



that the enemy were evacuating the place, and before 1803. we got down our drums were beating the Grenadiers' March on the ramparts, and Livesey and Forrest were in full possession of the fort. After securing the gateways, and leaving a sufficient force to garrison the place till morning we retired to camp, and I got a little rest. *Buddown.*

At daylight this morning we discovered about forty of the enemy lying killed and wounded about the glacis of the fort. They fell by our musketry in pushing out to get off. They generally come out with their matches lighted, and thereby discover themselves. At noon we received information that the man who headed the enemy was severely wounded yesterday evening, and that he was then lying at a village at no great distance from us. A Company was immediately marched off in pursuit of him. A great quantity of blood was found in the house where he was represented to have been, but they had moved him away. *JUNE 12, Camp at Buddown.*

No plunder was found in Buddown or in the fort of any consequence!

The fever continued to distress me during the day. The party dined with Macaulay, and at eleven at night the General beat, and we commenced our march back from Shikoabad, the weather being so hot as to prevent troops moving during the daytime.

At three in the morning we arrived at the well near the village of Shaik Sarie; here we halted for an hour, gave the men breath and water, of both which they stood in much need; drank some cold tea ourselves, and moved again for Shikoabad. We arrived in cantonments about an hour after sunrise.



CHAPTER XII.

In Cantonments at Shikoabad.
June 13th to August 15th, 1803.

1803.

JUNE 22,

Shikoabad.

At seven this morning Cunynghame and Mrs. Cunynghame, the Honourable Mrs. Carlton, Mr. Paterson of the 29th Dragoons, Richardson of the 14th Regiment, Miss Dunbar (a very fine girl), and Wemyss arrived.

After dressing we all went over to MacGregor's bungalow to breakfast with the ladies. Mrs. Cunynghame introduced us to Mrs. Carlton and Miss Dunbar, and at Shikoabad I think we could now boast three of the finest women in India. They were kind enough to ask me to accompany them, but the surgeon told me that it would be madness to think of stirring at this season, and that a relapse would inevitably be the consequence of my moving in tents. We were all exceedingly pleased with Mrs. Carlton who, we were told, was not treated in the kindest manner by her husband. She married the Honourable Colonel Carlton; a son of Lord Dorchester; he commanded the 29th Dragoons, and was now with them at Cawnpore. Miss Dunbar was just fresh from the Highlands, and one of the most elegant figures, and finest women I ever saw, except that she spoke broad Scotch. Dined to-day (a select party) at Colonel Blair's, sat next to my friend Mrs. Cunynghame, and passed one of the most pleasant evenings that I had done since I left England.

JULY 5.

Mynpoorie.

Took an early dinner with Colonel Blair, and about six o'clock we left Shikoabad for Mynpoorie. The ladies went in the phaeton, a postillion driving them. At the village of Arroul the roads were so bad that the ladies got out of the phaeton, and on elephants proceeded to Garroul. At Arroul Wemyss and I took



our horses, which had been laid there for us, and 1803.
Cunynghame, Paterson and Richardson changed *Mynpoorie*.
their horses; we rode on together to Garroul. We had
a beautiful moonlight night, and arrived at our tents
at ten o'clock, where dinner and every luxury was
prepared for us.

Left Garroul at daybreak this morning. The ladies *JULY 6.*
in the phaeton, and we all on horseback. The morning *Mynpoorie*.
was dreadfully hot. We passed Wemyss's bungalow,
which was nearly a mile from Cunynghame's, and
where he kept his family. We were dying of thirst,
and out of *sheer vice* drank each of us a *bottle of beer*.
This was *kept secret*, but I never relished a draught so
much in my life. We (bachelors) dressed at Wemyss's
house (close to Cunynghame's) after having taken a
good bathe, and found breakfast all ready at Cunyng-
hame's. In the forenoon went with Wemyss to
Cunynghame's and his own stables, and placed my
horses in the coolest stalls. Tiffed at two o'clock.
Dressed at sunset, but none of the party went out this
evening. Dined at eight, and we were splendidly
entertained. An elegant dinner with champagne,
claret, hock, Madeira in abundance. Went to the
drawing room about eleven, and had lots of singing
and playing.

Accounts to-day gave us every reason to suppose *JULY 11.*
that a Mahratta war is inevitable, and very sincere *Mynpoorie*.
pleasure did it give me, and I am convinced that if an
officer would wish to *get forward* he should pray for
opportunities to distinguish himself, and let none
escape him that offer. To be first and foremost in
danger should be his object; if he falls, he falls
gallantly and respected, and it is a thousand to one if
he is not rewarded should he succeed in doing his
duty, in the *style of a soldier*.

Peyron wrote me from Bareilly that they expected
to take the field shortly, and jokingly told me that

Middleton "desired my company at dinner in the Tauge at Agra on the 5th of *October next!*"

JULY 15.

Mynpoorie.

Mrs. Carlton, Wemyss, Paterson and myself left the house at break of day this morning. On our ride we saw a neat fort at a distance, and rode to examine it. It was called Uxowlah, and had formerly been a country residence of the Mynpoorie Rajah's, at a time when they were greater men and in more power than since they have had the *English* among them. Near the fort stood the remains of a house and pleasure grounds, which in its prosperity must have been a very delightful retreat.

On our return we had a very heavy fall of rain, and Mrs. C., as well as the rest of us, was completely drenched. It had the effect only of making her look more handsome, and if possible better humoured than ever.

Wemyss and I had fixed with the Judge to breakfast with him; got into the buggy and found his Worship waiting breakfast. Played at billiards till tiffin. Joined the ladies as they were sitting down. During tiffin about twenty women who were employed at Cunynghame's new house, grinding up paint, came boldly into the dining room, and seized on R—, who made a grand fight, to our great amusement, but they overpowered him, and without ceremony carried him off, and shut him up in a room of the new house. This they had been *bribed* to do by the ladies, who, as well as the rest, were not a little entertained with the gallant Captain's defence. Finding force would not prevail with his dingy friends, he offered them money, and fair words to liberate him.

JULY 17.

Mynpoorie.

Wemyss and I breakfasted with the Judge this morning, and before the table was cleared Cunynghame wrote us a note saying that villagers had just come in with accounts of a tiger about eight miles from Mynpoorie. White called just as this informa-



tion reached us, and instead of our palanquins we got three into his buggy (by way of expedition), and drove home. White, being a great sportsman, agreed to accompany us. Sent off our elephants, guns and ammunition and the Arabs to the jungle. White followed in his palanquin, and Wemyss and myself about an hour after in the tandem. On our arrival at the forest we perceived the villagers stationed on the tops of the trees, from which they pointed out the spot of cover into which they assured us they had seen the tiger go. 1803. *Mynpoorie.*

It was a forest of trees, so thick that an elephant could not without difficulty pass between the timbers, and the drivers assured us that if the tiger should start suddenly upon us, and the elephants run, we should inevitably be dashed to pieces among the trees. All this we were perfectly aware of, but being determined to beat up his quarters, we ordered the drivers to proceed on. The fellows recommended themselves "to God" and began to pray, and we were obliged to have recourse to the butts of our guns before they would enter the forest, reminding them that the danger was greater to us than to them. The cover was exceedingly strong, with a stream of water running through the centre of it, and on the banks of which we relied on finding him, nor were we mistaken. After proceeding with great difficulty, White on one side of the stream, Wemyss and myself on the other, about two hundred yards into the wood, the man driving my elephant assured me that the tiger was near, and the elephants began to beat their trunks on the ground and to show symptoms of anger. In a few minutes after I perceived his streaked side, through a thick bush of briars, and instantly pointed him out to Wemyss. Never did I behold a more glorious sight. He lay lashing his tail and crouched waiting only for us to near him a little, so that he might make his spring with effect. We were aware of our awkward situation, and the elephants began to back, when



1803.

Mynpoorie.

Wemyss and I fired together. He gave a most hideous howl, and in endeavouring to make at us staggered back and fell directly into the water, the blood streaming from him as he swam towards White on the opposite side. We fired three double barrels each at him in the water, but could not prevent his reaching the opposite shore; where he landed and drew himself instantly into the cover, and we as speedily pursued him. About fifty yards down the stream we discovered him lying in the agonies of death, howling in such a manner as to make the forest ring again; he struggled and made every savage exertion to get at us, but was mortally wounded, and could only rise on his forelegs. His tremendous roaring made the elephants appear very *uncomfortable*, and they showed symptoms of wishing to make off.

We did not wish to despatch the tiger immediately, as the sight of a tiger in such a situation was really a most glorious one. White's elephant backed and squeezed the servant terribly against a tree. The man was placed in a kind of chair fastened to the howdah for the purpose of handing the powder and the balls (shooting howdahs have all such a contrivance.) The tiger lay under a small tree, the roots of which he tore up, and appeared perfectly frantic with rage and pain. He had killed a man and a bullock a few hours before we arrived, and it was pleasant to see the villagers with their drawn swords around him, but none would venture near him.

After we had enjoyed this sight a full hour, I dismounted and walked up near to him, and with my rifle shot him stone dead. The villagers began to cheer, and made us a thousand salaams to our feet for having destroyed a monster which would otherwise most likely have destroyed many of them and remained there the terror of the neighbourhood. We loaded him on a spare elephant and carried him to the village, about a mile from the forest, where our tent



was ready pitched and refreshments which had been 1803. sent by Cunynghame for us on the table, and after feasting heartily and drinking lots of hock and water, we mounted our Arabs, and arrived in time to dress and joined the party for the dessert and a bottle of champagne. About nine o'clock the fruits of our labour arrived, and the ladies were the first in the verandah to see it. They thought us amazing *clever* fellows, and Mrs. Carlton desired his claws might be taken out for her to carry to England. Nothing but the extreme heat of the day prevented them accompanying us and looking on *at a distance*. It was fortunate, however, that they did not, as they could not possibly have seen anything. We got very *gay* on this occasion, and it was nearly eleven before Wemyss, White and I left the dining table. We men smoked a little. Sung and played till near one o'clock, when we went to bed as happy as kings.

Employed ourselves this morning in seeing the skin JULY 18.
taken from the tiger, and in cutting out our balls. *Mynpoorie.*
The first round that Wemyss and myself fired at him, our guns were loaded with plugs (double-headed shot), two in each barrel, four double barrels; they were the only shot of that description that were fired at him (being good only at close quarters), and every one of them, eight in number, were cut out of the tiger, and a great number of round shot. He measured eleven feet, and such limbs I never saw to a tiger before. Preserved the teeth and claws and had them cleaned for Mrs. Carlton to take home with her. The ladies were employed this morning in painting, which they did beautifully. In the evening we all went out in the carriages. Dined at eight. This was Mrs. Carlton's last evening, and we were less gay than usual on that account.

The following extract of a letter from Thornhill JULY 27.
received this day :—

Shikohabad.

"Pepper Jacket is related in blood to Boxer, whose grand dam was the great grand dam of Pepper Jacket, which mare was got by Snip, son of Flying Childers; her dam was Parker's Lady Thigh. I think we shall introduce a little good blood into the country."

Pepper Jacket is a Europe horse, just sent out to Thornhill by his father at home.

Received a letter from Mrs. Cunynghame mentioning that Cunynghame expected officers would be appointed to the Mynpoorie Provincials, and desiring to know if Cunynghame should apply for me, and Wemyss wrote by the same conveyance and kindly mentioned:—"As you are not a married man you can have half of my bungalow."

To this I made the same reply as I had done to Thornhill on the same occasion, and although it was never my intention to join one of the Irregular Corps, in times like the present I was exceedingly flattered by the kind attention they had evinced. It would have been excessively *comfortable* to sit down settled with such friends, enjoying, at no expense, the luxuries of the East, but a soldier should not *study comfort*, and I should have felt somewhat awkward in the midst of those enjoyments while my corps was gaining fame in the field. To hear my brother officers, some future day perhaps, "fighting their battles o'er again," and telling "how fields were won," would not, to me, have been *very pleasant*.

JULY 31.

Shikhoabad.

Everything of mine in perfect readiness to march at an hour's notice. Recalled my hackery and determined to send back my tent and some trunks to Mynpoorie, as there was no talk of troops moving to relieve us.

Packed ten dozen of Madeira and four dozen of port with some beer in grass for the march. Tailors still brushing up the old tent. Livesey and myself having



a pipe of Madeira at Futti Ghur, agreed that it would be better for it to remain there, as the risk of losing it would be less than at Shikoabad (close upon the borders of the Mahratta territory). 1803. Shikoabad.

The people employed making purdals for my palanquin, which is to be my substitute for a cot, to which it is far preferable, particularly on occasions when in rainy cold weather we may be obliged to remain all night on a plain and exposed to the climate. The day was particularly cool on account of the heavy fall of rain we experienced since yesterday.

I invited all the bachelors to dine with me on the third of August. Packed up my spare saddlery in readiness to send off to Mynpoorie to Wemyss's care, and my guns also (except Baker and my rifle, my constant companions, with my pistols), it being desirable to move as light as possible. By the Calcutta Gazette received to-day I was happy to see Golding in Orders for a new appointment.

We mustered this morning a quarter of an hour after sunrise, after which I drove to Cumberlege's, and took Mrs. Cumberlege a long drive into the country; the weather very pleasant. Breakfasted at Cumberlege's, and remained nearly all the morning with them, Mrs. Cumberlege employed in copying a curious painting. Aug. 1. Shikoabad.

Commenced covering the upper fly of my old tent afresh, having otherwise completely set it in order. Vaughan sent a servant of his who understood tent making, to give them instructions. Letters to-day stated the probability of our not moving out till the rainy season is past; others affirms that the day was fixed (the third) for the troops, with the Commander-in-Chief, to leave Cawnpore. Despatched my new tent, a box of spare saddlery, three double-barrel guns, and one trunk of clothes to Wemyss at Mynpoorie. Grant and Weston passed the afternoon with me, and at half-past five I marched my Grenadiers to



1803. the butt. Fired six rounds, by sections, and their fire was well directed. In taking a shot at the target with my rifle, I singed the bearskin of my hat.

AUG. 3. Sinclair, Grant, Livesey, Weston, MacGregor, Forbes, Murray, Arden, Harriott, Vaughan and Macaulay dined with me this evening, and we kept it up till an *early* hour. Sung a great deal, and parted in high good humour. Some of the party who absconded after drinking as long as they thought proper were brought back to the charge, and this ended in one of the *hardest going* days I ever saw in my life.

AUG. 4. We paraded (some of us, others reported sick) at gun fire this morning for exercise. Went through the same manœuvres and firings as the last day we were out. After exercises I returned home, went to bed, and slept till nearly ten. Bathed and breakfasted at home. Amused ourselves with pipe tailing some tatoos (ponies), which annoyed our horses sadly. All yesterday's dinner party tiffed with me to-day, and after tiffin we sent for Weston's antelope and loosed two brace of greyhounds at him; he went off in the most delightful style, and easily bounded out of reach of the best of our dogs. It afforded us very capital sport, and we knocked up our horses as well as our dogs. I was for picquet this evening, and marched them to their post a quarter of an hour before sunset. Drove MacGregor round the course; we passed the gun the moment it fired, and it so terrified the leader that I could not pacify him the whole evening. Dined with Grant this evening, and, as usual, all passed a jolly day.

AUG. 5. A melancholy affair is said to have taken place in Candia, on the Malay Coast. Fourteen officers and three hundred men of the 51st Regiment, commanded by a Major, are reported to have been put to death



by the Candians, and the Malays, who went over to 1803. the enemy during the action, are said to have treacherously joined the Candians in this murderous business. The expedition now fitting out below is said to be intended against the Candians.

The Battalion at exercise this morning; we went Aug. 6. through the most useful and likely manœuvres to be practised with an army, to get perfect in which, and to make the men steady in their firings, are considerable objects to accomplish. We were dismissed before six. I returned immediately home, slept an hour, bathed and dressed, and breakfasted with Wilson. Called at Grant's on my way home, and stayed an hour with him, firing at a mark with his pistols. Wemyss's hurkarrah (running footman) arrived from Mynpoorie with taut (canvas) to repair my tent, which Wemyss had kindly procured for me. Wrote to Wemyss and sent a dog of Colonel Blair's to him to procure a breed from a beautiful Europe setter, for which Wemyss paid four hundred rupees (equal to £50.) Shikoabad.

Letters by this evening's post mention that the Aug. 7. troops at Futtu Ghur are to march positively on the 17th, or *probably sooner*. All the heavy guns ordered to be put on transport carriages in readiness to move at the shortest notice, and everything bade fair for a bloody campaign, as the enemy are certainly very numerous, supported by a formidable train of artillery, of which we hope soon to have an opportunity of *relieving them*. Shikoabad.

A report that a picquet of five hundred men of the enemy were seen encamped on brink of the Mahratta country, not seven miles from our cantonments, purposely, it was conjectured, to watch the movements of our corps; it was true that they remained in their own country, but the position they had chosen caused great room for suspicion.



1803.

I was on picquet this evening, and thought it advisable to load my sentries in case of any alarm. Returned after dinner to remain all night with my picquet (in cantonments and at out stations this was not generally expected in time of peace).

Aug. 8.

Shikoadad.

Joined the Battalion with my picquet at gun fire this morning for exercise; performed several manœuvres, and fired twenty-one rounds of light ammunition. Breakfasted at Colonel Blair's. Harriott returned and passed the morning with me. My Company and the 2nd Grenadiers ordered for target practice this afternoon. The rain commenced soon after four, and prevented us going out. It rained till six, and the weather was cool in consequence. Drove Mrs. Cumberlege twice round the course this evening, and to MacGregor's, where we dined, a large party. Singing after dinner. The ladies left us about eleven, and we set in for a long night. Drank a great deal of claret, and about three in the morning a dance was proposed in honour of the reported campaign. Vaughan and MacGregor at first commenced the music, but we sent for the fifes and drums of the Battalion, and kept it up until the gun fired at day-break. Fortunately for us all there was no exercise to-day.

Aug. 9.

Shikoadad.

At dinner to-day we all met at Weston's, and again drank a great deal of wine. We heard this evening that the Commander-in-Chief and Cawnpore troops marched on the 7th and 8th. Mrs. Cunynghame wrote me from Mynpoorie that Cunynghame had received instructions to order two bridges to be built across the Esah River, one equal to bear a heavy train, and another for the column to pass over. The report to-day was that General Perron (Scindiah's Commander-in-Chief) has sworn all the Chiefs of his Army to conquer or die with him. A great number of Sikhs are said to have joined General Perron, so that we expect some hard work.



Perron making every preparation to oppose us, and 1803. to defend himself. All Scindiah's Brigades and Artillery from the Decan preparing to join him, and as they amount to nearly twenty times our number, both in troops and guns, he is said to be confident of success. His artillery reported to be equal to any in the world, and in that he chiefly depends for our destruction. We flatter ourselves that there will be many broken heads before that is effected. General Lake we heard of to-day, within thirty miles of us, and we remained in hourly expectation of moving out to join His Excellency.

All anxious for further intelligence, and for the order of march to arrive.

Got up this morning an hour before daybreak, and saw my tent and baggage all laden on the camels and bullocks. At gun fire we paraded, wheeled into line, and then by sections, backward on our left, at six we marched out of cantonments, the drums and fifes playing the Grenadiers' March—officers and men in the highest spirits possible. We encamped on a high spot of ground, a short distance to the south-east of Major Hammond's bungalow, and not more than two miles from our cantonment. Harriott had ordered breakfast for the last time to be laid in his bungalow, and after the parade was dismissed and the picquets and guards posted a party of us galloped back to the cantonments and breakfasted.

Aug. 15.

Shikohabad.



CHAPTER XIII.

March to Ali Ghur from Shikoabad.
August 16th, 1803, to August 28th, 1803.

1803.
Aug. 16.

Mil. 15.

Jussvanah.

THE Battalion marched this morning at four. The orders for the picquet on duty to form the rearguard kept me on the ground till late, as it was a long time before everything was clear off. The ammunition bullocks being fresh from so much rest, and many of them quite unaccustomed to carry barrels, gave us much trouble and delayed us considerably, very frequently throwing their loads and running off.

We did not arrive at our ground till nearly four hours after the corps. Colonel Blair sent after me as I passed on with my picquet, and ordered breakfast for me at his tent. The roads to-day were much better than we expected, considering the immense heavy falls of rain; the roads or rather tracks were literally level, and very little cut, as scarcely any carriages ever pass on them. Tiffed with Grant, and at four o'clock Cumberlege, Livesey and myself went out with our guns; killed a great number of peacocks, hares and grey partridges. It was quite dark before we returned. Forbes, Murray and Grant dined with me, and we had a very cheerful evening. Went to bed at ten.

Aug. 17.

Mil. 16.

The General beat this morning at three, and we marched off at half an hour after. Found the water high in many places on the line of march, and in crossing a valley in which the water had lodged we were under the necessity of carrying the limber boxes over it on men's heads, and the soldiers were obliged to take off their pouches to secure their ammunition. Most of the officers crossed over standing on the guns and tumbrils. I rode Major, but it was up to the skirts of the saddle. This detained us very considerably, and it was nearly nine before we arrived at our ground.



I breakfasted with Weston, and received a letter 1803.
from Thornhill, Bareilly, telling me that Mr. Seton
offered to apply to the Adjutant-General for the
Adjutancy of the Provincial Corps there, if I would
accept it after the campaign; himself giving me, at
the same time, an invitation to his house, which he
requested I would at all times consider as my own.
These attentions proved highly gratifying to me, but
under our present circumstances I could not accept
their kind offers, being determined to hint at no such
thing as long as we had an army in the field.

Tified with Forrest, and at three Cumberlege and
myself went out shooting. Colonel Blair saw me
passing his tent, and gave me a good lecture for
exposing myself to the sun. We tried till dark, but
found very little game (an unusual occurrence in
India). Killed some partridges and two brace of
hares. Dined with Sinclair. Dressed after we
returned, and was consequently very late at dinner.
Passed a jolly evening.

We marched this morning by the left. The Aug. 18.
General beat at three, and the Assembly at half-past. Mil. 16.
Owing to having walked a good deal yesterday Etab.
evening, and blistered my feet, they were so much
inflamed that I could neither stand on them or wear
my boots.

Colonel Blair's grey charger being much steadier
on the line of march than either of my own, he kindly
ordered it to be brought up for me, and I actually
rode the whole morning with my feet wrapped up in
towels, and in the greatest tortures. The country
through which we marched this day was pretty well
wooded, and remarkably green. Some of the
windings we passed were truly romantic, and it was
rendered still more pleasant by the drums and fifes
playing marches and country dances as we marched
on. This was one of the pleasantest mornings (the



weather) I ever recollect to have marched in, and the weather was particularly cool.

About three miles from our ground, near a village we came to a lake, in the midst of one of the finest brushwood covers imaginable, and the Battalion and its guns crossing it was really a most pleasing sight.

Aug. 19.

Etah.

A report to-day that General Perron had threatened an attack on Sarssney (six miles only from his headquarters at Coel), that the corps in garrison there had been kept several nights on the alert, a great proportion of the men were constantly under arms, guns loaded and matches burning. One letter mentioned that the half-cast officers of Scindiah's service had left it in consequence of a proclamation declaring that all people of that description, born of British parentage, who remained in the service of the native powers, with whom war was now declared, would be considered as traitors to their country, and treated accordingly should the fate of war throw them into our hands.

The Commander-in-Chief and the Army expected to join us about the 26th, and we imagined that hostilities would immediately commence. The Mahrattas are said to have collected an immense force on their frontier, and the native powers have joined them with strong bodies of Cavalry.

Aug. 22.

Etah.

