁾ the Furingee, who had been in pursuit of the Ameer with a considerable force, arrived the same day at Amroha, and plundered and dispersed from two to four hundred men of the Ameer's rear guard who were there. Captain Murray also joined the General. The Ameer was much vexed at the plunder of his rear guard, and in great rage, he addressed his men thus: "Do you now exert yourselves and make head against the enemy with the Pindaras, while I make a circuit of from two to four kos, and fall upon his rear, and then by a simultaneous attack we shall assuredly gain a great victory." The men promised this and the Ameer ⁽²⁾ marched off in the night to execute the movement. He went at ease in his palkee, and slept till he had reached about three kos from Amroha, where waking, he found there were with him only one hundred horse of Bagee Mohummud Khan's, Shahamut Khan's and some others; of the rest of his

from his position at the ford on the Ganges, and with this reinforcement the enemy were beaten off. Next day, Ameer Khan happening to be moving on a route close by Amroha, was attacked by Captain Murray, and lost his baggage. He re-crossed the Ganges on the following day—viz. the 12th March, 1805, the Ghat being left unguarded.

(1) This is the first occasion where General Smith is rightly named. He is always called Scott, when before mentioned in this Chapter. Captain Skinner with his corps, overtook the rear guard and made prize of all the Ameer's Bazar.

(2) This will at once be seen to be pure romance and gasconade. The Ameer's force was entirely dispersed, and he made off from the neighbourhood of Amroha with very few followers, thinking of nothing but flight and escape.

troops, not a man was to be seen. He concluded that they were either shy of any encounter with the English, or had gone off to their homes with the plunder they had realized. While he was speculating on the causes of this desertion, the English army moved out in line from Amroha, as if prepared for a severe action, in consequence of the Ameer in person being there. He, however, made off, having so few followers, and crossing the Ganges at the same Ghat that had given him entrance into Rohilkhund, he went again to Pricheetgurb, having marched, in consequence of the windings of the road, seventy kos that day. Thence he moved by Hapoor⁽¹⁾ to Kumona, where he halted a day, and had an interview with Doondee Khan,⁽²⁾ the Zumeendar. Here he mustered his men and found there were barely one thousand present. Considering it to be impossible to do any thing worthy of his name with so small a body, he determined that it was his best policy to keep the enemy continually on the move, and wear him out in vain pursuits, flying before him after the Mahratta fashion. He, accordingly, proposed the scheme to his men, particularly to Fyzoollah Khan Bungush,⁽³⁾ Umur Khan Afreedee,⁽⁴⁾ Jumsheed Khan,⁽⁵⁾ Moonuwur Khan⁽⁶⁾ and Abdoollah Khan, his old companions, asking their advice. Fyzoollah Khan Bungush, wanting spirit himself for the enterprise, persuaded them all, separately and in secret, that if they fell into the plan not one would be left alive. That being so few as they were, they would be sure to be all slaughtered in the first encounter with the English. The men were thus won over to set their face against the plan, and

(¹) हापूर (²) दुन्दीखान (³) فیض اللہ خان بنگش
 (⁴) عمر خان افریدی (⁵) جمشید خان (⁶) منور خان



made excuses, saying, "We few are left as your companions—is it your wish that we too should meet our death, for what can be done by so few as we now are? We recommend your immediately making the best of your way back to Bhurtpoor." The Ameer replied, "Victory and defeat do not depend on numbers, but are the gift of God, and though we are certainly too few to enter into battle with the English, and I am not fool enough to propose such a scheme, still believing myself to be skilled in the Mah-ratta and Cossack (Kuzaq) style of war, I flatter myself that with even this small party I should worry and reduce the enemy to straights, and wear him out with long and fruitless marches, while I plundered the whole of his country. But if you are averse to the fatigues and risks of this species of warfare, and desire to return to Bhurtpoor, I would have you to consider where the funds for your support are to come from. You will be mutinying and sitting Dhurna there on me for your pay." Fyzoollah Khan said thereupon, "Rely upon it that while Bhurtpoor lasts no one will trouble you with mutinous demands for pay. Take from us all an engagement under seal to this effect." The Ameer gave way upon this, and took an engagement under the seal of each of the Chiefs, and then marched to Juwar, and again to a spot distant one kos from Muhabun. A Dawk Hurkara here brought him word that hearing of his coming, there were two battalions and four regiments of English cavalry waiting for him at the other side of the ford. As the Ameer had come a long march, he was reduced to great perplexity by this intelligence,⁽¹⁾ and took a road along the river for the purpose of looking out for another

