

"Company : and when Mr. Markham succeeded Mr. Fowke, I gave him an order to repeat the demand, which he did accordingly with frequent and almost daily importunity, limiting the number to 1,500 and afterwards to 1,000. To this demand you returned evasive answers, nor to this hour have you contributed a single horseman.

"I pass over other instances of your conduct, in which, through the means of your secret agents, you have endeavoured to excite disorders in the Government on which you depend ; and your neglect of the duty which you owe to it, and to the subjects of this Zemidary, by suffering the daily perpetration of robberies and murders, even in the streets of the city of Benares itself, to the great and public scandal of the English name, and in violation of one of the conditions on which you received the confirmation of this Zemidary. But as the two foregoing instances amount to a direct charge of disaffection and infidelity to the Government on which you depend, and happened at a time in which it was your duty more especially to have exerted yourself in the support of its interests, I have therefore judged it proper to state them to you thus fully in writing and to require your answer to them ; and this I expect immediately."

From Rajah CHEIT SING to the Honourable the  
GOVERNOR-GENERAL.

"I received your letter delivered to me by Mr. Markham, and I have understood every particular

“ of its contents. Sir, after the arrival of Shaick Ally  
“ Nucky, I observed all the orders which you sent me,  
“ and I received the letter which the deceased Shaick  
“ brought me, informing me that every suspicion was  
“ now completely removed from your mind, and that  
“ I must consider you as formerly attentive to me: but  
“ I have not experienced from you the same generosi-  
“ ties as formerly. I sent you repeatedly letters repre-  
“ senting to your consideration my unhappy circum-  
“ stances, but you never honoured me with any reply.  
“ For this reason I sent my *Buxey* Saddanund to  
“ your presence, enjoining him to represent to you  
“ the firmness of my obedience and attachment,  
“ to lay before you the particulars of my situation, and  
“ to learn the disposition of your mind towards me.  
“ He arrived accordingly in your presence, and re-  
“ presented every thing in a proper manner. I have  
“ never deviated in the smallest degree from these  
“ professions; and the benefits and civilities with  
“ which you have honoured me have given me the  
“ greatest satisfaction, and I have considered you  
“ as the source from which I derived the fulfilment  
“ of all my wishes and desires. It is my firm hope  
“ that I may be always favoured with your directions.  
“ In this manner I complied with the utmost readiness  
“ with the order you sent me for the payment of  
“ five lacks of rupees on account of the expenses  
“ of the war. I sent first one lack of rupees, with  
“ an answer to your letter; afterwards having paid  
“ to Mr. Fowke the sum of one lack and 70,000 rupees,  
“ I sent a letter requesting a further allowance of  
“ time to enable me to make some preparations. To

" this I received no reply ; it being no time for delay.  
" Notwithstanding this, I was not a moment inatten-  
" tive to this concern, and as soon as my *Buxey*  
" arrived, I paid immediately the remaining part of  
" the sum. The remitting of this to the army did  
" not depend on me : if any delay happened on this  
" head, I could not help it. If besides the payment  
" of the money, the remittance of it also to the army  
" had rested with me, a delay of this kind should not  
" have happened. I have inclosed in this letter  
" a paper specifying the particular sums which have  
" been advanced, with their dates.

" With respect to the horse, you desired me in your  
" letter to inform you what number I could afford  
" to station with you, and I sent you a particular  
" account of all that were in my service amounting  
" to 1,200 horse, of which several were stationed at  
" distant places ; but I received no answer to this.  
" Mr. Markham delivered me an order to prepare  
" 1000 horse. In compliance with your wishes I  
" collected 500 horse, and as a substitute for the remain-  
" der, 500 *Burkundosses* of which I sent you information,  
" and I told Mr. Markham they were ready to go to  
" whatever place they should be sent. No answer,  
" however, came from you on this head, and I remained  
" astonished at the cause of it. Repeatedly I asked  
" Mr. Markham about an answer to my letter about  
" the horse, but he told me he did not know the reasons  
" of no answer having been sent. I remained aston-  
" nished. With respect to the sepoy, I received first  
" an order to station two of my companies, which I  
" did ; I was then desired to give a Tunkaw for the

" payment of the sepoy, and likewise to pay the Captain, which has been done every month.

" Excepting Abdullah Beg and his attendants, none of my people, either dependants or servants, or others in any shape connected with me, have ever gone to Calcutta: my enemies, with a view to my ruin, have made false representations to you. Now that happily for me you have yourself arrived at this place, you will be able to ascertain all the circumstances relative to the horse, to my people going to Calcutta, and the dates of the receipts of the particular sums above-mentioned. You will know whether I have amused you with a false representation, or made a just report to you. I have given my Aumils most particular injunctions, and have taken a penalty bond from them, that they shall keep no thieves in their district. What power have they to act otherwise? But if ever a murder or robbery is committed in the country, I have been careful to impale or otherwise punish the culprits. If a person having committed a delinquency should escape to some other place, so as to elude all discovery, in that case I am helpless; but to the utmost of my power I endeavour to fulfil your orders. I have never swerved in the smallest degree from my duty to you. It remains with you to decide on all these matters. I am in every case your slave; what is just I have represented to you: may your prosperity increase."

" Account of five lacks of rupees advanced for the expenses of the war.

1st	Shaabaun	100,000
29th	Ramzan	170,000
7th	Showull	130,000
18th	Showull	100,000
		<hr/>
		500,000

" This answer you will perceive to be not only  
 " unsatisfactory in substance, but offensive in style,  
 " and less a vindication of himself than a recrimination  
 " on me. It expresses no concern for the causes of  
 " complaint contained in my letter, or desire to atone  
 " for them, nor the smallest intention to pursue a  
 " different line of conduct. An answer couched nearly  
 " in terms of defiance to requisitions of so serious a  
 " nature, I could not but consider as a strong indica-  
 " tion of that spirit of independency which the Rajah  
 " has for some years past assumed, and of which  
 " indeed I had early observed other manifest symp-  
 " toms, both before and from the instant of my arrival.

" Under these alarming appearances of the Rajah's  
 " conduct and disposition, I conceived myself indis-  
 " pensably obliged to form some immediate and de-  
 " cisive plan for obviating their consequences, and  
 " for the preservation of the Company's rights and  
 " interests in this Zemidary. To have left him in  
 " the full exercise of powers which he had notorious-  
 " ly abused, and which it was to be apprehended he  
 " would employ to the most dangerous purposes, was  
 " totally inconsistent with the maxims of justice and  
 " prudence. To divest him entirely of the Zemidary,  
 " though justifiable on the grounds stated above,

“ would have been attended with an appearance of  
“ severity, and might have furnished ground for  
“ constructions unfavourable to the credit of our  
“ Government, and to my own reputation, from the  
“ natural influence which every act of rigour exercised on the persons of men who stand in elevated  
“ stations, is apt to impress on the minds of those  
“ who are too remote from the scene of action to  
“ judge, by any evidence but of the direct facts themselves, of their motives or propriety.

“ Thus circumstanced, and attentive to these opposite considerations, I laid down the following plan  
“ for my future proceedings.

“ I first directed the Resident to repair to the  
“ Rajah, who resided at his house, situated on this  
“ side of the river, at the distance of about two miles,  
“ and gave him the following instructions :

“ Mr. WILLIAM MARKHAM,

“ Resident at *Benares*.

“ Sir,

“ It is my order that you proceed early to-morrow  
“ morning to the house of Rajah Cheit Sing, with  
“ your usual guard, and put him in arrest. You will  
“ require his immediate submission, informing him  
“ that you act under orders given you by me ; and in  
“ case of his refusal, you will wait the arrival of two  
“ companies of sepoys belonging to Major Popham's  
“ detachment, who are directed to follow and assist  
“ you in the execution of this service. Having secured

" the Rajah, you will keep him in your custody until  
 " further orders. I am, &c.

" *Benares, 15th of August, 1781,*  
*" ten at night."*

" On the next morning Mr. Markham went according to his foregoing instructions, and was followed by two companies of grenadier sepoys belonging to Major Popham's detachment. The Raja quietly submitted to the arrest, and Mr. Markham returned to me with the following letter from the Rajah, leaving him under the charge of Lieutenants Stalker, Scott, and Simes. For the particulars which passed at this interview, I refer you to the following report, which Mr. Markham delivered to me on his return.

" No. IV. Letter from Rajah CHEIT SING.

" At this time Mr. William Markham being come to me, has informed me that your Highness's orders are that I should remain under a guard. My Protector, I before represented to you, on board your pinnace, that I was the servant of the Honourable Company, and was ready from my heart and soul. Whatever may be your pleasure, do it with your own hands. I am your slave. What occasion can there be for a guard?

" No. V. Report of MR. MARKHAM,

" To the Honourable WARREN HASTINGS, ESQ.

" Governor-General, &c. &c.

" Honourable Sir,

" I this morning, in obedience to your orders of  
" last night, proceeded with a few of my Orderlies,  
" accompanied by Lieutenant Stalker, to Shewallah  
" Gaut, the present residence of Rajah Cheit Sing,  
" and acquainted him it was your pleasure he should  
" consider himself in arrest, that he should order his  
" people to behave in a quiet, orderly manner, for  
" that any attempt to rescue him would be attended  
" with his own destruction. The Rajah submitted  
" quietly to the arrest, and assured me that whatever  
" were your orders, he was ready implicitly to obey.  
" He hoped that you would allow him a subsistence ;  
" but as for his Zemidary, his forts, and his treasure,  
" he was ready to lay them at your feet, and his life,  
" if required. He expressed himself much hurt at the  
" ignominy which he affirmed must be the consequence  
" of his confinement, and entreated me to return to you  
" with the foregoing submission, hoping that you would  
" make allowances for his youth and inexperience,  
" and, in consideration of his father's name, release  
" him from his confinement as soon as he should  
" prove the sincerity of his offers, and himself de-  
" serving of your compassion and forgiveness.

" Nearly a quarter of an hour after this conversation,  
" Lieut. Scott arrived with the two grenadier compa-  
" nies of Major Popham's detachment, to whose and



"Lieutenant Stalker's care I left the Rajah, having  
 "given them the following instructions; that they  
 "should disarm every servant of the Rajah's, that  
 "they should allow him any such eight or ten  
 "Kitmutgars for the attendance of his person as he  
 "should approve of; that these men should be shewn  
 "to the sepoy's, lest any deceit should be practised;  
 "but that they might indulge him in any request  
 "consistent with the security of his person.

