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## ANARRATIVE

THE SUFFERINGS OF

# JAMES BRISTOW,

BELONCING TO THE

BENGAL ARTILLERY,

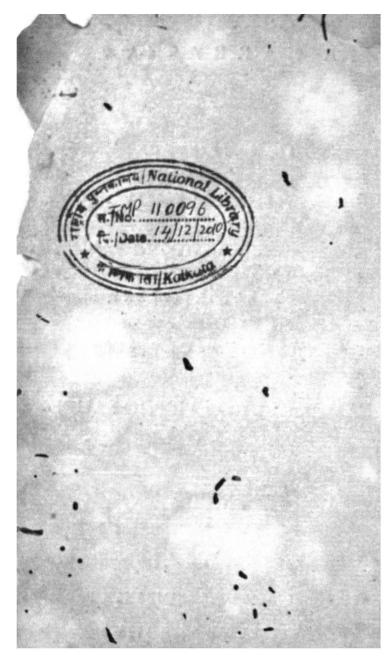
During Ten Pears Captivity with

### HYDER ALLY and TIPPOO SAHEB

" rui Cralia Gando	1-100		
" multipalia fando	1-111		
44 gui stalia fando			•
		"Temperet a Latrymia?—"	

#### PRINTED:

AT THE HONORABLE COMPANY'S PRESS



#### DEDICATION

#### TO COLONEL GEORGE DEARE.

Commandant of the Bengal Artillery.

SIR,

THE PERSON WHOSE SUFFERINGS ARE HERE RELATED HAS THE HONOR OF BELONGING TO THE CORPS WHICH IS UNDER YOUR COMMAND. PERMIT ME, THEREFORE, TO CLAIM YOUR PATRONAGE TO A NARRATIVE, PUBLISHED CHIEFLY WITH A VIEW TO BENEFIT THE CHILDREN OF A MAN, WHO WERE EXPOSED TO UNCOMMON ANXIETY AND DISTRESS, DURING THE LONG AND PAINFUL CAPTIVITY OF THEIR FATHER. A FURTHER MOTIVE FOR PREFIXING YOUR NAME TO THE PRESENT DEDICATION, IS THE PRIVATE GRATIFICATION OF

SIR,

YOUR MOST OBEDIENT

Fort William, 1792.

THE COMPILER.

#### INTRODUCTION.

THE Compiler of the following sheets is far from concluding, that the advertities and hardships which have marked the existence of an obfcure individual, can be fufficiently interesting to claim the attention of those, whose easy fituations scarcely admit of a just idea of the fufferings of the unfortunate; nor does he imagine that plain facts, such as an unlettered observer has been able to collect, during a rigorous captivity in a state, the government, politicks, internal regulations, and very fituation of which. has hitherto been imperfectly known to Europeans refident in Afia, can contain fufficient information to recompenfe the reader for his trouble. - But he trufts that compassion for the unfortunate, which has fo eminently diftinguished his countrymen, will operate sufficiently in this instance, to overlook the unimportance of a narrative, which claims no other merit than a firict adherence to truth.

After

After the "Memoirs of the last war in Asia," including a narrative of the imprisonment and sufferings, principally of the British Officers, it may perhaps be thought supershous to intrude a second detail of the same nature upon the public, particularly as the great uniformity and sameness which reigns throughout the former, naturally suggests, that the journal of one week would have conveyed every necessary idea of the whole, and that consequently any additional account must be trisling and frivolous.

A captivity of ten years, during which period feveral removals from one place of imprisonment to another took place, and many changes in point of treatment occurred, includes much more variety than the account of what befell our officers, who remained under close confinement, till delivered up; and admitted more opportunities to fee fomething of the country, to converfe with the natives, whose language naturally became familiar to a person that scarcely heard any other, and that every moment felt the inconvenience of being unable to make his wants known and understood, to examine the strength and situation, particularly of the fortrefs of Seringapatam, to learn the fate and disposal of a number of fellow captives, not liberated at the conclusion of the peace, fome of whom

whom had been prisoners many years, prior to the commencement of the war in 1780 in thort, to be better informed in many respects, than Gentlemen who were never fuffered to flep beyond the limits of their prison wall. Several of the vexations and acts of violence committed against the private foldiers, could not reach the knowledge of the officers, though many of them came to their ears; nor could they know what befell them fubfequent to their releafe. The unremitted ill ufage a number of unfortunate English subjects then underwent; the different threats, torments, and promifes, employed to intimidate or cajole wretched and defenceless men, into a voluntary acceptance of the service of a detestable tyrant; the plans that were laid for difpatching every one of the captive Europeans throughout his dominions, and finally the hazardous and patient efforts, which fucceeded at last to effect an escape, with other fubfequent adventures, are matters entirely new, and different from those contained in the narrative already alluded to. More worthy, indeed, of public indulgence, would these observations and the narrative have proved, had the capacity and genius of the author, admitted a greater scope to his zeal.

The Compiler has avoided prolixity, as much as possible, and spared repetitions where he found any thing fully fet down in the journal of the memoirs already mentioned, which contain true and very accurate accounts of different occurrences which he never imagined could have come to the knowledge of people, that were watched fo closely as the British officers, particularly the circumstances attending the murder of General Muthews. The author's removal from the common prison some months after his arrival at Seringapatam, prevented his discovering in what manner the officers acquired all their information. Some repetitions will perhaps occur, but fuch only confirm points, of which the world never can have too many testimonies. They are of such an atrocious, bafe, and unparalleled nature, that every possible confirmation is requisite to give them credibility with men that find it difficult to suppose such acts of barbarity could have existence, or be engendered in the mind of a man, who has been adjudged, at least, an able usurper, and the reduction of whole profituted power, which is the object of the present war, has been reprobated by British Senators.

It would be strange indeed, if hostilities in their nature deviating so egregioully from civili-

ged warfare, should be carried on with that inveteracy with which Hyder and his fucceffor Tippoo, have made war upon the English nation without causes of complaint having, the Compiler is well perfuaded, in very few instances occured on our fide. The French journalifts and authors of anecdotes, have industriously propagated every circumstance, which tended to depreciate the conduct of our Afiatic armies laft war, and have allowed invention to take a very active part in their relations, without reflecting that no war whatever has been exempt from abuses, and that the very nation which till lately maintained indifputable pretentions to gentlenefs, urbanity, punctilious principles of honor, and liberal bravery, has not escaped occasional, and very glaring deviations from their general practice, though it would be highly illiberal, from the misconduct of individuals, to afix a ftigma on the whole. He will also admit that personal fufferings, may have been injudiciously refentful, in particular instances, since the commencement of the present war; but he will by no means allow these extraordinary cases (admitting their existence) to be laid down as a general rule. nor will he confent to their being brought into competition with a fixed, methodical, cruel, and ferocious

ferocious lystem of barbarous policy, which has been practifed on settled principles.

That it should ever disgrace the same and glory of so distinguished an officer as Admiral Suffrein, to consign some hundreds of prisoners to the disposal of an enemy so rancorous to the race of Europeans, as Hyder Ally was notoriously known to be and which, notwithstanding the flattering encomiums, and savorable infinuations of the partial and incorrect M. Le Maitre de la Tour, must certainly produce astonishment and abhormence, in every mind, and mingle pity with the admiration his merits exact.

It only remains to be mentioned, that the Author's early removal from Bengal to the Grand Army, where he will enjoy a fatisfaction almost equivalent in his opinion, to the sufferings he has undergone, of being useful to his country, in pointing out such information as he is able to give, and of fighting once more against an enemy that so shamefully tarnished his victories, has rendered it impracticable to gain anumber of little additional lights and informations, which could not immediately occur on taking down the scattered notes of the Author. When the whole came to be digested, these deficiencies sully manifested themselves, but it was

then too late to remedy them. The mutilated News-paper accounts of the Author, picked up from conversation, and gone abroad in the same manner as those of some of the persons particularly mentioned in this narrative, whose escape from Tippoo has been published since this compilation was undertaken, are all of too insignificant and inaccurate a nature, to be capable of hurting the narrative.