(1) There is no account of any rencounter of the Ameer with a British detachment or convoy after he had re-crossed the Gauges. These British divisions must have been conjured up by his fears.



ford over the Jumna. His march of that day was sixty kos, and he was only a kos from the Ghat, when a cloud of dust became visible on the horizon, and a Dawk Hurkara whispered in his ear that the dust was raised by a convey of provisions on its way to Bhurtpoor from Agra, under the escort of four battalions and two thousand horse. The Ameer thought it would be imprudent to make this known at once to his men. So he addressed them thus—"Do any of you know what occasions that dust to rise to the sky?" They all said, "God only knows." The Ameer, thereupon, said, "It will most likely be the people of Muthra running off in fright, and they must have much booty with them. If you have the spirit left, and will fall quickly upon them, there will be something worth having." They were all delighted and assented to the enterprise. The Ameer had gone but a little way, when some men of the Huthrus Raja, viz. a battalion and about five hundred Suwars, who were on duty to guard the ghats and fords on the Dooab side of the Jumna, made their appearance. At sight of the Ameer the cavalry made off incontinently, and the infantry who were cooking, were overpowered and dispersed, and took to flight. The Ameer lost no time in crossing the river, and there found the English battalions and horse armed and ready for action, but on march. The men with the Ameer, at seeing this, lost heart entirely. But he endeavoured to restore them to confidence by telling them that if any attempted to fly it would be certain death, that their only chance was to allow himself to skirmish with the enemy, while they made their way through the ravines towards Futehpoor Seekree. They did so, and the Ameer kept up a long skirmish with the enemy, keeping him in play, until his own rear-guard and followers had all got by, and were well on the road

to Futehpoor—he then himself retired thither, and made three or four halts. Muharaj Holkur hearing of the Ameer's arrival at Futehpoor, came out to see him, and passed the night in his camp. Next morning both went into Bhurtpoor together. The Ameer now learned that while he was away on the expedition above recounted, there were many affairs between the Muharaj and General Lake, and likewise with General Jones, who had brought the Bombay force through Malwa, to support the General. This officer having examined the wall of Bhurtpoor, advised General Lake⁽¹⁾ to try another storm, observing that he had now been a long time before the place, and yet it held out. The other members of the General's Council of War advised the same, and a general assault was determined upon. The plan was for General Lake to attack openly the Anar Gate to the south-west, which was opposite his camp, while General Jones should creep up through some Jhao-jungul towards the Kudum Khundee⁽²⁾ Gate on the east side, and there make his attack. It was presumed that the besieged finding full employment in resisting the storm from the west, would be negligent on the opposite side of the place, so that Jones, with his troops, would obtain an easy entrance.

The attack was made accordingly on both sides at once. But Raja Runjeet Singh having penetrated the design

(1) General Jones joined Lord Lake on the 10th February. He had two European regiments and four Native infantry battalions, with only six hundred horse. The approaches being now carried to within three hundred yards, and the breaches appearing to be practicable, preparation for a third storm was made on the 20th February. The ditch was again found to present an insurmountable obstacle, and the storming party was beaten back. A fourth storm was tried on the following day with no better success, and with even greater loss of men and officers.

(2) کد م کھندی



of the English, was prepared on all sides. The guns at top of the bastions and along the ramparts were loaded with chain shot, and at the foot of the wall outside the ditch, on the glacis, the artillery of Holkur's brigades were planted, loaded with grape, and thus the besieged waited to receive the storm. As the enemy came on, the guns opened upon them from above and below, and a vast number of Europeans and Sepoys who endeavoured to ascend the ditch and scale the wall, were cut to pieces by the chain shot and grape. Many English and their officers who still attempted to advance, were destroyed by this fire, nevertheless they persevered in their efforts to enter the place. The storming party from General Lake's camp, though they evinced extraordinary bravery, and ascended the inner face of the ditch in spite of the above fire, could get no further, but were thence driven back by musquetry into the ditch, and at last giving up their high hopes, they were glad enough to escape with life. General Jones's storming party was, for the most part, destroyed before it reached the ditch by the fire of chain shot and grape from the ramparts, and so being broken and dispersed on the glacis, they fled by the same road through the Jhao-jungul by which they had advanced. Muharaj Holkur was at this time with his light troops prepared for action in a garden near the Kudum Khundee Gate, where he had come to meet the Raja. Seeing this opportunity, he fell on the retiring parties of General Jones's army as they fled through the Jhao-jungul, where they could not form line or avail themselves of their tactics, and so they were further broken and dispersed: many of the enemy were slaughtered by the swords and spears of Holkur's men, and he returned into camp elate with the victory. The men of his brigades took