"I am now returned to acquaint you with my  
 "proceedings, and to receive any further instructions  
 "which you may think necessary.

"I have the honour to be,

"Honourable Sir,

"Your most obedient humble servant,

"(Signed)

WILLIAM MARKHAM,

"Benares, 16th of August, 1781.

"As the Rajah, in the above letter, had desired  
 "that Mr. Markham might be sent back to him, I  
 "was preparing instructions for that purpose, when  
 "I recieved another letter from the Rajah, of which  
 "the following is a translation :

"No. VI. Letter from the Rajah.

"I am the servant of the Sirkar, and am ready  
 "from my heart and soul in the performance of your  
 "orders. My honour was bestowed on me by your  
 "Highness. It depends on you alone to take away

" or not to take away the country out of my hands.  
" In case my honour is not left me, how shall I be  
" equal to the business of the Sirkar? Whoever with  
" his hands in a supplicating posture is ready with  
" his life and property, what necessity can there be  
" for him to be dealt with in this way?—

" From the apparent despondency in which these  
" letters were written, I thought it necessary to give  
" the Rajah some encouragement, and accordingly  
" wrote him the following answer :

" No. VII. Letter from the Governor-General.

" I have received your two *Arzees* from the hands  
" of Mr. Markham, and understand their contents.  
" That gentleman will wait on you in the afternoon,  
" and explain particulars. Let your mind be at rest,  
" and do not conceive any terror or apprehension.

" To this I received the following reply :

" No. VIII. Letter from the Rajah.

" Your gracious letter has been received, and has made  
" me acquainted with your commands. Your order  
" that in the afternoon, Mr. William Markham will  
" come to me, that I must not suffer any apprehension  
" to disturb me, but remain at ease in my mind. My  
" Protector, wherever you spread your shadow over  
" my head, I am entirely free from concern and  
" apprehension; and whatever you who are my master  
" shall as such determine, will be right.

" At this time I had prepared Mr. Markham's  
" second instructions; but before he could set out  
" with them, intelligence came that large bodies of  
" armed men had crossed the river from Ramnagar  
" and had proceeded to the Rajah's house. What  
" follows is a scene of such horror, that it is with the  
" greatest reluctance I submit to the painful duty of  
" relating it. The guard placed over the Rajah con-  
" sisted of two companies of grenadier sepoys, as above  
" mentioned, from Major Popham's detachment, com-  
" manded by the officers already named, who were  
" stationed in an enclosed square, which surrounded  
" the apartment where the Rajah was. The Resident's  
" guard had returned with him. It now appeared  
" that these troops had taken no ammunition with  
" them. Major Popham sent another company of  
" sepoys under an officer, with ammunition to reinforce  
" and support the first party. When the latter arrived  
" at the Rajah's house, they found it surrounded, and  
" all the avenues blockaded, by a multitude of armed  
" men, who opposed their passage. The minds of  
" this tumultuous assembly becoming soon inflamed,  
" some of them began to fire upon the sepoys within  
" the square, and immediately, as if this had been the  
" concerted signal, made an instantaneous and fierce  
" attack on the sepoys, who wanting their accustomed  
" means of defence, were capable of making but a  
" feeble resistance, and fell an easy sacrifice to the  
" superior number of their assailants, who cut almost  
" every man of this unfortunate party to pieces. The  
" officers, it is supposed, were the first victims to their  
" fury, but not until they had, by astonishing efforts

" of bravery, and undismayed amidst the imminent  
" dangers which surrounded them, involved a much  
" superior number of their enemies in their fate.  
" In this general report of them all accounts concur,  
" though varying in circumstances. I yield to my  
" own feelings in bestowing this just but unavailing  
" tribute to these unhappy gentlemen.

" In the midst of this confusion the Rajah found  
" means to escape through a wicket which opened to  
" the river; and the banks being exceedingly steep  
" in that place, he let himself down by turbans tied  
" together, into a boat which was waiting for him, and  
" conveyed him to the opposite shore. Those who  
" had effected his escape, followed him across the river  
" in the same tumultuous manner in which they had  
" assembled, leaving the party of our sepoy's which  
" had last arrived in possession of the house. On the  
" first intelligence of this commotion, I had directed  
" Major Popham to repair immediately to his camp,  
" which was about two miles from the Resident's, and  
" at the same distance from the Rajah's house, and  
" to march instantly with the remainder of his detach-  
" ment to the support of the party.

" This order was executed with all possible expedi-  
" tion; but Major Popham arrived too late, and had  
" the mortification to be a spectator of the effects of  
" a massacre which he could neither prevent nor  
" revenge. He returned to me immediately, and made  
" the following report:

" No. IX. Major POPHAM'S Report.

" Consequent to an order for the detachment under

"my command to proceed to the support of the  
 "grenadier companies under the order of Lieut. Stalker,  
 "I carried it with as much expedition as possible to  
 "Cheit Sing's palace, which I found to be entirely  
 "evacuated by the Rajah's people, who were already  
 "landed on the opposite side of the river.

"Of the two companies commanded by Lieut.  
 "Stalker, very few remained alive, and the majority  
 "of those appeared to be severely wounded. The  
 "bodies of Lieuts. Stalker, Scott, and Simes, were  
 "lying within a small distance of each other shockingly  
 "mangled, and without any signs of life.

"It may be necessary to observe, that Lieut.  
 "Birrell was dispatched with one company of sepoy's  
 "upon the first rumor of the Rajah's coercive inten-  
 "tions; but the fate of the companies which preceded  
 "him was decided prior to his being able to enter the  
 "palace. There were however some of the Rajah's  
 "people, whom he effectually cleared it of. In this  
 "attack he met with some loss. My utmost endea-  
 "vours have hitherto proved insufficient to procure  
 "an exact detail of the killed and wounded in  
 "this unfortunate transaction. I thought it necessary  
 "to leave a company with a subaltern in the  
 "palace."

(Signed) WILLIAM POPHAM, Major."

"Benares, 16th of August, 1781."

"I cannot learn with certainty what is become of  
 "the Rajah, but the prevailing report is that he fled

" from Ramnagur, his usual residence on the other  
" side of the river, in the middle of the night, and  
" proceeded with his Zenana and effects to Lutteespūr,  
" a strong fort of his, situate about 10 miles from Chunar.  
" He was accompanied by Sujan Sing, his brother,  
" and Mannyar Sing, a relation, and son by adoption  
" of Rajah Bulwant Sing. He has also had the  
" precaution to take with him Ranny Golabkoower,  
" the widow of Rajah Bulwant Sing, his father; her  
" son-in-law, Durgbijey Sing; and his two sons, her  
" grandsons. In them he possesses every member  
" of his family who can have any plea to dispute  
" with him the right of inheritance from his father  
" Rajah Bulwant Sing, if that were ever a question,  
" his right to the Zemidary being derived exclusively  
" from Sunnuds which his father never possessed, but  
" which were first granted to Cheit Sing by the late  
" Vizier Suja ul Dowla through the influence of our  
" Government in 1773, and since repeated by similar  
" grants from our Government, when the sovereignty  
" was ceded to the Company by the present Nabob  
" Assof ul Dowla.

" I have made choice of Rauboo Oossaun Sing,  
" who held the office of Dewan during several years  
" of the life of Rajah Bulwant Sing, and for a considerable period since the accession of the present Rajah  
" to administer the revenues and Government of this  
" country in the quality of Naib, until it can be determined to whom the Zemidary may legally belong,  
" and who may be in a capacity to receive.

" To this effect I have caused a proclamation to  
" be made through the city of Benares, and have

" notified it by circular *Perwannahs* to all the Zemidars and Aumils of Zemidary.

" To enforce the execution of these acts, to maintain tranquillity and order in the country, and protect the inhabitants, I have ordered one battalion of Sepoys from Chunargur, the remainder of Major Popham's detachment from Mirzapore, and one regiment of Sepoys from Dinapore to march immediately to Benares.

" The details of these proceedings shall be transmitted to you in a subsequent letter. I do not expect they will detain me here much beyond the time I had prescribed to myself, which was about 7 or 8 days.

" I have the honor to be, with the greatest esteem,

" SIR,

" Your most obedient

" Humble Servant,

(Signed)

WARREN HASTINGS."

" P. S. The delay occasioned in copying this letter from its great length has afforded me an opportunity of contradicting the latter part of it; and I have now the satisfaction to add, that Ranny Golabkoower, together with her son-in-law Durgbijey Sing, and his two sons, are safe at Benares. I have this morning received a visit from Durgbijey Sing, and his eldest son Mehipnarain."

I have read over the preceding letter with great attention, but can find nothing in it, with the advantage

of recent and better means of information, to correct; nor do I know that it requires a comment. That which I am now about to make may appear trivial; but I make it as it impels me by its present impression. The Rajah, in his reply to the charges which I had preferred against him, insists much on the many letters which he wrote to me, praying to be dispensed from his obedience to the orders of Government, and my neglect to answer them: and this charge against me he repeats in a manner not the most respectful. I do not know but it may be true. He had received positive orders, and those had been repeated. It was his duty to obey them, not to waste my time with letters of excuse, to cavil with my answers for evasions, or with my silence for delays. His Vackeel was in daily attendance on me, and knew my mind sufficiently upon these subjects; and what he knew I am sure he wrote to his master. As to his plea of inability to pay the residue of the subsidy "without preparation;" that is, without contriving the means to raise the money, after having sacredly promised the full and instant discharge of it, it was as insolent, as we now know too surely, that it was most egregiously false.