Breakfasted at my own tent with Forrest, Harriott and Weston. I received a letter from Wemyss, who, I was exceedingly happy to find, was with General Lake, living in his Excellency's family. The Commander-in-Chief had at home been intimate with Wemyss's brother, General Wemyss, and in consequence showed Wemyss every kindness, and took him from his station at Mynpoorie because he expressed himself desirous (though in the Civil Service) to witness a campaign. About twelve the Quarter-Master-General passed through our camp, to mark



out ground for the encampment of the Army 1803. to-morrow, and soon after an order reached us, directing our march at three to-morrow morning. Walked in the evening to the mango grove, where we had sent our horses and dogs to remain during the heat of the day. Swinton of the 12th and Macaulay came into our camp this evening. A large party of us dined with Livesey, and a harder going day I seldom had experienced.

The Battalion marched this morning at three o'clock, and we came to our ground shortly after daybreak. At six his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief arrived with H.M. 27th and 29th Dragoons, 76th Foot, 15th Regiment of Native Infantry, four Companies of the 4th Regiment and four Companies of the 17th Regiment, with the 1st Regiment Native Cavalry. Aug. 23.
Etah.

General St. John also arrived with the Commander-in-Chief; they all encamped close upon our right, in a thin brushwood jungle, and on a fine crop of young indigo. Wemyss, who came in with the Commander-in-Chief, breakfasted with me, as did Livesey, Aubery, Weston, Arden, Murray, Grant and Harriott.

Colonel Blair went after breakfast to pay his respects to his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, and returned very much pleased at the manner in which the General spoke of the Corps, and told us all that we must avail ourselves of the first opportunity that may offer to convince his Excellency that we were all desirous to prove ourselves deserving of the high estimation in which the Commander-in-Chief professed to hold us. The Colonel was told that he may depend upon us, and that nothing on earth we wished for so much as an opportunity to evince our prowess.

Colonel Blair had formerly distinguished himself on many occasions, and was thought to be also the first drill officer in the service. He was second in



1803.

Etah.

command of one of the Corps which formed the Detachment under General Goddard, famous for having marched through an enemy's country across the Peninsula of India, a most timely reinforcement to Bombay. They captured also the strong forts of Basseen and Amidabad. In the course of the campaign the Corps to which Colonel Blair belonged was detached to bring in some provisions and grain from the neighbouring villages, from which it was exacted by force. The convoy was attacked, and the Battalion beset on all sides by innumerable bodies of the enemy's horse. Colonel Blair, perceiving that the Commanding Officer of the Corps was in a very unfit state to command on so serious an occasion, and that the result bid fair to be the complete destruction of them all—without hesitation *put his Commanding Officer in arrest*, and took the command himself, and accordingly had the credit of saving not only the Battalion but the Convoy. It was an occurrence almost unprecedented, for a junior officer upon a parade, and in the face of an enemy, to put his senior in arrest.

The Commanding Officer never afterwards did duty, and was eventually necessitated to quit the service.

Wemyss remained nearly all the day with me, and I was happy when he told me that he had heard the Commander-in-Chief speak of me in favourable terms. As the General, however, had so many solicitations from Europe to serve officers in the Army, and as I had unfortunately no claims of that nature on his Excellency, I did not flatter myself much, being determined at all events to endeavour to deserve well, and take my chance cheerfully with many others, whose expectations were not more flattering than my own.

Wemyss sent for his guns and dogs, and we had a review of them, promising ourselves some sport of that sort occasionally. We mustered between us nine



double-barrel guns and perhaps some of the highest bred dogs (Terriers and Pointers) in India. By all accounts received to-day the enemy are making the most active preparations, and some large bodies of their horse are said to have advanced towards us from Coel and Ali Ghur. It was conjectured that we should immediately be formed into Brigades upon the arrival of the Futtu Ghur troops under General Ware, daily expected, and that we shall attack them without delay. Wemyss left me about eleven, and I remained in my tent the whole morning. Tiffed with Livesey; Arden, Aubery, MacGregor, Weston, Harriott, Forrest, Swinton and Grant dined with me to-day. Passed a very cheerful evening, and broke up about twelve o'clock.

The Army marched this morning by the right. Baggage on the right. Our Battalion in the rear of the pack. The country through which we marched was very fertile and pleasant, and we arrived at our ground near to Secundra about eleven o'clock. Wemyss, who came on as staff to the Commander-in-Chief, passed the day with me. General Ware, with the Futtu Ghur division of troops expected to join us to-morrow, and we have every reason to imagine that the campaign will commence immediately. The Mahrattas said to be taking the field with all their Regular Troops and a formidable train of Artillery. We dined with Grant this evening, and a great number of songs were sung. We passed a very jolly night, and broke up at an early hour.

We marched at daylight this morning, and arrived early at our ground. At seven o'clock General Ware joined us. MacGregor and self went to breakfast with Middleton, and my friends of the 3rd Cavalry (which came in with General Ware, and the Futtu Ghur division). Colonel Blair sent for me to his tent, and told me that General Lake had been enquiring of him



1803.

Camp.
Grand Army
at
Secundrapore.

for me in a very particular manner, and that his Excellency expressed a wish to serve me, and also his intention of giving me an appointment with the Army.

This was the most pleasant information I had ever heard respecting India and my prospects in it.

Soon after Wemyss wrote a note and told me that I was appointed Quarter-Master of a Brigade and Quarter-Master to my Regiment in the room of Cumberlege, appointed a Major of Brigade. Went up to Wemyss in the headquarter line, and met Major Nicholson (A.D.C. to the Commander-in-Chief and Quarter-Master-General of the King's Troops.) He congratulated me on my appointment, and told me that the Commander-in-Chief had often expressed himself pleased at some occurrences which had taken place the former campaign in which it was my good fortune to have been employed. My appointment appeared in Orders this day, and the Army was brigaded, and formed as follows:—

CAVALRY

1st Brigade Cavalry.
2nd Brigade Cavalry.

INFANTRY

1st Brigade Infantry.
2nd Brigade Infantry.
3rd Brigade Infantry.
4th Brigade Infantry.

GENERAL ORDER OF BATTLE OF THE
BRITISH ARMY AT SECUNDRAPORE,

AUGUST 26TH, 1803.

GENERAL LAKE—COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.
INFANTRY LINE AT SECUNDRAPORE.

2nd Brigade:

Brigr. Clarke.
Bri.-Majr. Anderdon.
Bri.-Qr.-Masr. Macan.
Staff.

3rd Brigade:

Brigr. McDonald.
Bri.-Majr. Christie.
Bri.-Qr.-Masr. Wallace.
Staff.



<i>4th Brigade:</i>	<i>1st Brigade:</i>	1803.
Brigr. Powell.	Brigr. Monson	<i>Camp,</i>
Bri.-Majr. Cumberlege.	Bri.-Majr. Ritso	<i>Grand Army</i>
Bri.-Qr.-Masr. Pester.	Bri.-Qr.-Masr. Gahan	<i>at</i>
Staff.	Staff.	<i>Secundra-</i>
		<i>pore.</i>

PARK OF ARTILLERY.

Col. Horsford, Comg.: Majr.-Bri. Butler:
Qr.-Masr. Browne.

CAVALRY LINE.

<i>2nd Brigade.</i>	<i>1st Brigade.</i>
Brigr. Macan.	Brigr. St. Leger.
Bri.-Majr. Macan.	Majr.-Br. Gore.
Staff.	Staff.

This morning the Army commenced its march, and Aug. 27.
I, with the Quarter-Master-General and Quarter-
Master of Brigade, went on in front to look out for *Camp,*
ground to encamp on, and to mark out the line for my *Grand*
Brigade. Arrived and encamped (the army) about *Army,*
ten, a little to the southward of Bechey Ghur, on the *near*
Alighur Road. To-day we had pretty good informa- *Beckey Ghur.*
tion that Perron was at Coel, and that he meant to
try his prowess with us, and depended much on his
Cavalry, which were very numerous, and said to be
the finest Irregular Horse that were ever seen in
Hindustan.

We heard a distant firing of cannon this forenoon,
and were told it was General Perron's Flying
Artillery, and that he daily exercised them many
hours, and conceived himself perfectly prepared for
the arrival of the British Army. We encamped about
eighteen or twenty miles from Coel and Ali Ghur
to-day, and some small detached parties of the
enemy's Horse were seen by our picquets at a
distance, but no shots were exchanged or fired by
either party.



1803.

Camp,
Grand
Army,
near
Bechey Ghur.

Some British officers, late of Scindiah's and Holcar's Service, came into our camp to-day, and gave us a most *formidable* account of the power and force of the enemy, and of their being determined to dispute the ground with us inch by inch, and we as eagerly hoped they would not change their plans, but give us an opportunity of closing with them. From the accounts these officers gave of their formidable Artillery, and the state of discipline of the troops destined to support it, it is all fair to calculate upon the loss of many officers and men before we gain possession of it, and defeat their troops, which we do not despair of doing whenever an opportunity offers.

The British officers who gave us those particulars of the enemy may be supposed to be well acquainted with the real state of their forces, as they were the very men who had disciplined their troops and artillery, and a few weeks since only were with them, some in command of Brigades, others Majors, Captains and Subalterns.

The French officers, of course, remained attached to General Perron, but after the proclamation which had been issued by our Government, it would have been treason in Englishmen to have continued and to have fought against their country. It was certainly a hard case to those people to relinquish a service which not only gave them bread, but many of them were in situations that promised to have gained them in a few years a handsome independency. Wemyss and self rode in the evening round the fort of Bechey Ghur, and we went to the spot on which our batteries were erected when we besieged the place the last year. Wemyss told me in confidence that it was his opinion we should have a bloody campaign, and all those at headquarters as fully expected it.



This morning we marched at daylight, and last evening all the sick of the different Brigades were sent into the garrison of Bechey Ghur, in order that the rapid marches which it was expected the Army would sometimes have occasion to make may not be impeded. We encamped in a short brushwood cover this morning, and our picquets were strongly posted at a rising ground in front. About eleven o'clock some strong Columns of Horse made their appearance, and part of the line was immediately under arms. They approached near the picquets, and by the immense dust that was flying in different directions it appeared as if they were premeditating an attack.

1803.

Aug. 28.

*Camp,
Grand
Army,
eight miles
from
Coel.*

They kept hovering about till about three in the evening, and then drew off towards the fort of Ali Ghur. I went after breakfast this morning to see Wemyss, and we called on Major Nicholson and Major Lake. All in expectation of an action to-morrow morning, as at headquarters they had received intelligence that General Perron, with about twenty thousand troops, was drawn up near Coel for the purpose of giving us battle. As it was expected that the Corps would be engaged in the morning, Colonel Blair paid me the compliment to request that I would not go on in front with the Quarter-Master-General, but remain to assist him when we should get into action, which I did *not*.



CHAPTER XIV.

The Storming of Ali Ghur and March to Jumnah River, near Delhi.
August 29th, 1803, to September 10th, 1803.

1803.

AUG. 29.

*Camp,
Grand
Army.*

THE Army marched this morning at daybreak, in one column, Cavalry leading the line. At the distance of about five miles from Coel we heard a salute of 21 guns; supposed from the fortress of Ali Ghur, but saw no enemy till we arrived in sight of the place, when we discovered them striking their camp, and forming their troops into immense columns, preserving an extensive line, with a deep morass covering their front. I was with the advanced guard, and we received orders from General Lake to storm a high village, which was occupied by the enemy, on the skirts of the morass. This we effected, and here we suffered almost the only loss that was sustained during the day. The fire of the enemy's musketry was very hot, till we closed with them. The line coming up, we gained ground to the right in order to outflank the enemy, as well as to march clear of the morass, which covered them.

The 27th and 29th Dragoons led the column of Native Cavalry, supported by the Infantry. The Galloper guns opening was the signal to commence the attack, and the British line advanced in a most steady manner. On our nearer approach they drew off towards the fort, which covered their retreat by continuing a heavy fire on us. The enemy had in the field this morning upwards of twenty thousand men, but they did not choose to risk anything decisive with us. General Perron, the Frenchman who commanded them, we were told by some prisoners, was the first to fly. As we passed over their ground of encampment we saw a great many of the enemy, who fell by the fire of our Flying Artillery; they were so numerous that every shot did execution. The General did me



the honour to send me repeatedly with orders during 1803. the affair, as his staff were all employed. I had my grey horse, Collector, shot through the neck in attacking the village with the advanced guard; he bled a good deal, but my other horses were with the line, in the rear, and I could not dismount him for nearly an hour after he was wounded. Soon after two o'clock we commenced pitching our camp within random shot of the fort, covering the town of Coel, into which the Commander-in-Chief ordered a Battalion for its protection. The morning was excessively hot, and the Quarter-Master-General was near fainting, as we were marking out the line, having exerted himself greatly in the course of the day.

*Camp,
Grand
Army.*

At this moment my groom came up with a fresh horse and some water, which poor Campbell said was the saving of his life. Wemyss passing up the line with his horse much distressed, I mounted him on Major. He was going with orders to the picquets, and did not return till sunset. At five we had the orders out, when the Commander-in-Chief expressed himself much gratified with the conduct of the troops. It was nearly four p.m. *before we broke our fast*, and a hotter day in August I never knew. Dined with Forrest this evening.

Frequent firing of cannon this morning, on our advanced picquets; their heavy guns completely reached us, and annoyed us a good deal. Notwithstanding the fire from the garrison, there was a report that a negotiation was on foot, and that Colonel Pedron was inclined to surrender the place. Remained all day in my lines. MacGregor, Weston, Grant, Aubery, Forbes and Livesey dined with me, and we spent a very pleasant, jolly evening.

At daybreak this morning MacGregor, Shairpe of the 12th, and myself made a push, and passed under a smart fire to General Perron's gardens, which were

Aug. 30.

Aug. 31.



1803.

Camp,
Grand
Army.

beautifully situated, and in the highest state of preservation. On our return we were again exposed to the fire of the garrison, and several guns were laid for us, and one very heavy shot was near clearing the whole of us, it completely covered us with sand.

Breakfasted with MacGregor; called afterwards on Colonel Blair, from whence I went to headquarters. Wemyss informed me that the garrison had been summoned to surrender, but that it was probable some of us should soon *hear more of it*. Wemyss mentioned to me "that a Captain Boukett of Perron's Service met the Commander-in-Chief about an hour before the action of the 29th commenced, just before the armies came in sight of each other. After a short conference, his Excellency requested him to take himself away, and never to return to him with any terms in future—advising him at the same time to be quick, or that he should be with General Perron before him." Signed the Quarter-Master Roll this morning for the first time. Dined with the Commander-in-Chief.

SEPT. 1.

Ali Ghur.

Left the camp this morning at daybreak, and rode with several other officers to the town of Coel, which we found a large straggling place, similar to all other Indian towns I had ever seen. Buildings mean and irregular. Near the centre of the place stood a Mosque, from the top of which we had a good view of the country, which was in a high state of cultivation. A Frenchman made his escape this morning from the garrison, from whom we learnt that the troops had determined never to quit the place, but with their lives; that they were resolved rather to remain and be buried in its ruins. General Perron said to be collecting the whole of his Brigades, and a decisive action in the field soon expected to take place. Called this forenoon on the officers of our 2nd Battalion and tiffed with Walker. On my way to my tent called on some friends of the 15th, which was



stationed near us in the line. My grey horse recovered 1803.
ing fast of the wound he received on the 29th August. *Camp*
Rode an Arab of Wemyss this evening. Returned in *before*
front of the line, as the troops were beating off. *Ali Ghur.*

A large party of us dined with Cumberlege to-day. SEPT. 2.

In the night we experienced a severe shock of an earthquake. I jumped out, and laid hold of the pole of my tent, and for a long time could not believe but that I was dreaming, till the noise of the servants and officers in the tents near mine convinced me it was an earthquake. The motion was very like that of a small boat in a moderate sea. It was the severest shock ever remembered by any in camp, and caused a general alarm. Went with Livesey and Munro, brother to Munro who was killed in a duel with Pattle, this morning through the town of Coel. Breakfasted with Colonel Simpson. A working party and the pioneers employed this morning cutting materials for a battery; a report that the garrison is divided, but that the strongest party are determined to defend the place to the last extremity. Captain Lucan, late of Scindiah's service, came into camp to-day from Delhi, the brigades there preparing either to march to the relief of Coel or to oppose us in the field. Those from the Decan Captain Lucan supposed could not be within two hundred miles of the Jumnah. Dined to-day with Major Hammond; drank more claret than usual all of us. It was reported this evening that the fort would be stormed in the morning.

Advanced a party this morning into Perron's SEPT. 3.
garden, which they perceived from the fort, and commenced immediately cannonading it. The pioneers *Camp*
employed as yesterday, cutting materials for batteries, *before*
which we imagined to be a deception, as it was pretty *Ali Ghur.*
certain from Wemyss's account that we should attempt the place by a coup de main. Saw Shipton at



1803.

*Camp before
Ali Ghur.*

the Park this evening, mounting two twelve-pounders on field carriages, and removing some eighteens from their transports to field carriages. Shipton told me in confidence, enjoining me to secrecy, that we were to assault the place, by the gateways, at daybreak in the morning, and that he was the Captain of Artillery fixed on for the dangerous service of commanding the guns which were destined to blow the gates open. Letters this evening mentioned hostilities having commenced in the Decan, and that General Wellesley had taken the Pettah of the Fort of Ahmidnagur by storm; it was expected that the fall of that place would soon follow. At sunset went to the parade of the 76th to hear their band. St. Aubin showed me a new purchase, a very clever horse, bought of Ridge, and told me that his Company (the light Company of the 76th) would be one of those employed in the assault. We had been long and intimately acquainted, and took a last farewell of each other. I dined at the Mess of the 12th Regiment. The orders for the storm were sent to me by Colonel Blair about midnight, and he ordered me to have our Regiment under arms at half-past four in the morning on our own parade.

SEPT. 4.

*Storm of
Ali Ghur.*

The whole line was under arms at five o'clock; the storming party formed near Perron's gardens, and the covering guns were run down during the night. Those destined to cover the left were three eighteen-pounders; those to the right four six-pounders. Four Companies of the 76th, with a proportion of men from the Native Corps, formed the storming party, and a quarter of an hour before day broke the whole advanced in silence and in a most steady becoming manner. I was ordered by the General to accompany the storming party, and to bring him immediate information if any support should be required. The Honourable Colonel Monson, who headed the stormers, advanced steadily at the head of his column, which was preceded by Shipton and two twelve-



pounders, scaling ladders, etc. We were at the 1803.
entrance of the sortie before they could perceive us *Storm of*
from the walls. Our first salute was from the two *Ali Ghur.*
half-moon Batteries which flanked the gateway, and
at the same moment the whole face of the fort was
illuminated by the fire of their cannon and musketry.
Our covering Batteries opened at the same time, and
their fire, as we could perceive by the slaughter on
the walls, was well directed. In addition to the heavy
guns which played upon us in the sortie, the enemy
had also heavy Mortars loaded with grape and
canister shot, and the leading twelve-pounder of ours,
was, in the hurry to carry it up to the gate, thrown
into a trench which the enemy had made near the
entrance of the sortie. This misfortune detained us
considerably, and at this time it was that we lost so
many of our officers and men. Never did I witness
such a scene before the second gun could be hauled
up; the sortie was become a perfect slaughter-house,
and it was with the greatest difficulty that we dragged
the gun over our killed and wounded. Nothing could
exceed the determined gallantry with which our
troops struggled under this most destructive fire. The
enemy, too, fought desperately, and many of them
actually stepped out upon our own ladders which were
placed against the wall to meet our men ascending,
but British valour prevailed, and although Shipton,
who commanded the guns, was wounded, he kept on
his legs till two rounds from the leading gun opened
the outer gate, when our troops rushed in, and the
slaughter among the enemy, in their turn, became
very great. My horse was twice wounded this
morning, but I, with my usual good fortune, escaped
unhurt.

At this time I left the stormers, with the welcome
news to the General (whom I found at a village in
front of our line) of our troops being in. I told him
also that the slaughter had been very great, and that
many officers had fallen, also that I had seen Colonel



1803.

*Storm of
Ali Ghur.*

Monson wounded, but whether dangerously or not I could not tell. By this time our troops were in full possession of the place, and I returned with the General down to the fort, and although he was, of course, highly gratified with our success, and spoke in terms of admiration of those employed, I never saw anyone more distressed for a moment when he entered the sortie, and saw officers and men heaped on one another.

My feelings were such as I had seldom experienced when among the dead I recognised poor St. Aubin. I saw him in the heat of the attack, gallantly encouraging his men, within a short distance of the spot on which he fell. St. Aubin was attached to the Light Infantry, and was much beloved. He was shot through the breast, and could have suffered but little. Captain Cameron and Campbell (his nephew) were lying dead close by him, and near them poor Fleming, in the agonies of death. Lieutenants Browne and Turton were killed close to the gate. Colonel Monson, Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, Captain Bagshaw, Captain Shipton, Lieutenants Ritso, Andre, Sinclair, Fraser, Welner, Berry, and many others wounded. Many of the enemy were shot in attempting to escape by swimming the ditch after we got in, and I remarked an Artilleryman to snap his piece at a man who at the same instant dived to save himself. The soldier coolly waited his coming up, and shot him through the head. As the heat of the business was over, I remonstrated with him on putting them to death at that time, but the man declared that he had lost some of his oldest comrades that morning, and that he wished to be revenged, reminding me also that we had received orders to spare none. A Grenadier came up, wounded, to the General at the gate, and "hoped his honour was well," telling him that he belonged to his Company in taking of York-Town in America. The Commander-in-Chief desired him to come to headquarters,



and that he would see what could be done for him. 1803.

*Storm of
Ali Ghur.*

Guards were posted over the different magazines, and at each gate, as soon as we had complete possession, and the enemy were all disposed of; scarcely a man of them escaped, for those who swam the ditch were cut up by the troopers on the plain, and all we found in the place were bayonnetted. They were told what they might expect if they waited the result of a storm. The storming party were allowed three hours to plunder, and we found several tumbrils of treasure in the garrison. Monsieur Pedron, the French Colonel, had a very narrow escape. One of our Light Infantry men was in pursuit of him, and would in an instant more have come up with and bayonnetted him, but Macleod interfered, and, receiving his sword, saved his life by ordering the man to refrain. Colonel Pedron was placed in command of Ali Ghur by General Perron, as a man in whose valour and address he could most rely, and to do him justice he certainly made a very gallant defence, and to our cost. I returned to camp at one o'clock, when everything was perfectly silent, and breakfasted with Rose of the 14th. Intelligence reached us this day at noon that our cantonments at Shikoabad had been attacked by five thousand of the enemy's Horse, and that after a desperate resistance they were repulsed by Colonel Cuninghame with great slaughter, but we learnt to our sorrow that although the lines were saved, our bungalows (with all we left in them) were burnt to the ground, and the chounie of the city also destroyed. Rode a horse of Rose's this evening; we went down again to the fort, where our Pioneers were draining the ditch, and burying the dead. At sunset we returned, and attended the funeral of those gallant and much lamented officers who fell in the morning. The whole of them were carried to the lines of the 76th Regiment, and at six o'clock we moved off in slow time to pay the last tribute, and to perform the usual honours to those brave men who had fallen, serving their



1803.

*Storm of
Ali Ghur.*

country, and this solemn procession was conducted in a manner becoming men who felt for the loss of fellow soldiers.

I felt much distressed for poor St. Aubin, and the circumstance of having at the same hour, the preceding evening, met on the *same spot*, and conversed with nearly all the party, would have affected any but a very flinty heart indeed. After the usual firings, the funeral party reversed arms, and we marched back to the line of the 76th, and there dispersed.

