



the Serie (square) to the east of the choke, and Don's 1804. to the gardens and bolee. An irregular fire of musketry and at times a shot at Palmer's post the greater part of the night. It was two o'clock before we arrived at the choke, where we had ordered our cots.

*Before
Gwalior.*

The enemy, having this morning at daybreak discovered Major Don's post, commenced a heavy fire of cannon on him, and several of his men were killed and wounded. At eight o'clock I visited Don's post; the officers were getting their breakfast on one of the buildings, and as I was delivering the Brigadier's orders to Don, who was sitting at breakfast, a twelve-pound shot came through the dome of the building, brought down lots of brick and mortar, broke everything on the table; several officers were slightly struck by the pieces of the wall, and the shot passing through the second wall killed the man standing sentry near the entrance. They were obliged to move out instantly, and in an hour the place was levelled to the ground by shot. It appeared that they suspected the officers had assembled in this place. On returning, my orderly, a fine young man of the 16th Regiment, was shot at my heels, and in many places I was obliged to pass entirely exposed to the fire of the garrison, and at pistol shot distance from the bottom of the rock. Issued an order that no man should be permitted to pass from one post to another, except the Brigadier's and my own orderly with orders. A horse of Don's was killed this morning at his picquets. Ordered a return of casualties to be sent to my office daily at five o'clock. Letters from the Adjutant-General mention that Colonel Ashe's Detachment, with six heavy guns, four twelve-pounders, howitzers and scaling ladders, had left the Grand Army to reinforce us. Another letter mentions Colonel Ashe to have received orders from the Commander-in-Chief to attack the fort of Dholepore on JAN. 12.



1804.

*Before
Gwalior.*

his march to Gwalior. Dholepore is the place which we passed, on the banks of the Chumbill, and from its appearance we feared Ashe would be some days detained at it. Some men killed and wounded this afternoon. A perpetual fire from the garrison.

JAN. 13.

At nine this morning the enemy opened five guns on a mosque within musket shot of the fort. We had some intention of removing into it, and of which we imagined the enemy must have had some intimation, as they laid it in ruins during the morning. The Brigadier, Stewart and myself, who lived together, shifted our quarters to-day, for the purpose of having the headquarters in a more central situation. We moved to a large house in the north-east part of the town. Marched the 16th, and posted them near the nullah in which all the baggage was stowed and the cattle kept. Posted Colonel Taylor with the 2nd of the 11th Regiment in the broad street near the southern gate of the choke. From the camp of the Grand Army they write that Holcar's real intentions are supposed not to be most friendly towards us, and a war with him expected. Paraded the relief of the advanced post this evening at six o'clock, to be commanded by Colonel MacCulloch. Only one man killed to-day, and several wounded. Found that our servants had arranged everything as advantageously as possible for us in our new quarters, which were very spacious and handsome, and in which, for the first time, we dined to-day.

JAN. 14.

A brisk fire from the fortress this morning, and we were all most anxious to hear of Colonel Ashe's approach with the battering guns. As it was thought necessary to pay the Prince of Gohud a visit, or rather to return his, the Brigadier, accompanied by Stewart and myself, Lieutenants Wilson, Durant, Heathcote and Edwards of the Brigadier's own Corps, left the town and galloped to the Prince's



camp, distant from the town about four miles. We ^{1804.} were received in all possible state, and with great *Before* form and respect. We remained with his Highness *Gwalior.* about an hour, and on quitting his tent were presented with shawls, muslin and quantities of rich stuffs. On our way into the town we were saluted with several shot from the garrison; they commenced the moment we came within reach, and kept blazing away on us, without effect, till we got under the walls of the town. Several heavy shot whistled over us and some fell close by us. On our return I changed my horse, and visited the post of the 11th. At sunset a very heavy and sudden fire of cannon and musketry commenced from all quarters of the garrison, which at first gave us reason to suppose that some of our posts were attacked. The incessant roar of the guns for nearly an hour equalled almost anything I had ever heard. When it commenced I was sitting with the Brigadier, and, mounting my horse, I immediately rode round the different posts and found the troops all under arms, and all wondering at the cause of this tremendous fire; their guns were all shotted, and the houses in the town began to fly to pieces in high style, but we soon found that their fire was directed against no particular object. On returning from Taylor's post, against which the fire at first seemed principally kept up, I met the Brigadier, and soon after we were informed that all this blazing was in honour of a great day among the Mahrattas; it killed and wounded, however, a great many of our soldiers, and many of the inhabitants fell by it, but not a man of the enemy had ventured without the works of the fort. By nine everything was perfectly silent except a shot at times from the garrison and a straggling fire of musketry.

We were much annoyed this morning to find that ^{JAN. 15.} Colonel Ashe's Detachment was likely to be detained many days at Dholepore. Ashe himself wrote to me,



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and truly lamented the delay which presented itself. The people on being summoned returned for answer that they were determined to defend the place to the last extremity, adding that "when the English had taken Gwalior they would surrender Dholepore!" The Brigadier received a letter this forenoon from Jougy Rham, Commandant of Gwalior, in which he stated that he had been placed in command of the fort by Cundajee (Amboojee's brother) under the most solemn injunctions never to give it up without the orders of Cundajee; that besides the Mahrattas in the garrison he had brought with him from Minior five hundred men, of proved courage, chosen for the purpose of defending the place; he assured the Brigadier at the same time that the garrison was provided with ammunition, provisions and stores for a two years siege. To all this no answer was returned nor any notice taken. I forwarded his letter in the evening to the Commander-in-Chief. A brisk fire all day from the garrison, and many men fell in the town. Received a letter from MacGregor, and replied to it in haste.

This evening a few officers dined at headquarters, a circumstance which had seldom occurred during the siege; at meals we were very irregular, and often went without our dinner when duty interfered.

JAN. 16.

The Brigadier having some reason to suspect the fidelity of Chumper Rhaum, the person who conducted us to the different gates of the town on the evening of the 2nd, requested me to order him in from Mercer's camp, but nothing appearing sufficiently clear against him to induce the Brigadier to confine him, he was liberated. Chumper Rhaum was suspected of holding a communication with the garrison, but in my opinion, very unjustly suspected, as in many instances he had so strongly proved himself a friend to the English, that his conduct could not be mistaken. At two this afternoon I



received a letter from Colonel Ashe, stating that that ^{1804.}
instant he had received orders from the Commander-^{Before}
in-Chief to raise the siege of Dholepore, and to ^{Gwalior.}
proceed with his detachment to reinforce us at
Gwalior, with all possible expedition. We much
lamented that Colonel Ashe had ever been detained
at that place, as the circumstance of having left
Dholepore, a fort of considerable strength compared
to Gwalior, was likely to be attended with serious
consequences, as giving the enemy confidence and
spirit to hold out to the last, and we fully expected a
deal of bloodshed. Colonel Ashe expected to join us
on the 19th or, at farthest, the 20th inst. Wood and
Fordyce of the Engineers, with three Companies of
Pioneers, were to leave Dholepore the evening on
which Colonel Ashe's letter was dispatched, to join
us by forced marches, in order to fix on a post for our
Batteries, and to hasten the preparations for the
siege. This evening we erected a Battery for one six-
pounder at the advanced post, and strengthened the
entrenchment considerably, having from some
observations reason to conjecture that the enemy was
meditating an attack on the post. Ordered a detach-
ment of Beldars to throw up some traverses at
Colonel Taylor's post for the better protection of men
passing from one street to another in relieving
sentries and on other duty.

Soon after daylight this morning a smart ^{JAN. 17.}
cannonade opened from the fort, but without
destroying many men, as by throwing up traverses
and cutting entrenchments we had secured the
different posts tolerably well against cannon shot, and
particularly the openings that were before much
exposed. Received a letter to-day from my friend
Maling, who was staff to Colonel Ashe, mentioning
their having crossed the Chumbill River and
encamped on the ground we were on, the 23rd of
December. They expected to halt a day to get up

the baggage, the heavy guns having detained it in the pass the day they crossed, and scarcely anything but the stores and officers' tents cleared the ravines the first day.

This forenoon a brother of the famous Cheit Sing, who committed the horrid massacre of Banass, when the officers and three complete Companies of Sepoys were butchered, visited us; this surprised us a good deal; he appeared one of the best bred native gentlemen I ever saw. He had been concealed in the town from the time we took it, but had never confidence before to make his appearance.

JAN. 18.

The six-pounder at the advanced post opened with good effect this morning, and the enemy were soon driven from the orwy, an outwork in front, with the grape; the fire was returned from all the guns from the garrison that they could bring to bear on the post, but with very little effect. About twelve o'clock to-day Captain Wood and Ensign Jones of the Engineers arrived in Macan's camp, with two Companies of Pioneers. At two the officers waited on the Brigadier at our quarters in the town.

At three we mounted our horses, and with the Engineer officers went to reconnoitre the south-west face of the rock, which, in spite of a smart cannonade at us, we completely effected, and remained out till quite dark. There was a smart fire on the town during our absence, and four men were killed at Captain Vanrenon's post. The Engineer officers dined with us, and we were much of one opinion respecting the point of attack, indeed there appeared one place only in the rock that was accessible, exclusive of the ramparts; the solid rock in other places was so steep that no ladders could be made sufficiently long to scale it, and the Engineers declared that except the point alluded to (in a re-entering angle) they thought the place completely impregnable. Captain Wood had been at Seringa-



patam, Chittle Droog, Nundy Droog, Bangalore, and 1804.
at all the chief fortresses in India, and he declared *Before*
to us that he never saw any place to be compared to *Gwalior.*
Gwalior, nor did he hesitate to express his doubts if
our Artillery was sufficient to breach the place, but
this last opinion we were determined to pay very little
attention to. Several cannon shot passed near our
quarters during dinner time.

Received a letter this morning from Wemyss, JAN. 19.
telling me that an overland dispatch had arrived in
Calcutta, of so late a date as September, extracts of
which had been sent to Colonel Lake. They stated
that a serious disturbance had taken place in Ireland;
that Lord Hawarden and his nephew, with two
Dragoon officers, had been wounded on their way to
Dublin. This morning about ten Colonel Ashe's
Detachment encamped at four miles to the north-east
of Gwalior. Some of the officers off duty came into
the town. This evening I despatched an order to
Colonel Ashe directing him to march at three in the
morning, and take up his station in the line, which
had been previously marked out on the south-western
face of the fort, just without range of cannon shot.

This morning at three o'clock the 2nd Battalion JAN. 20.
11th Regiment and 1st Battalion 14th and a Detach-
ment of the 16th marched out of the town to the new
encampment, leaving Major Don, with the Battalion
of the 18th and the Rohillah Infantry, which arrived
with Colonel Ashe, to occupy the town. The
Brigadier and myself left the town about five, and at
daybreak met, by appointment, the Engineer and
Artillery officers, at a garden to the northward of the
fort, in order finally to determine on the place to be
breached. An angle called Ginguapore, and the point
first intended, was resolved on to be the place.
Ordered our tents from the town to be pitched in
camp, to which about nine we returned to breakfast.



1804.

*Before
Gwalior.*

Issued long morning orders respecting the tours of duty for the Detachment, which now composed nearly half the Army in the field, and as I had every arrangement to make, and the tours of duty for every officer and soldier in camp to attend to, I soon found that I had enough myself to employ every moment of my time.

JAN. 21.

This morning it was finally determined to erect three Batteries, viz.: one for four eighteen-pounders, two for two twelve-pounders each, with the ten-inch mortars. The cattle of the Detachment employed as yesterday, and the people at work in the Park completed a great number of fascines and gabions. Owing to the great distance we were obliged to send for our materials, the cattle could not make more than two trips a day. No grain sticks (which were what we generally used) could be found within twelve or thirteen miles of our camp. A villager came to me to-day with information of Raganauth Rhow being at a place called Subbul Ghur, about fifteen miles from us, with a large body of Horse. Ordered a stronger party to accompany the working parties, and fifty Europeans to parade at the Park. The enemy this morning opened some fresh guns from the south-western face of the fort, and continued a very heavy fire during the early part of the morning.

Received a letter from MacGregor, mentioning that five Companies of the old Veteran 2nd were under orders to march with Hammond, to join the Grand Army. Vaughan, with four Companies of the 21st, had been ordered into garrison at Agra to supply their place. To-day we received intelligence that a peace was concluded with the Rajah of Berar, in consequence of which a Royal Salute and three volleys had been fired in camp, but as we had a full employment for our Artillery in a duty of a different nature, we declined the honour till a more suitable period. The materials in a great state of forwardness



for our Batteries, and every officer in the Detachment 1804.
seemed emulated in a desire to forward the service *Bejore*
with aiding it by sending their private cattle to assist *Gwalior*.
in bringing materials, etc.