It was truly reported that Cheit Sing, after his escape from Shewallah Gout, immediately fled to Lutteespoor, taking his family, and his whole force with him, except the ordinary guard which had been early appropriated in the time of his father, Bulwant Sing, under the command of Gudgeraunge Sing, who had the title of Kellidar, to the charge of Ramnagur. This was a vast pile of irregular but massy buildings constructed of stone, on the river side, and within the bed of the



river. To its original strength Cheit Sing had added some small bastions of stone and earth. A large town had grown round it, which rendered the approach to it suspicious: and the intricacy of the apartments and passages of the palace was such, that a cautious officer would hesitate under almost any encouragement to enter it. I had early information that it was in effect evacuated, and I believed it; but not being certain, I did not choose to hazard a repulse, nor had I force equal to any operation of doubtful success, much less of enterprise. My whole strength had consisted originally of six companies of Major Popham's regiment, about sixty sepoy which I had taken from the garrison of Buxar for the protection of my boats, and a few men who had been newly recruited for the resident's guard, who had yet neither arms nor discipline. Of Major Popham's regiment eighty-two men had fallen in the massacre of Shewallah Gaut, and ninety-two were wounded. The whole number of killed and wounded of every corps and denomination, was two hundred and five. Every circumstance of an event and time so critical to the present existence and permanency of the British interests in India will merit notice in a relation of this kind. If Cheit Sing's people, after they had effected his rescue, had proceeded to my quarters at Mahdoodass's garden, instead of crowding after him in a tumultuous manner, as they did, in his passage over the river, it is most probable that my blood, and that of about thirty English gentlemen of my party, would have been added to the recent carnage; for they were above two thousand in number, furious and daring from the easy success of

their last attempt: nor could I assemble more than fifty regular and armed sepoys for my whole defence. Let it not be thought that I attribute too much consequence to my own person when I suppose the fate of the British empire in India connected with it. Mean as its substance may be, its accidental properties were equivalent to those which, like the magical characters of a Talisman in the Arabian Mythology, formed the essence of the State itself; representation, title, and the estimate of public opinion. Such a stroke as that which I have supposed would have been universally considered as decisive of the national fate: every State around it would have started into arms against it; and every subject of its own dominion would, according to their several abilities, have become its enemy. What really passed approaching to such an effect, from the sole apprehension of such a cause, more than warrants the conclusion of what would have followed the cause itself, had it existed.

The effects of the first consternation having subsided, a number of men, reputed two thousand, returned to Ramnagar on the 18th, under the command of Ramjeewuan, a confidential and domestic Chief of the family.

The remainder of Major Popham's detachment, consisting of four companies of sepoys, one company of Artillery, and the company of French Rangers, lay at Mirzapore.

These were ordered to march immediately to Ramnagar, Lieutenant-Colonel Blair was ordered to detach a battalion of sepoys from the garrison of Chunar on the same destination. It was intended, that as soon

as these corps had joined, and were properly equipped for service, Major Popham should take the command, and proceed against the forces quartered in Ramnagur. I wrote an order express to Captain Blair, who commanded the battalion from Chunar, commanding him to halt at a secure distance from Ramnagur, and wait for further orders ; and Major Popham, whom I had afterwards vested with the command in form, wrote a similar order to Captain Mayaffre, the officer commanding the residue of his detachment, with an additional caution to avoid hostilities, and attend to the safety of the whole party, of which, being a senior officer, he would have the command till Major Popham assumed it. To ensure the success of his operations on that side, he had chosen a convenient and open plain on the shore opposite to Ramnagur for a battery of two mortars, which were expected from Chunar, nor can there be a doubt, that a place so petularly ill formed for such a mode of attack, and in no state of defence against a wary assailant, would have proved an easy conquest. Unhappily, the ill-timed ambition of a rash individual defeated this plan, and had nearly caused the destruction of the whole party. Captain Mayaffre unwilling, as it appears, for no other possible motive can be ascribed to so precipitate and irregular a conduct, to lose the opportunity which his present and casual command afforded him, of acquiring a military reputation, without plan, without enquiry, against the advice of his officers, and against order, ordered the detachment to march into the narrow lanes of the town, where they were opposed by the fire of an enemy surrounding them unseen ; and the party :

which entered were in an instant annihilated rather than defeated. Twenty-three men of the corps of Rangers, with their commander, Captain Doxat, who led the attack, were killed, and ten wounded. The first battalion of the sixth regiment of sepoy, commanded by Captain Blair, which followed, lost fifty-seven killed, and forty-one wounded. The whole loss sustained in all the corps was, one hundred and seven killed, and seventy-two wounded. Captain Mayaffre was killed. The detachment instantly retreated. The retreat appears to have been conducted by Captain Blair, and in a manner that did him much credit. The enemy pursued with little effect, their numbers gradually lessening, till the detachment arrived within four miles of Chunar, which it regained the same evening.

This unfortunate affair happened on the morning of the 20th of August.

I considered myself now as plunged in a decided war, and made every provision both for its speedy termination, and its confinement to the scene in which it had opened.

Orders were written and dispatched in multiplied copies to the different military stations for assistance, to the Resident of the Vizier's Court for a supply of treasure, and to Lieutenant-Colonel Blair for an instant reinforcement. The very few reached their destination, the communication with every quarter being intercepted, and all the country in arms against us; and our emissaries, unused to this dangerous service either made prisoners, or not daring to execute it, and secreting their dispatches. Two of my letters reached

Colonel Blair, who ordered Captain M'Dougal, with the second battalion of the sixth regiment, to march on the next day, which was the 21st, to Benares. I now passed an interval, like that of a dead calm preceding a violent storm, and fraught with all the symptoms of its certain approach. Successive notices were brought to me by various channels of preparations making at Ramnagur for an assault on my quarters, which stood in the midst of the suburbs of Benares, and consisted of many detached buildings within one large enclosure, surrounded by houses and trees, which intercepted every other prospect. The whole force which I had left amounted to about four hundred and fifty men. The reports of an intended assault, which was fixed for that night, grew stronger as the day advanced. The boats on the other side of the river were seen to be in motion; and besides the moral certainty of the real existence of such a design, the obvious advantages which it presented to the enemy, who had nothing left to fear and nothing else to do, precluded all hesitation, but on the choice of expedients for defeating it. There were but two; which were, to wait the danger and try the chances of repelling it, or to retreat to a place of greater security, or of equal advantage for the encounter. The confined state of the place, of which any description will be insufficient to convey an adequate idea, rendered the first plan impracticable. We had not a force sufficient to guard all the defences of the place, nor a store for the provisions of a day, even for that small number. The only arguments for it were, the disgrace of a flight, and the consideration of our wounded sepoys, whom it might leave at

the discretion of a merciless enemy. The former consideration yielded to the superior weight of necessity; the latter to the impossibility of protecting the wounded men in either case, as they were quartered at the distance of near a mile from Mahoodass's Garden; nor would it have been possible in their condition, and in the multiplicity of pressing exigencies which the resolution to remain would have created, to remove them. Yet these considerations held me suspended during the whole course of the day. In the evening it became necessary to come to a final determination, as the delay of a few hours might now preclude every option. I consulted Major Popham. He declared the defence of the place impossible, and advised a retreat to Chunar. There were other field officers with me. I asked for their opinions separately. They clearly and unhesitatingly agreed in the same advice. My opinion had been determined from the instant I received the certain information of Captain Mayaffre's defeat. I had not yet received the news of Capt. M'Douga's march, nor any answer to the letters which I had written to Lieutenant-Colonel Blair for a reinforcement, nor could I know whether these had reached him. I yielded to the reluctance of a few minutes. My resolution was taken and declared, and orders given to form our little corps, that we might have time to gain the open country before the enemy, having notice of the design, could cross and attack us at the disadvantage of the street, lanes, and broken ground which we had to pass before we could reach it. These orders were issued between seven and eight o'clock; and by eight the line was in

motion, having been much retarded and impeded by an incredible tumult of servants, palankeens, and baggage of every denomination, which, for a time, threatened a total obstruction to our march. Fortunately this enormous mass took the wrong road, which left the right with a free and undisturbed passage for the sepoys. On the way we passed Captain McDougal's battalion about nine o'clock. We sent timely notice of our movement; he turned and joined us. Early the next morning we arrived at Chunar.

It is proper to mention, that as soon as I had formed my resolution to leave Benares, I sent my Moonshy to the Nabob Sadut Ally Cawn to recommend the wounded sepoys to his care, believing that the Rajah, from a consideration of policy, would not choose to molest them, especially as he could have no motive or object to it but revenge, if he would show a determined resolution to protect them. The same request I made to him in writing, after my arrival at Chunar. I owe him the justice to attest, that he faithfully and liberally complied with my request. He visited them himself, and furnished them with provisions and with money, and appointed native surgeons to attend them; and, as they were able to bear it, he caused them all to be removed to his own quarters.

Many reports and suspicions have prevailed of his being concerned in some of the designs which were formed against us. I can neither credit nor refute them. The evil imputed to him is at best doubtful. The good which he did is certain; and he is entitled to the entire merit of it.

I avail myself of this repose in my narrative, to relate another instance of private merit in Beneram Pundit, the Vackeel or Minister, of the Rajah of Berar, and his brother Bissummer Pundit. These persons had come to pay their customary attendance at my quarters about the time that the line was already on the march. They immediately joined it. Some time after I saw and spoke to them, expressing some concern to find them in that situation. They were on foot without a single servant or attendant. I suffered them to accompany me till we came to the plain and halted. I then thanked them for the proof which they had shewn of their attachment, with which I was satisfied and desired them to return, as they had a large family in Benares, which would be exposed by their continuance with me to the resentment of Cheit Sing, and perhaps to the worst effect of it; nor could they by their presence afford me any service which could repay what I myself should feel of compunction for suffering them to be exposed to such hazards. They refused me in a peremptory manner, without compliment, or the ostentation of performing meritorious service, and persisted, although I as peremptorily insisted on their return. I then desired that the elder brother, who was corpulent and of a constitution less equal to fatigue, would return, and the youngest only remain; but could not prevail. A few days after my arrival at Chunar, I casually mentioned to them my distress for provisions, which was occasioned principally by the want of money; for such was our total loss of credit, that we could not raise a sufficiency even for the ordinary wants of our small detachment;



and it was with great difficulty, and a degree of violence, that Lieutenant-Colonel Blair extorted from the Shroffs of Chunar; who had lived and grown opulent under the protection of the garrison, the small sum of two thousand five hundred rupees, which was distributed among all the sepoys, and afforded a satisfactory relief. Beneram Pundit immediately, and with an eagerness which belonged to his character, told me, that he had a lack of rupees, in ready money, lying in his house at Benares, which I might take, if I could find any means to receive and convey it to Chunar; and the youngest brother advised, as the simplest expedient, to send a battalion of sepoys for that purpose, which could easily go and return without interruption, as there were no troops stationed near the town on that side of the river, offering to accompany it himself, and to bring away the money. I rejected this proposal for an obvious reason, and preferred the trial of the means which the Shroffs are supposed to practise for the conveyance of money on such occasions. I accepted a draught on their family for the sum, payable to Contoo Bauboo, my Dewan, who had been left in Benares, and sent it enclosed in a letter to him, with directions to concert with Gopaul Doss the means of conveying it to Chunar. This proved ineffectual; Contoo Bauboo could not be found, Gopaul Doss was seized (I forget at what exact period of time) and sent a prisoner to Lutteefpoor, and in a short time after Contoo Bauboo was also secured and conveyed to the same place of confinement. I was obliged therefore to wait for a more favourable opportunity, which never happened while

I remained at Chunar. After my return to Benafes, Beneram again repeated the offer, I accepted it, and received the whole amount on the instant, giving him a note in the Company's name, and in the usual form for the same.