A large party of us dined this evening with Livesey, and we passed a very gloomy day.

SEPT. 5.

*Storm of
Ali Ghur.*

I went this morning and breakfasted at headquarters, and was much gratified at General Lake's taking me aside after breakfast, and, after speaking to me in a manner that could not but afford me the highest gratification, he assured me that he would take the earliest opportunity of giving me a better appointment than that of Quarter-Master of Brigade, and which he had given to me in a most handsome way. Colonel Lake asked me to dine at headquarters this evening. Wemyss and self mounted two Arabs of his, and took a long ride round the picquets. We fell in with the 3rd Regiment of Cavalry, going foraging, and accompanied them. We saw some small parties of the enemy's Horse, which kept far enough out of our reach. Two or three shot from the Gallopers were fired at them. We went purposely to see the country, and to ascertain if it afforded any game. Saw some antelope and a few hares. It was a too well cultivated country for game. The crops very abundant, and the land in a very high state of cultivation.

It was considered Perron's own domain, and given him by the Prince (Scindiah) as his salary and pay, as Commander-in-Chief of all his forces. The idea of losing his country, and the requisition said to have been made to his Prince for the dismissal of all



Frenchmen were the supposed reasons for Perron 1803. advising Scindiah to go to war with us, and which they no sooner engaged in than the latter seemed to have repented, as well as his employer. Scindiah's Infantry said to be in force near Delhi, and other Brigades marching with all expedition from the Decan. We expect an action with them shortly, and all the officers lately in Scindiah's employ assure us that they depend entirely on the formidable train of Artillery to defeat us. They are said to be fine guns, elegantly mounted and well served.

*Storm of
Ali Ghur.*

Accounts reached us from Shikoabad to-day, by which it appeared that on the morning of the 3rd instant, about four o'clock, they were attacked by upwards of five thousand of the enemy's Horse, which, after a most severe conflict that lasted till past two in the afternoon, were completely beaten off, and with great slaughter. Our men were drawn up on our old exercise ground, all ready to receive the enemy. They began the attack in front, and at the same time a considerable body got round to the rear, set fire to the lines, and all our bungalows, which, with the whole of the furniture we left, were completely destroyed.

*Grand
Army,
Camp at
Ali Ghur.*

Poor Mrs. Wilson, who remained only of the ladies, with an idea that there would be no risk at Shikoabad with five Companies, was, with all her children, made prisoner, and carried off to the fort of Agra. It did not appear that she had been ill-used, and, fortunately, this party was headed by a Frenchman of the name of Fleury, who treated her very politely, and restored to her as many of her clothes as could be secured; a great part had previously been plundered by their soldiers.

This afternoon Wilson received a letter from Mrs. Wilson dated from the fort of Agra, and as there were several Europeans there (French and Dutch), who treated her and the children with kindness and attention, there was nothing to be apprehended, if



1803.

Grand
Army,
Camp at
Ali Ghur.

her release can be effected before we besiege that place, and which it was fully expected *we* should do. Colonel Lake, Wemyss and myself went this evening to examine minutely the works of Ali Ghur. It was in the highest condition possible. Ramparts, bastions, parapets and the ditch all in perfect order. The guns and tumbrils (of French model) uncommonly fine. The only entrance was flanked by batteries of heavy cannon and mortars, and from their fire it was that most of our officers and men fell yesterday morning. The camp gun fired before we left the garrison, and dinner was on MacGregor's table before I reached the lines.

We sat talking over the storm till nearly twelve o'clock.

SEPT. 6.

The army halted to-day. We heard that Scindiah's Infantry and guns were preparing to dispute the passage of the Jumnah with us. They had, of course, secured all the boats, and we heard had raised heavy batteries at the most penetrable places on the banks. The river at this season is *nowhere* fordable, and it is reasonable to conclude that much blood will be spilt on the banks of the Jumnah before we cross it. Few circumstances, however, come amiss to British soldiers, led on by a gallant General in whom all place the greatest confidence. Wemyss, Peyron and myself rode down the line and to General Perron's gardens this evening.

Dined with the Commander-in-Chief, who appeared to me more of the finished gentleman the more frequently that I saw him. Some little attentions which they showed me at headquarters were extremely gratifying. A great deal of claret was drunk before we broke up.

SEPT. 7.

Grand
Army.
Camp at
Poomah.

The army marched this morning by the right, and the line was counter-marched in consequence. I left the ground at four with the Quarter-Master-General. The country appeared very little cultivated, and we



scarcely saw a tree or a bush during the march. 1803.

Arrived at the new ground, and marked it out for the line soon after sunrise. The Commander-in-Chief and his staff passed as I was fixing the camp colours of our Brigade. The line was at its ground before seven o'clock. Breakfasted with Colonel Blair, and heard from him that General Perron had actually applied to the Commander-in-Chief for his protection, and, on condition of obtaining it, it was said that he expressed a desire entirely to quit Scindiah's service and to throw himself on the protection of the British Government. It was added that his Excellency had listened to his proposals.

*Grand
Army.
Camp at
Poomah.*

We heard the particulars of the affair at Shikoabad to-day, and a very severe business it seems to have been. Colonel Cuninghame, Captain Wimbolt, Captain Lamborne, Lieutenants Heysham and Stoneham were wounded, and a great number of men killed and wounded. Colonel Clarke, with the 2nd Brigade of Infantry, expected to join us to-morrow. Colonel Macan, with one Brigade of Cavalry, marched last night in pursuit of the troops of the enemy, who, it was reported, were returning with reinforcements of men and guns to make another attack on the handful of men at Shikoabad. In our rear to-day we had a beautiful and very extensive lake of water, in which the men of the adjacent part of the line bathed, and the elephants delighted themselves by rolling about in it.

We marched this morning at half-past three SEPT. 8. o'clock. Rode on in front as usual with the Quarter-Master-General; exceedingly admired a chestnut Arab which he rode. Our parties (all the Quarter-Masters of the line) of a morning were very pleasant, and we escaped the crowd by going off an hour before the line marched, in order to mark out and prepare the ground for them at the new encampment. Soon after sunrise we commenced laying down the camp



1803.

Grand
Army,
Camp at
Poomah.

colours; the direction of the line running across the principal road, the Quarter-Master-General desired me to throw back our Battalions a little, so as to leave it open for the column and guns to pass on. The line came up about eight o'clock, and we conducted the different Brigades to their ground. Breakfasted with MacGregor and Weston this morning.

Accounts arrived in camp that on the 5th the Mahrattas returned in force to Shikoabad. Colonel Cuninghame and his small party, consisting only of three hundred men, had retired into a compound, there to defend themselves to the last extremity.

On the arrival of the enemy a summons was sent in, offering them terms, which were, that if the Detachment would surrender, it should be allowed to march across the Ganges into the Company's provinces with their gun and all private property. A consultation of the officers was held, and the terms agreed to. The Detachment was accordingly marched off agreeable to the above articles, to which was added an engagement not to serve against Scindiah during the present war. The 2nd Brigade of Infantry, under Colonel Clarke, instead of joining the army, have received orders to march to the neighbourhood of Shekoabad. The 8th Dragoons and a Detachment of the 16th Regiment are also reported to be in that quarter. Great hopes are entertained that one of the Detachments in quest of Monsieur Fleury may come up with him before he can do much mischief in the Douab or re-cross the Jumnah. General Perron said to be on his march to our provinces. A strong fort near to our present encampment surrendered to us this evening.

SEPT. 9.

Grand
Army,
Camp,
Neem.

Marched this morning at three. Right in front, Cavalry leading the column. Got to our ground before eight. Encamped the Cavalry on the left of the line, in order to bring them near the only water in the vicinity of our camp, a high, small village on our right flank. Two Battalions of our Brigade



keeping in the rear of the Park, did not come up till 1803. nearly eleven o'clock. A fine cover in our rear, full of game, but the servants and dogs so completely knocked up by a long and very hot march that we did not go out.

*Grand
Army.
Camp
Neem.*

Marched at half-past two this morning. Rode on as usual with Campbell. Encamped the line about two miles on the Delhi side of Secundra. Breakfasted with Rose of the 14th Regiment. Our tents to-day were pitched in a very high grass jungle, and in swampy grounds. Some of the men employed to carry the camp colours were missing, and we were obliged in consequence to mark out the ground with the Sergeant's pikes. The camp colourmen had mistaken the route, and lost themselves in the dark. Dined to-day with Dyer; at dinner I received a private note from Wemyss telling me that it was the opinion of all at headquarters that we should have an action certainly to-morrow or the next day. Scindiah's troops were said to be at this moment drawn up on the banks of the Jumnah, in order of battle, and ready to engage us. This position said to be a very strong one, supported by a numerous and formidable train of excellent Artillery.

We drank an extra bottle of claret upon this intelligence, and without much discussion or reflection on the fate of a battle enjoyed ourselves till near nine o'clock.

SEPT. 10.



CHAPTER XV.

September 11th, 1803. Battle of Delhi (Putper Gunge) on the bank of the Jumnah, and field of battle till September 23rd, 1803.

1803.

SEPT. 11.

*A day
Glorious
to the
British
Arms in
India.*

I LEFT the ground soon after two this morning with the Quarter-Master-General. We were apprehensive of being annoyed by parties of the enemy's Horse, and, therefore, our escort was strengthened by a squadron of Dragoons. Soon after daybreak I observed two men quitting the road, and endeavouring to avoid us. I pursued them with a couple of troopers, and soon came up with them. The men appeared a good deal alarmed, and readily confessed they were from the enemy's camp, and were then going in quest of information of our army. They acknowledged their surprise at meeting us, as they had been led to suppose that we were not arrived at Secundra. After a few threats they proceeded to give us intelligence, which rather surprised us, as we did not suppose the enemy had left the banks of the Jumnah. They told us "that Scindiah's army, composed of fourteen thousand men and one hundred pieces of cannon, was at that moment within *five miles* of us, drawn up in order of battle, waiting our attack."

SEPT. 11.

*Field of
Battle,
Delhi.*

The Quarter-Master-General did not credit this account, and it appeared improbable to us that they should quit the banks of the Jumnah. The spies we threatened with immediate death if they gave us information that should not prove correct, but they persisted in their first account. The men were put under a guard, an account of their report was sent back to meet the Commander-in-Chief and the line, and we proceeded onwards, and at sunrise commenced marking out the ground of encampment unmolested, and without giving credit to *one word* of information received from the men of the enemy's camp.



After the ground was in readiness and the camp 1803. colours of each Brigade pitched, we sat quietly down in the shade of some plaintain trees, and got a drink of water. At this period we did not know that the enemy's line was within a *mile and a half* of us, nor had they the smallest idea of our being within fifteen miles of them!

*Field of
Battle,
Delhi.*

The line came up about nine o'clock; the different Corps were dismissed, and the advanced picquets and troops for duty went in front to take their post. The men had begun to undress, and officers' tents were pitching when we heard a straggling fire of musketry in front, and presently a few cannon. Our advanced picquets had hardly reached their destination when we saw them open their guns. A Regiment of Dragoons were ordered on to reconnoitre; the Commander-in-Chief went at their head; as they approached the enemy we saw the flashes of more guns, and from that we could plainly make out the direction of the enemy's line, and their position. The reconnoitring party and our advanced picquets were quickly driven in. The drums on the right of the line now beat to arms, and each Brigade took it up in succession. The troops on the right were instantly in motion, and in a few minutes we were all advancing to the attack in excellent order. The rapidity of our advance was so great that our Brigade guns and field pieces were obliged to drop in the rear, and we soon found that it was the General's intention to close with the bayonet. The line advanced, silent and determined. Their heavy shot now began to make some havoc among us, and we had yet a full mile to advance under the cannonade of nearly one hundred heavy guns, uncommonly well served, and as their fire seemed every moment to increase, the shot came thicker, and officers and men began to drop fast! A village on an eminence was immediately in front of our wing, and as we could not pass through it, without throwing the Brigade into confusion, Colonel



Field of
Battle,
Delhi.

Blair ordered them to wheel back by sections on the right, and moved round its flank in column. The enemy's fire was very destructive on us in clearing this village, and while we were forming again after we had passed it. I was with Colonel Blair at the head of the column receiving some orders from him, when a very heavy shot grazed between us, and most completely buried us in the dust it threw up. The Colonel was nearly dismounted by his horse taking fright. We escaped, but the shot plunged directly into the column, and killed and wounded a great many men in the leading Company (the Grenadiers of the 14th Regiment). At this moment another cannon shot grazed my horse, and although it touched him, fortunately but very slightly, he dropped on his haunches, but as it was merely the jar of the shot that shook him, he immediately recovered himself, nor did he appear the least intimidated.

We quickly formed our line after we had passed the village, and closed again with the Corps on our right. The cannonade at this time to a calm spectator must have seemed tremendous and awful, and the grape came literally in showers. I had the mortification to see poor Aldin and Harriott of our Corps fall, while gallantly leading on their respective Companies.

A grape shot passed through the housings of my pistols, and shattered the stock of one of them, and I felt my horse staggering under me; another grape had grazed his side, and lodged under the skin; a third went through him. It entered at his near quarter and passed out at the other. He fell on me, and I was a little bruised. General St. John's orderly dragoon (a man of the 27th) by the General's orders rode to the rear to bring up one of his horses, but I mounted one of Colonel Blair's which was immediately at hand. Our troops advanced most gallantly, without *taking their muskets from their shoulders*, under this galling fire, and such a rattling of shot as we were now exposed to I never witnessed. At this moment we



were within two hundred and fifty paces of the 1803. muzzles of their guns. I was the only mounted officer in front of our Brigades. I saw the left a little staggered, and was pushing down in front to encourage them, when General Saint John from the rear, who did not observe me, gave the word to "Fire," and, most miraculous to say, I escaped unhurt, though I was actually within *twelve yards* of the front rank men, at full speed, when the whole gave their fire. The volley was instantly followed by a cheer, and the drums, striking up, they rushed on with an ardour nothing could resist, closed with the bayonet, when the enemy fled, and the contest with us on the left was now decided. Our troops, after marching eighteen miles, and being so long in action were, of course, much worn and fatigued, and the enemy had greatly the advantage of us in running.

*Field of
Battle,
Delhi.*

The peals of musketry on the right convinced us that our troops down the line were also closing with the enemy, and when the smoke cleared up a little, it was a most grateful sight to see the whole of this formidable Artillery in our possession, the flying enemy making the best of their way off to the rear. The Cavalry now were advanced, and we saw them actively carving in all directions. A proportion of our wing was left in possession of the captured guns on our part of the line, and we advanced to support the Cavalry.

We drove them (the enemy) into the Jumnah, and hundreds of them were destroyed in endeavouring to cross it. The Flying Artillery was up, and the river appeared boiling by the fire of grape kept up on those of the enemy who had taken to the river. It was literally, for a time, a stream of blood, and presented such a scene as at another period would freeze a man's very soul. When this was past, we faced about, and returned to the field of battle to collect our wounded men and officers.

The Commander-in-Chief now came to us, and



1803.

Field of
Battle,
Delhi.

expressed himself in the most flattering terms on the "steady gallantry" of our wing. The men were all crowding round him, and his Excellency had full employment in returning their salutes. The General had been all day where the battle was hottest, and his heroic example did not pass unnoticed among the soldiers.

Although our Artillery had been left in the rear, they had not been idle. The guns were advanced to a rising ground, and as the enemy outflanked us, they were enabled to keep up a spirited fire as we could discern by the noise of the shot which passed our left flank.

It was with infinite satisfaction on the clearing up of the smoke when the firing had ceased, that I observed Sinclair and my Grenadiers most actively employed with their bayonets and in securing the guns.

After halting on the field about two hours and collecting our wounded, we moved again towards the Jumnah, in a more northerly direction. It was sunset when we commenced marking out the line of encampment. Our tents and baggage did not come up till nearly nine o'clock. A drink of muddy water given to me by a drummer of the 2nd Battalion, I believe almost saved my life, after the close of the action. We were all dreadfully distressed for something to drink. We had been twelve hours in as scorching a sun as ever shone from the heavens, and nearly *eighteen hours* marching and in action. Our servants, of course, all remained in the rear, and the first opportunity the troops had of quenching their thirst was in the Jumnah. It was with great grief that I heard from an officer of the Cavalry that poor Middleton was among the gallant fellows who had fallen in the battle.

My orderly was shot, and a better soldier there never was—killed by my side, and by a cannon shot early in the action, and another, Blair's, fell by a



grape as we were advancing from the last village. 1803.
MacGregor's and Murray's servants were the first
up, and at ten we drank lots of tea on the plain, while
our tents were pitching. Colonel Blair came to me

*Field of
Battle,
Delhi.*

and desired me to march two Companies to the
General Hospital tents which were to remain as a
guard. There the scene was truly shocking. This
was a sight that caused tears to bedew those faces
which were not used to turn pale at the approach of
death in the most terrific forms. About thirty
surgeons were absolutely covered with blood, per-
forming operations on the unfortunate soldiers who
had their legs and arms shattered in the action, and
death in every shape seemed to preside in this
assemblage of human misery. Their exclamations
were enough to pierce the hardest heart. Numbers
were fainting, and even dying under the operation;
others bore the pain with as much fortitude as they
had evinced in the early part of the day, gallantly
executing that duty in which they had received their
wounds. In one corner of the tent stood a pile of legs
and arms, from which the boots and clothes of many
were not yet stripped off. I delivered over the guard
to the Head Surgeon, and left Lieutenant Jones in
command of the two Companies.

SEPT. 11.

*Camp near
the Field
of Battle
after the
Action.*

About midnight an order came to my tent from
headquarters, addressed to Colonel Blair, directing
our wing to halt in the morning to bury the officers
who fell in the action.

The right wing of the army marched this morning, and encamped about three miles in front. The report
from the opposite side of the Jumnah was that in
consequence of yesterday's defeat, the enemy's army
had completely dispersed. Their guns, tumbrils,
colours and arms having been left on the field of
battle, and all now in our possession.

SEPT. 12.

Our wing received orders to march at three this
evening, after performing the last honours to as many



1803.

*Camp near
the Field
of Battle
after the
Action.*

of the brave fellows who fell yesterday as could be collected. Poor Hill of the 12th, a shipmate of mine, was among the slain, and Preston of the 15th was brought in while the funeral service was reading. Some soldiers brought him, uncovered, and just as he fell; his thigh was shattered by a shot, and having been left in the heat of battle he appeared to have died of loss of blood. We had only time to wrap his body in a boat cloak, and to put him in his grave. Rose and myself did not wait for the line, but mounted our horses and rode on to the General's camp and prepared the lines for our wing, after which we mounted the horses which our grooms had carried on in the morning with the right wing, and galloped down to the banks of the river to reconnoitre, but with our glasses we could not discover the smallest appearance of an enemy anywhere along the opposite banks.

Returned and took some refreshment with Captain Martin, and conducted the wing, which had by this time come up to the ground. Our grooms each carried a leathern bottle of water strapped over their shoulder, to the sides, and in shifting Rose's pistols one of them by some accident went off, and the ball passed through the bottle, which his groom was carrying; the servant was not hurt.

SEPT. 13.

*Grand
Army,
Camp,
Banks
of the
Jumnah.*

A general order was issued this morning to collect from the soldiers and camp followers all cattle that had been plundered by them from the enemy after the action of the 11th. In the course of an hour our Non-Commissioned, who were employed to collect those of our Corps, cleared from the lines of the 2nd Regiment only one hundred and twenty-three fine gun bullocks; they were sent to the Prize Agents to be disposed of on account of the army at large.

In the evening, Christie, Wallace, Lyons of the 15th, and myself went to the Park to inspect the captured guns. They were cannon mortars, howitzers and carronades of the finest cast, and most highly



finished; in general of a French model. By the most accurate accounts from prisoners taken on the 11th, it appears that the enemy had in the action seventeen complete Battalions instead of thirteen as was at first reported to us, each Corps with its proportion of guns and mortars, beside their Park. Opposed to them we had seven Battalions only, and, comparatively speaking, no Artillery. We had not more than eight guns playing on their line of nearly seventeen thousand men, while they had a hundred pieces of cannon blazing on our handful of troops, not exceeding, Cavalry and all, six thousand fighting men. We effected that, in a handsome manner, with the point of the bayonet, which never could have been executed in any other way, when their Artillery was so superior. In it it was evident they depended for beating us off, and their surprise must have been great when they found that the awful and destructive fire which they kept up was no check to our advance. They must have seen the havoc their shot made among us, but still they found that those who remained came on with redoubled energy. Our soldiers saw their officers cheerfully leading them on, and with the most undaunted gallantry they nobly seconded the example set them. It was imagined that in history there is not a single instance recorded of so formidable a force, aided by even a more formidable train of Artillery, being so completely annihilated by a handful of men. Dined with Christie this evening, talked over our exploits on the 11th, and drank a decent lot of claret.

*Grand
Army,
Camp,
Banks
of the
Jumnah.*

The Third Brigade crossed the Jumnah this morning at daybreak. The enemy in their precipitate retreat, of course, had not time to destroy the platform boats on which they crossed their own troops and Artillery, and much time saved was the consequence to us. It proved a most fortunate circumstance to our Army, the enemy crossing the Jumnah to engage us.

SEPT. 14.

*Grand
Army
Camp,
near
Puther
Gunge,
on the
Banks of
the Jumnah.*



1803.

*Grand
Army,
Camp
near
Putter
Gunge,
on the
Banks of
the Jumnah.*

The river was at no part fordable, nor was it likely to be so for some months to come; they had secured every boat, and how we were to have crossed under the cannonade they could have opposed to us I know not. Boats, or rafts of some description, must have been procured, which would have caused great delay, and given them time to collect the troops said to be advancing from the Decan. The enemy felt so confident of the effect of their Artillery that it was said their officers could not restrain them, and that they were resolved to decide the contest on the Dewaub side of the Jumnah. It was an infatuation that terminated most happily to our Army. Received a letter from Thornhill, Bareilly, pressing me to apply for the command of the Bareilly Corps, which I declined, in consequence of my present situation on Actual Service. Went to headquarters to see Colonel Lake and Wemyss; found that they were gone to my tent. Remained in Lake's tent till they returned. Wemyss was a good deal bruised on the 11th; his own horse was shot, and the Commander-in-Chief ordered him to mount one of his, and go with orders to some part of the line during the action; in executing the General's orders, and when pushing the horse through some long grass, he stepped into a hole, and rolled completely over Wemyss, who, though not confined, was black from his shoulder down to his ankle; fortunately the horse was secured, and the orders delivered. Colonel Lake wished me to dine at headquarters, but I had a party at home. Livesey, MacGregor, Weston, Forbes, Grant and Murray dined with me, and we parted about twelve, rather glorious or so.

SEPT. 15.

This morning His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, with the 1st Brigade, crossed the Jumnah. At sunrise a Royal Salute was fired from the Park, in honour of the capture of Ahmidnagur.

All the baggage of the 1st Brigade moved from our



camp to the banks of the river during the day. Dined **1803.** with General St. John this evening. We had a very large party, and an elegant dinner and good wine of almost every kind. The subject of the battle was the prevailing one during the evening.