ACH ACH YOU ACHACH YOU ACHACH ACHACH SIN ACHACH SIN ACHACH SIN

#### NARRATIVE

## JAMES BRISTOW.

4-4

WAS born in the year 1757, in Norwich, in the county of Norfolk. My father who was a black-fmith, bound me apprentice to a carpenter, with whom I did not, however, remain a complete twelve month, being allured, more by a defire to fee the world, than the bounty of one shilling, which I received, to enlist with a Captain Monney, then recruiting for the Honourable East India Company. When the Captain had collected to the number of fifty recruits, he marched us up to London, where we underwent an examination on the day of our arrival, and

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were, to my no small disappointment, sent down to Gravesend that very evening, and embarked on board the Prince of Wales Indiaman, under dispatch for Bengal, and commanded by Captain Scott, a gentleman who had lost an arm, as I afterwards understood, in a duel at Madras.

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

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

Very foon after my arrival in Bengal, I was with other recruits fent up to Dinapore, to complete the first European regiment, then commanded by Colonel Champion; and posted to Captain Moses Crawford's Company, on the very day he attained the rank of Captain. I was by this time perseally reconciled to my fituation, for which I had not been without apprehensions, in the moments of reslection, so natural to

a young adventurer, who quits his native foil, and traverses the ocean to a distant region, which ignorance, and the prejudices of education have taught him to dread. I frequently shuddered at the service I had engaged in, and considered the life of a common soldier, so little to be envied at home, to be something truly deplorable in this country. But my apprehensions were soon dispelled, and my satisfaction proportioned to the magnitude of my sears. So different is the situation of a private soldier in Bengal from what our ideas represent, by comparing it with the same thing in Europe, that my surprize was incredible when I found that a life which is commonly esteemed wretched, was not without great comforts, and might even be rendered desireable.

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

As the history of this campaign is equally unimportant and foreign to the present narrative, I shall pass it over, as well as what befell me for several years subsequent, in silence—let it suffice, that having obtained a recommendation to Captain, now Lieut. Colonel

Hussey of the Artillery, I renewed in that corps in 1777, from Captain Charles Weer's company of grenadiers, to which I had the honor of belonging for a twelve month, and on the 11th of October, 1780, being previously appointed Camp Colournan, embarked with Captain Hussey's and another company of artillery, and fix of infantry, on board the Kingston, for the purpose of escorting the commander in chief of India, Lieut. General Sir Eyre Coote, to Madras.

In the roads of Ballasore, we met a violent gale of wind, which might have proved satal to the British interest in the East, as all the hopes of the other Presidency, centered in the succours to arrive from Bengal; but it abated after a sew days, and we experienced a good passage against the monsoon or south westerly winds, landing at Fort St. George to the great joy of the whole settlement, on the 5th of November following, having brought the pilot with us, as his sloop had disappeared in the storm.

The General's first care was to collect the dismayed troops at St. Thomas's mount, with a view immediately to arrest the progress of Hyder's devastations, and on the very day our detachment less the fort, Serjeant Dempster of the same company with myself, of whom mention is hereaster made, and several of whose letters are printed in the "Memoirs of the late war in Asia," described and went over to Hyder.

We took the field under our veteran Commander, on the 17th of January 1781, with all the troops that could be collected and spared for the purpose, no

more being left to garrison Fort St. George than were absolutely judged necessary. The grand army confifted of about seven or eight thousand effective men, one eighth part of which were cavalry, and fixty pieces of ordnance, with a proportion of military flores .-This respectable body of men, formidable if opposed in ranged battle, to the most numerous rabble of Afia; moved to the relief of Wandewash, then closely invested by Hyder Ally's troops. Five day afterwards, Carangooly was furprifed by a detachment from the army, under Captain Davies, and Hyder abandoned the feige the moment he heard of our approach. I recollect it was effeemed a very auspicious omen that this event took place on the very anniverlary of that day, namely the 22d of January, on which our General had proved fo eminently victorious at the fame place, one and twenty years before, over Count Lally, and the French army. After throwing fuccours into this place, we army continued its march, and on the 5th of February, fat down on the red hills near Pondicherry. It was here that my sufferings for a length of years, commenced.

I accompanied Lieutenant Doxat, our Quartermaster of Artillery, to Pondicherry for the purpose of destroying the French boats, that M. D'Orves, who had a few days before appeared on the Coast with a sleet, might not effect the landing of military supplies, and a party of Frenchmen for Hyder's service, which he had already attempted, but precipitately relinquished, when the army approached. We spiked several iron guns which the Erench had burried in the fand, on the beach, and had just broke up and fet fire to all the boats, as the day dawned, and forced us to retire, to avoid the firing from the fleet. Our camp was within two miles of the town, but before we had proceeded half way, a prodigious buftle and hurry of people, running confufedly towards Pondicherry, announced a party of Hyder's horse, which had cut in between the town and our camp. Waggons overfet, and loads of different articles, proceeding to our Bazar, lay scattered abandoned on the ground. Lieutenant Doxat, who initantly mounted his horse, had barely passed a cross road when a party of them came suddenly in upon me. I was inflantly feized, removed to a convenient distance from the high road and stripped of every thing I poffessed. These daring Looties\* destroyed every thing they met with, but had no time for removing the plunder, being purfued from our camp. In the mean time they had ventured near enough to our lines to fnatch up the Serjeant Major of one of the Sepoy battalions, who was bathing in the front of the quarter guard, in a tank. The name of this unfortunate man was Rickman.

My fituation from this inftant became truly deplorable, robbed of liberty, I found myfelf in the clutches of barbarians, who treated me with cruelty and feorp, and kept me in suspense with respect to my life. I was not however indulged with much time to contemplate the horrors of my sitution, for having bound

<sup>\*</sup> A banditti of free booters.

my arms behind me, they hurried me almost naked before Hyder, on the 6th of February, about two o'clock in the afternoon. He was then encamped on the right flank of our army, at about five or fix miles distance, between us and Cuddelore, to the Northward of the road. Hyder's tent exhibited nothing very extraordionary and magnificent, except a rich Perfian Carpet fpread on the ground, and held down by four maffy filver weights at the corners, fomething in form resembling sugar loaves. Several French officers were present. I was interrogated through one of them, that spoke English, with respect to the strength and destination of our army, but having replied that our troops amounted to 35,000 men, five thousand of whom were Europeans, and that we had seventy pieces of Ordnance in the field, the interpreter brifkly told me, " I lied," we had no fuch thing! and that all our Europeans in India collected together would not amount to that number. Hyder was fo much exasperated atmy attempt to deceive him, that he kept me three days without any food, tied down on the ground in the rear of his tent, which was the flation I conftantly occupied during the feven days I remained in his camp. In this miferable fituation, lying bound on the bare fand when halting, and lashed to Rickman the Sergeant Major when marching, exposed to the weather, day and night, without any nourishment: I must inevitably have perished, if the humanity of my guards had not relieved me with fome food now and then, by ftealth. On the fourth day, having encamped near Cuddelore where the

the English army was entrenched, I received a visit from Mahomed Beg, a Dubash who spoke English; he ordered me one feer of rice, and two pice per day. which I received for four days, after which Mahomed Beg paid me a fecond vifit and proposed to me to enter into Hyder's fervice. In order to prevail on me, he promifed that I should be well treated and receive good pay if I confented; but finding me obstinate in refusing, he went away apparently much diffatisfied, and it was not long, before I felt the ill effects of my non-compliance, for balf my daily allowance in money, together with fome provisions I had received from Hyder's kitchen the last four days, were immediately curtailed, and I was lashed to the Serjeant Major, removed to Gingee, a fmall fort on a rock, which had been furrendered to Hyder in a cowardly manner, the preceding December, by a party of the Nabob's troops which chiefly compofed the garrison, and where part of his army at this time was encamped, to guard his women, provisions, stores and camp equipage. Before I was removed from Hyder's camp, I had the mortification to fee our whole army drawn up in order of battle, three days successively-Fortunately, fome of my own cloathes and a blanket had been restored to me, the day before I was defired, to enter into Hyder's fervice. On my arrival at Gingee I was hand-cuffed, and from thence, the fucceeding day, removed to Arcot, where my hand cuffs where exchanged for heavy leg-irons. I remained near three weeks in the prison of Arcot, and might, I am pretty certain, have escaped from thence, had it only once during that period

period proved a very dark or rainy night; but the moon and flars shone so bright (a circumstance which I at that time thought a serious missortune), and it appeared so impracticable to clude our guards and the soldiers of Hyder, who insested the streets and place during these clear nights, that the circumstance of having contrived, by means of perseverance and a piece of broken china, to file down the head of the nail which rivetted my irons so, as to be able to throw them off at pleasure, availed me nothing. Only one night's rain, or even one heavy shower would have driven Guards, Sentries, and the whole garrison, according to the practice of Asiatic soldiers, under cover, and consequently left the coast clear—but I was reserved for severer trials.