Examples of fidelity and national attachment merit the first reward of being recorded. In me, it is a duty, both of public and private obligation, to relate what I have related. Their merit is national, for under whatever impressions their assistance was offered, its object was the national service; nor can my person, in such an instance, be separated from my public character.

On the 20th or 21st, I forget which, I received a letter from Rajah Cheit Sing, filled with expressions of slight concern for what had passed, and professions, but indefinite and unapplied, of fidelity. I did not think it becoming to make any reply to it, and I think I ordered the bearer of the letter to be told that it required none.

On the morning of the 21st, a person came to Mr. Richard Johnson, who was one of my party, and desired his interposition with me to receive a letter and messenger from the Rajah in the evening, with proposals for an accommodation. The like application was made by Mirza Abdoola Beg, the Rajah's Vakeel, to my Dewan Contoo Bauboo, and with my permission Contoo Bauboo returned to his own house in the evening to meet the Vakeel by appointment for that purpose, by which means he missed the opportunity of going off with me, the intelligence of my intention reaching him too late for him to join me, or his infirm

state of body not admitting of his taking so hasty a resolution. The substance of the message, as it has been since delivered to me by Abdoola Beg in writing, was to exculpate himself from any concern in what had passed, which he charged to the insolent behaviour of a servant of the Resident, who was present, and the resentment of his own people, and to profess his obedience and submission to my will in whatever way I should dictate.

I regarded this as an artifice to gain time, since the message, whatever were the substance of it, might as easily have been delivered in the morning as in the evening, and the messenger might have obtained an easy access to me without the intrigue and mystery of secret and indirect applications.

I have been since confirmed in this opinion by the two following anecdotes, and their exact coincidence with the design to which I attribute that just recited.

On the morning of the 21st, while preparations were making to cross Capt. M'Dougal's battalion, three men, two strangers, and all volunteers, went successively to Col. Blair with intelligence that a design was formed to escalate the fort of Chunar with a numerous force on that night, and an earnest caution that he should not diminish the strength of his garrison.

The intelligence and advice delivered by each were expressed nearly in the same words. When Captain M'Dougal's battalion was on the road, three men, strangers and volunteers like the former, came to him successively with intelligence that a large body of

armed men lay in wait to intercept him at a village called Beetaburr, and warned him not to proceed. He proceeded, but did not meet a man. Lieut.-Col. Blair caused a more than ordinary watch to be kept on that night in the fort, but not a man appeared to attack it. Not one of these emissaries has ever been seen since.

As it had been my original intention to make but a short stay at Benares, the Nabob Vizier, in the expectation of my visit, had already left his capital, and advanced to a short distance to meet me. I considered that his presence would prove of much service by its influence on our credit, and his troops, rabble as they were, might serve to keep the country in awe, and to divide the attention of the enemy. But these advantages would invert the relation of our alliance, and give him a superiority in our meeting, which would defeat the purposes of it; besides that, I did not think it consistent with the dignity of our Government to employ a foreign aid for the suppression of a rebellion of its own subjects. I therefore wrote a letter to the Nabob, requesting him to return to Lucknow, and remain there until I should have leisure from the actual disturbances to prosecute my original journey. The Nabob refused to comply with this injunction, and on the first intimation of my difficulties resolved to join me; and he executed this purpose with such apparent earnestness, that he made his first stages with no other attendance than about 100 horse, and about four companies of his bodyguard, with his usual domestic attendants. As soon as I was informed of this, to remove any unfavourable impression of my

former letter under the construction of distrust, I wrote another to the Nabob, expressing the warmest sense of such a testimony of his attention, apologizing for what I had before written from an unwillingness to involve him in a scene of trouble, and expressing my desire to see him at Chunar, according to his own wishes.

In the meantime I had received several intimations imputing evil designs to the Nabob, and warning me to guard myself against them, and especially to be careful that I did not expose myself to the effects of concealed treachery, by visiting him without a strong guard. Many circumstances favoured this suspicion. No sooner had the rebellion of this Zemidary manifested itself, than its contagion instantly flew to Fyzabad, and the extensive territory lying on the North of the River Dewa, and known by the names of, Gooruckpoor, and Bareech. In the city of Fyzabad, Nawaub Allea and Junaaby Allea, the mother and grandmother of the Nabob, openly espoused the party of Cheit Sing, encouraging and inviting people to list for his service, and their servants took up arms against the English. Two battalions of regular sepoys in the Vizier's service, under the command of Lieut.-Col. Hannay, who had been entrusted with the charge of that district, were attacked and surrounded in various places, many of them cut to pieces, and Col. Hannay himself, encompassed by multitudes, narrowly escaped the same fate. The Nabob Vizier was charged with being privy to the intrigues which had produced and fomented these disturbances; and the little account that he seemed to make of them served

to countenance the suspicion. I can truly say for myself, that I never afforded it the slightest degree of credit: neither his character, the tenor of his past conduct, the expectations which I knew he entertained of assistance and relief from myself, nor his inability to support himself without the protection of our Government, allowing me for a moment to entertain a thought so injurious to his fidelity, and so contrary to probability; yet I was not perfectly free from apprehensions similar to such a suggestion. The Nabob was surrounded by men base in their characters, and improvident in their understandings, his favourites and the companions of his looser hours. These had every cause to dread the effect of my influence on theirs; and both these, and the relations of the family, whose views of consequence and power were intercepted by our participation in the administration of his affairs, entertained a mortal hatred to our nation, and openly avowed it. These all joined in prescribing the most pernicious and fatal counsels to the Nabob, representing this as the time to deliver himself from what they described as the yoke of servitude. Although he firmly rejected all their persuasions, and I was assured of it, yet he himself was at their mercy, and it was in their power to use both his authority and his person for the perpetration of their own designs; nor could I use any precaution to avoid them, which would not appear to proceed from a distrust of the Nabob himself. I never communicated my apprehensions, nor acted from them, and had the satisfaction of receiving the Nabob, of maintaining an intercourse with him, with every

mark of the most secure and mutual confidence; and of parting with him with every demonstration of mutual satisfaction.

I had before written to Col. Morgan for assistance. I now repeated the order; and as the issue of a war, begun with such disadvantages on our side, and with the total loss of the country, was doubtful, I added an order to follow with his whole force, with another to Col. Sir John Cumming who commanded at Futteh-gur, to supply his place at Cawnpoor. I considered that if we were successful with a less exertion, it would be easy to countermand these orders before the troops could have advanced far in the execution of them; but if we failed of success, and such orders were not sent, it might be too late to issue them with any hope of effect from them, or even of their being received; since the communication, which was now very difficult and uncertain, might then be absolutely precluded. None of my letters reached Col. Morgan till he had taken his resolution. Reports were conveyed to him of my situation and past misadventures. The sudden failure of intelligence convinced him of the truth of what he heard; and justly concluding that orders had been sent which had been stopped in their way to him, he at once resolved to execute their supposed and obvious purport, and detached a force superior to that which I had required to my assistance. It consisted of two regiments of sepoys, thirty European artillery men, and two companies of the European regiments, with four six pounders, one howitz, tumbrils, ammunition, draft and carriage cattle. For the greater expedition, he ordered this detachment

to proceed by water. The zeal of the officers, so well seconded that of their commander, that although it appears that the resolution was taken on the 29th, the whole were embarked, and in *movement*, on the 31st of the month. Major Crabb commanded the detachment.

A long interval of time, which acquired its full measure, from the magnitude of the events which were expected to grow out of it, and their uncertain production, passed in total ignorance of the success of the various orders which had been dispatched, and of the succours which might be preparing for us. One-half of the province of Owd, was in a state of as complete rebellion as that of Benares. Hutteh Shaw had invaded Sircar Sarun, in our own province, of Bahar, supported by supplies of money, and encouraged with promises of more from Cheit Sing: Many of the Zemindars of Bahar, had discovered symptoms of disaffection; and reports were made to me of levies of men openly entertained for the enemy, from our subjects in that province. Even the wretched subjects of Napal, dared to seize, by force, some villages, to which they had a claim, and had sometime before supplicated the attention of our Government towards it. In my impatience for advices, I dreaded that every packet would bring a fresh accumulation to our distresses, and the news of commotion in every quarter. At this period, a letter found its way to me from Colonel Muir, who commanded the army employed against Madajee Sindia, informing me of overtures made by that chief for a separate peace. This had been one of the objects of



my journey to this quarter; but eagerly as I had sought such an event, I was proportionably mortified to learn with what facility it might have been accomplished, and how unseasonably our domestic misfortunes had happened to defeat so fair a prospect of it. I had no money or credit, equal to the supply of 3,000 rupees; and by an unfortunate train of official perplexities, which had happened some time preceding this, both Major Popham's regiment, the Rangers, and all the corps of the garrison of Chunar, were four months in *arrears*. This was our situation.

What force could be spared from the garrison of Chunar, added to Major Popham's regiment, was formed into a detachment under his command, and encamped on a plain about a mile to the eastward of Chunar. The greatest strength of the enemy was collected at Pateeta, about seven miles from Chunar, in the same direction.

On the 27th of August, Lieutenant Polhill arrived with six companies of sepoys belonging to the Nabob Vizer's body-guard, stationed at Allahabad. He was ordered to encamp on the opposite bank of the river, for the purpose of keeping our communication open with the shore. On the 29th, he attacked and defeated a considerable body of troops, under the command of a principal chief, named Shaub Cawn, who was stationed at a small fort and town, called Seeker, within sight of Chunar. The advantages gained by this success were the removal of that part of the enemy, and the acquisition of a considerable booty in grain, which had been the object of the enterprise.