The Park moved out of the line this morning at **SEPT. 16.** daybreak, and was at the river's side soon after sunrise; commenced crossing it immediately. We heard to-day that the Commander-in-Chief had paid his visit to the Emperor, Shah Allum, who received him most graciously, and bestowed on him every title of honour, with numerous presents, etc. This unfortunate monarch had his eyes put out by Gollaum Cawdor, and had now nothing left him but his titles, and the fort of Delhi to reside in (a miserable instance of fallen Royalty). He is of the noble House of Timur, and one of the highest born Princes in Asia. A number of his sons, Princes of the Blood, reside also in the fort, the whole objects of charity, and with the King supported by the prevailing powers in that part of Hindustan. He is allowed a party as a guard about his person, and those evinced their fidelity two days before the Battle of Delhi, when Louis Bourguain, the Frenchman who commanded the enemy on the 11th, demanded that the Emperor should be given up to them. His faithful guards, however, shut the gates of the garrison, and declared their determination to perish with their noble and unfortunate master. Louis opened a battery of six heavy guns against the fort, and which was the firing we heard two days before the battle. This battery we found, complete of itself, but the guns, of course, were taken out, and most probably were among those captured on the 11th and now in our Park. What must have been the feelings of this Royal Family during the action which was to decide their fate, for had the Mahrattas conquered, those unfortunate Princes would, to a man, most probably have fallen victims to their temerity,

and for refusing to give up the fort to Scindiah's troops. They witnessed the defeat of the enemy from the walls, and saw us cutting them up on the banks of the river, which runs immediately under the fort of Delhi. The Emperor had sent out instantly to congratulate the Commander-in-Chief on our victory, and declared that he "anxiously waited to receive the General as his saviour in his arms."

Livesey and myself rode towards the banks of the river this evening, and we brought in with us two wretched sufferers of the enemy, who had laid wounded on the field ever since the 11th. We sent them to our Hospital, but they were too far gone to leave any hopes of recovery. We supposed they had been wounded on the 11th, but they were not able to articulate, and could not give any account of themselves. We knew them by their hair, which is never cut like our soldiers. They were a fine soldier-like looking cast of men; their clothes were stripped off them, but the most friendly office of the two was left undone—putting them out of their misery. Under the heavens there is not a more inhuman, barbarous set of brutes than that blood-thirsty crew who are called camp followers of an Indian Army. They accompany it solely with the intention of plunder, and there have been instances known of wounded officers being put to death by those hell-hounds, with their own swords (no doubt), to prevent the possibility of their discovering who had plundered them. They frequently watch the rearguard of an Army passing a village, and then push out from their lurking places, in jungle, or any other secure situation that offers, return to the village, sack it completely, and put every helpless wretch to death who attempts to remonstrate with them. When the Army commenced its march, the Commander-in-Chief most wisely issued an order that all persons detected in plundering should be punished with *immediate death*. This order was afterwards frequently repeated, and many of the



vagabonds in consequence met the fate they so richly 1803.
merited.

We saw a great many partridges and hares in our ride this evening; the banks of the Jumnah appeared to abound in game, and during the action on the 11th the wild hogs and deer were flying in all directions, scared out of their senses. Dined with Livesey this evening, a small comfortable party.

The whole of the Park crossed to-day. The SEPT. 17.
Artillery officers were ordered to destroy the carriages of the guns captured on the 11th, and to load them in boats in order that they may be sent down the Jumnah to come on to Agra after we shall have laid siege to it. Our Brigade directed to stand fast till further orders. Took a long ride in the evening, and carried our spears with us, in hopes of meeting some hogs, but they had taken the alarm and gone off.

*Grand
Army,
Camp,
Puttur
Gunge,
on the
Jumnah.*

Received a letter to-day from Wemyss from the other side of the river, giving me an account of their encampment, and what was going on at headquarters. I promised in answer to visit him to-morrow, and dispatched his servant at sunset. Dined with Forbes.

Rose and myself crossed the Jumnah this morning SEPT. 18.
at daybreak, and marked out the ground in the line for our Brigade. Breakfasted at headquarters, and remained with Lake and Wemyss till near eleven o'clock. Called on Rose at Captain Burrel's of the 15th, and rode to take a look at the famed city of Delhi. Very many of the inhabitants had left it; of the city itself every street almost bore the traces of its former grandeur and magnificence, and presented something unusually superb to arrest the attention. The Jumner Musjeed is the most stately and splendid building I almost ever saw, and a famous place of worship. I cannot conceive a grander sight than was afforded us of the city of Delhi, from its minarets, which are so lofty that you have a perfect view of all

the streets, and also of the most luxuriant gardens which are situated in the vicinity of the city.

An order had been issued that no officer should go into the fort without the Commander-in-Chief's permission or a pass from headquarters, but we had an opportunity of seeing it and all its curiosity without one or the other. In passing the Lahore gate of the garrison we saw the Emperor's Prime Minister returning from a visit to headquarters; he very politely stopped his retinue, and sent to ask if we wished to see the fort, and on our answering in the affirmative, he ordered four of the King's Guards with an officer to escort us through the garrison, and directed that every place should be opened to us in the Palace and elsewhere. The fort of Delhi is very extensive, bounded on the east by the Jumnah, which runs immediately under its walls; on the other faces it is entirely surrounded by the town, not even a ditch between. The walls, built of a red kind of stone, are very lofty but by no means strong. There was a numerous artillery mounted on the works, but much out of condition; the carriages of many of the guns so much decayed that they could not bear firing more than a few rounds.

From the north part of the fort there runs a detached outwork called Selim Ghur, to which the communication from the fort is opened, or cut off by the drawing up or lowering a drawbridge. The sun was exceedingly powerful to-day, but we were not satisfied till we had gone completely round the works, from which we entered the Palace, and every curiosity it contained (except the poor blind Monarch himself) was shown us. The King, unfortunately for us, was asleep. From the Palace we went to that part of the garrison allotted to the Princes. We saw them, and really they appeared to be in want even of the necessities of life. They were meanly dressed, and, to our great surprise, began to make known to us all their misfortunes and the hardships they endured in their



confinement (not one of them was allowed to go ^{1803.} without the limited space pointed out, and guards were placed to see that they did not). They solicited us to make known their grievances to the Commander-in-Chief, which we lamented it was not in our power to comply with. The Princes detained us full an hour, and it was with seeming reluctance that they permitted us to leave them. They paid us numerous compliments on our recent victory, and pointed out to us the bastion from which they beheld the battle, and witnessed the defeat of the enemy. They described their anxiety to have been excessive, and which we could readily credit.

We saw the apartments in which they kept their women, the company of whom would have been quite as agreeable to us as that of the Princes. They are said to be many of them exquisitely beautiful, and many of their children who we saw certainly gave us reason to believe that they were so. I never saw finer children in my life. We returned to camp, and called at the lines of the 12th, where Hazard was proposed. We played till sunset, and played deep. We were fortunate, and returned across the Jumnah £150 more worth than in the morning. I had a party to dine with me, and they had very wisely ordered dinner, which was on the table when we got to my tent. We rode furiously from the river to our camp. The 27th and 2nd and 3rd Cavalry crossed over to-day. Broke up about eleven o'clock.

The whole of the Cavalry and their baggage ^{SEPT. 19.} crossed the Jumnah in the course of the day, the 6th ^{Grand} Regiment excepted, which Corps was detached in ^{Army,} pursuit of a body of the enemy's Cavalry, heard of ^{Camp} last evening, plundering some villages in the vicinity ^{near Delhi.} of our camp.

A party of us rode towards the field of battle this evening, the line of retreat was very easily traced by the killed, which remained thickly strewn on the



1803.

plain, and so offensive that we were obliged to ride in another direction.

SEPT. 20.

At four this morning we struck our camp, and moved immediately down to the banks of the river. At daybreak we commenced embarking the Brigade. Our first Battalion, and a Battalion of the 14th, with the greater proportion of their baggage, were across the river at eleven o'clock. The 2nd Battalion of our Regiment ordered to stand fast on the Dewaub side till the Hospital and also every kind of baggage had cleared the ford. After breakfast I rode towards the river, and met the Corps, to conduct them to their respective lines. We were not much gratified at our new encampment, which stood so immediately upon the banks of the river that every gust of wind smothered us with the sand it brought from the water's edge. Wallace, and a large party of the officers of the 1st Brigade dined to-day with Christie, who gave us a sumptuous dinner, and some excellent claret. We did justice to both, and congratulated ourselves on being across the Jumnah, without more broken heads.

SEPT. 21.

*Grand
Army,
Camp
near Delhi,
Banks of
the Jumnah.*

Rode with Aubery this morning before breakfast through the principal streets of the city. Aubery's groom was thrown from his horse, and while the master was riding on, abusing the servant, his own horse most unfortunately stumbled, and I had the felicity to see them both sprawling on the ground together! Breakfasted with Colonel Blair. The Commander-in-Chief went to-day to pay a second visit to the Emperor; his own staff only attended him, in which Wemyss was included, from whom I had a visit as soon as they returned, and we had from him all the particulars. It was a counterpart of his Excellency's first reception. Arrangements making for our immediate march towards Agra, to besiege that place. A strong garrison consisting of five



thousand of Scindiah's best troops, commanded by 1803. his most confidential leaders are said to be waiting our attack at Agra. It was also reported that Scindiah was advancing his troops, with a determination to give us battle, and as we all preferred a field day to a tedious siege, we sincerely hoped he would try his prowess with us again on the plain, as the result of an action may be that they will more probably be induced to surrender the fortress, if they are beat in the field.

Grand Army, Camp near Delhi, Banks of the Jumnah.

The wounded officers and men, with the General Hospital, moved down to the banks of the river on the Dewaub side this day in readiness to cross before the heat of the morning to-morrow. The 6th Cavalry returned and crossed this forenoon.

SEPT. 22.

Dined with the Commander-in-Chief this evening. Colonel Lake, Wemyss and myself rode into Delhi before dinner. Drank, all of us, a good deal of wine this evening.

The sick and wounded crossed the Jumnah this morning before sunrise. Our 2nd Battalion with its baggage followed—they had received orders to leave nothing in their rear, and therefore did not arrive at their station in the line till a very late hour. The best accommodations that the city of Delhi afforded were secured, and converted into hospitals for our sick and wounded, and the best situated houses were taken for the wounded officers. Breakfasted this morning in the Cavalry lines with Peyron, returned to the head-quarter lines and tified with Colonel Lake and Wemyss. In the afternoon Wemyss and myself sat down to write Europe letters. I to my father, and Wemyss to his brother, General Wemyss. Rode with Wemyss, Colonel Lake and Duval on the river's side several miles in the evening. Dined at home; Aubery, Forbes, Murray, Shairpe, MacGregor, Weston, Forrest, Swinton of the Pioneers, and Grant

SEPT. 23.



1803.

of the 15th dined with me. Wemyss never dined out, but always at headquarters; he came, however, to us in the evening, time enough to finish his wine with us, and we passed a very jolly evening, and we were all of us rather high before we broke up.



CHAPTER XVI.

March from Delhi. Siege and Occupation of Agra.
September 24th, 1803, to October 27th, 1803.

THE Army marched this morning, by the left. 1803.
SEPT. 24.
The Cavalry in front, and the Europeans leading the column of Infantry. We marched to-day over as barren and rocky a soil as the imagination can paint, passing through numberless ravines so narrow that the baggage was very tedious in clearing them, and we were in consequence much detained. Several alarms were given during the march that banditti were plundering the baggage, and which proved to be the case; these scoundrels rushed from the deepest of the ravines, where they had concealed themselves, upon carts and other baggage that happened to be in the rear, cut up the persons belonging to them, and carried off the contents. Several parties of Infantry were detached in quest of them, and about thirty of the vagabonds were shot. These marauders, with which the banks of the Jumnah swarm, are called Goojers, and, not content with plundering, they very frequently (indeed generally) put all to death who are so unfortunate as to fall into their hands. *Grand
Army,
Camp near
Furreedpore.*

Grant of ours lost his trunks, containing all his clothes and his wine this morning (no small annoyance to an officer marching in an enemy's country, where neither one nor the other can be procured). We did not arrive at our ground till nearly twelve, and the sun was exceedingly powerful.

We marched this morning by the left (the General beat at five and the Assembly at six o'clock) in the same order as yesterday. SEPT. 25.

The soil to-day very barren, but the country more level than yesterday, as we had drawn off a little from the banks of the Jumnah. The hares and partridges *Grand
Army,
Camp near
Billumgur.*



1803.

Grand
Army,
Camp near
Billumgur.

were swarming this morning, and great numbers of the former were knocked on the head by the camp followers. The posts for our camp were cut off to-day and all our letters lost. About twenty of the Goojers were cut up by a Jemadar party of the 2nd Cavalry, while in the act of plundering some baggage. The Quarter-Master-General and the rest of us belonging to his party arrived at the ground at eight o'clock, and the lines of the respective Brigades were marked out in complete readiness when the Commander-in-Chief and the Army came up.

SEPT. 26.

Grand
Army,
Camp near
Pulwaul.

The Army marched this morning in the same order as yesterday. The General was beat at four and the Assembly at five o'clock.

On our march to-day we passed through a great deal of jungle, among which grew many caper trees, abundantly laden with very fine fruit. We walked our horses till daybreak, and then galloped briskly on in search of a good spot for the encampment of the Army. Saw a good deal of game riding through the cover, and so tame and undisturbed that the black partridge sat and allowed us to pass close without noticing us.

In consequence of some baggage having been so constantly plundered since we crossed the river, an order was issued directing the Field Officer of the day, commanding the rearguard, not to come into camp till every particle of baggage shall have come up. The guard, therefore, did not arrive in camp till five in the evening. No accounts to-day of any mischief having been done by the Goojers. Several officers lost their tents and camels yesterday. Our Brigade to-day encamped in the midst of jungle, so high that we could scarce see each other's tents. On the right of the line they were more fortunate, and pitched on good ground.

Breakfasted with Colonel Blair, and passed the day with Weston, quietly in my own tent. Issued



Regimental Orders for the promotion of some 1803.

Havildars and Naiks in the Regiment to fill up the vacancies of those who fell in the battle of the 11th. Wemyss, Gore and myself rode in the evening to hear the band of the 76th Regiment, on its own parade; met Peyron, Doveton, Fitzgerald, Howarth and many others of my friends of the Cavalry.

*Grand
Army,
Camp near
Pulwaul.*

Dined with Grant, and met there a large party of officers of the Brigade, mostly of our 2nd Battalion, and we passed a very pleasant evening; talked of our late successes, and promised to do our friends credit whenever they chose to meet us again.

The Army marched this morning at the same hour, SEPT. 27.

and in the same order as yesterday. The Cavalry and 76th Regiments countermarched, in order to gain the main road, with their left in front. We went on in front at the usual time, and saw several parties of Hindustani Horse hovering on our flanks. They proved to be the troops of neighbouring Rajahs, and some approached us, and showed us every possible respect, just as they would have behaved to Scindiah's troops had they been as we were, victorious, such is the policy of native powers, always to join the stronger party, and crush the fallen. The road to-day on the line of march was very good, and the Park and heavy stores came to the ground at an early hour.

*Grand
Army,
Camp near
Mittraul.*

We were much vexed to-day to hear that several posts, containing Europe letters, stated to have left Cawnpore for the Army, had never arrived in camp, and must consequently have been cut off. Mine from my good friends of Yeovil had a narrow escape, and for which I blessed my stars. An overland dispatch also said to have been lost, all since we crossed the Jumnah. The unfortunate Hircarabs (postmen) some of them came in, horribly mutilated. The right hands and noses of many of them were cut off, and some had been murdered by the cowardly Goojers. Met most



of the officers of our own Corps at Colonel Blair's at dinner.

SEPT. 28.

The Army marched this morning by the left, in the same order as yesterday. The General at five and the Assembly at six o'clock.

We had a very heavy fall of rain during the night, and it came pouring through our tents on us as we lay in our beds. It actually came down in torrents, and the best tents were not proof against such a deluge. An order had been sent to the Park from headquarters to countermand the beating of the General, but the Orderly, in the dark, lost his road, and did not arrive till the Drummers had beat off. The Commander-in-Chief, therefore, determined on marching, as the troops had all turned out and were dressing. At daybreak it seemed to come on with redoubled fury, and we rightly guessed that a great deal of the baggage would be left in the rear, as camels for rainy weather are but indifferent carriage, and from their long legs and immense height very liable to accidents.

We (the Quarter-Master-General and his party) left the line at daybreak, and galloped on to prepare ground for our encampment. We saw a considerable camp of Native Horse, and on sending some of the Quarter-Masters of Dragoons with a party of our escort to reconnoitre, we found that they were troops belonging to the Rajah of Baraich, and were on an embassy to the General.

We arrived at the village near which it was our intention to have encamped about nine o'clock. The rain fell so thick that we could scarce see each other. Ground did not offer near the village, and we were returning to try for better ground to encamp on.

Peyron and myself at the head of some Dragoons were at full speed, retracing the road we had gone, for the purpose of reporting on some ground we had passed. Our heads were literally down on our holsters



with the wind and rain beating so furiously that we 1803. could not look up, nor without difficulty keep our seats; in this situation we were scampering back when our horses came to a sudden standstill, and when we looked up, to our surprise our horses heads were within a yard of the Commander-in-Chief and his party, who had left the line and pushed on in hopes of finding his tents up. The General very good humouredly told us we were "formidable fellows," and got out of our way as quick as he could.

We pitched the camp to-day on high and dry spots of ground, without attending to any other regularity than keeping Brigades together. We were driven to this alternative, for the ploughed ground was all a perfect slough, and men and horses were up to the knees on it. The Artillery also was kept on the firmest ground, or we must have swamped it.

It was nearly eleven o'clock before the line came to its ground. The principal part of our baggage did not arrive till sunset. Many camels, and a great deal of baggage did not come in the course of the day, part of it remaining in the rear. I did not pitch my tent, but as Livesey's was first up passed the day in his. Dined also with Livesey, as did Murray, whose tent and camels all remained in the rear. I sent an elephant in search of Murray's tent, but the people returned at ten at night without any tidings of it. In spite of our cares and fatigues, however, we passed a very jolly evening. MacGregor, Weston, Forbes and Aubery joined us after dinner, and the bottle was circulated pretty freely.

All accounts seem to agree now in making out the enemy to be advancing towards us with a formidable force and heaps of Artillery. We conjectured that anxious as the Commander-in-Chief is to meet them again, we must halt to-morrow to allow the baggage to come up.



1803.

SEPT. 29.

Mil. 16.

*Grand
Army,
Camp near
Hurriel.*

The Army halted to-day in order to give the baggage in the rear an opportunity to join us. A continuance of rain nearly the whole of the day. The hackeries, camels, etc., came straggling in, all the forenoon; the cattle completely fagged, and hardly able to move through the mire with their loads. Part of my tent still remained in the rear, and I was told that one of the camels had met with an accident, by slipping, which detained the tent. Took the advantage of being a Quarter-Master and sent back one of the Company's elephants to assist. None but wise officers are Quarter-Masters in India. A great many camels were disabled yesterday, and can never join us again, in consequence of which many officers' tents were entirely lost, and but for the Honourable Company's elephants mine would inevitably have shared the same fate. It came up about five in the morning, and the elephant returned nearly to the ground we left in the morning before it was recovered.

At sunset the rain somewhat abated, and Livesey, Forbes and myself took a short ride in front of the line. Dined with Livesey and slept in his tent.

SEPT. 30.

Mil. 15.

*Grand
Army,
Camp at
Kossuah.*

We marched this morning at seven o'clock, the left in front. The weather during the time of march was favourable, and everything moved well on. We had tolerable good ground for our encampment to-day. After marking out the line, we returned, met our respective Brigades, and conducted them to their stations. It was nearly twelve before all our tents were pitched or spread to dry.

Received from the Field Paymaster this morning the amount of my Quarter-Master's bill for August (Rupees 1,017). The first month in my life that I ever drew more than 250 Rupees. A large party of officers dined with me to-day. The enemy said to be in force near Agra, and we all expected soon to have another field day with them, and nothing was more anxiously wished.



The Army marched this morning at five. The country well cultivated, and in far higher condition than any we had passed through since we crossed the Jumnah. Soon after daybreak we passed a curious Puckah tank, or Bolee, and near it a remarkable well. It was in length about 100 feet, and 30 broad, with four stories or landing places, railed out in a curious style. We pitched our camp with our right extending near to this place, and just as we had completed marking out the encampment, an antelope three parts grown leapt out of a small patch of cover, and as my groom always carried a spear, I was prepared for him, and after one of the severest chases I ever rode, I speared it. About nine the Army came to its ground. Breakfasted with Colonel Blair, from whom I received a general invitation to dine with him when I was not otherwise engaged. In the evening Colonel Lake, Wemyss, Duval, and myself rode to the parade of the 76th Regiment, to hear its band. Colonel Lake told us that the Chevalier Dudrenec, the Frenchman who commanded two of Scindiah's Brigades, had deserted them, and had surrendered himself to Colonel Vandeleur at Muttrah. The troops, however, had every reliance in their very formidable Artillery, and were making every preparation to meet us again in the field.

1803.
Oct. 1.*Grand
Army,
Camp near
Chuman.*

Thirteen of Scindiah's regular Battalions supported by a numerous Artillery advancing towards us, supposed with the intention of preventing us laying siege to Agra. (N.B. It will cost them some broken heads to effect that.) By the papers this evening we saw that war was again declared by England against France. It gave us also statements of what had passed between the two nations, and the reasons assigned for the absolute necessity of a war.

Wrote a letter on the service to the Adjutant-General, recommending a favourite Havildar (Sergeant) of my Grenadiers for promotion. I had often observed this man's gallant and intrepid



1803.

conduct in the most perilous situations, and he was immediately made a Jemadar (Lieutenant).

Oct. 2.

Grand
Army,
Camp near
Muttrah.

The Army marched this morning by the left, Cavalry leading the column.

As we again approached the banks of the Jumnah, we found the country quite rocky and uncultivated, and the ravines on our line of march were really tremendous, and detained us greatly in getting past our heavy guns. At seven we came in sight of Muttrah, and met Colonel Vandeleur going out to meet the Commander-in-Chief. Left the town a short distance on our left, and observed Colonel Vandeleur's camp at a distance.

Marked out our line about a mile on Vandeleur's right. We found here H.M. 8th and 29th Dragoons, 4th Regiment of Native Cavalry, one Battalion of the 9th, a Battalion of the 12th and five Companies of the 16th Native Infantry.

Called on Anderdon, Colonel Clarke's Major of Brigade. I was disappointed to find that Mr. Young was not with his Corps; he was left with some dismounted men, for whom horses could not be supplied.

The men of the 8th appeared stout, heavy fellows; too much so, I thought, for Light Dragoons. This place is remarkable for a Hindoo Temple, or place of worship, and many of our rascally servants called (*en passant*) to get rid of their numerous sins, in consequence of which we did not see some of them till night. The tents and breakfast things were all up in good time.

Saw an astonishing number of hares on the line of march this morning, and the ground on which we encamped literally swarmed with them. Two brace were knocked down by the sticks of the camp followers, during the time we were at breakfast, not fifty yards from the tent.

Wilson, a shipmate of mine, and a very fine young man, called and passed the day with me. Colonel



Monson, of the 76th Regt., having recovered of the 1803. wounds he received in storming Ali Ghur on the 4th September, came into camp to-day, and joined his Corps, which was encamped on our left.

Wilson and a large party of officers dined with me this evening.

We marched this morning by the left. The road Oct. 3. to-day exceedingly uneven, with numerous ravines on our right and left, and but very little cultivation. We were in hourly expectation of falling in with the enemy, who were reported in force between Muttrah and Agra. *Grand Army, Camp near Phurrah, Mil. 13.*

Joined Macan during the line of march. We marked out the line of encampment, and the Cavalry came up a considerable time before the Infantry, the latter being detained in consequence of the difficulties of dragging the heavy train, and guns attached to the different Brigades, through the narrow defiles in the ravines. By ten the line was encamped.