266 LORD LAKE OFFERS TERMS TO THE BHURTPOOR RAJA.

the same opportunity to storm one of the English batteries, and captured and brought away three or four guns which the enemy had neglected to defend properly. These they dragged into their own lines. But after the general assault was over, an English Commandant of Artillery, watching his opportunity when the men in Holkur's battery were cooking, made an attack on them and carried the battery, recovering his own guns, and capturing all the Muharaj's that were there besides.

Matters continued in this state for some days, and the Muharaj and Raja Runjeet Singh were busy negotiating with Dowlut Rao Sindheea, whose demand for assistance in money was acceded to, and a treaty of alliance was on the point of being concluded with him, when the English, ⁽¹⁾ taking great alarm at the prospect of such an event, held a general council, wherein it was resolved that as the Ameer was at the time exciting great trouble in Kuthur, (Rohilkhund) and it was vain for the English army to attempt to follow him, it was better to come to terms with the Bhurtpoor Raja, and so have the army now employed in the siege, available for the general defence of the British territory in case of accidents. Keeping this design secret, they opened a private negotiation with the Raja, who was reduced to great straights by the expence he was put to in supporting Muharaj Holkur's army, not to mention the utter ruin his own country was suffering during the siege. He saw that there was little to be gained by the continuance of such a state of things as the present, with large payments still to be made to the Muharaj and to the Ameer, and further, that if

(1) Lord Lake never held any Council of War or Peace, and assuredly was influenced by no anxiety about the Ameer and his operations.



Doulut Rao Sindheea were engaged in the war, it would then be too late to retrace his steps. Accordingly, he listened to the overtures⁽¹⁾ made to him, and received back Deeg from General Lake, giving a sum of money for its recovery. On these terms a treaty was concluded, in which stipulations were entered, binding the Raja not to hold intercourse with, or give protection to either Doulut Rao Sindheea or Muharaj Holkur. After which, General Lake moved his army to a distance of nine kos from Bhurtpoor towards Muthra.

It was just at this time that the Ameer⁽²⁾ came back from Rohilkhund. Muharaj Holkur knew nothing of the treaty concluded by the Bhurtpoor Raja with the English; accordingly, General Lake thinking the time favorable, attacked his camp by night, but the Ameer brought him timely succour, and repelled the assault.

At the request of Raja Runjeet Singh, who still kept the secret of his treaty with the English from both the Muharaj and the Ameer, the latter was sent with Holkur's concurrence to Subulghurh,⁽³⁾ to expedite arrangements

(1) The Raja of Bhurtpoor made the first overture for peace by sending a letter of congratulation and a Vakeel upon the announcement of General Lake's advance to the Peerage. On the 10th March, 1805, the Raja's Vakeels were publicly received, and negotiations commenced. The treaty was concluded with the Raja on the 17th April, and ratified by the Governor General on the 4th May, 1805.

(2) The Ameer reached Futehpoor Seekree on the 21st March, and General Smith rejoined Lord Lake's army on the 23d, after an absence of six weeks. On the 29th, a night attack was planned against Holkur, but he had timely notice, and moved to a greater distance. On the 2d April, Lord Lake marched again with his cavalry at one in the morning, and came upon Juswunt Rao's camp before day break, when it was dispersed and much baggage taken. A battalion of the Ameer's surrendered prisoners of war on the same day. On the 31st March, a detachment, under Captain Royle, fell in with the cavalry of Hurnath Chela, and on the 7th April following, destroyed the remainder of Holkur's infantry and artillery at Udaltnungur towards Dholpoor Baree.