On the 3rd of September, Major Popham detached Captain Blair, with his battalion, and two companies of his own grenadiers, to surprise the camp at Pateeta. They marched at three in the morning, and arrived at the ground by daylight, but found it abandoned, and the enemy waiting for them in complete order, at about a mile beyond it. A bloody action ensued, in which the enemy, as might be expected from men flushed with recent successes, fought with a desperate intrepidity. Our sepoys began to break into disorder, when by a well-timed and successful attack of the enemy's guns by the two companies of grenadiers, headed by Lieutenants Fallon and Birrell, the fortune of the day turned in our favour, and the field was left in our possession, with four guns and four tumbrils. One of the guns, its carriage being broken, was spiked and left. The other three, with one of the tumbrils, loaded with as much ammunition as it could carry, were brought away. The other three tumbrils, with two hundred maunds of loose powder, were blown up. About 1,500 round shot of different weight, and mostly hammered, were found, and left in a village adjacent.

Our loss in the action, was very great : we had 48 men killed, and 85 wounded. That of the enemy was unknown, but must have been considerable. Their guns were well served, and it was from their execution that we principally suffered. It was remarkable that they had all the apparatus of our artillery, such as port fires, tubes, chain and quilted grape shot, &c., equal, or nearly equal, to the production of an European laboratory. Samples of each kind will be sent to the Board.

Their artillery did not answer to the quality of the stores. One gun was of modern cast and with its carriage, which was not bad, said to have been made at Ramnagur. The others were of a very old cast and construction, and their carriages bad and much worn. This was the general character of all the ordnance taken in the course of the war.

Dearly as this victory was purchased, with the expenditure of one-fourth of the party, it was yet a victory, ascertained and acknowledged, and had its due effect of impressing the enemy with discouragement, and our own men with confidence; and it was an earnest of our future success in the public opinion, which is, at all times, of high importance to our political influence, and was especially so at this, in which the minds of all men were suspended, for the decision of the part which they were to take, either in the immediate contest, or in their own conduct as dependent on it.

I must not omit in this place, an instance of vengeance which marks the sanguinary character of Cheit Sing, and too strongly proves, that if the other excesses committed by his people, were not authorized by his express order, they were perpetrated under the influence of his example, and the knowledge of his inclination.

Fourteen men of the corps of Rangers, had been left sick at Mirzapoor, when the remainder of Major Popham's detachment marched under the command of Captain Mayaffre to Ramnagur. They were made prisoners and sent to Lutteeepoor. They arrived there, on the 3d of September, about the same time that

news was received of Captain Blair's action at Pateeta, which happened on that morning. What provocation they gave, or whether any, is not known. It is surmised, but I know not the authority, that one of these unhappy men expressed a joy on hearing that our arms had been successfull. They were all butchered on the spot, and almost in the immediate presence of the Rajah, except one man, who made a shift to crawl with a mangled body to the neighbouring woods, where he subsisted for a few days; returned to the fort, received mercy, and is still living and in our camp. The particulars of this massacre have been since verified with some unessential variations from my relation of it, in an affidavit of the survivor, which will be annexed.

On the 10th of September, at about seven in the morning, Major Crabb's detachment appeared on the opposite shore. It consisted of the corps already related. It had proceeded as far as Illahabad by water, but been much retarded in its course by strong and adverse winds; on which account, the course of the river also winding very much between Illahabad and Chunar, Major Crabb had prudently disembarked the men and stores, and marched them by the high road, remanding the boats to Cawnpoor, whither, indeed, their return would have been impracticable, had they passed the boundary of this Zemidary.

Major Roberts, with his regiment, and a lack of rupees in silver, arrived on the 13th, of September from Lucknow, to which place, as I have before related, he had been ordered to repair for the guard of my person, in my intended visit to that capital.

A further supply of fifty thousand rupees was a few days after received from the Nabob's Aumil of Illahabad.

The money was immediately distributed among all the troops in equal proportions; and by satisfying their wants, facilitated Major Popham's preparations for the commencement of active operations.

I have a pleasure in testifying that, distressed as the sepoys had been for the want of money, they had never manifested the least symptom of discontent. I had frequently visited the camp, and passed the lines each time in review. Once, and only once, I heard one or two voices of complaint, but neither clamorous nor disrespectful.

On the 11th, the Nabob Vizier arrived at his encampment, which had been formed on the opposite shore. I chose to make him the first visit, which was performed on the same morning, and was returned by him on the next.

Hyder beg, the Nabob's second Minister, arrived at the same time. He had been deputed early to meet me at Benares, and had arrived there about two days after my departure from it. Instead of following me to Chunar, he had suffered himself to be detained by Lalla Bucherauge, the Shroff, who had promised to accompany him with a supply of money. In the mean time, a sudden and great swell of the river rendered the Burna Nulla, behind which he was encamped, impassable. The Rajah's people, at the same time, carried away all the boats; and after a long and fruitless negotiation with them for an unmolested passage, which he did not think it prudent to

Attempt at the hazard of an opposition, he at length did attempt it, and met none. His indecision on this occasion, furnished ground for various suppositions; but I knew, and had assurances from a person in my suite, who had taken refuge with him and acquired his confidence, and on whose authority I could implicitly rely, that they were wholly devoid of foundation. I had a pleasing and incontrovertible evidence of his fidelity, soon after the conclusion of our troubles, in a letter which Captain Blair picked up at Lutteespoor, and which I shall add to the Appendix; not merely as a justification of that Minister, but as a relief to the dry and unentertaining materials with which it is associated, if it shall convey the same opinion of the good sense of the writer to other minds, as it has done to mine.

On the 15th, Lieutenant Polhill crossed and joined Major Popham's camp. The whole detachment now consisted of the following strength, *viz.*

1 company of European grenadiers, commanded by Captain Grant.		
1 ditto	ditto light infantry	ditto Capt. Harrison.
1 ditto	French Rangers	ditto Lieut. Wade.
30	European artillery men	ditto Capt. Hill.
1	regiment of sepoy's the 7th	ditto Major Crabb.
1	ditto - - - - 15th	ditto Major Balfour.
1	ditto - - - - 30th	ditto Major Roberts.
1	ditto - - - - 35th	ditto Major Popham.
1	battalion, the 1st of the 6th	ditto Captain Blair.
	regiment - - - -	
6	companies of the Nabob's	
	body guards - - -	ditto Lieut. Polhill.

The following is a catalogue of Cheit Sing's whole force, which has been since delivered to me by one of his principal officers; and as it made a part of the affidavit I admit it and credit it as genuine. It is certainly not exaggerated.

LIST of the established forces in the service of Cheit Sing, Cavalry, Sepoys, Matchlockmen, &c., &c.

Cavalry	...	...	...	...	1700
Select troops or bodyguards, Horse and foot	...	...	...	...	700
Sepoys	...	...	...	...	1150
Matchlock men	...	...	...	...	1800
Attached to Bullum Dass, horse 300, foot 500	...	...	...	...	800
With Sujan Sing, cavalry and infantry, 500	...	...	...	...	
with two guns, Sepoys and artillery men, 340	...	...	...	...	840
With Munnear Sing, cavalry and infantry	...	...	...	...	700
Total established troops—					7690

Troops entertained after the arrival of Cheit Sing,  
at Luteespore

First, entertained at Luteespore, Matchlock and

Sword men	...	...	...	...	2000
Second, Nujjeeb Sword men, from Lucknow	...	...	...	...	1000
Total—					3000

Troops assembled from different places, horse and foot, the Jugger Deave Sing					...	...	500
Matchlock men arrived with Bukht Sing, by order, from the Rajah					...	...	1200
With Gomaun Sing, sent for by the Rajah, Matchlock men					...	...	500

From the Fowjdar of Biddevi arrived, Matchlock	
men ... ..	1000
Rajepoots, of the tribe of Rugbunse, from	
Kurraukut ... ..	3000
Arrived with Dullun Sing, Foujdar of Mukurun,	
Badshahpoor Matchlocks ... ..	1500
Cavalry and infantry, arrived with Ruzza Cooli	
Khan from Mirzapoor ... ..	300
Rajepoots collected from Agoree and Purwah,	
by Dia Lutchoo ... ..	500
Of the tribe or cast of Kammaur, collected by	
Shujan Sing ... ..	1000
Sword and Matchlock men with Ramjeewawm	2000
Total troops in the service of Cheit Sing—	22,100

To which are to be added husbandmen and adventurers, who took up arms voluntarily, making the foregoing number amount to near forty thousand.

These forces were divided between Lutteefpoor, Pateetah, and Ramnagur. The best reputed of them were at Pateetah, and the great mass composing the last corps, with a part of the others, at Lutteefpoor with the Rajah, who had fixed his residence at that place since his flight from Shewallah Gaut.

Before I proceed, it may not be improper to state the resource on which he, not very unreasonably, depended for lengthening the war, if not for success in the course of it.

First, his fortresses; of which there are many, and some of considerable extent and strength, erected in various parts of the Zemidary. Of these the two principals are Bidjeygur and Luteefpoor. Ramnagur



scarcely deserves to be named with them, and Patectah has been rendered considerable, only by its having been a capital scene of opposition and of our victories.

Bidjeyg is a fort erected on the solid rock, of a hill rising to the height of 745 perpendicular feet from the level ground. It lies about fifty miles in a south-east direction from Chunar. It was the depository of all his and his father's treasures.

Luteefpoor is a large fort built with stone, and surrounded by hills, and either from neglect or design, obstructed from distant view by trees and thick shrubs surrounding it. It lies about 14 miles eastward from Chunar.

Patectah is a very large town, surrounded by a rampart of earth, extending to a great distance beyond it to the hills adjoining. The fort itself is a small square house of stone, itself fortified with four round towers, and enclosed with a high rampart, and a ditch, which is in most parts broad and deep. Its greatest advantage against an enemy, to whom delay was defeat, was, that it was invisible to its assailants.

Ramnagur has been described already. The other forts, whatever their consequence under a different train of successes might have been, are of none to the events of this narrative.

His next great resource was his wealth, on which he looked, and thought himself invincible, an expression which I borrow from one of the meanest of his dependants. It is credibly affirmed that he inherited from his father, Bulwant Sing, a complete crore of rupees, to which it is believed that he made considerable additions.