Colonel Baillie, Captain Rumley, Lieutenant Frazer and a Mr. Skardon, were at this time confined in Arcot. The latter of these gentlemen, had been the English Resident at Pondicherry, and treacherously delivered up by the French inhabitants, who were fuffered to refide unmolefted on their paroles at the time of committing this act of barbarity. An European foldier, that by fome neglect was left behind fick on the day we marched to the red hills, and fnatched up by fome of the Looties that constantly hovered about our camp, died in his Irons at this place without receiving the fmallest affistance, or any notice being saken of his lamentations. Prior to removing me from hence, my irons were taken off, and the hand-cuffs again replaced, probably because heavy fetters might retard

retard the march to Seringapatam, to which place I was next deftined. On the 1st of March 1781, this journey commenced, with the melancholy prospect of never re-visiting those companions from whom the chance of war had secluded me.

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

We proceeded to Arnee, the first day, and the second to a Fort at the foot of the hills, or gauts. On this march we were exceedingly hurried, and frequently struck to hasten our steps, the cause of which, as I understood from one of the prisoners, was our near approach in the course of the day to the fort of Vellore, from whence almost any party which had fallied, might have rescued us, as our convoy only confisted of about thirty Sepoys, and about fifty Polygars. But they had unfortunately no intimation of our proximity, at the garrison, and it was entirely out

of our power to apprize Colonel Lang, the Commanding Officer of it, by any means or contrivance, nor had we any thing which could corrupt the fidelity of our Convoy.

It took us five days to traverse the passes, and sour days more to reach Offore. We passed an assonishing number of small mud Forts on the road, and got to Seringapatam on the eighteenth of the month.—They allowed us to halt one day in the Pettah of Bangalore, round the wall of which they were digging a trench at the time, and adding a ditch to the West face of the Fort. I cannot tell if it was the same all round, as no other side was visible.

On our arrival at Seringapatam, Mr. Skardon was fent to the Officers prison, but Lieutenant Brumton and Mr. Mac-Neal were lodged amongst us. The former of these two, had once escaped from Hyder, and nearly reached Cuddelore before he was retaken; this might probably be his reason for confining him amongst the foldiers and treating him with more severity than the rest of the officers, at least I never heard of any other. Col. Baillie, Capt. Rumley, and Lieut. Frazer, were confined by themselves. About three hundred Europeans mostly taken near Tacoallum, were all flut up in one prison, confisting of a very spacious fquare, with a shade or verandah along the wall, not unlike a Seray, or what is more commonly termed a Caravanfary. Numbers were, at the time of my arrival, afflicted with epidemical diftempers, but neither care nor affiftance were bestowed on them; a kind

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of dropfical swelling, in particular, killed many. The small pox, so fatal in the East, especially to grown people who catch it in the natural way, had found entrance into the prison, and swept away almost all the prisoners who had not had the disorder. I ascribe the preservation of my life to a singular contrivance—having made a small ball of wax as hard as I could, I applied it to my leg and tied one of my coat buttons so tight over it, that the ball forced a hole through the skin into the leg, in which situation I suffered it to remain for several months, preserving a kind of constant issue.

Shortly after my arrival amongst the prisoners, I was accorded by Scrieant Dempster, who had deferted as mentioned, at the Mount, but was now confined in the common prison. He questioned me concerning my coming to Seringapatam, but on discovering my aversion to his difcourie, and that I had been taken prisoner, he put an end to the convertation by prefenting me with fome Hoppers," and feemed fomewhat afhamed at meeting a perion that had belonged to the fame corps with himself. After this time, I had little intercourse with him, notwithstanding we continued for several months in the same prison. He was universally detested by the prisoners, being a deferter as well as suspected of fometimes betraying his countrymen to the tyranny of the power which held them in captivity. He protested he had no intention of deferting to Hyder, and that he had only intended to get off to some thip,

<sup>.</sup> A kind of Cake made of Rice Flour.

but was picked up in the attempt. He received good treatment and some marks of attention at first, but irregularity and misconduct had forced by der to degrade him almost immediately; he still received several indulgences, and was well disposed to being useful to the tyrant, though his behaviour was too inconsistent to entitle him to considence, and defeated any views he might have of raising his fortune in the service of a native power. He formerly held a commission in his Majesty's service.

I remained nine months in this prison, constantly loaded with irons, and allowed only one feer of rice and a pice per day, during which time, as the wish of delivering ourselves from to intolerable a captivity chiefly occupied our thoughts, Lieut. Brumton, Mr. MacNeal, three others, and mylelf, formed a plan for escaping. We had already prepared rice-cakes as provisions for the journey, and procured ropes for fealing the wall, when the very evening preceding our proposed departure, a very heavy shower of rain fell and washed away that identical past of the prison wall which had been fixed upon for the escalade. A strong guard was in confequence, immediately planted on the fpot. The rain not only disconcerted our plan, but it also discovered what a perilous talk we had engaged in ; for when the wall was down, I perceived fufficient unknown obstacles to convince me how little probability there was of having fucceeded. The scheme was accordingly laid afide-for a frustrated attempt to escape would only have augmented the rigour of our confinement.

In the month of September 1781, about fix months after my imprisonment, the Nyar, a Bramin, and the Commander of our guards, entered the prison early in the morning, and selected Serjeant Dempster with fifteen more of the prisoners, among whom were two young boys, Drummers of the 73d Regiment; struck off their irons, and without deigning to utter a word, earried them away, for the purpose, as I soon after understood, of circumcising them. They resisted a long while, and bore very cruel treatment before they submitted to this operation, nor did they submit at last, until they were stupised with majum,\* which they had been forced to swallow.

This incident spread general terror amongst the rest of the prisoners, every one apprehending that he might be the next victim devoted to Mahometism; nor were our sears groundless, for early in January 1782, the same persons re-entered our prison, accompanied by Serjeant Dempster, and made a second selection of sourteen, in which number I had the missortune to be included. As Dempster was suspected of a share in this horrid business, at least so far as pointing out the objects on whom the choice ought to fall, every one of us was highly exasperated against him, and it was sortunate for him that he was protested by the guards. The treatment the first victims had undergone served in some degree to apprize us of the inutility of resistence. With horror and indignation we swallowed the narcotic

A ftrong Opiate.

potion, and fuch as the dofe had no effect upon, were forcibly feized and pinioned by flout Coffres, whilft the operation was performed, having previously shaved us in the cuftomary manner, a ceremony which they continued to observe for three years. After the operation, our right ears were perforated, and finall filver rings with round knobs, fixed in them; this being a mark of flavery amongst the Mahometans. As foun as we had recovered from this diabolical ceremony, we were transferred to what is termed the Tyrant's Chaylan Battalions (that is flaves); these are composed of such of his own fubjects, as have been condemned to perpetual flavery, and fuch unfortunate captives as he takes in war. The prefent confilled chiefly of Boys furprized in the Carnatic, whom he accustomed to military exercife, with large flicks, cut in the fhape of mulkets. The talk imposed upon us, (fuch as refused being cruelly flogged,) was to instruct these Chaylabs in the manual exercise. Our fituation confequently became much worse than before. We were obliged to perform an office, which, however fmall the benefit we took care the practitioners should derive from it, could not fail of caufing the deepeft affliction when we reflected it was the detefted enemies of our country whom we were compelled to instruct in that very art which should prove destructive to our countrymen.