Collector was taken dangerously ill this day, and my duty, which was now become rather arduous, would not admit of my paying attention to him. Wilson and Durant, two officers of the 16th, with whom the horse was a great favourite, by great attention, were the means of saving his life. Purchased Weston's bay pony, as I found three horses hardly equal to my work now.

The enemy during the whole of the day were by every means endeavouring to annoy our camp and picquets, and some shot fell among us, though with little execution, their guns being so much elevated that their shot never rose, but fell dead on reaching the ground.

My horse, apparently well this morning, and I *JAN. 22.*
refused for him 1,200 rupees, which Harris of the 14th offered me. Gave my poor grey, wounded as he was, to Wemyss's moonshey. This forenoon I strengthened the picquets, and issued Brigadier White's order for all reports from them to be made to me, and for officers commanding to wait on me for their instructions when going on duty. Ordered an officer and twenty men from the European Flankers to parade with the men employed in the Park. The gabions nearly all completed. Issued orders for the recruits of the Detachment, together with one hundred and fifty Sepoys, to parade at five in the Van of the Park as a working party. At sunset sent down a great number of fascines and gabions to a paun garden in the rear of a village, near the spot intended for our Grand Battery. A tremendous fire all day, and the garrison evinced the most determined resistance, and nothing could exceed the vigorous measures adopted in our camp to bring the siege to a speedy termina-

tion. Before break of day this morning we discovered in the rock a passage sufficiently wide to admit of a single man, by stooping considerably, to ascend to a considerable height on the rock—by this means we were informed a communication with Holkar, with Amboojee, Cundaji, and the garrison had been kept up. Posted a party, under cover, for the purpose of intercepting their correspondence. Captain MacLeod of the 11th having quite recovered his wounds, joined his Corps this morning.

JAN. 23.

A constant and extreme heavy cannonade on our advanced post kept up this morning. I was ordered down, under a very hot fire, to give orders to the Commanding Officer, as the fort seemed to threaten an attack on the post. Brigadier White complimented me for carrying his orders on so important an event as that which menaced the post. The Pioneers employed as yesterday, and we had hopes of opening our guns on the 28th. All the recruits and a proportion of old soldiers employed this evening in shifting the fascines and gabions to the garden in front of Achar's redoubt.

JAN 24.

Brigadier White and myself visited the different posts and works this morning about two, and returned to camp at sunrise. Several guns were laid for us on our return, but without effect. During breakfast a sudden and very heavy cannonade commenced, followed by a brisk fire of musketry, which in a moment convinced us that our advanced post was attacked. The drums beat to arms, and the Brigadier and myself were instantly on our horses. I proposed that he should order on two Battalions to the support of the post, and I immediately rode directly down to be a better judge of the nature of the attack. This post was within musket shot of the fort, and the cannonade on it as I galloped down surpassed everything that I had witnessed. Until I rode into the Battery I had no shelter, and there, being on horse-



back, I was exposed to the musketry from the walls. 1804.

Upwards of thirty pieces of cannon were blazing on the post, and my horse was stupefied nearly by the noise of shot. I had soon the pleasure to observe that our grape and musketry had capital effect from the Battery trenches, and in a short time the party which made the sally were retreating precipitately towards the garrison, many of them dropping from our fire. Their defeat seemed only to increase the fire from the garrison, and Major Palmer, who commanded the post, pressed me to dismount, and not to quit it till the fire should slacken, but I was anxious to make the Brigadier acquainted with what had been done, and put spurs to my horse to return. The shot fell uncommonly thick, and several were very near knocking us both over; and when I had nearly got without range of the guns in the rear of Acbar's Battery I perceived the Brigadier, very anxiously beckoning to me to increase my speed and to get out of the range of the shot. After hearing my report he shook me very heartily by the hand, and in front of the line paid me many compliments, and thanked me very cordially for what he termed this essential piece of service. Two Companies from each Battalion were left to support the post, in case of another attack, and I had settled with Palmer and fixed a place where troops should be lodged to support him *if they tried* his post again. The Companies were left under cover of a hill near Acbar's redoubt, and two six-pounders with them, under command of an officer of the 9th Regiment. Everything soon became perfectly silent in the garrison, and all firing ceased before we got back to camp. A dawke came into camp this morning, and I received a letter from Dawson, of the "City of London," which I had barely time to reply to. About seven this evening Colonel Shepherd came into camp from Bundelcund; he had formerly been in Amboojee's service, and affected a great knowledge of the fortress of Gwalior, in which he completely failed.

*Before
Gwalior.*



1804.
JAN. 25.

Before
Gwalior.

On a very near reconnoitre this morning the Engineer and Artillery Officers reported to Brigadier White their apprehensions that our Artillery was not equal to breaching the place, which they declared all "in the field" was not more than sufficient to effect, and this greatly disconcerted the Brigadier, as by a fresh arrangement of the Artillery department he must inevitably have been superseded by Colonel Horsford, who was in command of the remaining Artillery with the Army, and who was to have accompanied it if we found our force inadequate. On my return about nine o'clock from visiting the different posts, the Brigadier came to my tent with this unwelcome intelligence, showing me at the same time a letter which he had written to headquarters, stating the report of the Engineer and Artillery Officers, and proposing to the Commander-in-Chief that, sooner than the service should be delayed, as it appeared that difficulties presented themselves as insurmountable and more than our Artillery was equal to, he would, however, reluctantly wish the remaining part of the Park to be sent, although the consequence would be immediate supercession to him, still that he conceived it to be his duty to represent the state of affairs as they really appeared.

This letter the Brigadier showed to me (as he did all his public ones), and asked my opinion. I felt much mortified, and did not hesitate a moment to declare that nothing in life should prevent me (were I in his situation) from *proving* whether or not our force was insufficient, before any representation was made to headquarters, or any difficulties stated to the Commander-in-Chief; and that I thought he ought to *attempt* to breach the place and *risk everything* in preference to the alternative. This struck him very forcibly, and he instantly tore the letter into a thousand pieces, sent immediately for the Commanding Officers of the different departments, and very deliberately told them his full determination never to



apply for a reinforcement till he had tried to the last 1804. extremity what his present force could effect, but the Artillery and Engineer officers did not cheerfully accede to his resolve. I was surprised when the business was first made known by the Brigadier to me, to find how their persuasions had operated on him, who in a *thousand* instances had proved himself a most *gallant* and *zealous* officer. It could only be accounted for by the responsibility of the situation and command which he held. I told him that I was convinced that our gallant Commander-in-Chief would assuredly approve of our giving it a *trial*, the *result be what it may*. Brigadier White now, if possible, redoubled his efforts, and everything was carried on with the utmost vigour. He did not fail now and then to remind the Artillery and Engineer officers that they *must do their duty*, nor did I fail to make them my enemies by the part which I took in this decision, and which I had no wish to prevent their being made acquainted with.

Before
Gwalior.

Resolved immediately to breach Baddle Ghur, ordered two twelve-pounders down for that purpose to the Choke.

A letter received this morning from Colonel Powell, requesting a reinforcement, which Colonel White did not hesitate to refuse. This evening at seven o'clock we commenced our batteries and entrenchments, and about nine a heavy but ill-directed fire was opened on our working parties. By daylight, 600 Sepoys were completely covered in, on the flanks of the Battery. JAN. 26.

This morning at break of day, our Batteries opened. From the four eighteen-pounders they immediately commenced breaching the rampart, whilst the twelve-pounders were dismounting the guns which bore on the Battery, and Lieutenant Hay with great precision commenced his fire from the Mortar Battery, and his shells seemed much to disconcert the enemy. A JAN. 28.

heavy fire was returned from the fortress, but those of the enemy's guns which were nearly in front of our Batteries were soon silenced by our twelve-pounders.

I was with the Brigadier in Acbar's redoubt, some distance in the rear of the eighteen-pounder Battery, from whence we could see the effect of every shot, as well of the enemy as of our own. Our fire continued without intermission from daylight till near eleven o'clock, when the men in the Batteries left off in order to gain a little rest, and get some refreshment. Considering the short space of time our guns had opened, we thought the effect had been great on the ramparts, which were considerably torn. From the garrison they continued an almost incessant fire on the Batteries, and we perceived them erecting a Battery in the descent of the hill, which could be brought to bear on us, and from the low situation of our Batteries we could not in return point a gun at them. About twelve o'clock our fire recommenced, and the wall coming down in immense flakes, discovered to us a flight of stairs which led up the side of the rock, very narrow, but such as we expected would afford us a footing in the assault, and assist us considerably in ascending the breach. We were also by this circumstance convinced that the wall we had battered was merely a shell to screen the stairs, and strengthen the works, behind which we plainly saw the real rampart, and commenced instantly on it. The firing continued with very little intermission on either side till sunset. A straggling fire of cannon, at times, on our Batteries during the night, which was returned with some shells from the ten-inch mortars, howitzers and cohorns, with a round of grape at different periods from the eighteens, to keep the breach open and to prevent stockading it.

JAN. 29.

Our Batteries opened a tremendous fire at daylight this morning, which was as furiously returned from the garrison. I remained in the Batteries till they



ceased firing at eleven o'clock, and mounted my horse 1804. at the paun gardens, galloped into camp. Many ^{Before} heavy guns were fired at me as I returned, with no ^{Gwalior.} other effect than the shot alarming my horse a little. The Brigadier was much pleased at the account I was enabled to give him of the effect of our shot on the rampart of the place. Sergeant Parsons and some men were killed this morning. Our fire continued heavy all day, and the enemy brought three guns into the Battery we saw them preparing yesterday. They were, however, soon silenced, and the men driven from it by the shells of our Mortar Battery. The masonry of the wall appeared inferior to what we were led to expect.

We heard this morning from Amboojee's camp, near ^{JAN. 30.} Narwar, that he was absolutely preparing to march, and as our force was much divided, having the town, the trenches and the camp to protect, we resolved if possible to take up a stronger position, and about ten o'clock the Brigadier, Stewart, Rose and myself got on our horses, and marked out a fresh position for our camp. We threw back the left of the line, and by that means pointed outwards from the range of hills, keeping the high and commanding village of Julean on our left flank, to the top of which we could without difficulty carry cannon if we found it expedient.

The fire from our Batteries this day had a fine effect, and the breach was considerably widened. A hot fire also from the garrison, and some casualties occurred in the trenches. Lieutenant Richards, Artillery, badly wounded to-day.

Received the Artillery Officer's report of eighteen-pound shot expended this day, which amounted to nearly six hundred.

Some letters this morning from camp mention the ^{JAN. 31.} peace as having been certainly concluded with Scindiah, but the intentions of Holcar still remain



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a mystery. With the Grand Army they were in daily expectations of moving towards him as soon as Gwalior falls. A private letter this morning from Headquarters to the Brigadier mentions that the report circulated by Amboojee of Gwalior being given up in the treaty to Scindiah is false, and urging us to use every vigorous measure for its reduction. Wrote on the service to Major Don, directing him to proceed early in the morning to camp with his Battalion, and there to take up his station in the line. At six this evening ordered two of the Prince of Gohud's Battalions to march into the town to supply the place of Don's Corps; the whole to be under the command of Captain Vanrenan with the Aligoles, and one hundred regular troops, with two six-pounders.

Went to the Batteries this afternoon, after having issued the detachment orders. The breach was much cut by this day's firing, and we anxiously hoped that two days' more battering would render it perfectly practicable. Captain Greene reported to me five hundred and sixty eighteen-pound shot expended this day; they ceased firing at dark, and I met the relief going down as I was returning to camp.

FEB. 1.

The Prince of Gohud paid us a visit this morning, to our great annoyance, as the attention and parade with which we were ordered by the Commander-in-Chief to receive him interfered with our duty, and took up a portion of time that might have been employed to a better purpose; the Prince expressed a wish to see the effect of our fire on the ramparts, but to get rid of him I told him that to approach the Batteries would be attended with great risk of his life, upon which he quietly took his leave.