The distresses of our Government, and the power and number of its enemies, may also be reckoned, though negative, yet amongst his resources. The rest were delusory, which the false and violent counsels of his brother, Shujah Sing, and his Buxey Saddanund, imposed on his inexperience, and the pliancy and aptitude of his disposition.

It would break the attention, and perplex the thread of the narrative, to relate every distinct event in its exact order of time. I have therefore in the minuter points, endeavoured rather to arrange them according to their relation to the greater, or to find a place for them in the vacant intervals and pauses of it. It may be proper in this place to mention, that during the time of inaction, which succeeded to my arrival at Chunar, I received several letters from Cheit Sing, besides letters from Mr. Barnet, and one from Contoo Baboo, who were both his prisoners at Luteespoor, which were written by his order. These were all alike in substance, containing acknowledgments and professions of his submission to my authority, assertions of his own innocence, charging the massacre of Shewallah to the Chobdar, whose insults provoked the resentment of his servants, whom he could not restrain; and claim a merit from his having in the three past actions been the suffering part, though successful, and in none the aggressor; adding general offers of accommodation, and in the letters written by his order, a pompous display of his inexhaustible wealth, the multitude and bravery of his forces, and the devoted affection and fidelity of all his subjects. I refused to answer them, letting him know that they were written with too

much presumption, in the style of equality, and with inapplicable professions, which were no better than none. Some of these letters will appear in the Appendix. The rest were lost.

It had been intended to begin our operations with the attack of Ramnagur ; partly because it had been the scene of our first disgrace, and principally because the repossession of the capital, which would follow the capture of Ramnagur, would, it was thought, redeem our credit with the public, and be deemed equivalent in the distant reports of it, to the complete recovery of our authority over the country ; as the existence of a fugitive chief in the wilds and mountains would be little regarded, when he was expelled from the capital of his Government, and the seat of his collections. For this purpose, battering cannon and mortars were ordered to Major Popham's camp, and every other preparative made for a siege. This caused the delay of some days. In the meantime, a man named Bundoo Cawn, a native and inhabitant of the town of Chunar, gave information that, as the Rajah's force was principally collected at Lutteespoor and Pateetah, and was daily accumulating, it would become exceedingly difficult to dislodge him, if he was allowed to gain too great strength there, by a process of detailed and consecutive operations ; that the approaches both to Pateetah and Luteespoor were strongly guarded, and especially those of Luteespoor, which he described as unassailable, but with a great and certain loss, on this side, the only road to it lying through Pateetah ; and even if carried, untenable from the strength of the pass behind it, of which the enemy

would keep possession in defiance of all our efforts, and against any superiority of numbers. This pass takes its name from the adjacent village of Suckroot. He advised a divided plan of attack to be executed at the same point of time ; one on the fort of Pateetah, the other on the pass of Suckroot ; of which our forces coming on it by surprise, it being unguarded and easier of access from above, might easily obtain possession, and by that means gain the same advantage over the garrison of Luteefpoor, as that would have over us, if we first took possession of the fort ; with the command of every road of communication, if, which he did not doubt, we succeeded against Pateetah. He offered to conduct the party which should be destined on the service against the pass of Sutkroot, by a road unfrequented and unknown, which he described correct with a minute, and, as it has since appeared, detail. The confidence with which he spoke, and correct the consistency of his assertion and reasonings upon them, acquired a great additional strength from his former recent conduct. He had accompanied Captain Blair in both actions of Ramnagur and Pateeta, and had been very serviceable to that officer by his knowledge of the ground, and by his advice in the application of it. His service on both occasions had been gratuitous, nor did he profess any motive for that which he now offered, but the interest and safety of a large family which depended on our success.

Major Popham at once saw the propriety of his advice, and adopted it. The evening of the 15th, was appointed for the first execution of the plan. In the mean time, it was concealed with the most profound

secrecy. As a security for the fidelity and steadiness of Bundob Cawn, he had a promise of a jagheer in perpetuity for himself and family, if the enterprize succeeded. This engagement has been since amply performed. Major Popham formed his army into two divisions, one destined for the more distant enterprize, and commanded by Major Crabb. It consisted of the 7th regiment, Major Crabb's; the 1st battalion of the 6th regiment; Lieutenant Polhill's six companies of the Nabob's body-guard; four six-pounders, and a five and half-inch howitz. These corps were told off, and began their march about eleven that night. Major Popham began his march with the other division at about three o'clock in the morning to Pateetah.

On his arrival there he found the works much stronger, and the approach more hazardous, than he had expected from the description which had been given of the place. He applied for the two battering cannon and the mortars which had been originally intended for the attack of Ramnagur, and remanded on the change of the plan. They were sent, but made no impression; and he resolved, on the encouragement of a five day's experience, and from the fear of a delay operating against the other part of his plan, to attempt a storm. This was ordered and executed on the morning of the 20th, with an instant and complete success. Major Roberts commanded the storming party. The enemy made a slight stand at the outer entrenchment, and fled through the fort, our men following without opposition. A slight attack was made at this time on our camp, but repelled with some loss on the part of the enemy,

and none on ours. We lost during the siege eleven men killed, besides ten wounded.

On the same morning, Major Crabb having conducted his division through almost impracticable ways, arrived at a village called Lora, which lies about two miles from the pass. Here he found a body of men with three guns posted to oppose him. They made a firm stand, but were defeated with a considerable loss. Ours was twelve men of every denomination killed, and twenty-two wounded. The enemy fled through the pass to Luteespoor. Our detachment followed to the head of the pass, and there encamped for the remainder of the day.

The news of these concurrent successes being conveyed to the Rajah, at the same instant of time, alarmed him exceedingly for his own personal safety. His fears were excited with a more forcible impression by the surprise of the advance of so great a force from a quarter where he had not expected any. With his face turned towards Chunar, and his whole attention and that of his people directed to the movements which were made on that side, they had no suspicion of any design being formed behind them. The first intelligence which was received of Major Crabb's party, described it as consisting of the followers of Oossaun Sing, and only three companies of our Sepoys; the Hircarrahs who conveyed the news, possibly mistaking the advanced guard for the whole force, and reporting it accordingly; nor was the real strength of the party known, even by that which was detached to oppose it, until the instant of the action. This circumstance was related at the time, and has been since confirmed

to me by an officer, named Myher, who commanded a small body of the Rajah's Sepoys, and the guns in the action. No design could be more judiciously planned, or more happily executed. Even the impediments and disappointments which attended it, served but to promote the coincidence of the final movements of its operation, with so well-timed an effect, that the difference of time which passed between the engagement at Lora and the conquest of Pateetah, was little more than that which would be required by the difference of the distances of each from Luteefpoor, for the news of each success to reach Luteefpoor at the same instant.

Cheit Sing instantly prepared for flight. His road to Bidjeygur, which was his last refuge, lay through the pass, which he durst not attempt. He left Luteefpoor about three or four in the afternoon; and making a circuit over the hills, gained the high road at the distance of some miles beyond the pass, and proceeded with a few followers to the neighbourhood of Bidjeygur. Some others followed and rejoined him. The rest left without orders, stayed but to plunder the place, and evacuated it. The Gawng Wallahs, or militia, composed of the husbandmen, who had been summoned to attend him, all fled to their own homes. So rapid was the report of this event in its communication, and so decisive in its effects, that the fort of Sutteessgur, which lies about seven or eight miles to the northward of Luteefpoor, and the palace of Ramnagur, were evacuated on the same evening; and the allegiance of the whole country restored as completely in the course of a few

hours, from a state of universal revolt, to its proper channel, as if it had never departed from it.

On the next morning, the 21st, Major Crabb marched through the pass to Luteefpoor, and found it abandoned.

On the same day, Major Moses Crawford, with the 28th regiment of Sepoys, arrived from Dinapoor, and joined the detachment.

Major Balfour was detached on the morning of the 22d to Ramnagur, of which he took quiet possession. No one remained to oppose him.

Being desirous of returning without loss of time to Benares, and the presence of the Nabob Vizier being more urgently required for the quiet of his country, we parted on the 25th, with every expression of mutual and real satisfaction.

On the next morning I arrived at Ramnagur, and on the 28th returned to my old quarters at Mahdoodass's Garden at Benares.

To quiet the minds of the people, proclamations were issued, offering pardon to all who should peaceably return to their obedience, excepting the persons of Cheit Sing, and his brother Shujan Sing, whom their late rebellious conduct, and their rancour manifested to our nation in the deliberate murder of our soldiers, and even defenceless passengers, who had the misfortune to fall into their hands, had precluded from every title to lenity. Among the unhappy sufferers to whom the above exception alluded, was a person of the name of Hooker, who had followed the occupation of a dealer in European wares to our camps, and had ventured to pass in his budgerow, a little after the



unhappy affair of Shewalláh, near Ramnagar, where, he was seized, and unarmed as he was, and pleading the innocence of his profession, murdered in cold blood. Shujan Sing had the command at that time in Ramnagar. Two soldiers also, of Major Crabb's detachment, having wandered from the line, were taken and murdered at Gopee Gunge. For this reason that town was excepted in the proclamation, and has since been destroyed.

My first care, after my return to Benares, was to determine the succession to the Zemidary and Rauje, vacated by the forfeiture of Cheit Sing. The right of the Company to the disposal of it certainly had not suffered by the past events. The territory had been wholly lost to their dominion, and wholly conquered by their arms: yet the rest of the family, who formerly possessed it, had not merited by any act of theirs, to be involved in the punishment of a man who had been equally their enemy, and whom they had regarded as the usurper of their more legal rights; nor perhaps, would it have been prudent to have put the submission of the people to the test of a new species of dominion. I therefore resolved, in virtue of the full powers which I possessed from the Board for that purpose, to bestow it on the next lineal heir. This was Bauboo Mehinnarain. He was the grandson of Rajah Bulwunt Sing, by a daughter married to Bauboo Doorgbijey Sing. The widow of Bulwunt Sing, named Ranny Goolaub Koower, was still living and in an extreme old age. By the Hindoo law she might claim the inheritance. Her daughter also, the wife of Doorgbijey Sing, might assert the like pretension. Had it become a matter

of contest, I had resolved to leave it into the decision of the whole body of the Pundits of Benares; but this reference was unnecessary. Doorgbijey Sing yielded up the pretension of his wife, and the old Ronny her own, by a writing sealed with her name, and acknowledged in the presence of a confidential person whom I deputed to her for that purpose, declaring it to be her wish and request, that the Rauje might be conferred on her grandson, Mehpnarain. He was accordingly invested and proclaimed on the 30th of September. His father, Bauboo Dporgbijey Sing, was at the same time invested with the office of Naib, and is in effect the sole acting manager. He is about thirty-five years of age, his son nineteen.