After they had made, what they termed Muffelman, of us, we neglected no opportunity of evincing our contempt for their religion and the cruel force they

had employed again us, by catching dogs, and bandictets, (a species of large rats,) and curcumcifing them before their faces. This operation never failed to exasperate them, particularly as the dog is held a very impure animal, and it cannot be doubted but we very often owed some additional ill usage, to these insults on one of their most sacred rites—such behaviour would have been unpardonable, had not the compelling us to undergo an abhorred operation, been so base and barbarous an act of oppression, that it was impossible to restect on it with temper, and at least justified what might not be absolutely prudent and safe.

In the month of March this year, one of the lately disciplined Chaylah Battalions which Hyder had ordered to join a body of troops destined for particular fervice, encamped at Periapatam, a rock about twenty cols to the South-west of Seringapatam, and visible from the fort. This battalion was accompanied by twelve of the circumcifed Europeans, acting as Officers over Slaves, and probably intended by way of experiment: Hyder imagining, I fancy, that a tacit compliance with his service might be exacted from these unfortunate men, altho' their fentiments and feelings would not allow them openly and avowedly to acquiesce in it. They had been however, but a very short time detached, before four of the Europeans found means to make their escape, by eluding the Sentries at night, and immediarch entering the Nyar Jungles, which lie to the Southward of Seringapatam, and from whence after encountering innumerable dangers and fuffering incredible ardships,

hardin ps, they arrived fafe at Bedanore, commanded by General Mathews, who fent them to Mangalore, from whence as I afterwards understood, they were removed to Fort St. George, at the time General Mathews was taken; one of these poor fellows was so much wear kened and overcome with fatigue and hunger, that when they were near Bedanore his legs failed him, nor had the others Strength enough to allil him; havving a good conflitution, he fived till a dooly from the garrison came to fetch him into the fort. This escape, however, proved very fatal to the remaining eight, for no fooner was the flight of their friends discovered, before they were marked as victims of revenge. They were accordingly brought out in front of that battalion to which a few hours wefore they had acted as officers, with their hands tied behind, and received three lashes with a bunch of Tamarind-twigs from each of the Cheylas, which, from the number composing the hattaflion, amounted to fifteen hundred talhes. Thus were innocent men punished to affuage the cruel resentment of disappointed villains, incensed because sour Europeans had eluded their vigilance, and because they discovered that no affiltance was to be derived from the English captives nor any trust to be placed in men that possessed a right to liberage themselves by every opportunity that offered: after fuffering this fevere flagellation, their hands were secured in a log of woods with holes in it, fomething like flocks, and in that fituation they were fent to Munclamore, a very high and

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detached rock, with feveral forts on it, about thirty cofs from Seringapatam, in the Chittledroog country. Here one of the unfortunate Sufferers, a Dutchman by birth, expired of the inhuman flogging without having his hands enlarged before his death. After fix months confinement in Munclamore, on one feer of \* Raggy per day, they were fent back to Seringapatam, and a flrict order accompanied them from Hyder, to fuffer none of the prifoners on any account whatever, to be trulted with detachments in future, but to guard them closely and confine them to the exercise of the Cheylas, in Garrison.

Whill the above prisoners suffered for the escape of sour of their friends, the whole of the Officers and Men of Colonel Braithwait's detachment in the Tanjore country, arrived in captivity, and spread a gloom of despondence through the several prisons. Every fresh victory gained by the tyrant naturally shifted the prospect of drivery to a greater distance, augmented the number of miserable objects on which his daily cruelty was wreaked, and rendered him more insensible in proportion as he imagined himself rising in power. This detachment surrendered on the eighteenth of the preceding February, and consisted of about Two thousand effective men. In addition to our misery, we learnt from these unfortunate Prisoners, that our army remained in a state of inactivy at the Mount.

The number of Cheylas that were confined in the

<sup>·</sup> A fmall Grain eaten by the Natives, not unlike Mustard feeds.

Port together, without fufficient room absolutely to breathe in, totally difregarded and furrounded by filth that was never removed, created at last epidemical difeafes, which were fatal to great numbers. The unfortunate Europeans had in this case, no better chance than the wretches with whom they were intermixed in one common prison. It was not until the Contagion had raged a confiderable time with unabated fury, and effeeled great deffruction, that they removed us to another prison on the Island, where we had a little more room to move in, and enjoyed a purer air than the infeeted and putrid vapours which we were before subject to. As a further help towards preventing infection, greater care was taken to clean the new prison, which confifted of a spacious square, situated between the Fort and the new Village, to the Southward of the former, called Gunjam Pet. The temporary comfort which this falutary change afforded, was of thort duration, for learcely had our drooping fpirits recovered from the terror of certain death, which flared us in the face, and our hopes in same degree revived from the dimination of restraint, before a satal and injurious misrepresentation of our conduct plunged us into new troubles. . It was related, heaven knows from what cause, unless every outward appearance of tolerable spirits displeased our perfecutors, that indulgence had rendered us lazy, and that we neglected the instruction and exercise of the Cheylas. It availed nothing that there was no foundation for fuch report, no attention was paid to our remonstrances D 2

monftrances; the Killadar fent forus into the Fort, orandered the fetters from which we had been exempted fince the initiation into Mahometifm, to be replaced, and the guards to drive us back with huge flicks, to our former prison on the Island, which being distant near a mile, subjected us to a pretty found drubbing before we reached it, though we made every expedition. After this, we were obliged to exercise the Cheylas in heavy irons during a whole month.

Hieutenants Speediman and Rutledge were brought to prison this year, in the month of July. The face of these gentlemen was uncommonly hard, and the treatment they met with from the cruel conqueror, ftrangely barbarous, and wantonly different from the other officers. The particulars relative to their capture, &c. as related in a letter from themselves to their brother officers, are as follows. Having been left wounded at Vellore, in the beginning of the year, they remained in that garrifon until the month of June, when an efcort of one company of sepoys, three three-pounders, and a number of Polygars arrived with supplies for the Fort. Stimulated by true military ardor, they had determined, being pretty well recovered of their wounds, to feize this opportunity of rejoining the army, to share in the active service of the campaign. But on the fecond day's march from Vellore, Tippoo with his army came down upon them. It was not until most of the Company's sepoys were wounded, their ammunition nearly

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nearly expended, and the Polygers had deferted them, that this small detachment surrendered to Tippoo's whole force, by hoifling a white handkerchief for quarter, which was granted-They received tolerable good usage in Tippoo's camp, but met with quite the reverse from Hyder himself, who detained them five days, then mixed them with a parcel of Carnatic boys. and dispatched them to Seringapatam. On their arrival there, they were confiderably furprized not to be confided in the prison with the other officers, but were almost rendered speechless, when the horrid defign of circumcifing them became evident. They were marched to the Village of Gunjam Pet, and fecured in a large square building, where they found nine Europeans that had already undergone this abominable operation. Parties from the guard, came now every hour of the day to them, fometimes with promifes, at others with drawn fwords, chawbucks, and ropes ready to tie them, and the Barber in the rear with shaving implements, to exact their confent to the mutilation-Finding this method ineffectual after trying it for feveral days, they hoped by separating the two Gentlemen to force a compliance. This proving equally inefficacious, the Jemmadar feemed to take compassion on them, and promifed to write to Hyder in their behalf; but when they began to imagine the monttrous purpofe had been laid afide, at least till Hyder's answer could be received, they were furprifed on the 27th of. August by a dozen flour fellows with chawbucks and

and as many coffres with ropes, &c. making their appearance, who leized them without ceremony, tied them, cut off their hair, and then walked away. On the first of September following, the same villains returned, seized and tied them, as before, then compelled them to swallow a dose of majum which divested them of sensation whilst they were circumcised.