About five this evening two men were announced to me as I was writing some orders in my tent, and I was not a little pleased to find that they came from the garrison. I conducted them to the Brigadier, and they informed us that Jougghe Khan, the Com-



mandant of the fortress, wished to consult Amboojee 1804. at Narwar regarding the surrender of the place, and they requested permission to wait on Amboojee to that effect; this was absolutely refused them, and we ordered them to tell the Commandant that if he persisted in the defence of the place, the whole of his garrison would be put to death; not a man should escape the bayonet. The men declined returning this evening, and I gave them over to the Havildar of my Guard, ordering that they should be allowed to proceed at daybreak to the fort. As we had some reason to imagine that the men coming was a fraud, merely to gain time, we resolved to push the siege with the utmost vigour, and it was reported to the messengers from the place, that the breach would be immediately practicable, and that no lives would be spared. *Camp before Gwalior.*

The men returned into the fortress early this morning. The Artillery and Engineer Officers reported to me in writing their opinion that the breach would at least require another day's firing to make it practicable. The Brigadier came to my tent early this morning, and desired me to arrange the troops for the storm, requesting me to employ such a proportion, and of such corps, as I thought proper, which I considered a very high compliment. He informed me of his determination to head the storming party himself, adding, "We will never return, if we do not succeed in carrying the place." The Brigadier wished to give his friend Colonel Ashe an opportunity to distinguish himself, and therefore desired me to put him in orders to command the column destined for the attack. I witnessed the Brigadier's will this morning. A vakeel arrived in camp this day from Ameer Khan, who was still reported to be advancing towards Bundelcund. A heavy fire all the forenoon from our Batteries, and from the enemy in the garrison, and during the early part of the day we heard nothing

FEB. 2.



1804.

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more of terms, or saw anything that did not tend to a most obstinate resistance.

At four o'clock this evening a despatch arrived from Amboojee at Narwar with a copy of the articles of the peace concluded between General Wellesley, Scindiah, and the Rajah of Berar. Two messengers came in from the garrison, and were told that the place would be stormed immediately. On the part of the garrison they at length demanded a cessation of arms till the morning, with which the Brigadier complied, telling them that by ten o'clock he should expect a final and decisive answer. I wrote immediately to the officers commanding in the Batteries, to forbid firing either of shot or shell till the time specified should expire. Received a letter from Captain Vanrenan, commanding in the town, stating that three hundred men from Baddle Ghur, the enemy's principal outwork, had expressed a wish to be allowed to evacuate it, to which they received for answer that they would be permitted to march out with their arms and private property. In case of stratagem on the part of the garrison, I proposed to the Brigadier to march myself to the town with five Companies to support Captain Vanrenan in case he should be attacked, and at one in the morning I left the camp to reinforce him. Lieutenant Meredith (brother of Sir George Meredith) was the senior officer on duty with these five Companies; he delayed in coming to the parade, and I marched off without him. We arrived in the town about three o'clock, but for reasons unknown to us the enemy had changed their plans, and declined marching out.

FEB. 3.

No reports from the town, nor intelligence from the garrison; everything remained perfectly silent agreeable to the terms agreed on. Received letters from Headquarters, from Wemyss, and answered them, and told him that "if ever he heard again from me, it was my intention that it should be from the top



of the Rock." Letters from the Commander-in-Chief 1804. directed the Brigadier "after the fall of Gwalior" to proceed immediately to invest Gohud and Dholepore, for which purpose the Battalions of the 9th and 14th Regiments were to remain with our Division of the Army, instead of joining at Headquarters. At three o'clock hostilities commenced afresh, and a very heavy fire opened from the guns and mortar batteries, and also from the garrison, and we concluded that the treaty was merely a subterfuge to gain time. The Brigadier resolved on storming the place the following morning, and I drew out the annexed Orders, of which he approved:—

"The storming party to be composed of Corps as follows:—

"Parole, Death; Countersign, Glory."

"European Flankers.

"The 2nd Battalion 9th Regiment.

"The 2nd Battalion 11th Regiment.

"The 2nd Battalion 16th Regiment.

"The 2nd Battalion 18th Regiment.

"The European Flankers to lead the Column, supported by the Grenadier Companies of the Detachment, completed by one hundred men H Company, followed by corps according to seniority.

"The stormers to parade at two o'clock to-morrow morning, the Grenadiers on the right of the 2nd Battalion 9th Regiment, and the European Flankers on the right of the whole. On the arrival of the troops, composing the storming party, at the Batteries, the officers on duty at the advanced post and in the trenches will fall in and proceed with their respective Corps."

"Lieutenant-Colonel MacCulloch, with the Battalion Companies of the 1st Battalion 14th Regiment (with the exception of such men of that Corps as may be on duty) and the picquets on duty, to remain under arms for the protection of the camp during the assault.



*Camp before
Gwalior.*

1804.

"The officers and men on duty in the trenches, and at the advanced post, belonging to the 1st Battalion 14th Regiment to remain as a Battery Guard during the attack. The ammunition to be completed to one hundred rounds in pouch, and two spare flints each. Officers in command of Corps will be held responsible for the arms of their respective Corps being in the highest order, and their bayonets well sharpened. The Brigadier has the fullest reliance in the troops, having recourse to the latter on gaining the enemy's works; the effect of which is well known to British soldiers.

"The strictest silence to be observed as the troops approach the breach, and Officers in command of Corps and Divisions are enjoined to give the most positive injunctions to their men not to fire without orders.

JOHN PESTER,

Major of Brigade.

"Camp before Gwalior.

"February 4th, 1804."

The Brigadier told me that he would in person head the storming party, and that I should accompany him at the head of the Column, and we determined never to return if we did not succeed in carrying the place. Drew out a hasty *soldier's* will, and two officers signed it. Went down with my glass to the Battery, to look at the breach, which was as practicable as shot would make it, and the defences on each flank of it appeared totally destroyed.

It was the opinion of the Engineer and Artillery Officers that, from the natural situation of the rock, and the immense height we should have to ascend, that the troops must inevitably be a considerable time in gaining the ramparts, and that our loss would undoubtedly be very severe, and those were occurrences to which we had made up our minds.



Joined the Brigadier as I returned from the Battery; 1804.

he was reconnoitring the breach from the paun *Camp before*
gardens, and was well pleased with its appearance. *Gwalior.*

A most tremendous fire continued the whole of this afternoon from our Batteries; that from the garrison was less spirited than usual.

At eight o'clock we were surprised at receiving a letter from the Commandant, proposing to meet the Brigadier the next morning, to treat with him for the surrender of the place. It appeared from the tenor of his letter that he *funked* a little, and we were inclined to suppose him serious, and the Brigadier was desirous, if possible, of sparing the effusion of blood which would inevitably be the result of a storm. I therefore circulated an order, countermanding the parade of the storming party in the morning, and the relief of picquets, guards, etc., as usual.

This morning at daybreak the Brigadier went by appointment to meet the Commandant, and the former received him very politely, and with that respect which was due to a man who had really made a gallant defence. The Brigadier assured him of his anxiety to save the lives of men, and of his willingness to give the garrison permission to march out with their private property, their arms, and all the honours of war, but that if he persisted in defending the breach he could not answer for the slaughter that would probably ensue. The treaty was carried on till five in the afternoon, when it was agreed that we should immediately take possession of six of the gateways, and the garrison surrendered on being allowed to march out with the usual honours, and with their private property. They were to evacuate the fortress at daybreak next morning. I rode to camp in the evening, and, meeting the relief for the trenches going down, ordered them to change their route and proceed immediately to the town in readiness to take possession in the morning, or to support our parties at the different gates, should that service be requisite. I



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Gwalior.*

went on to camp, gave some necessary orders, and carried a guard of Europeans, with a Union Flag, back to the town. Major Palmer (and a few men) was admitted into the upper gate of the garrison during the night. We all anxiously awaited the appearance of daybreak—and our men at the different gateways were all night under arms.



CHAPTER XIX.

In Garrison, Fortress of Gwalior.
February 5th, 1804, to June 1st, 1804.

AT dawn of day we drew up our troops, and shortly after the gates were thrown open, and with my own hands I had the pleasure to plant the British Colours on the ramparts of the renowned and hitherto almost impregnable fortress of Gwalior. The garrison marched out in a most orderly manner with their matches alight and carrying their arms. They amounted to nearly four thousand fighting men, and I conducted them all clear of the town and dismissed them. Posted the necessary guards in the fortress, and went to look at the breach, which we found extremely steep and very difficult of access; rendered still more formidable by immense pieces of timber cut into junks of about three feet long each; these were lodged on the edge of the breach, could with ease have been rolled over, and from the great height which they would have come hurling down on us they would most certainly have proved very destructive.

1804.

FEB. 5.

*Fortress of
Gwalior.*

A Scotch officer (Lieutenant Oliphant), looking down the breach, very feelingly exclaimed, "That place would have been the grave of many a brave fellow had it been defended." The breach was flanked with cannon, and mined, and a dreadful slaughter would assuredly have been the result of a storm. I was many minutes ascending it, without any opposition, and troops, under such a fire as they would have opposed to us, would have found it a very formidable breach. Lieutenant Morris, of the Artillery, in ascending with me, fell, and was so much bruised as to be unable to quit his couch for many days without exceeding inconvenience and pain. By ten o'clock a man of the garrison (the enemy's) was not remaining



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Gwalior.*

in the place. Jougghie Khan, the Commandant, marched out at the head of his troops, accompanied by his nephew and other principal Sirdars (Commanders). He was a small man, stooped a good deal, but with every appearance of a veteran; he seemed to possess great influence over everyone about him, and his countenance expressed much sagacity and energy. He took his leave of us in great form.

By twelve o'clock the 2nd Battalion 16th and 2nd Battalion 18th Regiments, with their guns and tumbrils, were in garrison.

The Brigadier ordered my baggage to be carried with his into the Palace, which we fixed on for the headquarters and for our own residence.

The European Flankers, 2nd Battalion, 9th and 2nd Battalion, 11th Regiments, changed their ground, struck their camp, and pitched it near the bottom of the rock. All officers off duty in the different Corps came in to see the place which had afforded them so much *entertainment*, and before which most of them had several narrow escapes of their lives. Issued orders this afternoon for Lieutenant-Colonel Ashe, with the 2nd Battalion 9th, 2nd Battalion 11th and the European Flank Companies, with the heavy guns under Captain Greene, to march to-morrow morning towards Gohud. Ordered also Lieutenant-Colonel MacCulloch to march in the direction of Dholepore. A large party of the officers belonging to the Corps in garrison dined at the Palace with us to-day, and we had a very jolly evening; to me interrupted a little at times by letters on the service from the Corps under marching orders. It was a late hour, and a decent quantity of the Brigadier's claret was disposed of before we parted.

FEB 6.

This morning Lieutenant-Colonel Ashe's Detachment marched towards Gohud. We saw them at nine o'clock from the high bastion on the north face of the fortress, many miles distant, and moving direct by



north. Rode round the fort this morning with the 1804. Brigadier, and examined the breach very minutely, and it was the opinion of the Brigadier that owing to the very bad footing which the large loose stones afforded we should have found it a tedious duty in ascending, and that much blood in consequence must have been spilt, and many a gallant soldier would have fallen. We should *without doubt* have carried our point, but if they had defended the breach it *must* have been at the expense of much blood. We found the interior of the fortress of extent sufficient to contain an army, and in this particular Gwalior differs much from Bangalore, Chittle, Droog, Ramah Droog, and other famous hill forts, which are shaped like a sugar loaf, and consequently easy of access and capable on the summit of containing but a small garrison.

Gwalior is perpendicular on all its faces, and nearly as extensive within the ramparts as at the bottom of the rock. The ramparts we found in excellent repair, and on them was mounted during the siege about two hundred pieces of cannon of different calibres, all of which had been playing on our handful of men more than a month. Towards the south angle of the fortress there is a bend in the rock in which are several fine wells, which furnish the garrison with excellent water when all the wells on the top are quite dry; this recess is called by the natives the Orwy, and is secured to the garrison by a wall of about thirty feet thick of the finest masonry in the world, and well guarded with cannon above. The Orwy is completely cut off from the fort by blocking up a wicket, the only communication with it, so that, if an enemy could possibly succeed in breaking the Orwy wall it would be impossible to maintain it as a post, every inch of it being completely exposed to the fire of the garrison. The wells are remarkable for having fine flights of steps leading from the top to the bottom of it, and the Orwy is altogether one of the most romantic



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places possible to conceive. The height of the solid rock round it has a most terrific appearance, with as much grandeur and sublimity as the imagination can form.

FEB. 7.

Received a letter from Wemyss congratulating me on the fall of Gwalior, and expressing the concern he was in at a report which prevails in camp that Gwalior had been taken by assault, that many officers had fallen, and among them the Brigadier and myself; the first intelligence they had to the contrary was my official letter to the Adjutant-General. Wemyss in the kindest manner expressed his anxiety till the official account was received. From the Army they wrote that they expected to march immediately towards Indore.

Made the necessary arrangements respecting the military stores in garrison. Two drummers of the 14th Regiment lost their lives this morning. They were blown to atoms on the ramparts by an explosion of gunpowder that had been left scattered about by the enemy. Mounted one of our twelve-pounders on the bastion north of the Orwy. Ordered that the gates of the garrison should always be shut at sunset, and the wickets at nine o'clock, to continue fast till gunfire in the morning. Fired the garrison gun for the first time this evening. A large party partook of the Brigadier's good fare this evening, and we sat late, talking of the siege over a cheerful glass of claret. Took a regular night patrol on the works.