The Army marched this morning. We moved off Oct. 4. by the left, and the Cavalry brought up the rear. This gave us some reason to think that an enemy was in the neighbourhood, and we were in momentary expectation of an action, it having been confidentially reported that they were drawn up in order of battle, near a village which we passed about eight o'clock. We arrived at Secundra (about five miles from Agra) at nine o'clock. Our party (the Quarter-Master-General and Quarter-Master) was ordered not to go in front, but to keep with the advanced guard; all these precautions proved quite unnecessary, as not a sign of an enemy appeared. The Commander-in-Chief was with us (the advanced guard) all the morning, and we halted near the environs of the city of Agra to wait the coming up of the line. *Grand Army, Camp before Agra.*

We were then ordered to proceed, and mark out a position before the fort, commodious for commencing



1803.

*Grand
Army,
Camp before
Agra.*

the attack. We encamped on the western face of the place; they began a fierce cannonade on us as soon as we were perceived; fortunately, however, although many heavy shot passed over and near us, their fire had no other effect than shewing us the distance their guns would reach, and thereby enabling us to judge how near we could encamp without being annoyed from the garrison. The ground was not good, on account of the numerous ruins scattered promiscuously about. Advanced our picquets to a garden, three hundred yards in front of the line. Several parties of the enemy came near us in the course of the day, and guns were fired constantly from the garrison on our advanced post, which Sinclair commanded, and where he had some men killed and wounded, and some very handsome buildings in the garden knocked about his ears. Received a letter this morning from Thornhill. A report that Major Wade has been killed in a duel; a pretty wife of whom he was extremely jealous is said to have been the cause.

Rode a horse of Weston's this morning, Collector being still very far from recovered of his wounds, and Major lame.

In the evening I went in front with Major Lake, Wemyss and Duval to a rising ground from which with our glasses we could distinctly see the men and count the guns on the ramparts and bastions. Scindiah's colours were also plainly visible, flying over the Delhi gate of the Fortress and along the walls. They appeared very superb at the principal flagstaff. It was a red silk ground, with a white snake diagonally.

I dined with the Commander-in-Chief this evening. The principal Engineer and Cavalry officers were there, and we had a great deal of conversation regarding the fort and city, and points of attack, etc. Drank a great deal of claret, and passed a very pleasant evening.



Rode down in front this morning at daybreak. The bastions and ramparts appeared crowded with people. Breakfasted with Christie, after which Anderdon and myself mounted our horses, and determined on reconnoitring the fort narrowly, and for which we had nearly paid the forfeit of our lives. About two hundred and fifty yards from the walls of the place, and in a road which ran through the ravines (in which we thought ourselves completely covered from the shot of the garrison, and from the view of the enemy on the ramparts), my groom came up, and told me that he saw several Infantry among the broken ground close to us. The man himself immediately turned short and galloped off. We were at this moment entering an arched gateway which extended across the road, but as we had no conception the enemy were so near us we put spurs to our horses and dashed on. On clearing the arch our surprise was great to find a party drawn up behind it on the road's side. They were actually not fifteen yards from us, when they fired directly in our faces, and most miraculously without effect. It was so sudden that we had barely time to draw our pistols and give our fire. The man nearest us staggered back and fell. We both fired at him; he seemed to be at the head of the party, and was not hardly a sword's length from my stirrup. We pushed on and got clear to camp, completely annoyed at our folly.

1803.
Oct. 5.

*Grand
Army,
Camp before
Agra.*

The people from the Fort had seen us coming, and had evidently sent out this party to cut us off, and a more complete ambush men were never drawn into. This affair was seen from the picquets, and made a great noise in camp. We were very justly blamed for our temerity; had the enemy been but steady, we must both have inevitably fallen, nothing could have saved us. A firing of cannon on our advanced posts all the day, and several shot came into camp. The garrison was summoned by the Commander-in-Chief, and resolutely returned for answer that "they were



1803.

*Grand
Army,
Camp before
Agra.*

soldiers, and would defend the place to the last." Dressed on a rising ground this evening in the rear of my tent, and dined with Arbuthnot. A heavy shot fell close to the tent during dinner, and a drummer brought it in to us. We had the curiosity to weigh it; it was upwards of sixty pounds. We only requested they would be civil to us during dinner; drank our wine and passed a very pleasant evening. Broke up at eleven o'clock.

Oct. 6.

*Grand
Army,
Camp before
Agra.*

A smart firing this morning at our advanced posts, on some snipers of the enemy who came nearly up to the picquets under cover of some broken ground, and the heavy guns continued an almost incessant fire with a view to dislodge our parties in advance. We heard this morning that the line would shift ground to-morrow, and take up a final position for the attack. The enemy very busy mounting fresh guns on the works, and threatening a formidable resistance. We were as zealously employed in preparing for the siege; cutting materials for batteries, etc., etc.

Oct. 7.

*Grand
Army,
Camp before
Agra.*

Rode on the flank of the line a short distance. Wemyss, MacGregor and Weston returned with me to breakfast at my tent. A fire of cannon from the fort the whole of the day, and several of our men at the advanced posts were killed and wounded, but no officer suffered that I heard. At four this morning Colonel Clarke, with the 2nd Brigade, marched and took up a position above the Fort, his left extending towards the Jumnah, so as to enable him to cover the boats, which are at Secundra bringing down the guns we had captured in the Battle of Delhi. The carriages of which we had previously destroyed.

Owen, of our Corps, with three Companies, had charge of the guns down from Delhi, and conducted himself very much to the satisfaction of the Commander-in-Chief. Colonel Clarke by this position had complete command of the Jumnah above the city,



it was determined at headquarters to dislodge a party of the enemy stationed at the Tauge and the Garden, so as to prevent any communication below the fortress. The Pioneers and working parties of Infantry employed cutting materials for fascines and gabions.

1803.
*Grand
Army.
Camp before
Agra.*

This afternoon orders appeared for our change of position in the morning; to move from the right. The advanced guard ordered to be reinforced with a Battalion and two six-pounders. Some deserters from the enemy came in this evening, and were immediately entertained by us. A severe reprimand appeared in Orders to-day to some officers who had declined entertaining deserters in consequence of their being under size. Officers commanding corps were directed to send all of that description to Headquarters, and not to entirely dismiss them in future. A copy of General Lake's letter to the Governor-General in Council appeared in the Gazette to-day, relating to the glorious affair of the 11th at Delhi, and in which we all got lots of praise. Tiffed to-day with MacGregor, after which we took our glasses and went down to the advanced posts to reconnoitre. In front of the picquet nearest the Fort there was a Mosque, and we contrived, though unwisely, to push on to it. They saw us from the garrison, and the brick and mortar, with some heavy shot, was quickly flying about our ears, and we stayed a few minutes and retreated.

A cannon shot came through the parapet on the top of the post, between MacGregor and myself; it was within three feet of both of us. We now had made what observations we could, walked back to the picquet, mounted our horses, and rode again to the lines. Dined with Livesey this evening. During dinner the fire of musketry was so quick at the advanced post that we thought it was attacked. I mounted Major and galloped down; it proved to be a false alarm occasioned by some gun bullocks, which the enemy had turned out of the garrison to prevent



Grand
Army,
Camp before
Agra.

their starving. The night was uncommonly dark, and the sentries in advance had been the cause of the mistake. I reported this to Colonel Blair. On my way back I met an aide-de-camp of the Commander-in-Chief's, and told him what had been the cause of the firing. The Fort had taken the alarm, and opened some guns on our post, directed by the flashes of the musketry. Several heavy shot passed close to me both going down and on my return, without any other effect than frightening my horse a little.

Oct. 8.

Grand
Army,
Camp before
Agra.

The Infantry marched this morning at six, leaving the Cavalry on its ground, except the 8th Dragoons, which came up in the rear of the line. We commenced marking out the ground soon after daybreak, and everything was in readiness when the troops came to their encampment. A very steep, high bank ran directly across our line. I rode at it in order to call some Pioneers who were passing at the head of the Park, to cut through it.

The horse made a boggle in attempting to clear it, and I had nearly met with a severe fall; the horse recovered himself in an astonishing manner. Campbell, the Quarter-Master-General, who was close by me, declared that the circumstance of the horse regaining his balance and coming on his feet to the ground was miraculous. The bank was at least ten feet in height. When the line came up, MacDonald's Brigade, with the advanced picquets and their field pieces, were ordered to move down to the Tauge in which, and in its gardens, it was reported to the Commander-in-Chief that three Battalions of the enemy were posted. The Dragoons also moved down to support MacDonald, and in order to cut them up in their retreat to the Fort. The Tauge is one of the most beautiful buildings in the world, entirely of marble.

We remained under arms till near nine o'clock, in readiness to support the Corps in front should they



require a reinforcement. On MacDonald's arrival at 1803. the Tauge Garden he found that the enemy were retreating, and the greatest part of them already secure upon the glacis.

*Grand
Army,
Camp before
Agra.*

A party of five companies and two guns was left to retain the post, which we fortunately got possession of without any loss. A tremendous blazing of cannon was kept up from the garrison, but the distance was too great for any serious mischief; some straggling shot killed and wounded a few of our men. At ten the whole line of Infantry encamped, distant from the walls of Agra about two and a half miles on the south-east face. They threw several shot over our line, but ground did not offer farther in the rear; we were therefore necessitated to take our chance, rightly guessing that as they could not easily see the effect of their shot from the garrison at that distance, the fire would soon discontinue. The whole of the Cavalry, except the 8th and the advanced picquets of yesterday, stood fast this morning. I wrote to-day to Mr. Young of the 8th Dragoons, and to Thornhill at Bareilly. Wemyss called on me and told me that Guthrie had arrived at Mynpoorie, to take charge of Ryley's appointment, in consequence of his having too speedily left his post at the time of Fleury's visit to Shikoabad, expecting them on to Mynpoorie, and on that account Ryley was superseded.

Wemyss also showed me a letter which he had received from C., who did not appear quite comfortable. They certainly may have remained until accounts of the actual approach of the enemy had reached them, instead of which they made off on hearing of the enemy at Shikoabad, nearly thirty miles distant from them. A great deal of materials for our Batteries was brought in this morning, and all the public cattle and Quarter-Master's establishments were sent to the Park to assist in making fascines and gabions. It was conjectured that before we could break ground by commencing on our



1803.

Grand
Army,
Camp before
Agra.

trenches and Batteries, seven Battalions of the enemy which lay encamped upon the glacis, supported by nearly thirty pieces of artillery and immediately under cover of the guns and musketry of the works, must be dislodged, and from their exceeding favourable situation supported by the garrison, we expected this would cost us some officers and men. Rode down in front this evening with Major Lake and Wemyss with our glasses to reconnoitre the position of the enemy's Battalions on the glacis, and to endeavour to ascertain the best road through the ravines, down to attack them. We carried an escort of Dragoons with us from the picquet, and advanced so near that their sentries fired upon us. To our annoyance we found that it would be in vain to carry down guns on the occasion, as they had taken the precaution to cut off the different roads which led to them. Several deep trenches were cut across the roads, and to carry artillery over them would be attended with much delay. We therefore agreed that the musket and bayonet alone must be had recourse to. We returned to camp at sunset, and they pelted us with cannon as long as their shot would reach us, and we had all of us several very narrow escapes. A thirty-two pounder passed directly through the Dragoons, but providentially without killing any of them, or injuring us who were at the head of them. We returned all the way to camp at three-quarter speed.

I was asked to dine at headquarters, but was engaged to my friends of the 3rd Cavalry. Took a fresh horse, and posted off to the Cavalry lines. Dined with Peyron, who gave us an elegant dinner and plenty of Kilbey.

Talked a great deal of what we would do if we ever reached Old England again.

We heard a constant firing during the evening, and at times it seemed rather heavy.

The Bhirtpore Rajah, with 1,500 good Horse, joined us this morning. In the evening some parties



of the enemy's Infantry advanced near enough to fire 1803. on our Grand Guard, but some detached parties from our advanced picquets soon drove them in. Accounts to-day confirmed the report of Colonel Guthrie having taken Teteeah, but the Colonel was mortally wounded. They attempted the gate by a coup de main, but some unexpected obstacles prevented their carrying the gun up to the gate, and they were repulsed, and obliged to leave their gun in possession of the enemy, who at night fled the place, and our troops took possession.

*Grand
Army,
Camp before
Agra.*

Went with Shairpe at sunrise this morning to see the Tauge, which appeared, if possible, more magni-

ficient than when I first saw it. We had a post here, and I stayed to breakfast with the officers of the 12th, who were on duty. Our force was five companies and a six-pounder. Shairpe and self returned to camp about ten. A smart fire all the morning from the fort, on our advanced picquets. From one of the minarets of the Tauge we very distinctly saw several Battalions of the enemy, with their field pieces, drawn up on the glacis of the fort, and among them many mounted officers. Twenty-five large boats were moored close under the eastern face. Our Pioneers and builders employed as yesterday, cutting materials for Batteries. People in the Park making scaling ladders, fascines, gabions, etc.

*OCT. 9.
Grand
Army,
Camp before
Agra.*

I received a private note from Colonel Blair, telling me that we were to beat up the enemy's Battalion in the morning, that the attack would commence at day-break, and requesting that I would be at his tent, mounted, half-an-hour before.

The line was under arms this morning at five o'clock, and a little before daybreak our Brigade

marched off to attack the enemy. On our arrival at the ravines our Battalion was halted, and the 14th advanced and commenced a very vigorous and galling

*OCT. 10.
Grand
Army,
Camp before
Agra.*



1803.

*Grand
Army.
Camp before
Agra.*

fire of musketry on the enemy. Our Battalion advanced in the best order that the nature of the broken ground would admit, to their support. The enemy's Battalion on the glacis were completely surprised, and routed with great slaughter. We could plainly perceive by the smoke and peals of musketry on our left that the city was attacked by Clarke's Brigade.

The fort was in a perfect blaze of cannon and musketry on every side. We pushed close up to their works, and brought off two guns, having dismounted many others which could not be secured, the enemy's fire was so extremely heavy, and we were quite exposed to every shot from all the works on the southern face. Having completely routed them, we drew off to the ravines, and took post in them, at the distance of about two hundred yards from the south gate of the fort. The fire from the garrison continued without intermission till nearly ten o'clock, and a small village and mosque close on the left of our post was laid in ruins. The musketry did not cease in the town, and we were for a long time apprehensive that our troops there had not succeeded, and which proved in some measure to be the case. Brigadier Clarke finding himself hardly pressed, and much galled by the musketry of the enemy from the tops of houses and gateways, actually ordered a retreat, but as his detachment had divided, one part of it, consisting of six Companies of the 16th Regiment under Colonel White, fortunately penetrated and established themselves in a good post near the walls of the fort; Colonel Clarke sent orders to Colonel White also to withdraw his men from the town, but to the immortal honour of Colonel White he refused; saying that it would be disgraceful to British troops, and that without the orders of the Commander-in-Chief he would not retreat as long as an officer or man of his Regiment remained. At the same time he dispatched a letter to headquarters, and the Commander-in-Chief



was so well satisfied and pleased with his gallant 1803.
conduct that he paid him a handsome compliment in *Grand*
Orders, ordered Brigadier Clarke to return imme- *Army,*
diately to camp, and left Colonel White with a good *Camp before*
reinforcement in command of the town, which in the *Agra,*
course of the day he obliged the enemy entirely to
abandon, and drove them to a man either to destruc-
tion or into their garrison for safety. Our post was
on ground over which we had driven the enemy in
the morning, and many of them, as well as some of
our own people, were lying killed at it, nor could we
remain there, as they continued a heavy fire almost
the whole of the day; towards the evening they
became very offensive, and in the night insufferably
so, and we were obliged at the risk of our lives to draw
them off under cover of the night, in doing which we
had some men wounded. Rose was brought into our
post, badly wounded, and we sent him immediately
to camp. About midnight Colonel Blair and I (as
his staff) left the post and returned to camp.

Received a note at daybreak this morning from
MacGregor, desiring me to order down doolies *Oct. 11.*
(litters) for our wounded men. When the fort was a *Grand*
little silent I took the opportunity of sending them *Army,*
with some provisions down. Colonel Powell, with a *Camp before*
Battalion of the 8th Native and the 1st Regiment of *Agra.*
Cavalry, crossed the Jumnah and marched into camp
this forenoon.

In the attack of yesterday we had seven officers
killed and wounded. I went to Rose this morning;
found him in tolerable spirits, considering that his
wound was a very dangerous one. I passed great
part of the morning with him, and it was with
difficulty that I got away.

Our Battalion was relieved in the trenches this
morning by a Battalion of the 8th Infantry, and *Oct. 12.*
marched into camp at daybreak. We observed a



1803.

Grand
Army,
Camp before
Agra.

number of the enemy assembled on a large mosque in the town; two howitzers were immediately ordered down to dislodge them. Lieutenant Whitaker of the 9th died to-day of the wounds he received on the 10th. The death of this officer was particularly lamented, as it was occasioned by his gallant and humane exertions to carry off another wounded officer (Lieutenant Grant, of the same Corps). On hearing that Lieutenant Grant had received a shot and was left behind, he ordered the Grenadiers of his own Company to follow him; they returned under a heavy fire to the place, but Whitaker was mortally wounded in this generous but fruitless attempt to save his friend, who was cut to pieces by the enemy, and two finer young men the Service could not boast of.

To-day I received a letter from Thornhill, Bareilly, and we had a report that two new Regiments were to be raised immediately. A talk that the remains of the Battalions which we defeated on the 10th were desirous of coming over to us. A very heavy fire of cannon the whole of this day from the fort. A Battery of two twelve-pounders, to enfilade some works of the enemy, was opened from the river's side with great effect, and they succeeded in silencing the guns on the nearest bastion of the water face of the fort. Wemyss, MacGregor and myself mounted our horses about five o'clock this evening, and with our glasses went down very near the works, to reconnoitre. Left our grooms and horses at a small village in the rear, but they perceived our destination, and annoyed us as much as they could by shot from the Fausse Braye. On our return to camp, Wemyss had the most narrow escape of a cannon shot I almost ever saw. It grazed within a foot of him, and passed on between MacGregor and myself. I was on a young horse of Murray's, which actually sunk with fear till the girths nearly touched the ground, at the *noise of the shot*, which was a very heavy one. Dined with Colonel Blair; we had some



officers of the Cavalry this evening, whom I had never met before. 1803.

The different posts were relieved this morning, and the 8th Infantry came into their lines about seven o'clock. I breakfasted with MacGregor, and afterwards we mounted our ponies, and rode to the lines of the 3rd Cavalry, to see Peyron, who, with Ryder, returned with us to our lines, and we had a jolly party at tiffin with Anderdon. About two o'clock we were surprised at the garrison having ceased firing, and in an hour afterwards we heard that the enemy had sent terms of capitulation into camp. Captain Salkield, on our part, was admitted into the garrison, and we supposed everything at the close of the evening to be in fair way, and had hopes of being speedily in possession of the place, without a further effusion of blood.

Oct. 13.

*Grand
Army,
Camp before
Agra.*

About nine, however, the fire from the garrison re-commenced with redoubled fury, and continued till daybreak on our trenches and working parties at the Batteries, killing and wounding a great many of our people. The terms first proposed by the enemy were to be allowed to march out with their arms and private property, to which General Lake acceded, but they added that no troops should inspect them as they marched out, which was, of course, objected to, as there was reported to be a large sum of money belonging to Scindiah lodged in Agra, of which they would have left but little for us. The enemy did not wait even till Salkield had quitted their fort, but opened their guns on our works, sending him in a boat down the river to land at our twelve-pounder Battery, which circumstances had nearly cost Salkield dear, as in the Battery our people hearing a boat pulling towards them, concluded it was the enemy attempting to carry off the treasure under the cover of the night, and were laying a gun loaded with grape for the boat, when Salkield contrived to make himself



1803.

heard. A party of Sepoys were advanced in front of the Battery, and the officer was pointing his rifle at Salkield when he made himself known. The boat was not twenty yards from him at the time.

OCT. 14.

*Grand
Army,
Camp before
Agra.*

The fire from the fort continued very heavy the whole of this morning, and not the smallest appearance of surrendering; this, however, did not much intercept our working at the Batteries, though it cost us some lives. The battering guns were to-day removed from their transport to field carriages, and as some of our scaling ladders were lost in the attack of the 10th the Artillery and Engineers were employed in constructing fresh ones. Rode this afternoon to the village in front, where our people were working up fascines and gabions, and paid a visit to Sinclair, who commands the advanced picquets to-day; his post was in the rear of a mosque between the Tauge and trenches. This evening seven Battalions of the enemy surrendered themselves, with their guns, tumbrils, colours and ammunition to Colonel White, and marched up and encamped on the left of our line, at the distance of about one mile. The terms given them were to employ them in our service with the same pay as they received in Scindiah's, the officers to continue with them, with the rank they formerly held. Colonel White, with five Companies of the 16th, took possession of the Jumna Musjeed in which they had been posted, which gave us a communication to the choke of the fort, and annoyed the enemy greatly, as they did not at all relish having us so close to their gate, which, however, from having a drawbridge, was perfectly secure. Many of the enemy who came over this day are very smart fine fellows, and soldier-like looking men.

A heavy fire from the garrison all day, but with less effect than would have been expected, considering the incessant roar of cannon. Our Batteries expected soon to be complete. We had a report to-day that a



French man, supposed to have come as a spy, had ^{1803.}
been apprehended in Calcutta.

*Grand
Army.
Camp before
Agra.*

In the evening MacGregor and myself rode down in front, and returned through the camp of the Battalions who came over yesterday. Many of their officers addressed us in a most respectful way, and told us that some of the men were desirous of returning to their families, and wished to obtain their discharge for that purpose, expressing at the same time the honourable manner with which they had been treated since they had surrendered themselves to us.

Oct. 15.

*Trenches
before
Agra.*

At four this morning our Regiment marched off the parade to relieve the 15th in the trenches at the left post. We cleared the ravines, and were at the post before the day broke, without the loss of a man, as they could not discover us from the works. They guessed at the time of our relief, and several random shots were fired without effect. The 15th Regiment had marched when day broke, and with it they commenced a heavy fire on us. The post was a very good one, and the men well sheltered, and we lost but few people. We returned their fire from two howitzers and a couple of cohorns, and it seemed to have the effect of annoying them greatly. The enemy continued turning out their cattle for want of forage in the garrison, and several bullocks came into our post this day. We pitched Weston's servants' tent between two deep ravines, and had some victuals dressed in it. The tent was frequently covered with stones thrown up by the shot of the garrison while we were taking a hasty dinner in it, but it was so small that they could not possibly discern it from the walls, and consequently no mischief was done. It was hardly possible to eat anything, the stench was so terrible of the bodies left on the 10th, and the fire continued so heavy from the garrison that it was impossible to remove them far.

Our post was within two hundred and fifty yards of



*Trenches
before
Agra.*

the works, and the cannon shot and musketry went uncommonly sharp over us, and a mosque which stood about the centre of the trench was completely demolished in the course of the day. It was not possible to continue working at the batteries during the day, as we were so completely within range of grape from the garrison that a man could not show himself without certain destruction. MacGregor and myself went in front a little before sunset, and took with us about fifty men without their arms, and a covering party, to bring in a gun that lay near our post, left by the enemy on the 10th. We succeeded, and hauled it in under a smart fire; some of our men were killed and wounded, and we had several very narrow escapes. We should have deferred this hazardous undertaking till night, but there was great reason to apprehend that the enemy at dark would attempt to recover it. The gun was an elegant brass nine-pounder field piece.