Some time after the arrival of these gentlemen, feven of those that had already been circumcifed, amongst which number I was included, were carried again into the fort to discipline some hundreds of Carnatic boys, lately torn away from their native foil. I had not been many days in the fort before fifty feamen arrived from Bangalore, being a part of those given up to Hyder by Admiral Suffrien at Cuddelore in June. There were all cholen young men, picked out from about three hundred that the Admiral gave up, and distined for Hyder's army. Messrs. Wilson, Edimon, Austine, Whiteway, Drake, Cardman and Lefage, Midshipmen, were of the number. The youngest and handsometh of these unfortunate men underwent a fecond felection at Seringapatam, and were lodged in the palace, as part of the tyrant's household, where they received tolerable good treatment, were instructed in the languages of the East, and taught different arts and exercises according to the flutions they were intended to fill about his person, and whenever their tutor went abroad, they attended him. Some of thefe, after the peace, were intended for

dancing

flancing hove, and fent among the Notes people to be inflructed in the manœuvres belonging to that art .-Mr. Cadman was one of those on whom the latter choice had fallen, but on account of what they thought refractory behaviour, he was returned to the Chaylas, and was of the party who made their elcape with me and has fince, I am very happy to hear, got fafe to Madras. Meffrs. Wilfon, Ediman, Auflin, and Whiteway, loft their lives in the tyrant's dominions fome years ago. These unfortunate and basely facrificed feamen, had all been circumcifed, and were confidered the unqueltionable property of Hyder, which no treaty should induce him to give up, have ing received them from an ally and friend, whose bufiness it would be to answer for them, should they ever become the subject of an inquiry. It was the opinion of the wretched fufferers that Suffrein had fold them to the tyrant; they all declared that the Admiral had offered them each a hat full of dollars, if they would do duty on board of the French fleet, it being reduced to great thifts for want of hands, and they uniformly feemed to think that their firm refufal provoked the Admiral to give them up to Hyder. Nay! that he had threatened them with doing to in case of non-compliance. Thirty of them were fortunate enough to escape from Arnee immediately after the furrender, without even being miffed, and many more, no doubt, would have got off the same way as they had found means when they were mustered, mustered, to dereive by counting twice for those miles fing in the evening; a trick that could not easily be discovered as long as their faces were not perfectly known; but some that were retaken by Hyder's people, roused the suspicion of the guards. Two, however, contrived to get away after this, but the one sillily returned the next day, having missed his road, and brought the account of his companion's death, who was drowned in attempting to pass a river.

I shall not here add any animadversions on the conduct of Admiral Suffrein, in relinquishing these men to a barbarian. The world has formed its unbiased opinion of the matter, which is not to be destroyed by the attempt of transferring the guilt to the Government of Madras, as has appeared in a letter from the Admiral to Mr. Hastings. It is well known not to be the practice of civilized warfare, either to inurder or sell our prisoners when we are incapable of maintaining or securing them; but in such cases to suffer them to depart on their paroles. The registers of modern wars abound with instances of such conduct, which is neither custom or prudence dictated, the laws of humality, at least, ought to prescribe.

Three days after the arrival of these Europeans, Eighthundred more Carnatic Inhabitants were brought into Captivity.

In the month of November this year, namely 1782, the univerfally effected and beloved Colonel Baillie fell a victim to long illness, and fatigues of mind as well

as body, and died in the prifon of Seringapatam. I think I faw his funeral, without however knowing, at the time, that it was the Colonel's. It was the prevalent report among the prifoners, that he fell by poifon, but from what I have been able to collect then, as well as fince, I have no right to believe that his demise was actually brought on by mortal drugs, tho' the inhuman conqueror certainly was accessary to it, by expressly withholding medical aid from him during his painful discase, notwithstanding repeated applications for that purpole, and treating him from the commencement of his captivity with excessive severity. It cannot therefore be doubted, that he rejoiced in the decease of so able and distinguished an officer, and that he, perhaps, fecretly hoped his villainous artifice would answer the same purpose as open violence, tho nothing but furmifes can be offered for the conduct that would have been purfued had this scheme miscarried; particularly as Colonel Braithewaite was fuffered to escape. Tippoo's behaviour to General Mathews is by no means a true criterion to judge from, as the whole of that affair is involved in obscure circumstances and facts hitherto very partialy developed.

Towards the end of the year, the tidings of Hyder's demife reached Seringapatam. This happened but avery few daysafter the death of the unfortunate Colonel, fo that if he died by his order, the barbarian did not him left furrive the base murder. The end of this turbulent and ambitious tyrant, gave birth to various speculations, and ex-

peclations, but was attended with none of those commotions commonly produced by the demife of an Eastern monarch. His fon, Tippoo Saheb, fince called Tippoo Sultan, took undiffurbed possession of all his father's territories, and the command of vast Armies, at a time, when many disaffected individuals filled both the Camp and City. This must be esteemed no contemptible proof of his abilities as a politician as well as a foldier; fuch authority, at leaft, did his known character carry with it, that no open attempts were made to oppose his accesfion, or divide and circumfcribe his power. Tippoo was with his Army, at a confiderable diffance from Hyder when he died, but no fooner did the information reach him, but he hasted to his father's camp, and made fuch dispositions and arrangements as he judged prudent and necessary, without relaxing in any degree, the vigour with which he carried on the war against the English.

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

One of Tippoo's first steps towards securing and strengthening his government, was to place a new Killadar

Killadar in Seringapatam. He brought with him a battalion of sepoys to enforce his authority, and to remove any impediments which he might encounter in poffeffing himself of his office. The Europeans had every cause imaginable to be afflicted at this change, for the new Killadar, Syud Mahomed Khan, turned out the greatest scourge we had yet met with, neglecting no opportunity to fatiate the bent of his inclination, which delighted in cruelty. The old Killadar, (by name Siddeboy) who often had fhewn us mercy when it refted with him and he could do it with fafety, for it is dange. rous to be compassionate and possessed of feelings in the service of a tyrant, was thortly after imprisoned in Irons, and remained fo for a confiderable time, probably to render him incapable of being dangerous: as his brother Hyder Saheb had betrayed Bedanore and gone over to General Mathews, shortly after Hyder's death. This man, tho' of known fidelity and attachment to Hyder's Covernment, turned traitor I have been informed in his own defence, the inflant he expired, and took refuge with us to provide for his own fafety, dreading the refentment of the new ruler, who had threatened, and who he was well affured would have facrified him to his anger, being exasperated on account of a chastifement, which by order of Hyder, he had given Tippoo when a young boy, and for which his unforgiving temper basely meditated vengeance on the innocent executor of the order of a father.

The hopes which had been indulged when the death

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of Hyder became public, founded on the expectation of a favourable change in our affairs, through the mildness of Tippoo's temper, who had hitherto born a character for humanity, and on the probability of his being unable to profecute the war after an event productive in general of great revolutions in this country, vanished quickly; and it was soon discovered that if Tippoo did not surpass, he at least equalled his father in aversion and hatred to the Europeans; that his character had not hitherto appeared in a true light, but that now when he found it no longer necessary to dissimulate or conciliate the affections of his father's subjects, he threw aside the mask, and shewed himself in his genuine colours. It was also found that he could and actually did carry on the war with unabated vigour.

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

I also learnt, about this time, that Lieutenant Speediman and Rutledge, were under very severe confinement in heavy irons at Gunjum Pet, in consequence of an attempt to escape. Their scheme was to have raade a hole in the prison wall, being confined in a separate apartment whilst under cure for circumcision.

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Nothing but despair, however, could have inspired the resolution, there not being the smallest probability of getting away had they even succeeded in breaking the wall, which never was effected, as a black servant belonging to Lieutenant Rutledge, betrayed them.—They were consequently detected in the fast, and secucured as above mentioned, without any other subsistence than what their sellow prisoners afforded them. When they had been two months tortured in this difgraceful manner, they were ordered to drill the Chaylas.