FEB. 8.

The rock on which this celebrated fortress stands runs from north to south-east. Length within the ramparts about two miles. The height at the north point we conjectured to be about four hundred feet. At this end is the Palace, in which Brigadier White and myself took up our quarters. Some of the rooms appeared to have been altered after the European



mode, supposed at the time Popham was in the 1804. garrison.

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About the centre of the fort stand two remarkable pyramidal buildings of red stone. They are in the most ancient style of the Hindu architecture, and we were informed were built for the residence of some of the Rajah's family, who reigned in a very remote period, when this fortress was the capital of an extensive empire. A rampart and parapet runs all round upon the brow of the rock, which is so steep that it had been always judged perfectly secure from assault, till Popham took it by escalade on the 3rd of August, 1780, and by cutting away the rock he rendered that particular part quite as inaccessible as the strongest part. The parapet, too, at that point was considerably heightened, no doubt, by Popham, as it was evidently the masonry of Europeans.

The only outer gate is towards the northern extremity of the rock, from which by several flights of steps, and passing seven intervening gateways in thorough repair and well defended, you ascend to the top of the rock. Within the ramparts are several natural cavities in the rock, which contain a perpetual supply of excellent water. On the outside about half-way up are many cells, which contain the figures of gods, men and animals, carved in the same manner as those excavations themselves out of the solid rock. Along the eastern face and near the summit runs a line of blue enamel, looking as brilliant as the day on which it was placed there; a strong proof that this manufacture attained considerable perfection in Hindustan at an early period. It had a very handsome effect as you ascended the staircase, and formed a sort of border to the rock and ramparts.

The town runs along the east and north-east face of the fortress; it is large, and contained many good houses, but these we found quite deserted, as all the most respectable of the inhabitants quitted their hitherto peaceful dwellings on the approach of our



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Division. The town is entirely built of stone; the ceilings were composed of slabs, or rather flakes, of stones, about four or five inches thick, and thirty long, resting on beams of stone in the place of wood. I do not recollect to have seen a particle of wood used in any part of the buildings, either in the garrison or the town, the doors only excepted. The stone they procured in great abundance from the neighbouring hills, which form a kind of amphitheatre, surrounding the fort and town for nearly four miles. These hills are of a reddish hue, and are said to contain iron. Their surface is uncommonly rugged and quite barren, not affording a single *atom* of vegetation.

To the eastward of the town runs the river of Soonrica, which at this season is quite dry, and it was on the bed of a branch of this river, which runs through part of the town, that we took post on gaining possession of the town on the morning of the 3rd of the last month.

At about one thousand yards distance from the northern extremity of the fortress is a conical hill, on the top of which there is a curious stone building. It consists of two lofty pillars arched together, and is apparently of very ancient workmanship. We had a picquet here for many days after we took the town, as one of the principal entrances runs close to it, and the building from its commanding situation afforded an excellent post, and one that a few good troops would easily defend.

Across the river Soonrica is a handsome building of stone, and a cupola on it covered with blue enamel, of a similar workmanship and pattern to that on the eastern face of the garrison; this is the tomb of Mahomed Ghous, a man celebrated for learning in the time of the Emperor Achar. Within the enclosure which surrounds this stately monument is a smaller tomb to the memory of Tansien, a musician of great skill, who resided at the court of the same monarch.

His tomb is overshadowed by a tree, concerning



which the natives have a superstitious notion that the 1804.
chewing of the leaves gives an extraordinary *melody* *Fortress of*
to the *voice*. *Gwalior.*

The district depending on Gwalior, which includes also the country of Goad, yielded to Amboojee twenty-five lacs of rupees, fifteen of which went into the treasury for Scindiah, and the remainder to Amboojee for the expenses of the collections. In the absence of Amboojee, Cundaji, his brother, was usually employed to make the collections, and to this brother that scoundrel Amboojee laid all the blame of breaking the treaty, in which he had agreed to give up the fortress to us without resistance, although we constantly intercepted his letters to the garrison, holding out a promise of money, men and lands, as an inducement to them to defend it, assuring them at the same time that it was not in our power (the English) ever to breach the place; such is the treacherous, rascally conduct constantly practised by the native chieftains.

Cundaji also frequently held the temporary command of the fortress in his brother's absence, but they both of them took great care to be out of the way during the siege.

A considerable trade was formerly carried on at Gwalior of cloth from Chanderi, and indigo, and we learnt that about fourteen miles distance on the Narwar road at a village called Beerie is a mine of iron.

The garrison itself, from its great security, was made use of by the Prince Scindiah as the place of confinement for his state prisoners, and it was also the grand repository of his artillery, ammunition and military stores; the quantity of each of which we found in the place was almost incredible, and it will prove a tedious employment to ascertain the quantity of powder, shot, shells, etc., lodged here.

From Gwalior the straight road to Scindiah's capital, Ougene, runs close to Narwar and Seronge,



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and the Rajahs in the districts through which this road lies constantly employ a troop of banditti to plunder the helpless traveller. A Sepoy on guard on the south ramparts declared to me this evening that he saw a *tiger* on the side of the rock at noon day when he was standing sentry. Several immense wolves were constantly seen prowling at dusk among the chasms of the rock, and I concluded the soldier must have mistaken one of them for a tiger, as from the nature of the place it was impossible the latter could lay there, as the rock did not afford a bush even to shelter him, and I never heard of a tiger earthing. Many of the natives assured me very confidently that in former days the neighbouring hills abounded with small black lions, and an old mason employed in repairing the ramparts pointed out a spot on which he positively declared he had been at the death of many of them. This account amused us greatly, and we had almost prevailed upon the old bricklayer to acknowledge that *elephants* also had been inhabitants of the hills of Gwalior in former days. I had a good night's rest to-night, the first, I with truth may affirm, for more than five weeks, during which time I never slept but with my clothes on.

FEB. 9.

Forwarded a general return this morning of killed and wounded officers and men during the siege.

Ordered all the Pioneers under Lieutenant Swinton and Ensign Jones of the Engineers to be employed in erecting a temporary wall on the top of the breach, to secure it against any sudden attack, and whilst the breach was clearing away and repairing. The rubbish near the summit was first ordered to be removed, to render it as steep and difficult of access as possible.

Received a letter on the service from Colonel Ashe, announcing the surrender of Gohud to the troops under his command last evening. Terms: "The grain and stores shall be sold to pay the arrears to the garrison, who shall be allowed to march out with their



arms and private property. The officer commanding the British troops to allow a native officer and thirty Sepoys to proceed as an escort fifty miles with the garrison." *Fortress of Gwalior.* 1804.

This being complied with, our troops took immediate possession of the town and fort of Gohud.

The Brigadier wrote a letter this morning to his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the contents of which were a source of much gratification to me. Sent off a confidential man of rank in the service of the Prince of Gohud with powers to receive over charge of the garrison from the officer left by Colonel Ashe in command. Gohud was the Prince's capital, from which by unfair means he had been driven by Scindiah and his allies.

A large packet of general orders reached us this morning, and it appeared that my friend Harriott, who, poor fellow, unfortunately lost his leg in the Battle of Delhi, whilst advancing with our Battalion to attack their batteries, was appointed Persian interpreter to Courts Martial at Dinapore. FEB. 10.

Private letters from Wemyss mention the order of march of the army. Received in a return of ammunition in the fort. The powder amounted to three thousand barrels, equal to one hundred and twenty thousand pounds weight. Letters mention the capture of Gwalial Ghur, taken by storm by our troops in the Carnatic—the garrison all put to the sword—the loss on our part but trifling compared with that of the enemy, and the nature of the attack. Went down from the rock this evening with the Brigadier, and rode through the town, and to our old quarters, where we had remained during the siege. We were surprised to find the streets so rapidly filled with people; they came flocking in from all parts of the country, and put themselves under our protection. The sun set as we were mounting the rock, and the gates were kept open for us.



1804.

FEB. 11.

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Gwalior.*

This morning Lieutenant-Colonel Ashe marched in, and encamped on the ground he had been on previous to his marching to Gohud. Ordered Captain Greene to send two twelve-pounders with their apparatus and fifty gun Lascars into the garrison. Issued the orders of march for the 2nd Battalion 9th and 1st Battalion 14th Regiments, with the eighteen-pounder, and Flank Companies of the European Regiment, under Colonel MacCulloch towards Dholepore. Went down to Baddle Ghur in the evening to see if the twelve-pounders had arrived; found them safely lodged in the works, but a complement of twenty-eight instead of fifty gun Lascars with them. Wrote immediately to the Artillery officer to know why he had not obeyed his orders, when the remaining men were sent in with a paltry excuse for an officer to make. Dined out to-day (the first time for a long while) with Major Don, and we passed a very jovial evening.

FEB. 12.

Got up this morning at four o'clock, and sent immediately for the Key Sergeant, when the Brigadier and self descended the rock. We were without the seven gates when the day broke, but descending the staircase on horseback before daylight made it very unpleasant, and we were a long time going down.

Went with Browne this evening round the ramparts of the fortress, and to the Orwy, which, as he had not seen it before, struck him with astonishment. The immense figures cut in the solid rock were great curiosities; some of them were sixty feet in height and large in proportion. Posted two twelve-pounders to flank the breach. Saw the baggage of MacCulloch's Detachment a great distance off, marching in a north-west direction, and on the same road we followed on our route hither. The Brigadier sent off an express to the Commandant of Dholepore, telling him the consequence of any resistance on his part, and



recommending him to deliver the garrison over 1804. immediately on the arrival of the troops. Rode round the garrison this evening, making some arrangements with the Engineer and Artillery Officers; advanced the former one thousand rupees towards repairing the breach. Dined with the Brigadier. *Fortress of Gwalior.*

Walked round the different ramparts on the town FEB. 13. side of the garrison this morning, and it was a matter of astonishment to us how we held the town, exposed as we were for so many weeks to the fire of great guns and musketry in almost every street, all of which were raked by guns in one situation or another. Received letters from headquarters of a very pleasant nature respecting our proceeding before this place. An extract of one of them was as follows:—"Both Lake and Clinton told me in how very handsome a manner you have been mentioned by Brigadier White in his despatches to his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief." Posted a six-pounder at the main guard, so as to command the upper gateway, and ordered that a round of grape should be always kept in the muzzle, and a slow match burning. Ordered one hundred rounds of ammunition to be lodged with every gun on the ramparts, ready at a moment's notice. Talked with the Brigadier on the necessity of training some of the Sepoys to the gun exercise, as our proportion of Artillery was by no means equal to manning all the guns. Rode in the evening round the south ramparts, observed the sentries to be too thinly posted, and ordered additional parties from the 2nd Battalion 18th Regiment. Did not return till very late to the Palace. Dined by ourselves.

Nothing material occurred during this day, and FEB. 14. Brigadier to detain Colonel Taylor's Battalion and a the evening's dawke brought a letter authorizing the guns in garrison. Brigadier White also showed me a proportion of Golundauz to assist in working the



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Gwalior.*

private letter from the Commander-in-Chief, an extract of which was: "I am very happy to find by your letter of the 7th inst. that you approve so much of Lieutenant Pester. I have a very high opinion of him, and mean him extremely well."

FEB. 15.

I received a letter to-day announcing the surrender of Dholepore to Colonel MacCulloch's Detachment—the latter had left a garrison and was pushing on to join the Commander-in-Chief with the Corps he commanded.

FEB. 16.

At gunfire this morning I accompanied the Brigadier out of the garrison, and we rode entirely round the rock. The Engineer and an Artillery Officer were of the party. We discovered many impressions of shot on different parts of the rock, and an attempt seemed to have been formerly made to batter a high bastion at the southern point, but with little effect, and had they succeeded in breaching it the solid rock on which the bastion stood was so extremely high, and quite perpendicular, that no troops could have scaled it. There appeared no trace of trenches nearer than one thousand yards of the foot of the rock. The sun was scorching hot before we got into garrison, and I suffered dreadfully with the headache.

FEB. 17.

Rode in the evening and particularly examined the works of the Citadel; found it well constructed, and the masonry excellent. The Citadel was commenced by Old Scindiah, and had it been completed would have been one of the finest works in the world. It had regular redoubts, and was reckoned by the Engineers a pattern of fortifications of the kind.

Returned, dressed, and left the rock to dine with Mercer, the Governor-General's agent, previous to his leaving us to join the Commander-in-Chief.