We saw some other guns with their axles down; they were visible from the garrison, and they had broken them down with their shot to prevent us taking them off. About an hour after sunset the firing of cannon ceased, but the musketry continued all night, accompanied with a shower of grape at intervals on our working parties. They must distinctly have heard us driving the pickets, fixing the fascines, etc. Several parties of Europeans from the different Corps were employed in getting up the Grand Battery, and we had hopes that another night would complete them all.

Oct. 16.

*Grand
Army,
Camp before
Agra.*

Soon after four we were relieved this morning by the 8th, and marched to our lines by daylight. Went to bed a good deal fatigued, having been nearly all the night on my legs, and slept till eleven.

We all met at twelve at MacGregor's tent to breakfast, went afterwards to see Rose, who was wounded on the 10th, and found him in good spirits; most of



the officers wounded on the 10th and during the siege 1803. said to be doing well. It was certainly ascertained to-day that the garrison consisted of five thousand fighting men, and if they stand a storm we may expect some warm work, and there must be a good deal of blood spilt. Our battering guns went down from camp this morning, and it was supposed would open to-morrow; not the smallest probability of the garrison surrendering, on the contrary they had declared their determination to defend the place, or perish in the attempt. Many of Scindiah's principal leaders and some of his best troops are reported to be in the garrison. To-day, thanks from the Governor-General and Captain-General, the Marquis Wellesley to the Commander-in-Chief and the officers and men employed with him in the glorious affair of the 11th September at Delhi, arrived in our camp. Honorary colours to be presented to every Corps engaged on that day, and the Governor-General stated his determination to erect a monument in Fort William to the memory of the officers who fell in that battle and in the assault of Ali Ghur on the 4th. The Governor's letter was a very handsome one, and he thanked in cordial terms "The illustrious General and his brave Army." In the evening Livesey and myself rode down to the Tauge and remained till after sunset, in consequence of which we were near being fired upon by the sentries of the picquet on the right of the line.

*Grand
Army,
Camp before
Agra.*

The day was ushered in by a tremendous fire from our Grand Battery of eight eighteens, four twelves, a mortar battery, and six ten-inch mortars and six howitzers.

The twelve-pounders composed an enfilading Battery, erected close upon the brink of the Jumnah; in the rear of it about sixty yards was placed the Mortar Battery, the battering guns on the left of it, and within two hundred and fifty yards from the works. The garrison returned this cannonade by a

*Oct. 17.
In the
Grand
Battery.*



1803.

*In the
Grand
Battery.*

very spirited fire from every gun they could bring to bear, and the fire from six till nine was truly awful, and as heavy a one from the number of guns as I had ever witnessed.

Before our Batteries ceased firing several of the enemy's guns on the face of the fort attacked were dismounted or silenced.

Our fire was uncommonly well directed notwithstanding the number of guns opposed to us and the loss that was sustained in the Grand Battery (where Shairpe and myself had taken post to see the effect of our fire). Nearly all the men stationed at the two left hand guns were twice swept away, and as they were more exposed than the others the enemy's shot every moment came into the embrasures and killed the men. One shot carried away five men, and we were completely covered with the blood and brains of the poor fellows. The officer commanding in the Battery then withdrew the men from those guns, and ran them back. When we ceased firing the defences of the Bengal bastion and those of the curtain next it were completely destroyed. The bombs and shells seemed to be thrown from our Mortar Batteries with great precision and effect, and we could distinctly hear them burst in the body of the fort. Between ten and eleven the firing ceased, as if by mutual consent, and both parties were glad with a little respite. Shairpe and myself returned through the ravines to the village in front of our line, where we found our horses. Shairpe breakfasted with me, and as it was known that we had been in the Battery, a great number of enquiries were made concerning what was going on and who had suffered. Soon after twelve the firing again commenced from our Batteries, six guns only from the Grand Battery firing. We continued breaching with little intermission till sunset, and the wall came down in immense flakes. In the evening a summons was again sent into the garrison, to which they replied



that they "were soldiers, and should defend the place to the last." 1803.

Went to headquarters to take the orders for Cumberlege, who was on duty in the trenches. Called on Wemyss, with whom and MacGregor I went in the evening very near the fort in order to see the effect of our fire from the Batteries. We contrived to get in the range of the guns pointed at the Batteries on our return, and several shot passed us. Dined with Murray; at ten at night two hircarahs (messengers) were sent in from the garrison, under pretence of treating with us, but it was imagined that their object was to gain time. The firing, however, on both sides ceased, but our people continued to repair the damage done by the enemy's shot at the Batteries during the day, and a strong party of Europeans were ordered down to assist in that duty.

*In the
Grand
Battery.*

Everything perfectly quiet this morning, and we began to think them serious in coming into terms. Oct. 18.

Two of their principal Sirdars (commandants) came into camp early to-day, and after some conversation with the Commander-in-Chief the capitulation was signed by them on behalf of the garrison. Livesey and myself rode down to a hill in front, and knew nothing of the surrender till we saw the garrison marching out. They were allowed to leave the garrison carrying with them their arms and private property. Our Regiment was ordered into garrison, and I had the inexpressible satisfaction with my own hands to haul down Scindiah's colours, and plant the British Standard in its stead on the ramparts. We placed proper guards at the different gateways, and admitted none but the Prize Agents to give them an opportunity to secure all the property on account of the Army. Treasure was discovered to the amount of nearly thirty lacs of rupees. In the evening MacGregor, Livesey and myself, with Ryder, Anderson and Peyron, rode round that part of the glacis on

*Grand
Army,
Camp before
Agra.*



1803.

Army,
Grand
Camp before
Agra.

Garrison of
Agra.

which we attacked the enemy's Battalions on the 10th. None of those who fell in that affair had been removed. Hundreds of dogs from the city were preying upon them, and swarms of vultures and eagles were also devouring them. This was a sight too unpleasant for any but perfect savages, and we soon turned from it in disgust. Any person who had witnessed such a scene would know how to estimate the *glories of war*. We went on to the breach, and the Bengal bastion was very much cut by our shot, as was the curtain; and the defences were completely destroyed. Another day's battering would have made a practicable breach for us.

Maddoo Ghur, an outwork thrown up for the protection of the bastion which we battered, was completely torn to atoms by the fire principally of the enfilading Battery. This evening all the guns and platforms were removed from the Batteries, and an order given for them to be immediately destroyed and the trenches levelled.

The garrison consisted of at least five thousand men, and had they waited the result of a storm the loss would in all probability have been great, and many a gallant fellow would have fallen.

It was rumoured in camp that thirteen Battalions more of the enemy with one hundred pieces of cannon are not many miles in our front; should this prove true I resolved to use my interest and endeavour to gain the Commander-in-Chief's permission to accompany the Army and not remain here in garrison with the Corps. A soldier, in my opinion, should lose no opportunity of seeing service, but show an inclination at all times to be first and foremost when actual service is really expected. It is surely preferable to share the dangers and glory of a battle in hopes of gaining approbation and applause than to walk leisurely round the ramparts of a secure garrison without the prospect of notice or preferment. We heard from Bundelcund this day that a skirmish had



taken place between Colonel Powell's detachment and 1803. a body of the enemy; the latter were driven back, but allowed to carry off their gun with them; if Powell had adopted our plan, left the Artillery and had recourse to the bayonet (à la Delhi), the enemy's guns would most probably have been left behind. Poor Farley Smith, with whom I was in the 18th Regiment, was killed early in the affair by a cannon shot. *Garrison of Agra.*

Prize rolls ordered to be sent in this morning, and a distribution of prize money to take place immediately. *OCT. 20. Garrison of Agra.*

At four this afternoon Colonel Blair sent for me, and told me that the Commander-in-Chief had determined to leave our Corps in garrison. I made the Colonel acquainted with my intention to apply to the General for permission to march on with the Army. Colonel Blair at first did not give his consent, but on my pointing out the very material difference it might make to me he approved. Went in the evening to my good friends, Colonel Lake and Wemyss, and the former readily engaged to make my wishes known to the Commander-in-Chief. During dinner I received a note from Colonel Lake telling me that the General could not consent to my leaving Colonel Blair; at the same time paying me the compliment to say that my services and assistance to Colonel Blair could not be dispensed with, as there were numerous arrangements to make in the garrison, and that as staff to Colonel Blair I must remain in Agra. I began to suspect that Blair had interfered, and contented myself at least with having offered my services.

The treasure found in the garrison was all counted to-day. It amounted to twenty-four lacks and forty-four thousand rupees. N.B.—I expect six thousand (equal to £800) to be my share. At twelve to-day three hundred of the Bhirt pore Rajah's Horse made their appearance on the opposite banks of the river, *OCT. 21. Garrison of Agra.*



1802.

*Garrison of
Agra.*

and the boats, such as had not been sunk by our shot during the siege, commenced crossing them. A Corps of Nijeebs (Irregular Infantry) ordered to be raised in order to protect the town, and that none of our men may be required out of the garrison, but to be confined entirely to the duty of the fortress only. From a bastion on the N.E. face we discovered a fine jungle which looked exceedingly likely for game.

To-morrow fixed on for me to make the distribution of quarters to officers according to seniority. In the evening I went with Colonel Blair to examine the drawbridge at the Delhi gate; we found it in want of much repair.

OCT. 22.

*Garrison of
Agra.*

At gunfire this morning I accompanied Colonel Blair round the ramparts to examine the works and to make some fresh arrangements of the Artillery. The Senior Officer of Artillery joined us, and gave us his report, by which it appeared that in the garrison and on the different works there were mounted one hundred and sixty-three pieces of cannon of different calibres, with their proportion of ammunition made up.

The Commander-in-Chief and Colonels Clinton and Nightingale came into the garrison this morning. They joined us on the works, and his Excellency did me the honour to introduce me to them himself.

Then, addressing me in a very good humoured way, he said that he understood I was ready to "cut his throat" for leaving me in the garrison, to which his Excellency added: "You are an old soldier now, and have seen fighting enough, and Colonel Blair will not willingly dispense with your assistance in garrison." Colonel Lake told me that he had tried hard to accomplish my wishes, but that his Excellency did not like to deprive Colonel Blair of any part of his staff, as their services in the garrison were requisite; at the same time he told me that he thought the General wished me to proceed



with the Army, and that there was yet *some* chance 1803.
of it.

In the evening I went down to the great mosque, *Garrison of Agra.*
where all the small arms taken from the enemy were
lodged; took the Sergeant-Major with me to pick out
sixty stand of arms, belts and pouches for our
recruits. The locks of these pieces were in general
very inferior.

At gunfire this morning I went with Colonel Blair *Oct. 23.*
to inspect the carpenters' and smiths' yards, and to *Garrison of Agra.*
examine the arsenals. Found abundance of shot and
artillery stores of every kind and description. No
garrison could possibly be better founded in every
warlike sort of stores. The Commander-in-Chief and
his staff came into garrison this morning. Wemyss
remained and breakfasted with me in my new
quarters, which I had fixed in Shah Jehan's bastion,
so named from being the bastion in which that
Emperor was confined for life, shut up from every
human being, a faithful daughter excepted, who
never left him, but shared with him all his distresses.
Wemyss, Shairpe and myself walked round the ram-
parts after breakfast. The Commander-in-Chief's
share of the prize money was sent into camp this
afternoon. It amounted to forty-four thousand
pounds, and the General declared that he had been
upwards of forty years a soldier, and never touched
prize money till this campaign. Received a letter
to-day from Robert Dawson, dated at Diamond
Harbour.

At daylight this morning I accompanied Colonel *Oct. 24.*
Blair to inspect the breach, and to give the necessary *Garrison of Agra.*
directions to the workmen who were employed at it.
At seven the Commander-in-Chief came into
garrison, and expressed himself highly pleased with
the arrangements we had made on the ramparts and
the disposition made for the guns, etc.



1803.

*Garrison of
Agra.*

The General talked of marching to-morrow morning, and asked me if I was yet reconciled to remaining behind. I could not refrain from expressing a desire to proceed on with the Army. It was well known that the enemy were not many miles from us, with a force consisting of thirteen Battalions and one hundred pieces of cannon, and therefore I knew that my wish to march could not be imputed to any other cause than a desire to let no opportunity escape me of seeing service. The General repeated that my services in the garrison were so requisite that I could not be spared, adding that he could not but approve of my wish and inclination to proceed on with the Army, which he did me the honour to add was very commendable.

Wrote on the Service this afternoon to the Adjutant-General, forwarding an indent on the camp magazines for musket ball ammunition to complete the men to one hundred rounds in pouch each man. Indented also for muskets, belts and pouches for the use of some fresh recruits. In the evening I went to look out a proper place for the Battalion magazine, and ordered the platforms to be laid. Several of my friends in camp, whose rascally servants had deserted them on finding they were about to march into the Mahratta Dominions, sent their palanquins and baggage into the garrison to remain with me. O'Donnel's, Shairpe's, Paterson's, Anderdon's, and many others. Colonel Blair desired me to fix on good quarters for myself as near his (in the Palace) as possible. This evening we all dined with Sinclair, and passed a very gay evening.

Oct. 25.

*Garrison of
Agra.*

The Commander-in-Chief came into the garrison this morning, and we pointed out to his Excellency the place fixed on for our hospital. It was the marble hall in which Scindiah held his Durbar (Court), and was exceedingly airy and in every respect commodious and well calculated for the purpose. The



surgeons proposed to have it divided, one part for the sick and wounded Europeans and the other side for the Natives. The wounded of the battle of Delhi were all in camp except a few of the worse left in Delhi. *Garrison of Agra.* 1803.

The prize money was distributed this morning. Secured all my baggage and that of my friends in Shah Jehan's bastion. Several officers wounded at the battle of Delhi and during the siege of this place came into garrison this evening. A rumour that General Wellesley had given Scindiah a second edition of what he received from our hands at Delhi, but no official despatches from the Decan had reached General Lake.

One of the Havildars belonging to the breach guard in Maddo Ghur was badly wounded by an alligator which attacked him. The man had been just relieved, and was sleeping on the glacis when the alligator came from the ditch, and was very near taking the soldier with him into the water. The man's cries alarmed the guard, and the animal made off. It is not unusual among the Native powers to stock the ditches of their forts with alligators, in which they only get what prey is thrown in to them, and are consequently dreadfully ravenous and savage, attacking anything and devouring it the instant it is in the water. These modes of defence are among the Natives considered very formidable, and men no doubt are often taken down by the voracious devils. The prize agents took a final leave of the garrison this afternoon. We dined with Dyer in the quarters formerly inhabited by Colonel Hessen, a Dutchman, and Governor of the fort of Agra, in which he died shortly before the war broke out. Received a letter from Mrs. C. this evening.

The last night was one of the most boisterous I ever recollect; perpetual thunder accompanied with the most vivid lightning. Ordered the Sergeant-Major to exchange some of the worst of our recruits' arms for *Fortress of Agra.* Oct. 26.



1803.

Fortress of
Agra.

the best of those remaining at the Great Mosque (Jumma Musjeed). Visited the works and arsenal with Colonel Blair, and ordered the Battalion stores to be removed immediately into the new magazine. Breakfasted this morning with Livesey in Maddoo Ghur. Livesey had the breach guard. After breakfast Weston, Forbes, Livesey and myself took our rifles and walked on the glacis in hopes of getting a shot at some of the alligators in the ditch, which constantly annoyed the sentries during the night. About eleven o'clock Wemyss came galloping down from the camp, and gave me the most pleasing information I had ever almost heard. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief had sent for Wemyss to his tent, and directed him to go to me in the garrison, to inform me that as I was so very desirous of accompanying him and the Army I should immediately address a letter to him (General Lake), and he would see what could be done. I was extremely gratified at this proof of his Excellency's recollection of me, and lost no time in addressing a letter to the Commander-in-Chief, and Wemyss was the bearer of it to his Excellency.

The General immediately sent for Captain Cumberlege, Major of Brigade, to his tent, and told him that as I was desirous to accompany the Army, he had better return to his appointment of Quarter-Master to the Regiment, as His Excellency wished to give me the Brigade Majorship of the 4th Brigade, to which Captain Cumberlege readily assented. This pleasant information was immediately transmitted to me from Wemyss in camp.

Nothing could have been more flattering to my feelings than this arrangement. When the order arrived in garrison, Colonel Blair presented it to me as my *death warrant*. The Colonel insisted on my remaining to dine in garrison with him, and ordered a sergeant's party to escort me to camp at night. Dispatched my tent and baggage to camp, as the Army was to march in the morning. Colonel Blair



was not displeased at my application to march with 1803.
the Army, though he rowed me a little for leaving *Fortress of*
him. We passed a very jolly evening, and at eleven *Agra.*
o'clock I left the garrison with my party. Called at
Livesey's post and took my leave of him as I went out
of the fort. My route to camp was through the
ravines, and it was rendered very unpleasant by the
horrid stench, and by stumbling about in the dark
among the bodies which still remained unburied and
lying as they did on the day of the storm of the
ravines, only in some degree devoured by the dogs
and birds of prey. The ravines were swarming with
jackals as we passed through them.



CHAPTER XVII.

March from Agra to Gwalior, including Battle of Lassuary.
October 27th, 1803, to December 31st, 1803.

1803.
OCT. 27.

*Grand
Army,
Camp near
Kerrouly.*

THIS morning I waited on Brigadier Powell at his tent, just in time to get some coffee before we moved off. The General beat at five and the Assembly at six o'clock in conformity to yesterday's orders. The country over which we marched this morning was very finely cultivated. The sun was exceedingly hot before we came to our ground, and I was dreadfully annoyed by the headache. Owing to some confusion among the baggage (as is generally the case the first day's march of an Army) our tents did not come to the ground till nearly an hour after us.

The troops this morning owing to our having been some considerable time encamped on our last ground, were so completely covered with flies that it was really almost impossible to discern the colour of their regimentals. They almost drove our horses mad by perpetually covering them and stinging them cruelly. We did not come to our ground to-day till ten o'clock.

On the march we learnt from some hircarabs (messengers) from the enemy's camp that they remained in force with thirteen Battalions and one hundred pieces of cannon within eighteen miles of us; and we expect a bloody action, perhaps to-morrow or the next day. The enemy's force by the best accounts amounted to at least twelve thousand men, well armed and clothed, and thoroughly disciplined, supported by as fine a train of Artillery as was ever carried into the field, and, formidable as they are, we hope soon to see them under British colours.

In going for orders to headquarters this afternoon Colonel Lake called to me as I passed his tent, and showed me the despatches received about an hour before with an account of General Wellesley's action



(Assaye). It appeared to have been a very bloody 1803. day, and a great number of officers fell. At one period the fate of the day seemed very dubious; the greater part of our Artillery was in possession of the enemy, but recovered by a timely charge of the Cavalry, and the enemy were eventually routed with great slaughter, all their guns, ammunition, tumbrils and colours taken. The result of this glorious affair, we trust, will prove a prelude to the result of our coming up with the enemy we are now in quest of. Colonel Lake informed me that Scindiah's Sirdars (Commandants) relied on beating us off with their Artillery, and there was no doubt of the determination to try the fate of another battle with us. Two days or three days more he supposed would bring us together. Returned and issued the Brigade orders in Brigadier Powell's tent. The pleasing news of General Wellesley's action put the Brigadier in high spirits. About five o'clock this evening the most severe hurricane came on I ever witnessed. The greater part of the tents in the line were smooth in five minutes, and nothing could exceed the scene of confusion occasioned by this unexpected salute. The thunder rolled tremendously, and the lightning was most vivid. It was accompanied by a deluge of rain that came down in torrents, and the tents blown down were soon nearly overwhelmed. It ran like a river through those remaining, drenching our beds and every particle of our clothes most completely. I dined with Anderdon, and we were absolutely necessitated to cut a trench round the table in the tent to draw off the water sufficiently to enable us to sit to eat our dinner, of which and a bottle of claret each we made an end about eleven o'clock.

*Grand
Army.
Camp near
Kerrouly.*

At daylight this morning the country appeared Oct. 28. completely inundated, and in consequence of the heavy fall of rain the men (who had been all night exposed to it) appeared miserably uncomfortable in

*Camp near
Kerrouly.*



1803.

*Camp near
Kerrouly.*

the lines. Their tents were nearly all blown down and swamped. The Commander-in-Chief passed the rear of our Brigade at daylight. We struck all the inner walls of our tents, and put them in the sun to dry. My classhies employed in repairing my camel's saddles. Breakfasted with Colonel Powell. At ten a.m. a general order came out for the Army to halt to-day, and I issued a Brigade order for all hackeries and wheeled carriages of every description to be removed from off the heavy ground into the road in readiness to move off without delay.

Oct. 29.

The Army marched this morning by the left, Cavalry in front. It was not without the greatest difficulty that we dragged on the heavy guns this march, the ground over which we moved was a complete slough, and the field pieces even were not easily drawn over it. The elephants this day were of the greatest use in assisting the heavy guns out of the mire. We arrived very late at our ground, and encamped about two miles to the northward of Siekri. Passed this morning the spot of ground on which Major Collins, Livesey, Marston and myself encamped about sixteen months ago. Breakfasted with my Brigadier, and at three went to headquarters for orders. The Army to march in the morning. Instead of finding an enemy here, as we were told, ready drawn up to receive us, we received information that they quitted Siekri two days before, and were retreating by rapid marches towards Scind'ah's country, and in the direction of Ougene, his capital.

Oct. 30.

The Army marched this morning, the Cavalry leading. A report this day that the enemy were two days before on our present ground of encampment. Our Brigade was ordered to bring up the Park. The weather cool and pleasant in consequence of the late heavy fall of rain.



Nothing particular occurred since we left the ground at Siekri till this morning. The General and Cavalry marched at one o'clock. The 2nd and 3rd Brigade of Infantry with the Brigade and Battalion field pieces, and our Brigade in charge of the Park. About sunrise we heard a most tremendous fire of cannon about six miles in front of the Infantry, and rightly concluded it was our Cavalry engaged with the enemy. Orders soon came for the line of Infantry to advance, and presently several horses came galloping towards our line without their riders. About eight o'clock the cannonade ceased. The line of Infantry still pushing on. At this time accounts met us of the Cavalry having made an unsuccessful attack on the enemy's guns; that the cannonade we had heard in front was that of the enemy. The Cavalry, we were told, were beaten off, and were then drawn up, out of reach of the enemy's fire, waiting our arrival with the Infantry. We were told the loss of our Cavalry had been great in officers and men. About eleven o'clock the attack with the Infantry commenced with great vigour. Our Brigade was drawn up in the rear for the protection of the Park, and when the 1st, 2nd and 3rd Brigades began the attack the enemy's Cavalry immediately came round to attack us, but were soon repulsed. The fire was extremely heavy, and particularly from the villages of Lassuary and Malpoorah. In about three hours the whole of the enemy's guns, tumbrils and colours were in our possession, although they cost us dear, as we had thirteen officers killed in the action and about forty wounded; among the former were General Ware, Colonel Vandeleur, poor Campbell, the Quarter-Master-General, Major Griffith, etc., etc.

1803.

Nov. 1.

*Camp near
Kerrouly.*

The Pioneers and Beldars employed the whole of this day in burying the dead. The officers who fell, thirteen in number, were buried at sunset this evening with all military honours. All the surgeons of the line

Nov. 2.



1803.

*Camp near
Kerrouly.*

ordered to the General Hospital tents to assist in dressing the wounded. All the doolies of the Army ordered to the head surgeons.

Nov. 6.

This morning the wounded men and captured guns left us to go immediately to Agra. A party of the 12th Regiment escorted them from our camp under the orders of Captain Wood of that Corps. Dined to-day with Raban of the Artillery.