The deplorable lofs of Nagram, or Bedanore, "was one of the heavy difasters which fignalized the begining of this year. Early in the month of May, the whole of Tippoo's Capital rung with shouts and rejoicings, in confequence of this re-capture, fugar and fweetmeats were carried about the town in balkers. and distributed to the inhabitants under the discharge of cannon. I do not recollect the fpirits of the pris foners to be fo much depressed at any one time during the whole of my captivity, as on this mournful occafion. The lofs of Bedanore had vexed Tippoo exeeedingly, nor was he chagrined without very good cause, as his Capital had been exposed during the absence of his armies, from the rapid progress of General Mathews, who afforedly would have penetrated to the very gates of Seringaptam, had he been informed of the true state of affairs; where not only the European prisoners, but the captive natives, and as afterwards appeared a formidable conspiracy, would have been

been ready to forward his enterprize, and no force to oppose him. By the capture of General Mathews, and his army in a most inglorious manner, the tyrant was delivered from every future apprehension, and enabled to exact more imperious terms should a peace be proposed. In short the disastrous consequences of this lofs, to a part of which we had the mortification of being eye witnesses, presented themselves in such disheartening colours, and dejected us fo much, that a long time clapfed before we recovered any tolerable degree of composure. To add acuteness to our diftrefs, we were defired, or rather compelled, to partake of the fweetmeats prepared for the rejoicings, and our politive refulal was conftrued into a stubborness which deferved correction; accordingly, our evil spirit, the base and dark minded Killadar determined to make us feel the effects of his displeasure. He ordered us for the future into the ranks with the Chaylas (hitherto having only superintended them) prohibited every species of intercourse and communication with each other, even that of converfing together in public, and configned us to the charge of fentries, who confined us in a fquare building the whole day without any food. Terrified at this extraordinary, unprovoked, and fudden change of treatment; and very fenfible that passive submission only would ferve to render our enemies more oppressive and inexorable. we refolved towards the evening to be informed of our destiny. Having forced the sentries placed over us,

we proceeded in a body to the Killadar's quarters, and remonstrated in the most submissive terms against the cruelty of starving and tormenting us without any real cause. He took not the finallest notice however, of our complaint, but ordered a party of sepoys to furround us, and tie us with ropes, after which he ordered one by one to be scourged in his presence, until his favage disposition was glutted with the groans extorted from us. Enfign Clark who had flood our fpeaker on this occasion, being well versed in the Hindostany or More language, was first on the lift and most inhumanly slogged, a few only escaped by the unmerciful barbarian's growing tired of the fport. We were kept the whole of this night and the fucceeding day, in the open air, bound and exposed to the burning fun. On the second evening some victuals were distributed amongst us, when we were dispersed in different places amongst the slaves, and treated with uncommon rigour for a long time afterwards.

A fingular species of cruelty, that had no other object in view, than wanton malice, and the barbarous delight our villains constantly took in tormenting and insulting the English prisoners, occurred about this time. Four European women with their husbands belonging to the Bedanore garrison, were brought to Seringapatam, where they were torn from the men whom the villains sent to Chittledroog, and afterwards alloted them to sour of the black slaves. Two became the property of the natives of Mysore, and the

other two became the property of a couple of abominable abyfinians with whom they were compelled to live. I faw these women myself, they were good looking persons, but pity was all the ashistance I was able to assort them. It would, indeed, swell too large a register of horrors, to enumerate every particular instance in which these unseeling men treated us with inhumanity.

A conspiracy against the usurper was discovered in the month of August this year, and must have alarmed him' confiderably, as it evidently tellified the dispositions of some, if not of all his subjects. The project was planned, I understood, with much precaution and judgement, and it was intended that the European prifoners should be admitted to a share in the enterprize. which had nothing less in view than to reflore the reins of Covernment to the ancient race of Mysore, and emancipate the present king from the shackles of the regency. One of the conspirators betrayed the plot, on the very eve of its burlling forth, by which he faved himfelf, and brought his affociates to the most excruciating tortures and the most dreadful ends. fuch as being dragged to death at the heels of elephants, &c. It is to be regretted that this scheme miscarried, as much effusion of blood, and many lamentable catastrophes, as well then as in the present war. would by that means have been averted, and our Southern possessions been delivered from an investrate and faithless neighbour. It was a matter of much astonish-

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ment, that the prisoners all escaped suspicion on this occasion, though it must certainly have been their prefence which encouraged the project, nor is it to be credited that none of them were in the secret.

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

The month of September this year, (1783,) was distinguished by the inhuman murder of General Mathews, who was most certainly poisoned in a very barbarous manner, being starved until he had consented to eat of the food which he had discovered contained poison. He resuled for several days to taste any nourishment, but hunger surmounted at last, the desire of protracting a miserable existence, and he swallowed a plentiful portion of the victuals prepared for him. A few hours after, he expired in violent convulsions. I am the better able to affert this fact, having since conversed with the General's two European servants, who after being kept in long suspence, were suffered to live, and confirmed the fact. Much was said amongs, the prisoners, and much, no doubt, has gone abroad

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haviour to the unfortunate General, which commenced with a base breach of faith, and closed with a barbarous murder. His base and cruel conduct, has no doubt been exposed in all the colours which can render guilt odious, but I do not find that it has ever been impartially suggested by our countrymen, how much it was surmised that Tippoo, barbarian and syrant as he is, nevertheless did not make himself guilty in the surface of the Bedanore capitulation.

In the month of December following, all the circumcifed Europeans in Seringapatam were removed to Myfore the ancient capital of the kingdom, but at that time an infignificant little fort about feven miles to the fouthward of Seringaptam, which Tippoo has fince demolished, and erected a new and stronger one a little to the eastward of the former, called Sultan-Killah. On our arrival here, we were closely confined in the very fame room where Capiain Rumler, and Lieutenants Frazer and Sampson, whose deaths had already been whispered about the city, were murdered shortly before by order of Tippoo.

When we discovered ourselves to be not only in the same danger, but guarded by the very same assassinators who had imbrued their hands in the blood of these gentlemen, we could no longer suppress our terrors. It now recurred to us what had often been afferted, that Tippoo never would suffer any British captives to return, being determined to put all such to death

as fould furvive his cruel treatment. The murder of General Mathews's Officers, which had been circulated at Sering spatam, and was credited by all of us, contributed to confirm this suspicion. In short, it appeared evident to us that our extirpation was refolved upon, for which we unanimously determined to annibilate as many of Tippoo's hired affaffins as we coulds until superior numbers should crush us-At this time, however, our alarms proved groundless, and Tippoo's real view in fending us hither, feemed to be nothing elfe than to keep us out of the way whilft the peace was in agitation, that we might have no opportunity of making our fituations known, and configurately be included in the number of those who at last escaped his clutches. It is impossible, however, to determine what would have been our fate, had our release been infilted on with fufficient earnestness to provoke his anger.

The commander of our guard had a flave from whom we learnt the following particulars concerning the detestable murder of the above mentioned gentlemen. Capt. Rumley when he found that he should be constrained to swallow poison, put an end to his own existence rather than submit; and Lieut. Sampson having snatched up a large piece of wood that chanced to be within his reach, layed so suriously and resolutely about him with it, that the cowardly murderers assaid of approaching, threw a stone at him from some distance, which met his head with a mortal blow. Lieutenant

Frazer alone was fecured, and had poison forced down his throat, of which he soon after died.

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

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

We were now potted to the different Chaylas battakons in the capacity of Havildars, and received feven Rupees per month. Lieutenants Speediman and Rutledge were appointed Subadars. Bieut. Brunton that came up to Seringapatam at the same time with myself and Ensign Gordon, a gentleman who had been a long time confined at Chittledroog, were liberated.