Passed a very jolly evening, and returned into the garrison at twelve o'clock on horses of Mercer's. 1804.

The Brigadier had ordered the Key Sergeant to be in waiting to admit us. We reached the top of the rock soon after one in the morning. *Fortress of Gwalior.*

This morning Mercer, with his escort, consisting of a Company of the 14th and some Irregular Horse, marched for the Grand Army, and soon after the Prince of Gohud struck his camp and proceeded towards his capital, with a vast concourse of followers, the veriest of wretches, of which his army was composed, and their deeds did not excel their appearance, few of them deserved the name of soldiers—miserably armed, and worse mounted than accoutred. FEB. 18.

An express reached us this morning from the Governor-General in Council, enclosing a copy of the Treaty of Peace between the Honourable Company, its allies, and Doulat Riah Scindiah. A Royal Salute and three volleys of musketry at the stations of all the land forces serving in India. FEB. 19.

This morning I issued the following garrison orders:—"In conformity to the general orders received yesterday, a Royal Salute and three volleys of musketry to be fired this evening by the troops of the garrison, for which purpose the Battalions will parade at four o'clock, and fire three rounds alternately. FEB. 20.

The 2nd Battalion 11th Regiment to commence, on the cessation of the cannon from the North Square, and each Corps to beat a point of war after every discharge."

At four the troops paraded, the 2nd Battalion of the 11th on its own ground, and the 16th and 18th in the North Square. On turning sharp at speed round the flank of the 16th Regiment to give some orders

during the firing, my horse lost his footing on the rock, and came down, and bruised me a good deal. I was going to give directions to the centre gun to continue firing, and not to wait for the right gun, which was rendered useless in consequence of some mistake in making up the cartridges. Opened one of our own twelves to finish the Salute.

FEB. 23.

The Artillery all employed this morning exercising the guns. The weather tolerably cool, and no appearance or symptoms of hot winds. Ordered a flagstaff to be erected, and timber to be cut out for platforms, which were much wanted at some of the heavy guns. Employed a number of masons in repairing the battlements in the North Square, some of which had been much shaken during the siege by the constant fire of the heavy guns in that square; they were all two and thirty and sixty pounders, and had been principally employed in firing at our camp and batteries. Went as usual this evening to my stables, and ordered all the stalls to be immediately planked, and racks and mangers made up. The horses began to recover the hard work they had during the siege; one of them was always at my tent or quarters saddled, and as our posts lay so wide I was frequently on horseback all day, and sometimes nearly all the night long. It was full five miles from the camp to the town and trenches, and I had sometimes four or five times a day occasion to visit each post. Ordered the grooms to purchase cloth and make them up new sets of body clothes. We had a small party at headquarters at dinner this evening.

FEB. 24.

A letter from Wemyss this morning mentioned Colonel MacCulloch's arrival in camp with his Detachment. Rode out this forenoon for an hour with the greyhounds, and tried the country to the west of the fortress, but found no game. This being the time of the famous Hindu festival (the Hooley)



the soldiers of that caste were permitted to be absent 1804. from parades for two days. The shouting and noise of the Hindoos on this occasion never fails to annoy all within hearing of them, and their ceremonies are dreadfully unpleasant and troublesome to all but themselves. They more resemble madmen (beating their breast, tearing their hair and using all manner of frantic gestures) than people in their senses. They stain and paint themselves in a frightful and disgusting manner, and their behaviour is at times, as well as their conversation, very indecent. Dined at home with the Brigadier; as our quarters were immediately projecting over the town, the noise during the night prevented our getting much sleep. On this occasion they blew the conch (shell) and beat immense drums, etc., to the discomfiture of all near them. The town was lit up, and from the rock had a pretty appearance. *Fortress of Gwalior.*

Left the garrison this morning at gunfire, and rode to the gardens of a native gentleman, on the Gohud road, about one mile from the town. Returned into garrison to breakfast, found Collector lame, and soon discovered that it proceeded from a thrush in one of the fore feet. Sent the bay horse to a stable at the entrance of the staircase, there to remain, as moving them up and down the flight of stairs was attended with great inconvenience and risk of laming them. Wrote to Captain Stevenson, Infantry prize agent, to request that whatever prize money of mine may remain in his hands may be put into the eight per cent. loan. Hannay of the 17th Regiment (brother of Sir William Hannay) came to my quarters this morning, and we practised some pieces of music, and continued playing nearly all the day. FEB. 26.

This morning the Brigadier received a very timely supply of claret and port wine, of which we began to run short. Rode Collector before breakfast, to see the Artillery exercise the guns on the ramparts. FEB. 28.



1804.

*Fortress of
Gwalior.*

Received abstracts this day from Mr. Crawford, surgeon, to enable him to draw for the wounded men of the 4th Brigade at the time Colonel Powell commanded it.

Received a note from Brown, in Taylor's camp, requesting me to go with some of the officers on a hunting party, but my duty in the garrison would not admit of my joining them just then.

The Brigadier this morning received a letter from Rājah Amboojee complimenting him on this successful result of the siege of Gwalior. Brigadier White was a great deal surprised at this man's conduct in addressing him, after the duplicity he had evinced during the siege, when by his intercepted letters it appeared he was holding out every inducement to the garrison to defend the place, and assuring them that we could "never take Gwalior." The Brigadier declined entering into a correspondence with him, and forwarded his letter to the Commander-in-Chief, asking his Excellency's instructions.

FEB. 20.

Rode round the garrison this morning before breakfast. Went with the Brigadier to see the Sepoys exercising the six-pounders in the redoubt nearest the Citadel. Brigadier White expressed himself much pleased at the progress they had made, and the men at the Sponge Staff were really as expert after seven days' practice as many who had been all their lives in the Corps of Artillery.

MAR. 1.

Mounted our horses this morning at gunfire. After mustering the troops rode through the garrison with the Brigadier; dismounted at the Orwy wicket, and walked through the works. Below we found it cool and pleasant, but on reaching the top of the rock again we felt the sun quite scorching, and the weather much changed within these few days. We all dreaded the approaching hot season on the rock of Gwalior,



which is said to be very unhealthy, during the hot 1804. months particularly.

The Brigadier was authorised to order a Union *Fortress of Gwalior.* Flag and flagstaff to be up for the garrison of Gwalior.

Left my quarters this morning with the Brigadier *MAR. 2.* at daybreak to examine some spacious buildings near the main guard, and determined to remove the Detachments of the 16th and 17th Regiments into them, as the men daily fell sick in great numbers, as the sun became dreadfully hot for them in their tents. Removed the tumbrils from the Artillery parade, and fixed on it for the parade of the 16th and 17th Regiments. Ordered also the European sentry over the Park to be discontinued during the heat of the day, as many men had severely felt the effects of the sun on that duty, and in garrison it could be dispensed with. Went with the Brigadier to examine the ordnance and stores in the arsenal; found many of the dismounted guns quite unserviceable. Walked in the evening alone round the north ramparts, and returned soon after sunset to my quarters, but found it excessively hot after dinner, and removed into the balcony to drink our wine. The balcony projects in an extraordinary manner from the rock, over the town, and from it we were much entertained with illuminations and a procession of a marriage in the town.

The fireworks and music had a very good effect from the rock. Broke up at eleven o'clock.

Captain MacLeod of the 11th and Lieutenant *MAR. 3.* William, Garrison Officer of the day, breakfasted at headquarters this morning. Hannay came after breakfast, and we played over a great deal of the music which my European friends had sent me, and which was uncommonly pretty. Despatched by this day's dawke one thousand five hundred and thirty



1804.

*Fortress of
Gwalior.*

rupees to Cunynghame, the collector, for the eight per cent. loan, being the amount of my Delhi prize money. News reached us this day of the unfortunate result of an action between some Irregular troops of ours, commanded by a Major Brownrigg, late of Scindiah's service, and a body of Sikhs, near Delhi. Major Brownrigg and a Captain Swinton, with nearly three hundred men, fell in this contest, and three pieces of cannon were left in the enemy's possession. Brownrigg's Detachment marched from Agra, at the same time we left it with the Grand Army. It was principally composed of men formerly belonging to Scindiah, and many of them were men who surrendered to us at Agra on conditions of being entertained in our service. Their arms to my knowledge were infamous, as I went to the place of arms in Agra, and chose the best of them for the recruits of the 2nd Regiment, and reported to Colonel Blair that none of them were serviceable; these were the same those unfortunate men had to use, and to which the failure of the attack was attributed. The action was fought near Hansy, above Delhi.

MAR. 8.

Went with the Brigadier to see the people employed in levelling the ground for a grand parade. We remained out till the sun became extremely hot, and breakfasted later than usual. Was taken dangerously ill this day, and unable to dine out or leave my couch all day.

APRIL 28.

In continuance from the 8th of March, having been prevented writing by a dangerous illness, during which my life was for many days quite despaired of. Continued exceedingly weak and unable to sit up more than a quarter of an hour at a time.

APRIL 29.

Rode the bay horse (the first time of my leaving my quarters since the 28th March); went first to my stables, and found things in tolerable order con-



sidering the long time of my absence. Sold the bay 1804. horse, Capsicum, this morning to the Brigadier, and purchased a very handsome, well-bred Dukan mare off *Fortress of Gwalior*. Friele of the 11th. Declined by letter this day the appointment of Adjutant to the Bareilly Corps, not thinking it proper to join any Corps not on actual service in such times as these, and while the army continued in the field. Wemyss, who knew my determination respecting the Adjutancy, wrote me that the Commander-in-Chief highly approved of my conduct, and informed me that Colonel Lake had very kindly interfered for me, and mentioned my objections to the General.

Rode for the air this morning a short distance in my palanquin. The wind during the day very hot and uncomfortable, and the only water we could get to water our kuss was what had been so long lying in the ponds on the top of the rock that the stench from it was hardly bearable. My friend, Mrs. Cunynghame, who had heard of my illness, wrote to me and kindly entreated me to change the air of Gwalior and to go immediately to them, offering to send tents, elephants and a carriage to meet me at any place I should appoint, but with my kind acknowledgments I declined it till the end of the campaign, and then promised to join them with all expedition. APRIL 30.

The wind blew excessively hot all this day, and the thermometer was up to one hundred and fifteen at noon. The fever continued hanging on me, and I did not in the least gain strength. MAY 1.

As I recovered so slowly the surgeons again urged me to quit Gwalior for change of air, and they seriously assured me that it would not at all surprise them to find me some morning a corpse on my bed. I resolved (perhaps unwisely) to abide by the consequences, and not to quit the fortress as long as there MAY 4.



1804.

Fortress of
Gwalior.

appeared a shadow of a chance of our being attacked. Nothing could possibly exceed the kind treatment I experienced from the Brigadier, who generally passed the greater part of the day in my quarters, and sat many hours on my bedside every day. Every comfort that our situation afforded was obtained for me, and I was nursed with every care that my unpleasant situation required. The wind continued blowing flames, and the officers declared they had never felt heat equal to what we experienced in Gwalior.

MAY 5.

The cannon of the garrison was exercised this morning at daybreak, and the officer reported that the Sepoys in training at the guns made astonishing progress. I rode a very steady horse of Wilson's a short distance this morning, and went to the Fakeer's Temple in front of our quarters. A Rajah from the town visited us this morning, and the Brigadier received him in my apartments. The usual ceremony of throwing otta and rose-water was attended to, and I was happy when this chief took his leave. A dreadful accident happened this morning. Seven men at work in the arsenal on gun carriages were unfortunately blown up by the bursting of a shell which had remained charged, and to which some sparks of fire, it was imagined, had communicated. These unfortunate men all lost their lives. This evening we had a sudden alteration in the weather, and at sunset a violent tofaun (hurricane) commenced. Even on the rock it was rendered almost dark by the immense clouds of dust, and it continued nearly an hour blowing most tremendously, and at dark it rained extremely hard for a short time, which cooled and refreshed us much.

As the surgeons recommended me to take as much exercise as I could bear, without too much fatigue, rode this morning on Fidgett (my new mare) to the breach, to observe the alterations and the progress made in repairing it since my illness. Returned early



exceedingly tired. Received this morning a letter 1804.
from Thornhill, detailing his severe loss in the *Fortress of*
Euphrates of four chest of claret and one of hock. At *Gwalior*.
At sunset Friele, Wilson, Stewart, Nesbit and myself
left the garrison and proceeded to the rose garden,
where I had ordered dinner. I found the change
rather reviving, and my spirits were better than they
had lately been. At ten o'clock it came on to blow a
hurricane, but the wind soon subsided, and a gentle
shower of rain afforded us great relief, and I was
enabled to sleep tolerably well, to which I had long
been unaccustomed.