I have thought it proper to establish a distinct and independent magistracy for the town of Benares. Allee Ibrahim Cawn, the person chosen for this charge, was duly invested with it on the 20th of October.

On the 5th of November I concluded the settlement of the revenue which was to be paid by Rajah Mehpnarain, being 33,33,33,358 for the current year, and a perpetual rent of 40,00,000 rupees for the future.

It has been already mentioned, that soon after my flight to Ctunar, Colonel Muir advised me of overtures made by Mahdajee Sindia for a separate peace. I sent to Colonel Muir credentials and instructions; and on the 13th of October a treaty was concluded with Mahdajee Sindia. To confirm and improve the advantages obtained by it, I deputed Mr. Anderson to Mahdajee Sindia, and at the same time sent Mr. Chapman, with Bissummer Pundit on a similar commission to Mood&jee Boosla, the Rajah of Berar.

On the 8th of October, Major Naylor, with the 23d regiment, having been detached to the relief of Lieutenant-Colonel Hannay, arrived on the northern banks of the Dewar, defeated a large force which had assembled round Colonel Hannay, and entirely dispersed them. The return of the Nabob soon after effectually restored the quiet of the country.

About the same time a regiment of sepoys, under the command of Major Lucas, defeated and drove Futty Shaw from the district of Sircar Saurun.

After having gained possession of Luteefpoor, Major Popham lost no time in prosecuting his march to Bidjeegur. Cheit Sing did not wait his approach, but fled, taking with him as much treasure as his elephants and camels could carry, which has been reported to me to have consisted of one lack of mohrs and fifteen or sixteen of silver, besides jewels to an unknown amount. \* His wife, a woman of an amiable character, his mother Pauna, and all the other women of his family, and the survivors of the family of his father Bulwunt Sing, who were connected with his, were left in the fort of Bidjeegur. He took the route of Rewa, and from thence proceeded to Panna, the capital of Boondelcund, paying and plundered as he passed. He was by the last advices in that country, the Rajah professing in his letters to me a resolution to withdraw his protection from him, and secretly favouring him.

The fortress of Bidjeegur surrendered by capitulation on the 10th of November, yielding to Major Popham the peculiar credit of having surmounted all the obstacles which nature and art has opposed.

to the conquest of two of the fortresses of Hindostan, which had been before universally deemed impregnable.

I have now brought my narrative to its proper conclusion, at that point in which all the movements which form the subject of it, and all their objects appear to have attained their full and complete termination. I regret the length to which it has been drawn, and fear that it will appear unreasonable to those who may consider it a point of duty to give it a thorough perusal and who will scarce fail to reflect, that it contains in effect the history of but one month. To myself the reflection affords a different sensation when applied to the multitude of events, and their magnitude comprised within so short an interval of my public life. I have aimed at brevity, both in the selection of facts and in the narration of them; having omitted every circumstance which, though engaging a portion of my attention at the time, had no connection with the general train of events, or influence on the character by which they are discriminated from the ordinary course of affairs. For the satisfaction of such as shall have more patience or leisure to look into them, I have added as an Appendix, copies of all the material papers which have a relation to the narrative, but which would have increased the bulk of it, and disturbed the attention, if inserted in the body of it.

I have also added attestations of all the principal facts and events, sworn before the Chief Justice, to whose advice I am obliged for having suggested it. It did not strike my mind that matters of such notoriety here would require some more authentic

verification of them at home than the recital of the man, whose reputation is so immediately concerned as mine is, in the judgment which my superiors, and which the public at large will have a right to form upon it. I am sensible of the wisdom of the precaution, and sorry that it was not earlier intimated, that I might have had time to have collected a larger fund of evidence, although I have reason to be satisfied with the weight of that which I have obtained. Let it be also remembered, that this relation itself has been written under the force of an obligation, as binding as that of an oath administered and taken in all its legal forms.

Whatever judgment may be passed on my particular conduct, I am yet happy that it has proved the means of calling forth the inherent virtue of my countrymen, and displaying to all the powers and people of India both the national character and the national constitution by such effects as have been unrecorded in their histories, and are scarce conceivable by their habit of thinking.

The suddenness of our calamities, the distance of assistance, the privation of every present resource; the manifest interest which animated and impelled every corps and every individual to the support of the common cause; and the rapidity with which they rushed to repel the common danger, are facts of universal observation; and will contribute more effectually to the permanency of the British influence and dominion, than the most splendid victories obtained over adversaries of the highest reputation, because it shows the harmony which unites all the parts of our

Government, and their augmented strength under the compression of external violence; and will be remembered as a most striking example, which every man concerned in its operations will apply to his own interests and feelings; that its greatest and most successful exertions have arisen out of the most desperate emergencies, and have fallen in every such instance with the most dreadful vengeance on the heads of its aggressors.

For the sense which I have entertained of the particular conduct of the officers who have distinguished themselves in the late service, I cannot express myself in stronger terms than those of the following extract of my letter to the Board, dated the 29th of September, and copy of one dated the 7th of October.

Extract of a letter from the Governor-General to the Board, dated 29th September, 1781.

" I have forborne any particular comments in  
" this place, reserving them, where they will be more  
" properly introduced, for my detailed narrative. Yet  
" I cannot suppress without a violence to my own  
" feelings the testimony which is due, especially from  
" me, to the unexampled zeal and public spirit of all  
" our officers, and the wonderful activity with which  
" these qualities were displayed on the late occasion.  
" I have already acknowledged the early exertions  
" which were made by Colonel Blair, during my former short and calamitous residence at Benares.  
" Of Major Popham I cannot say sufficient, to express  
" my sense of his services. Though my letters were

"every where intercepted, Colonel Morgan, with a  
 "decision and solicitude that reflect equal credit  
 "upon his character, detached Major Crabb, with his  
 "party, to my assistance on the first and instant  
 "rumour of my situation. Colonel Sir John Cumming,  
 "with the like alacrity, obeyed the orders for his  
 "march to Cawnpore; as did Lieutenant-Colonel  
 "Ahmuty, in the immediate dispatch of Major Craw-  
 "ford, and the troops of cavalry. The same spirit  
 "animated every officer of every corps, and infused  
 "itself into the men under their command with an  
 "effect so far exceeding the common occurrences of  
 "human affairs, that in the complete space of one  
 "month, this great and valuable Province, which had  
 "been suddenly and wholly lost, was in substance  
 "wholly recovered to the British Empire.

"I am, &c."

Copy of a letter from the Governor General to the  
Board, dated the 7th of October.

"I have had frequent occasion to express, in public  
 "orders, the highest approbation of the zeal, spirit,  
 "and good conduct exerted by all the officers and  
 "troops in all the late operations for reducing the  
 "rebellious Zemidary to obedience. Several of the  
 "officers have merited and received particular thanks  
 "by name, and it would give me the greatest satisfac-  
 "tion to distinguish and reward each individual in  
 "proportion to his station and services. But as no  
 "Government is possessed of the means of such diffu-  
 "sive recompence, it must be unavoidably confined.

“ to those whose elevated rank, or peculiar situation,  
“ affords them opportunities of laying immediate  
“ claim to the more honorary or beneficial testimonies  
“ of public gratitude. But such testimonies, whilst  
“ they are in possession of persons of superior rank,  
“ give hopes to, and excite the emulation of those  
“ also who are in the inferior; and thus, by well-timed  
“ and judicious rewards, the prosperity of the state  
“ and the interests of its servants are united.

“ It is on this principle that I request permission  
“ to solicit the consideration of the Board, for an honour-  
“ able recompence to the two officers who have been  
“ first in rank, and most conspicuous in services,  
“ during the commotions in this district.

“ Lieutenant-Colonel Blair, who commanded at  
“ Chunargur, from the day of the fatal catastrophe  
“ in this town, manifested a generous zeal for the  
“ public interests, and for my safety, above all con-  
“ siderations for his own. Every requisition which  
“ I made to him was instantly complied with, and  
“ he sent me a reinforcement of a battalion of Sepoys,  
“ at a time when he had the strongest grounds to  
“ believe, that an attack would be made on his own  
“ garrison, which it was incapable of sustaining.

“ It is perhaps scarce less meritorious in Colonel  
“ Blair to have not only submitted without repining  
“ to the preference of any inferior officer to a command  
“ of such importance within the limits of his own, but  
“ to have assisted and co-operated with that officer  
“ with as much alacrity, as if the success was to have  
“ redounded to his own honour.

“ This is not the first occasion on which the



attention of the Board has been called to the distinguished merit and services of Major Popham. They have been again most happily exerted in his present command for the safety and interests of the company in a very perilous situation. I have been in a manner eye witness of them. I wish to express and to shew my sense of them, but I want language for the first, and means for the latter.

"As from the knowledge which I have of the characters of Lieutenant-Colonel Blair and Major Popham, I am certain that the most honourable reward will be to them the most acceptable one. I beg leave to propose, that they be promoted by Brevet to the rank immediately above that which they at present respectively hold; that is Lieutenant-Colonel Blair to the rank of Colonel, and Major Popham to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.—This preferment, whilst it is an honourable distinction to these officers, cannot be deemed an injury to their seniors; as their promotion will not be thereby retarded: they may be always employed on separate services, and their rank will not be affected when they rise in the regular course of succession.

"The Company owe so much to the eminent services of Major Popham, that I may think it incumbent upon me at a future period, to recommend him to their further consideration. Whilst I bestow the just tribute of praise due to those officers who acted upon the spot, I should be guilty of an unpardonable neglect and even injustice, if I omitted to express my sense of equal approbation of the conduct of others more remote.

“ Colonel Morgan on the first intelligence which  
“ reached him of my situation, and without waiting  
“ for official information or authority, in the true spirit  
“ of an able and zealous officer, detached a very considerable  
“ portion of his brigade, and all the supplies  
“ of provisions which he could procure.