Nov. 7.

This morning we marched, supposed by our direction, in pursuit of Holcar, who was said to be menacing an attack on our conquered country. There was some capital hog hunting this morning on the line of march, and the Commander-in-Chief did not object to officers quitting the line, a small proportion of each Corps, with the permission of Commanding Officers. Came to our ground about nine o'clock. Dined at headquarters to-day.

Nov. 14.

*Grand
Army,
Camp at
Putchouna.*

Continued marching in a southerly direction; nothing material occurred, good hog hunting daily, and they were the most delicious eating I ever met with. This was accounted for by there being an immense quantity of sugar cane in the country through which we passed, and on which, to the great discomfiture of the villagers, the hogs fed. The country was the Bhirt pore Rajah's, who without any hesitation took the head of any of the people who were detected killing the hogs. This day despatched to Colonel Scott at Lucknow an order from the Collector on the Paymaster-General for Rs. 4240, with directions for to have it put in the eight per cent. loan; my share of Agra prize money, at least part of it, and the first money I had ever realised.

Nov. 15.

This morning we marched at the usual hour; the General at five and Assembly at six o'clock, in the same order as yesterday. Soon after daylight one of the largest boars I ever saw crossed our line. He went directly at the bullocks dragging one of the



eighteen-pounders, and put the whole of them to rout, 1803. after which, in the most mischievous manner, he cut and attacked several camp followers. The alarm was soon given, and I changed my horse, and mounted on Major. The groom had my spear, as was customary, in his hand, and after him I went. Ford, Harris and several other officers joined me, and after a chase of nearly two miles, over very bad broken ground, full of wells and every other annoyance that an unsound country could afford, I came near him; he instantly turned and charged me. My spear entered just behind his shoulders, but he did not fall till he had got under my horse, and cut him in a most dreadful manner, and severing every sinew in his off leg behind. My stirrup leather was nearly cut through by his tusk. The moment he had effected this mischief, or rather in the act of doing it, he fell stone dead under the horse. A servant of Colonel Haldane's gave me some spirits to wash the horse's wounds, which we also sewed up, but found that he was completely ruined. Got him with much difficulty into camp, and gave him to a servant of Wemyss. In this horse I lost one of the best hunters in India, on which I seldom missed a hog. He was uncommonly bold, very active, and had a most excellent mouth. On further examination we found that there was a probability of the horse recovering the wound behind the girths in the flank, but the sinews were so completely torn that the horse must be lame for life. Mr. Burgh, the surgeon of the 14th, who was an excellent horse doctor, as well as a very clever man in other respects, dressed my horse, and gave me dressings for him.

*Grand
Army,
Camp at
Putchouna.*

We marched this morning at the usual time. The Nov. 16. roads very good, and the country remarkably well cultivated. Got to our ground about eleven o'clock; killed some hogs on the march to-day. Colonel Powell and self dined with the Commander-in-Chief; drank much wine.



1803.

Nov. 17.

*Camp at
Pehaisar.*

At break of day this morning the Army halted. Major Swinton, Campbell, Wemyss and myself left the camp to hog hunt. Wemyss mounted me on Lassuary, the name he gave the horse which he purchased at poor Campbell's (the Quarter-Master-General's) sale, and the same on which Campbell was killed in the action of the 1st. We remained out nearly all the day, but as we were strangers to the country, and did not know in what direction to go for hogs, we had but little sport. I never was carried in higher style than on this day, and Wemyss was delighted by the manner in which his new purchase went over the country. Campbell had brought this horse with him from Arabia; he was a real Desert Arab, and for beauty and powers exceeded any horse I had seen in India. Wemyss purchased him for £300, and he was thought a cheap horse. We had seven elephants from headquarters, and a great number of camels out with us to beat the sugar canes, but we fell in with but very few hogs. We returned, and made a late breakfast at Mercer's, agent to the Governor-General. Went at the usual hour for orders. Dined to-day with Macan, and we had a very pleasant day.

Nov. 18.

Breakfasted this morning at headquarters, stayed till nearly twelve o'clock with Colonel Lake in his tent. He recovered but very slowly of the wound he received on the 1st. It was a grape shot through him just above the knee; great fear is apprehended of his being always lame from the wound, as the tendons were much cut by the shot. Rode with Wemyss in the evening, and dined with General Lake, and, as is always the case at headquarters, drank a great deal of wine.

Nov. 21.

At four o'clock this morning rode out from the left of the line on an Arab of Wemyss's. We had a large party, and heard of hogs near our camp. Wallace,



Ridge, Shairpe, Gilbert, Bolieau, Rainey and Durant 1803.
joined us, and we found a boar in the first jungle (cover) we entered, which we killed after an excellent chase; he carried my spear, Wallace's and Wemyss's a considerable distance, sticking up straight in his back, before he fell, and made several charges with them in him. In the same jungle we afterwards found two more boars, which afforded us excellent sport, and both of which we killed. The ground was very bad, and very dangerous riding; there were several severe falls, but no material injury done. On our return to camp we saw a neil ghy (blue deer, very fleet, resembling a large deer), and it was a capital opportunity to try the speed and bottom of our Arabs. Wemyss, Wallace, Shairpe and I had a perfect race for full three miles before we came up with him. The ground was dangerous, and we were literally at speed the whole time, over several wells, and deep, broken ground; this was one of the most desperate things I ever saw attempted, and none but madmen would have tried it. Wallace had the first spear at him, and missed him. I speared him through the loins, and he staggered a few paces, and fell. Wemyss's spear went to his heart. There was scarcely ever an instance before known of a neil ghy being speared. They are full thirteen hands high, and at a small distance look like the large red deer sometimes seen in Devonshire, and which I had seen hunted by Sir Thomas Ackland's hounds, near Dulverton. They are of a light blue colour, with eyes and nostrils resembling those of a high-bred Arab horse. Got to camp in good time to write the general orders of the day, by which it appears that we are to halt here for some days longer.

*Camp at
Pehaisar.*

Macan and myself left our camp this morning at daybreak with the greyhounds. We had some good sport, but the ground was so excessively hard that the dogs could not bear more than a couple of courses

Nov. 22.



1803.

*Camp at
Pehaisar.*

each. Killed two brace of hares; returned and breakfasted with Macan on soused hog's head, which was delicious. The officers of the 8th (Colonel Powell's Corps) dined with us to-day, and as I was placed at the head of the table I was under the necessity of taking more wine than my usual quantity.

Nov. 23.

Left the camp this morning at four o'clock, to hog hunt. Wemyss, Wallace, Ridge, Boileau, Wilson, Bailey, Gilbert, Durant, Shairpe, Rainey and myself. We breakfasted under a tree at a village, and commenced hunting afterwards. In the course of three hours we killed four hogs, and knocked up some of our horses. During the last chase Shairpe's horse fell with him, bruised him much, and the horse got loose in the jungle, nor could we during three hours' searching for him, with all our servants mounted on the led horses, hear or see anything of him. The Commander-in-Chief, on hearing that an officer had lost his horse, desired that a party of the irregular troops might be sent in search of it. I dined at headquarters this evening, and the General enquired of Wemyss and myself if there was no danger to be apprehended of our being attacked in our hunting parties by the banditti which infested that part of the country, and told us, in future, always to apply to Gerard, the Adjutant-General, for a party as an escort when we went on those excursions. We passed a very pleasant day, and the whole party were quite mellow before we separated.

Nov. 25.

Rode in front an hour before breakfast this morning with Colonel Lake and Wemyss. Colonel Lake on a black Arab called Rockett, Wemyss on Lassuary, and myself on Collector; the former offered me two thousand rupees for Collector this morning.

Nov. 26.

The Army marched this morning, agreeable to the orders of yesterday. The roads remarkably firm, and



richly cultivated. Marched in a south-westerly 1803.
direction, and directly in a line for Jeypore. Wemyss, *Camp at*
single-handed, killed two large boars on the march *Helenah.*
to-day.

Mounted my horse this morning at sunrise, and Nov. 27.
went with Wemyss and Lumsdaine hog hunting. We
were unfortunate, and had but little sport. Returning,
we rode at a herd of antelope, but could make no hand
of them; they were too fleet even for our Arabs.
Breakfasted with Lumsdaine on wild hog, cold, and
pork chops; it was the finest meat I ever tasted, and
literally as white as snow. Went at three o'clock for
orders, and in the evening a large party of us rode to
the parade of the 12th to hear their band. Dined
to-day with Major Witherstone—this officer, though
no sportsman, kept half-a-dozen of the most beautiful
Europe bred terriers I ever saw; they were all pets,
and running about his tent. I had a fancy this
evening to walk to my tent, and, owing to the
stupidity of my servants, I lost my way, and found
myself at last in the Cavalry lines, at least two miles
from my tent. The fogs and smoke in an Indian
camp at this season of the year render it difficult,
after the night has set in, to find one's way from one
tent to another.

Went with Wemyss to a grass jungle in the vicinity Nov. 29.
of the camp to shoot peacocks with ball; killed a great
many. Macan, Philpot of the 27th Dragoons, and
another officer joined us with the greyhounds and
pack of terriers. We found hares in great abundance,
but the cover much too strong to course. An immense
boar got up, but, making immediately to a strong
jungle across the sandy bed of a river, he got off
before we could get near enough to give him a spear.

Left our camp an hour before daylight this Dec. 1.
morning, having sent off the servants and breakfast



1803.

*Camp at
Helenah.*

things during the night, and breakfasted at a village about five miles in the rear, after which we tried the sugar canes near the place, and found hogs in plenty. We had a capital day's sport, and killed everything we went after. While we were running a boar a very beautiful Arab of Durant's got from the groom's hand, and, coming loose at speed towards us, fell into a well, and unfortunately broke his back. We shot him on the spot.

DEC. 2.

Rode round the picquets with Colonel Lake and Wemyss this morning. Colonel Lake told me that we should change our ground immediately, heard also that accounts of a very favourable nature had been recently received from General Wellesley's Army, in the Decan. The Rajah of Jeypore expected in camp on a visit to the Commander-in-Chief. Dined with Brigadier Clarke.

DEC. 3.

Went before daybreak this morning with a large party to hog hunt. We assembled before daybreak at the headquarter lines, in Wemyss's tent. We had to-day some of the most severe chases I ever witnessed, and some very serious falls, owing to the badness of the ground, which was full of holes and wells, covered with jungle in such a way that neither man nor horse could see them till the accident had happened.

DEC. 6.

The Army marched this morning by the left. We arrived at our ground about ten o'clock. The country over which we marched this morning afforded but little cultivation, except near the villages. After breakfast I joined Wemyss in the headquarter lines, and we went off towards a range of beautiful hills about two miles in our front. Killed many partridges and two brace of hares. We were shooting in a fine dry grass cover when a herd of hogs got up before the dogs. Our grooms, horses and spears



were at our heels; we singled out two very large 1803.
boars, and separated, Wemyss after his hog and I in *Camp at Helenah.*
pursuit of mine. The ground was very full of
hillocks in the grass, and my horse came down on
his face before I had got him into his gallop, but I
recovered him, and the boar I was after took the line
to our camp. The arms being all piled in front of
Corps, the hog charged the sentry over a stack of
arms belonging to the 9th Regiment, upsetting the
whole; he made directly through the centre of the
camp, directly towards the Park, and passed head-
quarter lines, wounding several people desperately as
he went on, nor could I, owing to the tent ropes, guns
and people get a spear at him till he had got clear to
the rear, where I killed him within one hundred yards
of the Commander-in-Chief's tent, after a severe run
of at least three miles. Wemyss killed his hog near
one of the Infantry picquets. Dined with Macan, and
passed a very pleasant day; took lots of claret.

The Army marched this morning by the right,
baggage on the right. The General beat at six and *DEC. 7.*
the Assembly at seven o'clock. The roads good, and
the country well cultivated. Arrived at our ground
about ten. Wemyss and myself left the camp
immediately after breakfast to shoot; killed a great
deal of game, partridge, hares, peacocks, quail and
snipe.

The Army halted to-day, and after breakfast *DEC. 8.*
Wemyss and myself mounted our horses and rode
towards some hills on our left flank. We got into a *Camp at Koorkah.*
very strong jungle, in which the neighbouring
villagers told us there were tigers. In the midst of the
jungle we discovered a fine lake of water, and on its
borders we sprung an immense quantity of snipe as
we walked our horses along. This was one of the
most romantic spots I ever visited, and we resolved,
in the event of the Army halting a day, to return with



1803.

*Camp at
Koorkah.*

our guns in the morning. Breakfast was ready for us in my tent, and it was past twelve and very hot before we got to camp. At three I went for orders, and was much annoyed to find our schemes done away for the following morning, the Army being ordered to march.

DEC. 9.

We marched this morning by the left, baggage on the left. A fine range of hills on our right, and the country highly cultivated. The Commander-in-Chief passed in front of our Brigade on the line of march, and sent Wemyss to ask me to dine with him. Arrived at our ground about eleven o'clock, and pitched about three miles from the hills. Breakfasted, and had good shooting till nearly five o'clock. As it was late before I returned to camp, and the orderly hour was passed, Harris very kindly went to take the orders for me. Dined with the Commander-in-Chief to-day, a very pleasant and large party; a great deal of singing.

DEC. 10.

The Army halted to-day. Wemyss and self went out in front to shoot; killed in about three hours four brace of snipe, four and a half brace of quail, three brace of partridge, and after we had given up shooting and had mounted our horses to gallop into camp we discovered a very large boar feeding in some young corn. We had just left the spears with our servants, but we continued to keep sight of him, while my groom rode back for them, and as soon as the spears arrived we made towards him; at first he made a charge at us, without attempting to make off. I wounded him slightly in the neck, and while we were recovering our spears he made off across the plain, and ran two miles before we could come up with him; on our drawing near him he charged us again in a most desperate manner, and Wemyss, being nearest him, gave him his spear between his shoulders, where it stuck when he attacked me, and I met him and



lodged my spear directly in his forehead; he staggered a few paces, and fell quite dead. The spear was full five inches in his skull, and it was with some difficulty that we drew it out. We hired some villagers to bring him into camp. His size was immense, and from the length of his tusk we imagined him to be of a very ancient family. The country over which we ran this boar was the finest possible, all young corn, less than a foot in height. Sent the Commander-in-Chief our hog, and dined with Macan.

1803.
*Camp at
Koorhah.*

Rode out in front this morning with Macan; we had our greyhounds, and found a hare immediately on the skirts of our camp. We had a capital course, but I was very unfortunate in laming Collector. Wemyss sent me Lassuary, one of his Arabs, to ride while my own horse remained lame. The Bhirtpore Rajah, with about three thousand soldiers in attendance, came into camp. The headquarter line was so much crowded by those people that it was with difficulty we got to the office tent for orders. His Excellency returned the Rajah's visit about five in the evening. An extra dram served out to all the Europeans in camp this afternoon. Anderdon and self went with our pistols this evening to a village in the rear, and amused ourselves with firing at a mark.

DEC. 11.
*Grand
Army,
Camp at
Nameedah.*

The Army marched this morning by the left. On the line of march we discerned the famous gateway at Futtypore Seekrie, and about nine o'clock we encamped, having gone through a pass in the hills, which we left about two miles.

DEC. 12.
Mil. 13.

Wemyss and self had a snug breakfast at my tent this morning, after which we took our guns and rode quietly to a jow jungle about three miles to the northward of our encampment. Saw a good deal of game, and many hogs, but the cover was much too strong to ride them, as we could scarcely see each other on

DEC. 13.
*Grand
Army,
Camp at
Rhemidah.*



1803.

*Grand
Army,
Camp at
Rhemidali.*

horseback. On the skirts of the jungle we killed five brace of partridge and four and a half brace of hares. Saw Futtypore very plainly. We returned to camp about three o'clock, and I went as usual for my orders. This evening Colonel Lake informed me it was very probable that our Brigade (the 4th) would march shortly to Gwalior. This place is thought to be one of the strongest in the world, and styled the "Gibraltar of India."

DEC. 14.

This morning at seven o'clock the right wing of the Army, commanded by General St. John, paraded for exercise, and our Brigade was under arms at the same time for the inspection of General Fraser, who rode down the line and passed in the rear, and expressed his entire approbation of the "veteran-like appearance of the whole"; dismissed the line.

DEC. 15.

This morning the recruits of the different Corps in the line were out at target practice in the rear of the Hindustanee Cavalry, under the range of hills we passed the last day's march. Brigadier Powell requested me to wait on the Adjutant-General and mention to him the state of the Brigadier's health, which daily grew worse. The Commander-in-Chief immediately gave him two months' leave, and permission to leave the Army whenever he thought proper. I was much concerned at parting with him, as I liked him exceedingly; he was a good soldier, and an excellent man.

DEC. 16.

At daylight this morning Brigadier Powell left camp, and Colonel White, well known in the Army by the appellation of "The God of War," was appointed to succeed him. No officer in the Indian Army is more esteemed as a gallant active officer than Colonel White, and to his meritorious exertions on the night of the 6th of February, when our Army stormed Tippoo's lines at Seringapatam, was attri-



buted the saving of Lord Cornwallis, and H.M. 74th 1803. Regiment, as stated in the account of Tippoo's War. After having received my orders at headquarters, I waited on my new Brigadier, to whom I was by Anderdon introduced. We found him completely equipped, sworded and sashed, as if he had been prepared for a night's duty in the trenches. He received me with much *pomp* and politeness, and I issued the Brigade orders at his tent, after which Anderdon and self went to the parade of the Dismounted Dragoons. Dined with Shairpe at the mess of the 12th Regiment.

Grand Army, Camp at Rhemidah.

The Brigade paraded for exercise this morning at gunfire. We advanced in line, and in open column of Companies; changed front by echelon; returned by files in quick time, and wheeled into line, when I was desired to order Company Officers of Corps to dismiss their respective parades. Wemyss came to me after the parade was dismissed, and told me that the Commander-in-Chief was going out to shoot, and that he was desirous I should accompany him. Breakfasted at headquarters, and, just as we were setting out, despatches arrived, which prevented his Excellency from going out. Colonel Clinton, Wemyss, Rose, Martin and myself went, and we had a famous morning's sport; killed eighteen hares, twelve brace of black partridge, two hogs and several brace of quail. Wemyss and myself dismounted from the elephants and got on our horses when we found the hogs, and killed one each.

Dec 18.

Harris took the general orders for me to-day. Dined with General Lake this evening, and his Excellency greatly lamented that he had not accompanied us. Drank a good deal of wine.

Agreeable to yesterday's general orders, our Brigade moved out from the line this morning at sunrise, and encamped near the village of Senedy,

DEC. 21.

Camp near Senedy.



1803.

*Camp near
Senedy.*

about two miles in front of the Army and on the Gwalior road. Marched with the Brigade to its new ground, after which I accompanied the Brigadier back to breakfast at headquarters; when we took our leave of the Commander-in-Chief, and Brigadier White received his instructions. We returned to our camp in the forenoon, and all the officers of the Brigade dined with us, and we passed a very pleasant evening, all in high spirits. Issued orders for the detail of guards, picquets, etc., and to march in the morning at half-past five.

DEC. 22.

Mil. 9.

*Camp at
Seepow.*

This morning the General beat at five and the Assembly half-an-hour after, when we moved off by the right. We were soon out of sight of the Grand Army. The country through which we marched to-day was well cultivated, and the roads were good. We arrived at our ground about nine o'clock; our encampment was on broken ground, with the ruins of an old fort in our rear. A large party of officers of the Detachment breakfasted with us this morning, and the Brigadier desired that I would live with him at headquarters, and make his tent my home.

DEC. 23.

Mil. 11.

*Camp at
Fulehgong.*

The Brigade marched this morning at six o'clock, and arrived at its ground about ten. The road pretty good, and tolerably level; less cultivation than yesterday. Brigadier White received a note to-day from Mr. Mercer, who was encamped about six miles in our rear, and very anxious to join us. Mr. Mercer accompanied the Brigade as having full powers to treat and make settlements in the conquered provinces, in the capacity of "Governor-General's Agent"; he was Mr. Wellesley's adviser in making the settlements in the country ceded to us by the Nawab of Lucknow in 1800, of which Mr. Wellesley was appointed Lieutenant-Governor.



At ten o'clock we beat the General, and immediately after the Assembly, and marched off by the right. About eleven o'clock we entered a pass in a fine range of hills, and soon got clear of it. The country well cultivated, with fine mango groves in abundance. After leaving the pass we marched in a south-westerly direction, keeping the hills on our right and the fort of Dholepore about two miles on our left. Dholepore was in possession of the enemy, and we expected they would have tried some heavy guns at our column as we passed, but they did not molest us. About one we arrived near the banks of the Chumbill, the passes near which are uncommonly strong, and with a few good troops might be defended against almost any force. A small party which we had ordered to cross the river in front of the advanced guard returned and informed us that the pass on the opposite side of the river was occupied by the enemy, and that the ravines were full of men. I offered my services to dislodge them, and the Brigadier desired me to take the command of the advanced guard, and to cross the river, while he halted the Column on the Dholepore banks. I primed and loaded, and at the head of the guard crossed the river; a body of armed men made their appearance the moment we entered the ravines, and a small party of them advanced unarmed, and I soon learnt that they were part of the few men of the enemy who escaped in the action of the 1st November at Lassuary, and came to offer their services to us. I sent an officer to the Brigadier to report the circumstance to him, and the Column crossed immediately. The Brigadier soon dismissed those men, not having any authority from the Commander-in-Chief to take them into our service.

On the Gwalior side of the Chumbill the ravines exceeded anything I ever saw, and it was with the greatest labour and difficulty that we dragged the guns up some of the precipices with the assistance of the soldiers at the drag ropes. The road was so

1803.

DEC. 24.

Camp.
Banks of
Chumbill,
near
Chitry
Ghaut.



1803.

*Camp,
Banks of
Chumbill,
near
Chitry
Ghaut.*

narrow as barely to admit a gun to pass, and flanked by defiles which made it excessively strong, and, if defended, would be perfectly inaccessible. The Brigadier marched on, and encamped the Brigade about three miles from the top of the ravines, and I remained with Lieutenant Morris, an Artillery officer, to see all the guns clear of the pass. It was late before we got into camp, and as the guns detained the baggage in the pass our tents did not come up till near sunset. Brigadier White, Mercer, Campbell, Marishall and self took post under a large tree while our tents were pitching. Issued the Brigade orders, and dined with Harris of the 14th.

DEC. 25.

*Camp at
Jettour,
Banks of
the River
Chumbill.*

The Brigade halted to-day, and it being Christmas Day, extra batta was served out to the Europeans in our camp; here we procured a good supply of flour and grain. The land was poor and thinly cultivated, except on spots near the villages. Received letters to-day by an express from the Grand Army, from Wemyss and Maling; the former gave me information of the arrival of the "Tigress" and three Company's ships from England, and sent me the heads of intelligence brought out by them. Dined at home to-day, and the Brigadier gave an immense dinner to nearly all the officers off duty in camp. We sat up late, and drank a good deal of claret; a great number of songs were sung, and we parted at a late hour.

DEC. 26.

MIL. 13.