Rode Fidget this morning on the eastern face of *MAY 8.*
the fortress, and returned by the way of the breach,
and on the new-made road near the Orwy. Break-
fasted with Friele, from whom, during my illness, I
experienced the most kind attention; he passed the
greatest part of his time at my quarters, and his
pleasant, gentlemanly manners, and the solicitude he
always expressed on my account, attached me exceed-
ingly to him. We made a plan to-day to go together
to Bareilly after the return of the army, and when
everything should be finally settled in the field.
Friele had a sister (Mrs. Welland, wife of Mr.
Welland, Second Judge of the Court of Appeal) living
at Bareilly, and as my most intimate friends resided
there, we "built our castles" accordingly.

We had the honour of a lady's company (Mrs. *MAY 12.*
Griffin, wife of Lieutenant Griffin of the 11th Regi-
ment) at dinner to-day, the first European female
most probably that ever dined on the rock of Gwalior.

No dawke from the Army this morning. Pitched *MAY 14.*
the fly of the Brigadier's breakfast tent on the top of
the Palace, in hopes of getting more air there than in
the gardens below. The weather dreadfully hot and
oppressive, and the thermometer upwards of one



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hundred and twenty, after the sun had set! It was hardly to be borne by men in health, and I suffered more than can be expressed. To gain strength in such a climate perfectly out of the question. At ten at night I got into my palanquin, and accompanied the Brigadier round the ramparts, it being the only time possible to leave one's quarters, and even at that hour we felt all the horrors of the hot wind.

The sentries we found very alert, and observed that the rounds went most punctually, as well as the patrols in the intermediate time. We knew the enemy were in the neighbourhood, and that we could not guard too much against a surprise, which was all we had to apprehend. It was nearly three o'clock before we got back to our quarters.

MAY 15.

Breakfasted with Friele this morning, and found myself somewhat better than I had been for many weeks. The Brigadier received accounts that Raganauth Rhow remained encamped at Subbul Ghur with nine thousand horse, and that he intended to take up a post so as to intercept the supplies to this place. At noon I sent off my servants to prepare dinner for a small party in the rose garden, and at six o'clock Friele, Wilson and myself left the garrison, the two former on horseback and I in my palanquin. We ordered all our dogs down (about thirty), and let them loose in the garden. Found our dinner ready, and passed as pleasant an evening as the weather would allow.

MAY 16.

The day was dreadfully hot. For the first time since my illness I left my quarters this evening to dine with Browne, and the evening was so hot that the wax candles on the table at dinner actually melted, and sunk down on the cloth. This had never been witnessed before by any officer at table (there were more than a dozen present), and we had the curiosity to send for a thermometer from the next room, and it



absolutely stood at upwards of one hundred and 1804.
twenty-five!

*Fortress of
Gwalior.*

In the evening we received a public letter from the Adjutant-General, stating that Don had taken Ram-poorah by assault, and it appeared that the Sepoys behaved with their usual gallantry. Our loss reported to be but trifling, considering the nature of the attack. It was a second Ali Ghur business, only that Sepoys alone composed the storming party. Three gates were blown open under a heavy fire, and nearly all the troops composing the garrison were put to death. MAY 17.

Received a letter from headquarters this morning from my friend Wemyss, telling me that the army would immediately commence its march towards cantonments, some of the troops to canton at Muttrah and Agra (on the banks of the Jumnah), others to proceed on to Cawnpore and Futty Ghur. Colonel Monson to advance towards Boondah, with a strong detachment, to a Ghaut of that name, and his position is intended to prevent any of Holcar's predatory horse returning immediately to the Jeypore country. As I did not recover my strength at all, and the surgeons' constant persuasions were to change the air, I resolved, in case of the return of the army, to proceed to Mynpoorie and pass a month with my good friends the Cunynghames. MAY 18.

Vilely hot, and all declared they never before experienced anything equal to the sun and wind at Gwalior. Men daily dropping off. MAY 19.

Accounts from the army this morning related to MAY 21.
nothing more than we were before acquainted with. They continued marching. The Europeans were very sickly, and many died from the effects of the climate, which is always particularly destructive to troops marching at this season. Some villages were plundered, and many of the inhabitants murdered



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within three miles of the garrison this morning. This dreadfully annoyed the Brigadier, and we much lamented that our authority did not extend beyond the garrison and the limits of the town, past which we could not act without express orders from headquarters. The plunderers were reported to be nearly four thousand strong, and our *friend* Raganauth Rhow supposed to be at their head.

MAY 24.

This morning the Bundlecund post brought me letters from home. The happiness they afforded me was much damped by accounts in the same post of the unfortunate fate of a part of the Bundlecund army, which had been cut off and destroyed by Ameer Khan. My most intimate friend, poor Morris of the Artillery, whose gallantry and good conduct I had often witnessed during the siege of this place, was among the officers who fell.

Captain Teade, Lieutenants Hooper and Gellispie were also killed, with upwards of fifty European Artillerymen and three hundred Sepoys.

Colonel Taylor died suddenly in the garrison this evening, much lamented by us all. He was a zealous officer.

MAY 25.

At five this morning they buried poor Taylor under the flagstaff, with all military honours. A confused account of the melancholy fate of the officers and men in Bundlecund reached us this day. It appeared Ameer Khan was still hanging upon their rear, but nothing had occurred since the 2nd.

MAY 26.

As far as we could judge the heads of the Detachment in Bundlecund appeared highly culpable, and their conduct was most extraordinary in not having advanced to endeavour to recover their guns. The affair took place six miles only from Koock (at a mud fort, and where Colonel Fawcett, who unfortunately commanded in Colonel Powell's absence) was



encamped. Letters from the Commander-in-Chief's 1804.
camp inform us of their being in full march towards *Fortress of*
Agra. Received a letter from Wemyss, *requiring a Gwalior.*
promise from me to quit Gwalior immediately, and to
meet him at Mynpoorie. Remained all day in
quarters.

No accounts this morning from the Bundelcund MAY 27.
army. In the evening we received accounts that the
enemy had destroyed the country around them, and
it appeared that they were in a very precarious
situation. The Brigadier expressed his apprehension
of being ordered away himself to take the command
from Colonel Fawcett, not doubting but that as soon
as the accounts should reach headquarters some officer
would be sent to supersede him. The Brigadier asked
me if, in my present weakly state, I would accompany
him, to which I most readily assented, though the
medical men *comforted* me by telling me that to
attempt to take the field in my reduced state, and in
such a season, would inevitably prove fatal. I
resolved, however, to go, and lamented only the dread
of not being able to do my duty as I would wish.
Another express from Fawcett received this evening
stated that the enemy hourly threatened an attack on
their line. This was a burning day.

Prepaid people this morning to go off towards MAY 31.
Gohud with my baggage. This forenoon I had the
satisfaction to receive letters from England. Those
letters came by Welstead, and had been lying for
many weeks in a village near the fortress, and were
stopped by a party of the enemy, and afterwards
politely sent on. They were unopened and unhurt.
Wemyss wrote to me from the army; they were at
Indown, a place at which we lay many days encamped
after the battle of Lassuary, on the 1st of November.
This evening at sunset (it being so hot during the day
that the camels even could not travel without being



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injured much), I sent off my tent and baggage to Beharderpore, half way to Gohud, determined to follow the next day.

JUNE 1.

The Brigadier, on my account, ordered an early dinner. He passed the whole of the day with me in my quarters, and made me promise to join him again as soon as the fever had quite left me, and the weather became more temperate. At eight I took my leave of the Brigadier, and most of the officers (my intimate friends whom the Brigadier had asked on the occasion of my leaving the garrison), and got into my palanquin. By gunfire (nine o'clock) I had reached the foot of the staircase.



CHAPTER XX.

From Gwalior to Bareilly, and on Leave at Bareilly.
June 2nd to September 4th, 1804.

I HAD with me a guard of fifty men and twenty ^{1804.}
horsemen, and considering the very unsettled state of ^{JUNE 2.}
the country and that the enemy were daily committing ^{Camp at}
depredations in the neighbourhood, I considered ^{Gohud.}
myself fortunate in reaching Gohud in safety. Passed
Baharderpore about one in the morning, and arrived
at Gohud about six, where I found my tent ready
pitched in a fine mango grove, and breakfast on the
table. I found great relief from the burning rock of
Gwalior, to a fine, fertile country, and the trees com-
pletely shading my tent made it tolerably cool
compared to what I had been lately accustomed to.
Most of the respectable inhabitants of Gohud paid me
a visit, and sent me presents of various kinds.

Arrived here this morning before break of day. My ^{JUNE 3.}
tent pitched, and breakfast comfortably laid in ^{MIL. 15.}
readiness. Felt very weak, but revived by the change
of air. Lost during my march last night a very ^{Camp at}
beautiful terrier, and a great pet; she was always ^{Muhamooah.}
miserable when out of my sight, and I was obliged to
carry her with me in my palanquin, from which, by
some accident, I imagine, she fell in the night, and
lost us. I never saw her again. This place afforded
but very little shelter for my tent, and it was a vile
hot day. I, notwithstanding, evidently daily gained a
little strength. The villagers brought me kids, milk,
fowls and everything that I and my servants stood in
need of. At four I dined, drank my pint of claret, and
sent on my tent and baggage. The country near this
place very much burnt up, and the land seemed poor,
and little cultivated. The heat was so great that it
was impossible to march while the sun was up.



1804.

JUNE 4.

Mil. 15.

*Camp at
Bhindi.*

Arrived at Bhinde this morning at sunrise, after experiencing one of the most dreary nights I ever marched in. Sent on an express to my friend Major Palmer, commanding at Etyah. The weather after breakfast was cool and pleasant, and I felt quite gay and in good spirits. The people from the town brought me everything I had occasion for, and behaved with the greatest attention. My horses here got some fine hay (the first time since we left Gwalior). Stopped the post and opened it. No letters for me. Dined at three; drank my pint of claret; forwarded my tent and baggage at sunset, and got into my palanquin about ten at night.

JUNE 5.

Mil. 30.

Etyah.

Left Bhinde last evening at ten o'clock. After going about two miles lighted my mussels. Arrived at the banks of the Chumbill about midnight, and found great difficulty in discovering the ford. The ravines on the banks of this river are really tremendous, and a small force might always defend the different passes. At daylight reached, and *once again crossed, the Jumnah*. Found my friend Major Palmer with his elephant ready to receive me; got to his bungalow about eight, and made a very hearty breakfast. Slept nearly the whole of the day, and dined with Mr. Macvitie.

JUNE 6.

Etyah.

Received certain accounts this morning that the General, with the Cavalry, was advancing towards this quarter; found the people here under some apprehensions of the approach of an enemy, and letters from my Gwalior friends express their anxiety for my safety. Visited the different fords with Major Palmer (commanding the station), and resolved on erecting a one-gun battery at each ford. Kept the troops under arms during the nights. Ate some fine grapes this morning, the first of the season.



This morning's dawke brought us information that the General had crossed at Agra. Received a letter from Thornhill, most kindly offering me his advice to go to Europe on account of my health, and, at the same time, requesting me to accept the loan of one thousand pounds to make myself comfortable during my stay in England; declined so doing with every suitable acknowledgment to him for such kind and friendly conduct; such friends are rarely met with.

1804.
JUNE 7.
Etyah.

Dined with Captain Drummond, and at nine o'clock left Etawah for Mynpoorie. About twelve was awakened by the palanquin stopping, and hearing at the same time a noise, on looking out perceived several men with drawn swords round the palanquin; got hold of my pistols, but found no occasion to use them, as the people proved to be a party of Frith's Irregular Horse on their way to join him; proceeded on, and at daylight met Cunynghame's chariot (which he had kindly sent out to bring me in); about seven met Wemyss and Campbell; the former came on with me in the chariot to Wemyss's little bungalow, where we all dressed, and breakfasted in Cunynghame's new house.

JUNE 13.

Passed my time very pleasantly at Mynpoorie, and this morning at six o'clock went in the buggy to Bugong, and in my palanquin from thence to the Colla Nuddy; found Wemyss there, who had arrived an hour before me.

*Colla
Nuddy.*

Left the Colla Nuddy this morning at daybreak, and arrived at Futti Ghur to breakfast, which, with a very hearty reception, I got at my friend Christie's. Sent immediately for some cloth and purchased a sufficiency to make a dozen suits. Employed all the tailors that could be found. The weather very cool, and the old Ganges (on the banks of which stood Christie's house) afforded a very gratifying sight.

JULY 12.
Futti Ghur.



1804.

JULY 14.