“ Sir John Cumming likewise moved with the  
“ utmost diligence and alacrity on receiving an order  
“ to occupy the station of Cawnpoor, in the room of  
“ the second brigade. He marched with his whole  
“ force in fifteen hours after receiving the orders,  
“ and reached Cawnpoor in four days, himself, officers,  
“ and troops, cheerfully making their utmost efforts  
“ in the common cause.

“ Such have been the spirited and judicious exertions  
“ of our officers and troops in support of the  
“ Company's most valuable rights and possessions, of  
“ the dignity of their Government, and of the honour  
“ and safety of their chief Magistrate; a conduct  
“ which manifests the strongest attachment and affection  
“ on their parts, and implies an observance of  
“ justice and regard to the prosperity and happiness  
“ of those who are placed under our authority, on  
“ ours. These are circumstances which will always  
“ afford me the most pleasing reflections, notwithstanding  
“ the calamities which have produced them.

“ I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed)

“ WARREN HASTINGS.”

*Chunar, 1st December, 1781.*

TRANSLATION of the *Sunnud* granted to Rajah Cheit Sing, for the Zemidary of Gāuzipoor, Benares, &c.

Be it known to the Mutsedies in office, present and to come, Cannoongoes, Muchudums, Ryatts, cultivators, to all the inhabitants and people resident and belonging to Sircar Benares, Gazypore, and Chundara, in the soubah of Illahabad, That whereas by virtue of a treaty with the Nabob Assoph ul Dowlah, concluded on the 20th Rubby ul Owāl, 1189, Hegeree, or 21st May 1775, the Government and Sovereignty of the Sircars above-mentioned, has been ceded to the Honourable East-India Company, from the 4th of Jummaddy ul Owāl 1189 Hegeree, or 4th July, 1775, the said East-India Company therefore, in virtue of the rights thereby obtained, do confirm unto Rajah Cheit Sing the Zemidary, Aumeeny, and Poujedary of the said Sircars agreeably to the Zemmell, together with the Cutwallus of Juanpore and Benares, and the Mint of Benares, from the said date. Whatever gold and silver shall be coined in the Mint, the said Rajah shall coin conformably to his Mutchulka. He is not to be, in the smallest particular, remiss in the observation and execution of the several duties incumbent on him, he is to behave with moderation and kindness to the Ryatts and people, to promote the cultivation and increase of inhabitants and produce of the lands; expelling thieves, mightily assaulters and robbers, and so effectually punishing the disturbers of the peace, that no trace of them may be seen; and he is to pay a tribute of 23,40,249 Benares mutchuldar rupees, or

22,66,180 Calcutta siccas, annually to the Company's Treasury; should he receive orders to pay the above revenue at Benares, he shall, in that case, pay the sum of 23,40,249 Benares mutchuldar rupees, each rupee to weigh ten masha, and to contain two ruttee and two chowls of alloy, and no more; should the weight be less, or the alloy be more, he shall make up the deficiency; whenever the money shall not be wanted at Benares, he is to remit the annual amount of 23,66,180 of sicca rupees punctually agreeable to his Kists, and by monthly payments at Calcutta. In consideration of which, he shall be allowed a deduction of two per cent amounting in all to sicca rupees 44,4,34 14 5 account of Hindownny or Exchange, which being deducted, the net amount is 22,21,745 17 sicca rupees of Calcutta, which he is to pay at that place. After the settlement of accounts, at the end of the year, he shall, in the customary manner, receive credit for his payments, and he is by no means to collect the prohibited abwab of the durgah of his Majesty. This Sunnud being granted, is to remain in force, and all former Sunnuds to become null and void; you the Mutseddies and persons above-mentioned, are to regard the said Rajah, as truly and lawfully possessed of the Zemidary, Aumuny, and Poujedary, of the above Sircars, and to acknowledge his authority in the several acts appertaining thereunto. Know that we have issued the most strict and positive commands, and obey them accordingly.

Written on the 25th of Suffer, 17th Sun, or 15th of April, 1776.

(Signed) By the Governor-General and Council,

## The Zimmeen.

The office of the Zemidary of Sircar Benares, Gazypore, Chundra, the Cuttwally, the duties and the Mint in the Sobah of Illahabad, have been conferred upon the great Chief Rajah Cheit Sing Behadre, also the Aumuny and Poujedarry.

Copy of a *Pottah* granted to Cheit Sing

The *Pottah* containing the underwritten stipulations is granted unto Rajah Cheit Sing Bahadre.

Sircar Benares, Gazypore, Chunar, and the mahals of Sircar of Juanpore, comprehending the mahal and duties, Havily, Mahomed, Abaub, Benares, the Khausa Dams in Purgunna Bhadurry, Talook of Sunkeramow in Purgunna Chunar, Suklesgurra, Bijcepore, Sircar Gauzypore Purgunnah Sekunderpore Khered Shady Abaud Patna Serreinga, including the Cutwally duties of Juanpore and Benares, the Mint of Benares, the mokumy, yatisaub and stores, weighing both maul and duties, and the Duanny, Dustore, excepting the nancar of half the Jagheer of Bhadurry, the exempted Jagheers of Ayma which have been inserted for a length of time in the accounts as deductions, all the articles of the Taheed are settled upon you from the 4th of Jumaudy ul Awaul 1189, Hijeree, or the 4th of July, 1775, English, at a stipulation per annum of 2340,249 Mahidar Benares rupees, not short of the weight of 10 mosha each, and not containing a greater portion of alloy than two rattees, and two beringe, agreeably to your Mutchulka and Cabuleat. This sum you will

therefore pay, but should it not suit the convenience of the Company to receive it at Benares, you are to pay it in Calcutta in sicca rupees of Calcutta, amounting in which specie to 22,66,180 sicca rupees, the amount of the Hindooawn or exchange, allowed you at the rate of 2 per cent is rupees 44434 14,5, which being deducted, the net sum will be 22,21,745,1,15 sicca rupees of Calcutta. This you are to pay without the least deduction or depreciation whatever, in the course of each year by monthly payments, agreeably to your separate Kistbundy. This you are to pay without any allowance for subundy, you will remit the money to Calcutta without fail conformably to the said Kistbundy.

*Kuboolyat*, or Agreement executed by Rajah Cheit Sing, for the Zemidary of Benares, &c.

Whereas a treaty has been concluded between the English East-India Company, and the Nabob Assoph ul Dowlah Chea Cawn Behadur, Huzzubber Jung Nazim of the Soubah of Allahabad, under date the 20th of Rubbee ul Awal 1189, Hijeree, or the 21st of May, 1775, Christian, whereby the sovereignty of the Sircars, Benares, Gauzeypore, Chunar, &c. hath been ceded to the English East-India Company from the 4th of Jamady ul Awal 1189, Hijeree, or the 4th of July 1775, Christian, and the Company having granted the Zemidary, the Aumuny and Poujedarry of the aforesaid Sircars, together with the Cutwallies of Benares and Juanpore, &c. and the Mint of Benares unto me from the above date, I do hereby voluntarily consent and agree under my hand, that whatever

coins shall be struck in the said Mint, shall be conformably to a separate obligation, which I have executed under date the 25th of Zihiza, in the 17th year of the reign, and delivered to the Government for the Company. It shall be my duty to do every thing that may be needful and usual for the interest and security of the country, to provide for the welfare of the inhabitants—to be attentive to the increase of cultivation and improvement of the revenue, to use my endeavours in such manner to expel robbers and assassins, and to punish offenders of every kind, that not a trace of them may be left, and will pay the annual revenue of Government, being at Benares, mutchuldar rupees of Benares 23,40,249, each rupee to weigh no less than ten massa, and to contain no more alloy than two ruttas and two chowl, any deficiency of the standard to be made good. If the Government shall not have occasion to receive the same at Benares, I will, in such case, pay it at Calcutta annually, by monthly payments, according to Kistbundy, and conformably to the Tuzul Zill, or particulars in the margin, the sum being Calcutta sicca rupees 22,66,180, including Nuzzeranna, &c. but deducting on account of Hoondyan, or exchange, a premium of two per cent. which premium of two per cent. upon the whole sum, being sicca rupees 44,434,145, I will accordingly deduct from remitting the remainder to the Company's Treasury at Calcutta, so that, after the deduction of exchange, I shall pay net, and without further deduction into the Treasury of Calcutta, the sum of Calcutta sicca rupees 22,21,745,11,5 at the end of each year. After payment of the same, and observing the conditions

agreed upon, I shall receive a release or discharge in full, wherefore I have written the agreement to be adhered to accordingly.

In the margin follows a list, dated 25th Suffer, 17th of the monthly instalments Sun, corresponding with the 15th April, 1776, Christian.

Signed by the Rajah.

Seal of the Rajah.
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*A true copy,*

(Signed) E. HAY,

Sub-Secretary to the Hon. the  
Governor and Council.

Extract from the Secret Proceedings of the Hon.  
the Governor-General and Council, on the 9th  
July, 1778.

Resolved—That Rajah Cheit Sing be required in form, to contribute his share of the burthen of the present war, by the establishment of three regular battalions of sepoys, to be raised and maintained at his expense, and the Governor-General is requested to write to him to that effect.

Copy of a letter from Rajah Cheit Sing, received the  
30th July, 1778.

I have been honoured by the receipt of your gracious letter, communicating the intelligence of a war



being broke out between the Courts of Great Britain and France, and desiring me to take on myself a share of the burden of expense—my patron I am the servant of the Sircar—I will write you more fully hereafter—on all occasions I am hopeful of your Highness's favour and support.

Extract from the secret proceedings of the Honourable Governor-General and Council, on the 26th August, 1779.

Resolved,—That the Commander-in-Chief be requested to give orders to Major Camac, or the officer in command of his detachment for the march of two battalions of Sepoys to Benares, at the requisition of Mr. Thomas Graham, the Resident there, and to remain at that place for further orders.

Resolved, that the following letter be written to Mr. Graham :

To Mr. THOMAS GRAHAM, President at Benares.

SIR,

We have received your letters of the 16th instant, acquainting us that Rajah Cheit Sing had declined to pay the five lacks of rupees which we required of him, as his proportion of the expenses of the war for the present year

Having judged it necessary to make this claim, which was suggested to us by the urgency of the case, we cannot admit of any plea which the Rajah may urge to exempt him from it; orders have therefore been