*Camp at
Barokah.*

The Brigade marched this morning by the right, baggage on the right. A finely cultivated country the first part of the morning; the latter part of the morning through deep ravines and broken ground, which, with a small river that we crossed, greatly impeded our progress. Arrived at our ground at eleven o'clock. I rode to a village on our left flank on an alarm being given that the camp followers were plundering it, and with a guard rescued the property of the villagers, and several of the villains were



punished in the act of pillaging those helpless people. 1803.
Many others were brought to a drumhead Court Martial, and punished in a most exemplary manner. *Camp at Barokah.*

We marched this morning at six o'clock. The roads very level and fine, and the country crossed mostly with grain. About eight we crossed a small river, the banks of which were very steep, and we had much difficulty in dragging up the twelve-pounders. At ten we arrived at Noorabad, a decent town, but thinly inhabited, to the southward of which we encamped, about ten miles from Gwalior. At Noorabad are the ruins of a fine bridge, at this time barely passable for people on foot. The Brigade marched over it, but the guns, tumbrils and heavy stores, with the carriages of every description, went a circuitous road to the right, and passed through the water, which was quite shallow at this season. *Dec. 27. Mil. 13. Camp near Noorabad.*

The Brigade marched this morning at seven by the left. The country quite barren, and the soil very dry and sandy. The rains during the wet season seem to have lodged on the greater part of this neighbourhood. At sunrise we saw the fort of Gwalior towering among the clouds, and as we drew nearer it appeared an amazing strong place, very extensive, and the rock perpendicular on all sides as far as the eye could reach. About nine o'clock we crossed a small river, and encamped. We pitched our camp at about the distance of four miles from the fortress, with the village of Suserara in our rear, and the river on our right flank. The people (inhabitants) from the town of Gwalior sent in a paper entreating that their lives and property might be spared. The Brigadier returned them every assurance of his protection as soon as we should gain possession of the city. Some spies of ours came from the garrison this morning with information that a nephew of Amboojee's (Raganauth Rhow) was in the fort, and that they were *Dec. 28. Camp near Suserara.*



1803.

*Camp near
Suserara.*

mounting fresh guns on the rampart, and making every precaution to defend the place to the last extremity. A strong body of Horse was reported to be encamped under the walls of the town, and within range of shot from the fort.

Received letters from camp stating that the Commander-in-Chief was moving in the direction of Jeypore; they also stated that a groom of Mr. Higgin's of the European Regiment was murdered near the camp, and the horse taken away. The servant was conducting his master's horse to camp after hog hunting. The Brigadier desired me to issue an order requesting Commanding Officers of Corps to caution their men against going without the limits of the camp. A man confined in one of the Battalion quarter guards this morning for drawing his sword and threatening to murder a Sepoy of the 18th. A paper arrived in camp mentioning that Lord Nelson had captured thirteen sail of French merchantmen, having on board £200,000 in specie; this intelligence said to have arrived with the "Tigress." A report that Holcar had put to death every European serving in his army, and which, from his sanguinary disposition, it is feared is too likely to be true. The intentions of that Chieftain towards us still unknown. The Brigadier sent a summons to the garrison to surrender the place, which they declined in a spirited and soldier-like manner, declaring their determination sooner to be buried in its ruins, and the Brigadier assured me seriously that he believed the place would cost us a good deal of blood, and that many officers and men would fall before it would be in our possession. Many of the officers rode a considerable distance in front this evening, which the Brigadier desired me to put a stop to in future, by issuing an order to that effect, directing them not to go without the picquets. Wrote a long letter to the Adjutant-General this evening, stating the determination of the garrison to fight, and our preparation to attack them without



delay. Went a long way in front with the Brigadier 1803.
this afternoon, and with our glasses we plainly
perceived them cutting embrasures and mounting *Camp at*
guns innumerable on the western face (the only part *Suserara.*
accessible on account of the immense height of solid
rock which cannot be scaled). The Brigadier and
myself dined with Stuart this evening.

Ordered a foraging party to accompany the cattle DEC. 29.
this morning for forage. Two men punished for
plundering a village near our camp. Some spies came
in this morning with information that the garrison
consisted of three thousand fighting men (many more
than our Detachment altogether). Two guns, not
shotted, and pointed at our camp, were fired from the
garrison about nine this morning. It was reported
to us that about eight hundred of the enemy were
posted at the different gateways in the town of
Gwalior, at which were mounted some guns. We
determined on attacking the town without delay, and
the Brigadier desired me to arrange a party for that
purpose. I proposed four Grenadier and five Battalion
Companies with two six-pounders for the attack,
which was approved of, and I issued an order for all
officers and Sepoys to remain in their lines ready to be
under arms at the shortest notice. We had a report
that General Lake was moving towards Agra. This
evening some circumstances occurred which induced
us to defer the attack on the town for a day or two, as
the Commander-in-Chief directed that we should wait
the result of another letter from Amboojee, who, like a
true Mahratta, was assuring the General of his having
given strict orders for the surrender of the fortress, at
the very time we were intercepting his letters,
directing the garrison to fight to the last, and never
surrender it to the English, and promising them
further supplies of men and money immediately; this,
of course, we lost no time in communicating to head-
quarters, and forwarded the intercepted letters.



1803.

*Camp at
Suserara.*

Amboojee remained in the fort of Narwar, distance from Gwalior about thirty miles, from whence he kept up a regular communication with that place.

Dec. 30.

Accounts from Wemyss this morning informed me that the Army had been moving in the direction of Jeypore—adding also that the Commander-in-Chief had received letters from Holcar, expressing himself in terms of friendship and peace towards the English, but his sincerity was much doubted. From the garrison we have every reason to expect a formidable resistance. Went after breakfast to reconnoitre the place, but a body of the enemy's Horse menaced our small party, and we did not go beyond a range of gardens, about half cannon shot distance from the fortress. Notwithstanding the solicitations of the town people to give them protection, very few came near us, and the city gates were reported to be guarded and made fast. This afternoon we had intelligence that Raganauth Rhow was dismantling the town and carrying off some of the light guns on field carriages. We much lamented that the limited time for commencing hostilities not having expired prevented our attacking him. The garrison to-day sent in a messenger saying that if Amboojee ordered them to surrender they were determined to throw off their allegiance and to defend the fortress. Dined at home to-day. The Brigadier particularly anxious to take the town. Our ally the Ranee of Gohud with a parcel of ragamuffin troops encamped about two miles from us this evening.

Dec. 31.

This morning the Ranee of Gohud paid the Brigadier a visit; he came in all the pomp of war, and attended by near one thousand followers, armed. I was desired to attend. After having gone through the usual forms of embracing, etc., etc., and remaining about an hour, His Highness took his leave, and went to his own camp. He appeared about thirty-five years



of age, of a sensible countenance, though owing to his 1803.
mode of life for many years past he was extremely
awkward, having lived mostly in the jungles, hunting *Camp at*
and shooting, of which he seemed very fond. He was *Susarara.*
much pleased with our reception of him, and we made
him a present of an elephant and a double-poled tent.



CHAPTER XVIII.

Siege of Gwalior.

January 1st, 1804, to February 4th, 1804.

1804.

JAN. 1.

*Camp at
Susurara.*

AT break of day this morning the Brigadier, the Quarter-Master of Brigade (Stewart) and myself left camp, determined to reconnoitre the town and fort of Gwalior. We took a strong party with us, and posted them out of reach of shot from the fort to cover us in reconnoitring. They opened their guns upon us the moment we got within range of shot. We pushed on at speed, under a smart cannonade, to a large garden within four hundred yards of the wall; a place well calculated for our purpose. Here we were concealed by the shrubs and trees, though not sheltered from the shot, and they kept up a hot fire of round and grape all the time we were making our observations, and committing to paper some essential observations regarding the entrance of the town, and the road to it. We had all many narrow escapes whilst performing this hazardous service, and as on leaving the garden called the Begum's Bhaug (or Queen's Garden) we were again necessarily quite exposed, many shot threw the particles of stone over us, and my horse was wounded above the hock by a grape. We got safe back to our escort and to camp without any further mischief. I was well assured this morning that the many accounts I had heard of the gallantry of the Brigadier, and the numerous instances recorded of his personal courage and zeal did not exceed his merit, and he remained for full half-an-hour exposed to a smart fire of cannon and not at all covered, making his remarks with exceeding coolness and deliberation. Many of the trees were cut to pieces by the shot whilst we were standing under them. In a letter to the Commander-in-Chief, which the Brigadier, as usual, showed me, he was so good as to



mention both Lieutenant Stewart and myself in terms 1804.
very gratifying to us. The officers in camp having *Camp at*
observed a heavy fire from the fortress, many were *Suserata.*
assembled at headquarters anxiously waiting the
result, and we had a very large party at breakfast.
The Brigadier told me this morning, in confidence,
that nothing should prevent his attacking the town
either to-morrow or the following morning.

Changed ground this morning to within two and a *JAN. 2.*
half miles of the town, and after having reinforced the *Before*
picquets with a Grenadier Company, I advanced them *Gwalior.*
to a village on the border of the town. We were
cannonaded all the way to the post, and lost some
men, but the village afforded good cover for the party
when we arrived there, though the fort kept up a
heavy but ineffectual fire on the post all day. Having
stationed the picquets, and given the senior officer his
instructions, I returned to camp, and the Brigadier
told me that he had resolved on getting possession of
the town that night. All the day the fire continued
heavy on the picquet, and they threw a few shots into
our camp. At sunset I paraded four Companies of
the 16th Regiment, and with them and two six-
pounders reinforced the advanced picquet; composing
altogether four Companies of Grenadiers, five
Battalion Companies and two six-pounders. At dark
we paraded the party, primed and loaded, and with
good guides advanced towards the town under cover
of the evening. The Brigadier himself at the head of
the column. We left our horses at the village, with
orders to bring them to the town when the firing
should cease. On foot I found my scabbard very
incommodious, and though with much reluctance,
having brought it with me from England and often
carried it on the more peaceable parade of Yeovil, I
was necessitated to throw it away. At the first and
second gates of the town they opposed to us very little
resistance; their principal stand was at the last gate



1804.

*Before
Gwalior.*

(the gate of the choke or entrance up to the fort). The Brigadier gave me orders, on forcing this gate, to follow the enemy, if we found it practicable, into the fort. A very narrow road led up to the last gate, and we were assailed by a heavy fire of musketry; many of our men fell, and there was scarcely a man left at the drag ropes of the six-pounder in front. With great difficulty we succeeded in carrying the gun up to the gate, and nothing could exceed the gallantry of the troops; the lane was so narrow that we could not form to return their fire. The first round from the gun tore the gate very much, and another shot made a way for us. At this time a shot passed through my boot, and grazed my knee, and I also received a severe blow on the shoulder from either a spent shot or a stone thrown from the top of one of the houses, neither of which I felt much at the moment. We drove those who escaped into the fort, but notwithstanding our rushing on to the fort gate instantly on forcing that of the choke (an outwork from the gate), we found it shut, and in fastening it so very hastily many of their own people had not time to get in, and were bayoneted by us. We immediately formed the leading Companies and brought our guns and tumbrils into the choke. We found ourselves immediately underneath the rock, and soon saw lights moving in every direction on the ramparts, which convinced us of their being in great confusion and at a loss where to direct their fire. After we had been about an hour in this post one of the most grand spectacles I ever witnessed was presented. The rock was several hundred yards in height, and in order to get a sight of us they illuminated the ramparts with blue lights, thrown out and suspended on strong bamboos. The reflection on the steep and rugged side of the rock had a most magnificent and grand appearance, and we saw them crowding on the walls, but as it was too far for our musketry we did not fire on them. The light was so effectual that on the



ground the smallest object was visible, and we were 1804.

obliged to cover our guns (which with the reflection of the light on the brass would otherwise have been visible to the enemy) with some of the men's clothes. They continued a straggling fire of musketry the whole night, and the moon, rising about midnight, showed us several outworks, and convinced us that the post at daylight would not be tenable for so many men, and it also was commanded completely by one angle of the fort. The tumbrils and ammunition were, therefore, immediately ordered to be lodged in secure places in the town, concealed from the view of the fort. I wrote a letter to Colonel MacCulloch, whom we left commanding in camp, directing him to march into the town with the remaining troops and baggage, and to join us. Sent guides to him. Remained all night under arms, expecting a sally from the garrison, and resolved to endeavour to enter with them into the fort if they attempted to attack.

*Before
Gwalior.*

At five in the morning Colonel MacCulloch relieved us, and at daylight the fire from the fort increased so much, and we had so many men killed and wounded, that we withdrew such from the choke as could not be well covered, and posted a gun and a strong party at the gateway, with about one hundred men in the choke, disposed in a manner best to screen them from the musketry of the enemy's outworks. The Brigadier ordered me to march the troops which had been all night under arms, and engaged, to the best post I could find for them in the town, and I directed them to pile their arms in a dry nullah, which led through the centre of the town. The men who fell during the night and morning were buried the moment the troops had lodged their arms. The nullah was not more than musket shot distance from the bottom of the rock, but so deep that they could not discern the troops. I wrote a letter on the Service to Colonel Taylor, commanding the Lahaar division of the Bundelcund Army, directing him to join us with all practicable expedi-



1804.

*Before
Gwalior.*

tion, without distressing his troops. A very heavy fire of cannon and musketry kept up on us the whole of the day. The Brigadier ordered that his tent and men should be pitched in the bed of the nullah, and about twelve o'clock we got a little breakfast. They had discovered the tops of our tents from the ramparts, and soon brought some guns to bear on them. A heavy shot struck immediately between our tents, and a second at the same moment cut the ropes of the Brigadier's tent, and we had nearly got it down on our heads; this obliged us to strike the tents, and we finished our breakfast in the sun near the banks.

Issued an order for a return of casualties to be sent immediately to my office. Visited the different posts this afternoon, and made some necessary arrangements with the troops for the mutual support of each other in case of an attempt to dislodge us from the town, of the probability of their accomplishing which we were not at all apprehensive. We dined about nine o'clock under the fly of my tent, and for the first time since we entered the town laid down with our clothes on.

JAN. 4.

At two o'clock this morning I paraded the 16th Regiment, and marched them to the relief of Colonel MacCulloch, which we completely effected before break of day, and thereby saved many lives. MacCulloch's Battalion was ordered to take up post in the street leading up to the western gate of the choke, and the Brigadier and self, with Stewart, took up our quarters in a Hindoo place of worship, close to the gate of the choke which we stormed. About eight we visited MacCulloch's post, with a small escort to conduct us through the different streets; we were fired on from the enemy's outworks, and two men and my orderly were wounded before we reached the post. Sent off the return of casualties which occurred in our attack of the choke on the night of the 2nd. We lost thirty-one men killed and wounded, but for-



Unfortunately no officer fell. I still found it difficult to 1804.
walk, from the slight wounds I received on my knee, *Before*
but my services were required, and I was obliged, on *Gwalior.*
horseback, to make the best of it; though the shot but
slightly grazed my knee, it swelled considerably and
gave me much pain. The Brigadier most kindly
insisted that I should not use so much exertion for the
present. In the evening I visited our different posts
on horseback, and as many of the streets were com-
pletely exposed, both to the fire of the fort and the
different outworks, I was constantly fired upon, but,
passing pretty swiftly, I escaped unhurt. Got some
little rest to-night, but, as usual, with our clothes on.
A constant fire all night from the garrison.

The different posts stood fast this morning, a hot JAN. 5.
fire of cannon and musketry on us all the day.
Lieutenant Sterling wounded, and a great many men
killed and wounded. At noon I mounted the horse I
purchased of Weston, and went with orders to the
different posts. Dispatched messengers to Colonel
Taylor and Major Don, directing them to push on
and join us with all practicable expedition without
distressing too severely the troops under their com-
mand. Many soldiers killed and wounded to-day by
the fire from the garrison, which laid part of the town
in ruins, and killed also several of the poor
inhabitants. Gave "Goodford" for the parole to-day,
in honour of my friends at Yeovil. In crossing from
one post to another with Stewart this evening we were
fired upon by a party of the enemy; who seemed to
have been posted there on purpose for us. A ball
passed through the skirts of Stewart's coat, and my
orderly, who was at my heels, was badly wounded;
they were so close to us, and fired such a shower of
ball, that it was surprising either of us escaped.
Dined at our new quarters, and drank a cheerful glass
of the Brigadier's claret. A heavy fire all night
without any serious loss, except a few men wounded.



1804.

*Before
Gwalior.*

Our quarters (the Brigadier's, Stewart's and my own) were close under an outwork of the enemy, and we were constantly all night amused with the cracking of their musketry. We were so close that they could not bring guns to bear on us.

JAN. 6.

With the Brigadier I visited our different posts at three this morning, and made some new arrangements in order to give the troops an opportunity to join speedily and assist each other in case of an attack from the garrison.

The fire from the fortress somewhat slackened to-day, and we lost but few men killed or wounded. Wrote to the Adjutant-General. As soon as the evening set in I went with an Artillery officer to examine a subterranean passage, said to communicate with Baddle Gur, the principal of the enemy's outworks; we found that it led towards the works, and ordered some miners and pioneers, under an officer, to continue mining on. Ordered a party of the Prince of Gohud's troops to block up a well to the southward of the garrison, from which the enemy was reported to receive considerable supplies of water. A report that two hundred men reinforced the garrison before day-break this morning and in the night. I posted a strong party of the Prince's troops in a position to completely prevent anything of the kind in future; in performing this duty I was discovered from the ramparts, and the garrison, suspecting that we were reconnoitring for the purpose of making an attack, commenced a very heavy fire, and I was under the necessity of drawing off the men under cover, with the loss of some of them, and posted them in the rear of a mosque, which completely commanded the wicket through which it was said the reinforcements entered the garrison. Wrote to Colonel MacCulloch on my return, directing him to join us by the nearest route, in case of any attack on our post during the night, in order to support us. Received a letter by express from



Thornhill at Bareilly, and sent a return of killed and wounded to the Adjutant-General. Got very little rest this night. 1804.
*Before
Gwalior.*

Left our post at six this morning with Brigadier White to reconnoitre the south face of the fort. They opened some guns on us the moment we were discovered, which did not, however, prevent our pushing up to musket shot distance of the rock, which was for the most part perpendicular, and the walls and ramparts all in good repair. Many cannon shot went over us and fell near us on our return, but happily without doing us any injury. Having in the course of the last night thrown up traverses in the choke, which enables us to pass tolerably secure under cover from the east to the western gate, we withdrew some of the men, a smaller number being capable of defending the post, and the duty on the troops becoming very heavy. The Brigadier received a letter to-day from the Adjutant-General, mentioning the Commander-in-Chief's intention of sending battering guns, also another Battalion of Sepoys and Flankers of an European Regiment to our aid. Visited the different posts with the Brigadier this evening. Though within half pistol shot of the enemy's works, we ate our dinner very snugly under cover, without their being able to annoy us notwithstanding their keeping up a perpetual fire of musketry on the spot, and dozens of balls were picked up every morning which had struck in the square of our quarters and flattened against the walls. It was fortunately so near that heavy guns could not be brought to bear on us. Some men killed and wounded to-day. JAN. 7.

Another letter from the Adjutant-General this morning stated that four eighteen-pounders, some twelve's, and a Battalion with the European Flankers under Major McCleod, the whole under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Ashe, were under marching JAN. 8.



1804.

*Before
Gwalior.*

orders to join us for the reduction of the place. Stewart and myself left the town at three this morning to reconnoitre the north-west face of the rock, and at the same time to fix on ground for the encampment of the Lahaar Detachment. On our return, as usual, some guns opened upon us, but neither ourselves or a man of our escort was injured by their fire. On reaching the town I received a letter on Service from Colonel Taylor, advising me of his intention of joining us on the 10th. Commenced to-day cutting materials for the Batteries, ordered all the public cattle to be daily employed to assist in bringing them in. Gave orders to the Artillery officers to superintend the making of fascines and gabions.

JAN. 9.

At eleven this morning we were joined by Taylor's Detachment from Lahaar. We encamped them on the north-east face of the fortress, just without reach of cannon shot from the garrison. Ordered Colonel Taylor to march in the morning to-morrow at three o'clock, and to take up a position on the south-west face. All the Beldars and Lascars employed to-day in making fascines and gabions for our Batteries. At three this afternoon the Brigadier, Morris of the Artillery, and myself mounted our horses for the purpose of reconnoitring that part of the rock battered in former days by Scindiah (but without effect). At Acbar's Battery (the traces of an entrenchment and battery said to have been erected by Acbar Shah some centuries ago) we dismounted, and were soon discovered, when some heavy cannon were brought to bear upon us, but we made such observations as we thought requisite before we quitted the post. On our return we mistook our road, and entered a street in the town which ran directly under an outwork of the enemy's; it was too late to retreat; before we could turn our horses they discovered us, and we had nothing for it but to push on, and most wonderful it was that we passed nearly three hundred



yards, close under the wall, and quite exposed to the 1804.
fire of the enemy, without receiving any injury. The *Before*
Brigadier's horse was wounded, and a musket shot *Gwalior.*
passed through the flounce of my holsters, and
through the pommel of my saddle without wounding
either the horse or myself.

The Brigadier expressed his concern for having
carried us incautiously into such danger, when it
might have been avoided, and declared his astonish-
ment that we all escaped. Lieutenant Morris dined
with us at headquarters, and we much enjoyed a bottle
of claret. A smart fire all night from the garrison.

This morning at daybreak I left the town with the *JAN. 10.*
Brigadier, in order to inspect Colonel Taylor's
position; found him encamped under a range of hills,
on ground that had been pointed out to him by the
Quarter-Master of Brigade. Ordered three Companies
from the 18th Regiment and one from the 11th to
parade at five this evening, and at six marched them
off towards the south-western point of the rock, to
establish a post there. We arrived undiscovered
within three hundred yards of the ramparts, and by
deepening some approaches which had formerly been
made by Scindiah when he besieged Gwalior we
covered in the party by three in the morning, and left
the post in command of Major Palmer of the 11th
Regiment. The picquets of the 11th and 18th were
ordered down to support the four Companies under
Palmer; dispatched a letter to the Adjutant-General.

At daylight this morning a smart fire of musketry *JAN. 11.*
opened on Palmer's (the advanced) post, but the
distance was rather too great for it to have much
effect. Major Palmer wrote to me to request that
under cover of the evening some gabions and fascines
might be sent down in order to throw up a shoulder
to his entrenchment, as the enemy brought a gun
which nearly enfiladed him. This morning, in



1804.

*Before
Gwalior.*

passing from one post to another, a very favourite Orderly Sergeant of the Brigadier's, who accompanied us, was shot. The Brigadier was exceedingly hurt at the loss of this man, as he had distinguished himself on many occasions, and particularly in the Battle of Lassuary, when he carried off the Brigadier, who was severely wounded in the action. I met my friend and shipmate, Mr. Ross, this morning; he came with the 18th, of which Corps he was the surgeon. Mr. Ross called at my quarters, but I had merely time to shake him by the hand.

A report that a large body of troops are on the point of moving against us from Narwar, for the purpose of raising the siege, but we were under no apprehension of the result, and the Brigadier resolved to march out and give them battle as soon as they may approach, and I was directed to keep the Corps as much together as possible, and to have everything in readiness to move out at the shortest notice. Ameer Khan, with 20,000 Horse, said to be marching towards the Bundelcund Detachment.

Dined early this evening, and at seven o'clock Brigadier White, Major Don, Stewart and myself left Taylor's camp, to examine a post for Don's Battalion. We rode close under the rock for a considerable distance, and could distinctly hear them talking on the ramparts, but the night was excessively dark, and the enemy could not perceive us; they heard our horses, and fired some shot at random at us. Our only escort was a Havildar and twelve from the picquet. Fixed on a spot for Don's Battalion near the north-western point of the rock, in a nullah surrounded by gardens, in one of which stood a beautiful temple and a place of worship. Ours was a very gloomy excursion through the buildings, and we discovered a fine bolee (extensive kind of well with flights of steps and lodgments, one storey above another, with elegant apartments). Issued orders for Taylor's camp to be struck at three in the morning; his Corps to march to