١٥
دولت راء (3)

268 HOLKUR AND THE AMEER RETIRE TO SUBULGURH.

for bringing up Doulut Rao Sindheea. After his departure, and when Surjee Rao Ghatkeea, (4) Doulut Rao's father-in-law had arrived near to Bhurtpoor, the Raja finding it impossible to keep his secret longer, made it known to Juswunt Rao Holkur, telling him, that he had made his terms some time before with the English, though he only then disclosed the fact. He advised the Muharaj, therefore, if he had any regard for his own safety, to move away from the neighbourhood, declaring his own inability to advance more funds. The colour left the Muharaj's face when he heard this, and he immediately made arrangements for leaving Bhurtpoor, and joining the Ameer at Subulgurh. General Lake, however, hearing of his design, advanced to cut him off from Subulgurh. But as it happened, the General's army fell in with some of Surjee Rao Ghatkeea's Pindaras, and followed them for an entire stage, which afforded the Maharaj an opportunity of slipping through with his light troops. The brigades and the rest of his army joined afterwards. Bukhshee Bhooanee Sunkur, (5) Moorteza Khan Bungush, (6) Buhadoor Khan, (7) and some other Sirdars deserted the cause of Holkur at this time, and made their terms with General Lake.

The Ameer who was already at Subulgurh, and had had an interview with Sindheea, and who had waited there pending these events, was now reunited with the Muharaj.

The above events occurred in the Hejira year 1221. (8)

(1) سرچی راو گھاٹکیہ
 (2) بخشہ بیہوانی سنکر
 (3) مرتضیٰ خان بدگش
 (4) بہادر خان

(5) 21st March, 1806 to 10th March, 1807, still a year in advance. April, 1805, being the latest date of any of the events here related.



BOOK THE SIXTH.

CHAPTER III.

A. D. 1805.

May to November.

The Ameer and Muharaj Holkur at Subulgurh—Their meeting with Sindheea, and consultation as to the raising of funds—Determination to seize Ambajee Ingolia, in order to extort money from him—Sindheea is reconciled to the English through Ingolia, and shakes off his connexion with Holkur and the Ameer.

WHEN the Muharaj came to Subulgurh, he advised with the Ameer, who had arrived there before him, and the result of their consultation was a message to Doulut Rao Sindheea, to this effect, that without money the army could no longer be kept together, and the war with the English must be given up, that if he could devise a means of providing funds, there was yet no reason to despair, and the troops might be kept contented, but money was a *sine quâ non*, and though jewels of value were not wanting, there was no raising money upon them, and no sale for such things at the present time. Doulut Rao observed—I too have jewels enough, but there is no use in them



270 MONEY EXTORTED FROM AMBAJEE INGLIA.

for present purposes, and Ambajee Ingliā, who professes to be my servant, and has lakhs of rupees in ready money by him, will give no aid. If you can contrive a way of extracting money from him by cunning, you have my permission, but the half of what may be so obtained must belong to me. Holkur observed upon this, that the Ameer was the person to manage the affair with Ingliā, as he was held in greater awe by that Chief than either of the Mahrattas. Sindheea agreed to this proposition, and gave to the Ameer intimation of his wishes. The Ameer, therefore, had a private audience with Ingliā, and told him in plain terms, that he must come down with some present aid of money to the cause. He used every means of persuasion in his power, and fixed his lowest demand at ten lakhs of rupees. Ingliā, however, could not be brought to hear of the proposition, and flatly refused to give any pecuniary aid. The Ameer then offered that he should have jewels from both Sindheea and Holkur in pawn for the advance, but even in this shape the proposition was not acceded to, and he still made excuses. The Ameer accordingly reported the ill success of his negotiation to Muharaj Holkur, who thereupon employed Bala Rao, Ambajee's brother, to endeavour to bring him round, but his success was no better. The Ameer now observed to the Maharaj, "Perhaps with a little more of threat, and something of violence, the money desired might be forthcoming." The Muharaj assented, and the Ameer went again to Ingliā, who at first gave the same answer as before, whereupon the Ameer seizing him by the hand said, "If you have absolutely nothing to offer, come and sit in my tent." The bird of sense flew from its nest in the brain of Ingliā at hearing this, and he remained silent. The Ameer led him by the hand to his own