When I was moved to My fore, two Europeans, the one named O'Bryan from the fame company of Bengal Artillery to which I had belonged, the other a Serjeant of the Madras Establishment taken in the Pollams where Colonel Owen commanded, were compelled to perform the Office of common Coolies and to carry dirt in the streets of Seringapatam, because they had attempted to escape shortly after they were captured, and at that time killed or wounded one or two of the guards that surprized them. On my return, these two men existed no more, they had been assalfassinated by the Sultan's order together with a native girl and two children belonging to the Serjeant.

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

Our first excursion after being re-posted in the manner already mentioned to the Chaylas Battalions was to a small fort called Chindrapattah, on the Bedenare road about twenty miles westward of Seringapatam, where we remained inactive during fix months, and were then remanded to Seringaparam .-During our flav at Chindrapattah, Enfign Clark, who held no higher flation than one of us, expired in confequence of a violent heating from one of the Subbadars whose cruelty he had provoked by some retorting language. Mr. Clark's body turned entirely black before he died, but no enquiry was instituted in confequence, our lives not being of fufficient importance to cause an investigation. Mr. Ediman, the Midshipmanlikewife quitted his miserable existence at this place, of a natural death indeed, but very prematurely brought 03.

When we returned to Seringapatam, we were transferred from the Chaylas, to the Malahar Roman Catholic Christians, consisting originally of about Forty Thousand unfortunate wretches, men, women, and children, forced away from the Bedanore and Mangalore countries in 1784, and compelled to embrace Mahometism, not however without exhibiting several martyrs in support of a doctrine with which they had no further acquaintance, than what consisted in counting a row of Beads, and performing genuslexions before a crucified image. The corps or battalion of these wretches to which I had been posted, was soon after sent to Mysore,

Myfore, where it remained five months, and then returned. These marches had nothing in view but to keep the unfortunate enflaved foldiers (a name which they however did not deserve) in employ, and to break any combinations which might have been formed.

The English peace concluded in 1784, no sooner left Tippoo at liberty, before his turbulent spirit prefented as a convenient object for his rapacious. ambition, the territories of Mouberjung, lying about twenty days journey to the northward of Seringapatam, and tributary to the Nizam. Tippoo accordingly marched (the defire of conquest being a sufficient reason with him for making war) with an army computed to be one hundred thouland ftrong, against Mouberjung's capital, called after the country, Hydona, to which he laid feige after having subjected the frontiers, through which he fored terror and devaftation. The Nizam fent a body of Cavalry to the affiftance of Mouberjung, which induced Tippoo to abandon the feige, but he had already it feems imprefed the latter with fears too lively to be erazed. The Coast was therefore no sooner clear, before Mouberjung decamped to Hydrabad with his family and jewels, which had already fo narrowly escaped falling into the hands of the invader, leaving him to take undifturbed possession of the fort of Hydona, which he totally demolished; the Pettah had been plundered and nearly confumed by fire, in an affault prior to the arrival of the auxiliary Troops. I collected this information

formation from the Europeans whom Tippoo had carried along with him, four of the Malabar christian battalions having been employed on this occasion, to which thirty of the captive Europeans were attached.

As it was difficult to guard men in an enemy's country that had both courage and cunning fufficient to attempt a flight, five of the employed Europeans found means to clude all the circumspection and vigilance of their observers, and fled to Mouberjung. One of General Mathews's fervants was amongst these deferters. The Sultan determined immediately to fend the remainder back loaded with chains and under a very ffrict confinement, and pursuant to his constant practice of wreaking his vengeance on the whole of us, these men no sooner arrived at Seringapatam before we shared their fate. Amongst many other fevere punishments which we underwent on this occasion, without having been admitted to a chance of fharing in the transgression of those for whom we fuffered, was that of reducing our late allowance to barely one feer of very bad rice daily, great part of which we were obliged to dispose of, solely to procure fire wood and falt for the reft.

Under the alarming apprehensions which this created, and when we expected nothing less than to be either massacred on the spot, or distributed among those hill, forts from which no unfortunate exile was ever known to return, our terror received additional force from the escape of two of our companions, who found

means to pass the fentries in the night, and flole away notwithstanding the vigilance of their guards. The greatest difficulty it must be observed, confished in getting out of prison, for the inhabitants of Scringaparam had for many years been fo familiarized to the fight of Europeans in the fireets, that little obfiruction was to be apprehended from them, many of whom were our well-wishers. Our confinement became after this infinitely more first, and almost insupportably oppreffive. The very guards dreaded the charge of us, being punished severely for every one that escaped, and were confequently infligated by fear as much as disposition, to treat us harshly. Ten days afterwards, however, one of the fugitives being brought back to Seringapatam, our fituations were made lefs irkfome. Both had been retaken near Tellicherry, but one of them availed himfelf of the opportunity when he was drinking water out of the river, to knock down the centinel that accompanied him, and then plunged into it and fwam away. The unfortunate fellow that was brought back, paid for the natural privilege of having made use of his legs with his nose and cars, after which he was led round the fort on a Jack-Afa with his face to the tail, and was condemned to labour among the native fmiths, who obliged him to blow the bellows for them. No account was ever received of the other. Two of those Europeans whom Tippoo employed as Armourers, also attempted to escape at this time by fwimming over the Coleroon, but it happened G

happened unfortunately that a guard was placed on the very fpot where they gained the land, who discovered their defign. One of these men had formerly been a Midshipman, and died at Seringapatam in Auguft 1790.

In this dreadful flate of suspence we remained during five months, when Tippoo returned from the invalion of Hydona. He had poffeffed himself on that expedition, befides plunder, of a country extending about fifty or fixty cofs beyond Copaul, and almost as far as the Killna, having independent of the greatest part of Hydona, taken Durbar and other places from the Marhattas, all of which he held in fubjection until the present war broke out. It was faid, that Tippoo alledged the Nizam's refusal of his Daughter, and Mouberjung of his Safter, for his Son, as a pretext for the War. The propolal had been rejected with contempt, the young Myforean being of too mean an origin to aspire to mixing his blood with that which flowed in veins of fuch high descent.

Soon after the tyrant's return, we were divided into three parties and difperfed. One was fent to Bedanore; another to Chittledroog, which lies to the northward of Seringapatam, not far from Copaul: and the third, to which I belonged, remained in the city. Those that went away were in irons. We that were referred, were at first posted to a battalion of Cecrikies, a people lying in the woods whom Tippoo had enflaved; but in confequence of the frequent com plaints,

plaints, and unfavorable representations which our black officers made of our conduct, we were subdivided anew into four parties, one of which remained with the Cocrikies, another was posted to a Battalion of Moples, and the other two incorporated with the Malabar Christians. It was thought, not without fome reason, that the sewer of us were together the more tractable we should be. As we had often experienced the vanity of expecting any other redrefs for the ill ulage and injuries of our commanders, than what we could procure ourselves, so whenever twelve or fifteen of us were together, and they grew too intolerable, we used to beat the whole battalion, guards, and all, out of the fquare, and make terms with them before we ceafed hostilities. I have frequently known thefe effects of mere dispair, take place, and the officers, ashamed of their own pusilanimity, would not make these little mutinies known, but they took care in general to be even with us, and charged us with fome other offence of which we had never perhaps thought.

Our allowance, which fince the peace had been feven Rupees per month, unless when in difgrace, was at this time reduced to fix Rupees in forty-five days, which is the period of Tippoo's military month, according to which he pays his troops. This paultry stipend was however irregularly paid, and never at a shorter rate than fifty, frequently a longer period, which was a small addition to the month of the Pay-master's

contrivance, as it reduced us to extreme diffress at times, and the necessity of borrowing the money from him which was actually due to us. This scheme was fo much to his liking, that he frequently kept us in very long arrears on pretence of being without money, to oblige us to have reconfle to his aid, which he afforded in confideration of a deduction of one half in advanceing what it was his duty to have paid us long before. I shall here mention a species of unkingly chicanery, by which Tippoo himself manages to cheat his troops out of great part of their pay. He keeps them three or four months in arrears, or until they begin to be very much diffressed for money; he then allows his Treasurer or some other person with his money, to make them advances at a very exorbitant discount till pay is iffued, which generally takes place foon afterwards and the profits of this political robbery accrues to himfelf. When we now reflect that they are bound always to receive one fourth of their pay in grain, which generally confilts of what has been damaged as flores, and which the fepoys are obliged to throw away, and that the Treasurer or Pay-jobber probably expects or exacts fomething for himfelf over and above what goes into the Sultan's Coffers, we may naturally conclude that the army is neither too well paid nor too well fatisfied, and that little elfe but fear, want of unammity and bold leaders, not to omit the unquestionable vigilance and abilities of the tyrant, prevents them from revolting. I am confident from what

I have feen, that he will fome time or other feel the ill effects of their discontent.