Tutty Ghur

Remained the whole of the morning at home, and at half-past four in the afternoon got into my palanquin in the most rainy, disagreeable weather I had almost ever witnessed in the country. Got across the Ganges a little before sunset, and found the country nearly inundated. The bearers going constantly knee-high in the water. Soon after dark I was under the necessity of quitting the palanquin in order to proceed, and was carried a considerable way on the men's shoulders, the palanquin on their heads in order to keep dry the bedding. The rain continued with unabating violence till daylight. Crossed the Rham Gungah at six o'clock, and arrived at Burrah Matahney at nine, where I found my friend Thornhill had sent a tent, a very comfortable breakfast, and a couple of bottles of claret, should I have been disposed to spend the day there. Halted here about an hour, and again set forward towards Bareilly. This afternoon proved singularly fortunate to me. About four o'clock, and within five miles of Bareilly, I discovered at a small distance three elephants and a couple of gentlemen. On our approach I was happy to find them Peyron and Anderdon going in pursuit of a tiger; got out of my palanquin and on the spare elephant with a double barrel of Peyron's; we had not proceeded a mile when we discovered him stalking majestically across the plain. We instantly pushed for him, and he no sooner discovered us than he turned about and came on like a gallant fellow to charge us. Peyron's elephant fled. When he arrived at about forty yards in front of our elephants, Anderdon and myself fired, and with effect. It, however, only served to bring him on with increased fierceness, roaring at the same time tremendously. At about fifteen yards from my elephant's trunk I fired again, and my shot entered exactly above the eye, and he fell stone dead. He had, a few hours before, destroyed two poor unfortunate villagers, and being on the roadside (within one hundred yards of the spot



over which I had passed in my palanquin) he would inevitably have done much more mischief. The villagers were soon in crowds about us, returning us thanks, and one old man remarked that whether *tigers* or *goats* it was the same thing to the Sahib Logue (gentlemen). After talking over our game for half-an-hour, I got into my palanquin, and went on to Asiff Bhang, where I arrived, exceedingly fatigued, about eight o'clock, having been twenty-six hours on the road. Thornhill, not expecting me to-day, had gone into cantonments, but his servants soon got me a comfortable dinner, after which and a bottle of claret I got my hookah, had a famous smoke, and went to bed. *Barcilly.* 1804.

This morning soon after daybreak Thornhill and Ridge arrived in a tandem. We all three got into it, and went round to see the colts, and Pepper Jacket, the English horse. Returned to breakfast, and, shutting out the hot winds, passed a pleasant day in my old quarters, where I was received with all possible kindness, and a most hearty welcome. I received a letter to-day with the very welcome news of my friend, Captain (now Major) Sinclair having, in a most gallant manner, carried the fort of Hinlass Ghur by assault, at twelve o'clock at noon. Sinclair was my Captain of Grenadiers for a long time, and we had witnessed some hard knocks together. I truly rejoiced at his success, knowing him to be as brave an officer as ever drew a sword. JULY 16.

This morning the natives had a report that Colonel Monson, commanding the detachment in the Jeypore country, had met with a check, and was under the necessity of falling back, but this we did not credit. Took my usual ride round the racecourse this morning. Passed the day quietly at home, and drove the tandem in the evening for about an hour. Found my time so much taken up with sporting, visiting, JULY 20.



1804.

Bareilly.

etc., that I could not journalize so regularly as usual, or as I could wish. We all felt much concern for the fate of Monson's Detachment, as the unfavourable reports from that quarter seemed to gain ground, and some letters of a very unpleasant nature were received this evening.

JULY 25.

I received letters this morning, stating that on the 7th Monson was attacked by thirty thousand of Holcar's horse, which he succeeded in beating off, with great slaughter. Poor Lloyd of the 12th (a particular friend of mine) was shot through the heart in the action.

JULY 26.

I received a letter from Macan this evening, informing me that Colonel Martindale, commanding a detachment in Bundelcund, had been repulsed in storming a fort. It was found impracticable to carry a gun up to the gate; the sortie would not admit of it, and their scaling ladders, as is too frequently the case, were not long enough to scale the walls. In this unfortunate affair my old Corps, the 18th, was employed, and Vanrenon, Fagan, Colier and Baynes, belonging to it, were wounded. Captain Robinson of the Artillery was also wounded. The troops appear to have behaved very gallantly, but under the disadvantages in which they commenced the attack, it was next to an impossibility that they should succeed. A report that the army will take the field again immediately. The surgeons seriously advised me not to think of marching in my present weak state of health, but I resolved, the consequence be what it may, to leave Bareilly the moment General Lake marches from Cawnpore, and the troops begin to assemble.

JULY 27.

Called this morning on Mrs. Elliott and Mrs. Welland, the latter my friend Friele's sister, and a pleasant woman, good looking, but a bad *squat*



figure. Mrs. Elliott a very genteel woman, and 1804.
exceedingly pleasant. At Welland's we played *Bareilly*.
billiards, and the lady sang and played us several
favourite songs.

Got up this morning at gunfire. Thornhill's JULY 28.
Capsicum Colt was ready for me at the door, and we
rode away to commence marking out a new race-
course, the square of which we finished this morning.
We had a match of pigeon shooting this morning.
Major Doveton, Ryder and myself shot against
Thornhill, Anderdon and Peyron. Ryder shot very
ill, and we were beat. A large party dined at Asiff
Bhang with us this evening, and a great deal of
claret was drunk. I took, as usual, a very moderate
share. Many of the party had taken too much of the
goodly stuff to go further, and almost every couch in
the house was occupied for the night.

Ridge left us this day, a report having prevailed JULY 29.
that his Corps is under marching orders, in
consequence of unpleasant news from Monson's
Detachment. I mounted the Capsicum Colt at day-
break this morning, and added a circle to the
racecourse, which, when finished, will be one of the
prettiest courses I ever saw. Drove Thornhill in the
curricule to Peyron's in the evening, where we dined
and slept. A good deal of hard *going* again to-day,
and the party did not break up till every man had
taken his two bottles at least.

Coursed this morning, but a smart gallop after the JULY 30.
first hare we found gave me so severe a headache that
I was obliged to leave the party and to return home.
This morning intelligence of a most unfavourable
nature reached us from Monson's Detachment. It
related to the action of the 10th in which poor Lloyd
fell. The enemy were driven back with considerable
loss, notwithstanding which it appears that the



1804.

Bareilly.

detachment was falling back for want of provisions, and Colonel Murray from Bombay, with whom they expected to have formed a junction, had not advanced.

The enemy took every advantage of their situation, and increased their difficulties by setting fire to all the villages in their route, and thereby preventing them from obtaining supplies from them. They continued daily to harrass their line during the march, but why Colonel Monson, instead of retreating before the enemy, had not marched to give him battle, was more than we could account for. On the 15th Holcar, with his whole force, encamped within two miles of our troops, and his flag was plainly discovered, flying in the evening, and all the officers felt assured that an attack would be made on him in the course of the night, which the most experienced in camp had recommended to the Brigadier.

At twelve that night an order was issued to strike tents, and parade immediately, but instead of advancing to attack the enemy, who had so much annoyed them and taken a considerable portion of their baggage from them, what must have been the feelings of our brave officers and troops, when, instead of moving towards the enemy at a time when everything promised them success, they received the word, "Right shoulders forward," and commenced their retreat (or rather continued it)? This was a movement most truly disgraceful to the officer who conducted it, as the consequences plainly evinced. The enemy became more spirited as the *fire* of our Brigadier became damped, and they continued the pursuit, with redoubled ardour. Nothing could exceed the disgust of our officers on this occasion, and even the soldiers in the ranks asked "why they were retreating before an enemy they were conscious they could defeat?" It could only be accounted for by the panic which had so unfortunately seized on the commanding officer, and it will be ever a cause to



be lamented that he had not been put in arrest, and a man with better *nerves* taken charge of the detachment. They continued flying in a most unhappy manner, and on the fourth day of their retreat the Brigadier ordered all his cannon to be spiked and abandoned to the enemy, and such was their distressed situation when the last despatches left them, the enemy hourly harrassing their line. We were all much distressed at this information, and felt much for the fate of our friends. Sinclair and our 2nd Battalion were with Monson's Detachment. Dined at home this evening, some officers of the 3rd dined with us.

1804.

Bareilly.

I rode the English horse Pepper Jacket this morning, and Thornhill and myself finished the race-course, and it was a very complete one; as level as possible, and the finest turf I almost ever saw in India. I expected to join immediately, and therefore did not promise myself much sport on the course I had taken some pains to complete.

JULY 31.

A fever prevented me journalizing since the end of the month, the effects of which I still seriously felt. This morning we received information that Monson had re-crossed the Chumbill, on his way back to Rampoorah. He took the precaution to destroy the boats, and thereby delayed the crossing of the enemy, who continued to hang on his rear and to distress him exceedingly. Letters from Rampoorah mentioned that the Artillerymen belonging to the guns which had so disgracefully been disposed of had arrived there in a most distressed condition; half-starved, and scarcely any kind of covering on them. It appeared that this unfortunate detachment had lost the whole of their baggage, cattle, camp equipage, etc., not a shirt even left them, and were in a most miserable situation. They were obliged in the most severe rains ever known, and with scarcely any provision except what they gathered from the fields on

Aug. 7.



1804.

Bareilly.

their route, to continue making the most long and fatiguing marches. This was the most unpleasant affair that had ever happened since the recollection of the oldest officer I had met with, and it seems to have been all occasioned by that ill-judged measure of sending a man perfectly unqualified for such a command on a service of so serious a nature. Had he but attacked the enemy as soon as an opportunity offered, instead of avoiding him and commencing a shameful retreat, the villagers of the country through which he passed would have brought more than a necessary supply constantly to his camp, as they had done before, but when they observed him flying, as they always do, they joined that which they considered the strongest party, and became the avowed enemies of our detachment, plundering them, and cutting up their straggling camp followers whenever an opportunity offered. Thornhill and self passed the day at Elliott's and Welland's. Feeling much as every man must have done for the fate of my numerous friends of Monson's Detachment, I was very anxious to hear further from them, as it appeared that the worst may be apprehended. We remained in cantonments and slept at Peyron's.

Aug 13.

I returned alone in the curricule this morning to Asiff Bhang, after breakfasting with Becher, and passing a couple of hours with him and the ladies, who sang and played a good deal, and better private performers on the piano than W—— I had seldom heard. Went, on my arrival at Asiff Bhang, to see my camels in the mango grove near the house, where sheds had been erected to shelter them from the rains, which to camels are very destructive. We daily, almost, experienced showers of rain, more or less heavy. Shot two jungle dogs this morning. Thornhill did not come from Court till tiffin time. As Judge and Magistrate and Collector he had a great deal on his hands. In the evening we drove the



tandem round the course, and had a quiet comfortable dinner and a bottle of claret by ourselves. The evening we passed in talking of England, dear England, and of our friends there.

Bareilly.

At daybreak this morning I mounted Horatio, and we took the greyhounds to the coursing ground, and had five of the best runs I ever saw in any part of the world. We killed a lease of hares, a fourth went to earth close to the dogs, and the last hare, after as severe a run as I ever witnessed before, Norah and Major got into some high grass, and we lost her. I rode Horatio the two first courses. The Capsicum Colt the two second, and Thornhill's famous grey pony (Khondrum Khan) the last course, and returned as much fatigued as I ever had been by the longest marches I had made in India, and in the hottest days.

Aug. 14.

We all went this morning to the Kiary Lake to fish. The tents had been ordered down, and pitched on the banks of the lake in a mango grove, last evening. We had a large party of gentlemen at breakfast. Miss W—— and Mrs. S—— also joined our party. Thornhill had provided a splendid breakfast for us, with every luxury the season afforded. About nine the nets were run across the lake, and we began to draw them. It was a very fine sight, the immense fish, some plunging in the nets, others completely sprung over, and the natives with floating choppers (grass woven on bamboo) by following the nets received a great number of the fish on them which otherwise would have escaped. Two small boats also belonging to the lake, Peyron and myself in one, and Thornhill and Doveton in the other, followed the nets, and some immense fish leaped into the boats. The lake seemed almost swarming with them. This diversion lasted till twelve o'clock, when we took some refreshment, and commenced firing ball from our rifles at marks on the lake. Some of the

*Aug. 16.**Kiary Lake,
near
Bareilly.*



1804.

*Kiary Lake,
near
Bareilly.*

finest shots were made that I ever saw. Peyron and I and the others went to lounge, took our guns, and, mounting the elephants, went to the banks of the Rham Gungah, about three miles from the lake, and had a famous evening's shooting. Killed several deer, some hogs and seven brace of partridge. At sunset, some on horseback, some on elephants, others in carriages, left the lake to return into cantonments, about four miles, to dine with Major Doveton, who had provided a dinner to correspond with our morning's entertainment, and at one in the morning we parted after passing as pleasant a day as I remember in India.