In confequence of what has been faid, we found ourfelves fo much diffreffed at one time for the most indifpenfable necessaries of life, that our party ventured on a step for the take of procuring temporary relief. which exposed the whole to the imminent danger of a most ignominious death. It was fuggested to some one of the ingenious and bold prifoners at the time of the Moherrum, to fleal out of prison in the night, and when riot and intoxication had fulled the plous Muffelmen to reft, to rob the temples of the little filver hands which are offered during the fellival by the munificent bigots, then to re-enter the prison in the fame clandestine manner. We were all privy to this daring enterprize, and all to fhare equal in the benefit of its fuccels. Great precaution was therefore taken to avoid discovery, and to askit the resolute undertaker in effecting his purpose unobserved. I confess that I was not less rejoiced than astonished at his good fortune when I faw him return before day not only undiscovered, but furnished with a dozen of the filver relicks which he had fafely purloined. We melted down the filver with all imaginable fecreev, and fold it some time afterwards, which afforded a very feafonable relief. We had, however never after, even when less vigilantly watched, an opportunity of repeating this theft, the fuccess of which I never . fufficiently could admire, as mere difpair had inspired the attempt.

In the year 1783, fix of Tippoo's Chiefs and a Bramin, were hanged at Seringapatam for being fufpeded of carrying on a treacherous correspondence with the English. A letter to Lieutenant Rutledge had been found on the Bramin&interpreted by ferjeant Dempster, who has fince informed me that it was fimply a letter from the Gentleman's mother, or fome other relation, which the Bramin who came from the Carnatic had engaged to deliver, but that it was accompanied by a fhort note from one of Lieutenant Rutlege's friends, lamenting that he was no longer able, from want of opportunities, to write to him as formerly. This note caused all the mischief, for it betrayed a prior correspondence which was sufficient to rouse a distrust and suspicion in the jealous mind of Tippeo. Lieutenant Rutledge was in consequence of this difcovery, loaded with fetters and fent to Nundidroog, a very high and scarped rock, where he was confined on the very fummit under a little chapper or fhed, raifed for the purpole, and only allowed about the space of ten yards to move about in, with three quarters of a feer of Razzy and a few Chillies to fublilt on. In this dreadful fituation he fpun out a miferable existence for near two years, when he was shot on the rock, for contriving to transmit a written request to borrow four fanams of the prisoners at Seringapatam. This unfortunate Gentleman has left a fon behind him in Tiphoo's dominions. I learnt the particulars of Lieut. Rutledge's death from a farrier who had been confined

on the fame rock, but removed to Seringapatam in confequence of the indisposition of one of Tippoo's favourite Arabian bories, and is the only person I have been informed, that was ever known to return from any of these forts. He declared that he had been hoisted up to the top blind-folded, that there is but one narrow road down, which he perceived completely lined with fentrics, and that a fort guarded the afcent some distance below the summit. No person, he added, except their guards, could or were allowed to approach them. We were as usual all of us involved in Lieutenant Rutledge's difafter on the difcovery of the letter, and punished with close confinement, and the lofs of our allowance for two months, during which time we lived by charity, and learnt to be feveral days without food.

An European named White, having escaped from Bangalore the first year after the peace for the second-time, seven other European prisoners also confined at that place, were on account of this circumstance, put in irons and sent to Sunderdroog, a Fort to the North East of Seringapatam, and about twenty miles to the Westward of Bangalore. These unfortunate men continued under a very severe arrest on one seer of Raggy and half a pice per day for themselves and samilies, (women and children that were taken with them) until the year 1789, when after suffering during sour years all the rigour of slavery, setters, and hunger, they were ultimately dragged into the woods and hanged. Their women were asterwards brought

brought to Seringap nam, and related the deplorable estallrophe of their mallers---Nothing could be more shocking, more inhuman, and more base, than to preferve a torinenting existence to innocent men several years, for the sole purpose of murdering them in the end.

I was never able to discover when or how the above mentioned White got in o Tippoo's fervice, but he was there when the war began, and though a Britain, he firained every nerve to injure and diffress the English captives. Through his treachery, it was discovered that the captive officers had contrived to carry on fome contraband transactions which subjected them to examinations and restraints they never could account for, and might have endangered their existence had any discoveries been made, as the tyrant wanted very little pretext for murdering men who were obanoxious to him. He originally perfuaded Tippoo to retain such of the prisoners as had been mechanics, and pointed out those whom he judged fit objects for this purpole Many therefore are indebted to- him and his diabolical exertions, for the perpetual lofs of liberty, and finally of their lives. Tippoo was latterly much prejudiced against this man, and would certainly in some degree, have bestowed on him the fate he deferved, by hanging him, had he not faved himfelt by flight, for he had plaid his patron feveral provoking tricks, particularly pretending a skill in casting cannon; for when Tippoo had expended a great deal

of money on a Foundry and the necessary requisites he manifested his ignorance by spoiling all the metal, I am happy to find he is now a prisoner at Madras. The vexations refulting from White's flupidity, was amply made up for, however, fhortly after, by the arrival of thirty artifts from France, fent out by the court of Verfailles with a view to instruct Tippoo's ubjects in constructing manufactures, and aiding this Afiatic Ally of France, with mechanical knowledge, which as yet has made flow progress in his own dominions, as well as every other part of India. They were, no doubt, an earnest of the stipulated support and affiftance in the projected war with us, of which he has fince been so justly disappointed. Two men of each profession, or trade, were sent out, and consisted chiefly of fuch as were not to be found amongst his own fubjects, namely Founders, Glass-blowers, Watchmakers, Armourers, Broadcloth weavers, &c. &c. amongst the rest five fugar bakers, a doctor and a furgeon. I believe these people arrived with the Embasfadors.

In the beginning of 1789, fix men that none of us had ever heard of before, were brought from Chittle-droog to Seringapatam. This fufficiently evinces that many more Europeans, than is suspected, are concealed in Tippoo's dominions. These men were soon after their arrival, carried out of the fort in irons into a wood near the island, where they were hanged. They had belonged to the Bedenore garrison that capitula-

ted. What induced the barbarous Capturer to murder these men in cold blood, I never was able to discover.

Soon after this, Tippoo again collected his forces, amounting, if report may be credited, to above 100,000. It is difficult, however, to ascertain the real number of an indian army, which is always magnified very much beyond its reality; it would feem that a lack, or one hundred thousand, when applied to an army, has a very unlimited meaning, and fignifies nothing more than a pretty large body; for having fo frequently known the term applied to less than half the number, and scarcely ever heard of an Indian army of any note, that was not exaggerated, I con. clude it to be no more than a figure by which the relator means to convey his alarms. It must, notwithflanding, be confessed, that a great body of troops were collected, and that eight battalions of chaylas accompanied them. Tippoo marched down the gauts as foon as the army were equipped, without publishing what were his intentions.

We heard nothing of this new expedition or Tippoo's movements, for a confiderable time; when at
last, orders were received at the capital to prepare for
the nuptials of his son, a stout boy about seventeen
years of age who was now to espouse the daughter of
the Queen of Cannanore, since the Nizam had disdainfailly rejected him for a son in law; orders were also
received at the same time to arrange matters preparatory to the father's inauguration, as "Sultaun of the