Aug. 17.

Rode Horatio this morning; cantered gently round the new course, and home by the banks of the river, on a pleasant road which had been cut by Mr. Wellesley when he lived in (now) Thornhill's house, Asiff Bhang. Received letters stating that Monson's Detachment had arrived at Rampoorah in a most deplorable condition, with the entire loss of the guns, camp equipage, and without provisions or any clothes but those on their backs. Their legs so swollen with extreme fatigue, and not having for so many days taken their boots off, that they were under the necessity of cutting them from their legs. Every article except what they carried about their persons had been left behind, and with them, it may be truly added, went the honour and credit of the person who conducted this ill-fated detachment. Holcar had found means to cross the Chumbill, and was advancing rapidly in their rear, directly in the route they had taken. We much feared that Monson would be unable to remain long at Rampoorah, as they cannot have supplies there for his detachment to subsist many days on. Great apprehensions, therefore, are still to be entertained for their safety, for without grain they cannot long remain at Rampoorah, and no supplies can be procured nearer than Agra.



Took my gun this morning down to the river, where I had seen several otters, and had some capital ball shooting at them. Killed several. Peyron, Doveton and Nuthall passed the day with us, and in the evening we went to bathe in the river, and dressed on the banks. Returned on elephants to dinner. A small snug party, and we talked over the feats of the last campaign.

1804.
Aug. 22.

Kiary Lake,
near
Bareilly.

Coursed this morning, and had capital sport. Knocked up all the dogs, as usual, and killed everything we ran. The neighbourhood of Bareilly I thought the finest I had ever seen for coursing, and the hares ran far stronger than those of any part of India I had coursed in. At sunset we went in the curricule to dine with Becher, and W——t seriously told me it was her intention to return immediately to Europe, as she found her health daily declining. We had a very gay party at dinner, and the evening was passed in great good humour.

Aug. 23.

This day's post brought the long-expected letter from Wemyss, to prepare immediately to take the field, and by the same conveyance came an order for the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th and 6th Regiments of Native Cavalry, together with the 8th, 27th and 29th Dragoons, to prepare to march. Also the 1st Battalion 2nd Regiment, 15th Regiment and 1st Battalion 21st Regiment to hold themselves in readiness to march at the shortest notice. The 3rd (at Bareilly) ordered to proceed immediately by the nearest route to Muttrah. I resolved on joining the army, and not to go back to a sickly garrison, as Gwalior was well known to be, many fatal proofs of which I had witnessed.

Aug. 25.

It was my plan to march with the 3rd Cavalry, which Corps was ordered to join the headquarters of the army at either Agra or Muttrah. The general orders left it optional to me, as absent by leave on a



1804.

*Kiary Lake,
near
Bareilly.*

sick certificate, either to remain at Bareilly, return to my Brigade Majorship at Gwalior, or join. I determined, of course, on the latter, though very much against the advice of the medical men, who declared and offered to testify it to Government, that I was not in a fit state of health to join in the fatiguing hardships of a campaign, and further they assured me seriously that by marching at this season I evidently endangered my life. But I had not been accustomed to remain behind on such occasions, and therefore told them my resolve to risk everything, and to join the army. We all dined this evening with Gillman, and Thornhill and self slept at Peyron's bungalow.

Aug. 30.

Bareilly.

Breakfasted and passed the day at Welland's. Mrs. Welland and Mrs. Elliott sang and played a good deal, and we had some matches of billiards. I found that the march of the 3rd would be more tedious than I at first expected, and determined, therefore, to go express to Futtu Ghur, and thence, by the same mode of conveyance, to Agra, where the army is to assemble. Wemyss wrote me that General Lake could not arrive at the place of rendezvous sooner than the early part of October. I resolved, however, to go with all expedition, and wrote this evening to Christie, at Futtu Ghur, to lay bearers on the road for me. We dined this evening with Seton, and during dinner the post came in, and Gillman received a letter from Monro, stating Monson to have left Ram-poorah, where he could not longer remain for want of provisions; he, therefore, re-commenced his retreat, and on the 24th instant Holcar came up with his detachment on the banks of the Banass river, and a very bloody business ensued.

Among other gallant fellows, my worthy and ever-to-be-lamented friend, Major Sinclair, unfortunately fell, a more cool and gallant soldier than whom the Service cannot boast. Many a time had I been an eye-witness of his heroism and undaunted courage, in the



most severe and trying occasions. In the storm of 1804. Sarssney, Ali Ghur, at Agra, and the Battle of Delhi and Lassuary, we belonged to the same Grenadier Company (viz., Right Grenadiers, 1st Battalion, 2nd Regiment.) He was promoted to a Major, and commanded the 2nd Battalion of our Regiment, which unfortunate Corps formed, with the picquets, the rear guard, on the day which Monson crossed the Banass, and as all the other Corps of the detachment had succeeded in crossing the river, when Holcar and his guns came up, they bore the brunt of the attack. Sinclair was drawn up on the banks of this river when the enemy opened a most destructive cannonade on him, and at the same moment pressed down on him in heavy columns. He, in this situation, had no alternative. The river had risen so high that he could not cross, and rather than surrender himself and his officers and men into the hands of so sanguinary a butcher as Holcar, he took the colours of his Corps in his own hands, and most gallantly stormed the enemy's guns, the greater part of which he had actually gained possession of when an unhappy grape shot killed him on the spot. Most of his officers had also fallen, and this disaster in front of his men threw them into some confusion, and the enemy, who were before panic-struck at what they saw, took the advantage of this disorder in their line, and poured in upon them in numbers which nothing could withstand, and of this handful of heroes, eight hundred strong, when they went into action, with nine officers to lead them on, one wounded officer and about seventy men only escaped. Becher, Wy—t, and Nuthall dined at Asiff Bhang with us this evening. I drove W——t in the curricule into the country this afternoon. This melancholy news damped the spirits of us all, and it was the only gloomy day I had ever passed at Bareilly.

The post brought us accounts that Monson's ^{Sept. 3.} shattered detachment (the sad remains of it) had



1804.

Bareilly.

positively arrived at Agra, and also that three new regiments would immediately appear in orders. I received a short letter this morning from Jones of our 2nd Battalion, the only surviving officer of the corps present at the bloody and unequal contest at the Banass. Jones, knowing my regard for Sinclair, and the friendship which existed between us, told me how gallantly he fell, carrying the colours up to the muzzles of the enemy's guns, and describing as well as he could in his wounded state the nature of the action.

SEPT. 4.

Rode the Capsicum Colt this morning with W——t, who rode Horatio, and a finer lady's horse I never saw mounted. We went quietly, about six miles, and returned soon after sunrise. The party who came down yesterday passed the day with us, and at five in the evening, rather gloomy at the thoughts of leaving my friends, I got into my palanquin after taking a farewell of W——t, Thornhill, Becher and Nuthall, and set forward, post, to join the army at the place of rendezvous, near Agra. The surgeons insisted on the impropriety of my journey, and I certainly was in a very bad state of health, but determined at all events to take the field. I crossed the Bareilly river at sunset.



CHAPTER XXI.

September 5th, 1804, to September 26th, 1804.
From Bareilly to Agra to join the Grand Army.

AFTER travelling all night, I arrived this morning at daybreak on the banks, and crossed the Rham Gungah river. I found at Jellalabad the bearers just laid, and had I started an hour sooner, I must have waited for them. I immediately pushed on, giving the bearers money to be as expeditious as possible, and at twelve I once more crossed the Ganges, and arrived at my friend Christie's bungalow at Futtu Ghur at one o'clock.

1804.
SEPT. 5.
Futtu Ghur.

At twelve o'clock we saw my horses and camels crossing the Ganges, about a mile above Christie's house. Procured from the Europe shops a few necessary articles, and received from Mrs. Christie two dozen suits of clothes of every description, which she had kindly made up for me at Futtu Ghur. Christie dined early, on my account, and my friend Colonel Ralph, from whom I had experienced great kindness during the short time I belonged to the 18th, met us at dinner, looking exceedingly ill, but with his usual flow of spirits. About nine o'clock I got into my palanquin, and slept the greater part of the road to the Collah Nuddy (Black River), which I crossed about three this morning, and arrived at Bewar at daybreak, at which place I found Cunynghame's curricule and the crossed mares in waiting for me, and I arrived at Mynpoorie in time to dress for breakfast, and from my friends, Cunynghame and Mrs. Cunynghame, I met with a most unreserved welcome. Russel (Cunynghame's collector) and my friend Macan were also here, the latter on his way to join at the rendezvous of the army. We passed a very pleasant day, and I was less annoyed by the

SEPT. 6.
SEPT. 7.
Mynpoorie.

Mynpoorie.

headache than I had for many days been. Mrs. Cunynghame most kindly played over the greater part of my old favourite pieces and songs, and the harmony of her piano was a very different kind of music from that which we shortly expected to be amused with in the field. After dinner Mrs. Cunynghame left Mynpoorie to go by dawke to Futtly Ghur, on her way to Calcutta, where she expected to meet her relations, Sir John and Lady Doyley and two Miss Doyleys. I very faithfully promised to correspond regularly with her, and to give her an account of the movements of the army. Ryley and a Captain Hearsay, late of Scindiah's service, dined with us to-day.

SEPT. 8.

We dined at seven o'clock, and at ten, having taken a decent quantity of champagne and claret, we took leave of Cunynghame, and Macan and myself, well armed (and with about thirty of Cunynghame's troopers as an escort) got into our palanquins and were soon upon the Agra road.

SEPT. 9.

Mil. 60.

Ferozeabad.

After travelling all night, unmolested, we reached Shikoabad at daybreak; we passed over the ground on which Cunynghame's Detachment fought in September, and I visited the poor remains of my bungalow, except the walls of which nothing remained, and those of the other officers shared the same fate. The lines, also, had been most completely destroyed. We pursued our journey, and about eleven arrived at Ferozeabad, where we found Colonel Macan and the 4th Cavalry encamped. The last stage was uncommonly hot, and we relished our breakfast (which we got immediately on our arrival at the Colonel's tent) exceedingly. We were alarmed a little at a report which had reached Colonel Macan, intimating that one of the regiments of Cavalry in front had actually refused to cross the Jumnah, and remained encamped on this side, near Agra. This



account made Colonel Macan very anxious to arrive 1804. with the 4th Regiment, and he declared his determination to put to death every man who hesitated. *Ferozeabad.* In the night accounts reached us that the regiment had crossed, and were marching quietly to their destination.

We dined this evening at the mess of the 4th Regiment, at which I met the Ridges and many of my old friends, who had called on us in the morning. The weather was exceedingly hot, and I slept in my palanquin on the plain.

This morning I alone proceeded on by post. I left the encampment of the 4th whilst they were striking their tents. About ten I arrived at the Raje Ghaut (King's Ferry), and once again crossed the Jumnah. I dropped down to the fort, and landed at the water gate of the Maddoo Ghur outwork (which we breached in October when we took the place). I met with a most kind reception from my friend Colonel Blair (who commanded the garrison) and Mrs. Blair; the latter immediately ordered a famous breakfast for me. All my baggage, except some clothes with two servants, was in the rear. I made Forrest's my headquarters. The Battalion was encamped at Secundra, four miles from Agra only, at the place appointed for the army to assemble. I heard this morning the particulars of Browne's retreat (or rather of his running away) from Muttrah. Monson's appeared but little more inglorious. Most of the officers lost their baggage and all the stock they had laid in for a campaign. Colonel Browne was encamped at Muttrah (about thirty miles from Agra), with five Battalions of Infantry and a Corps of Cavalry, with a body of Irregular Horse in our pay (troops enough to have marched through Hindustan). Holcar was encamped near him at Muttrah, where Browne received orders to return to Agra, which order he interpreted into one to run away, and instantly struck

SEPT. 10.

Fort of
Agra.



Fort of
Agra.

his camp, took to his heels, leaving all his baggage to be plundered by the villagers, nor did he *call a halt* till his arrival at Agra (thirty long miles). My friend Colonel Ball, who commanded one of the Corps under Browne, took the liberty of telling him that his mode of retreat was disgraceful to the British arms; but the Colonel was in such a *funk* that the more he was entreated not to abandon his baggage the faster he went, taking care always to keep at the head of his column, that being the post most distant from the enemy. Holcar, who had received immediate information that Browne was striking his camp in a violent hurry, concluded it could be for no other purpose than to *attack him*, and without more to do commenced *his flight* in a contrary direction, but as soon as he learnt the true state of affairs, returned and took possession of Muttrah without opposition, and in consequence of this ill-judged retreat, the inhabitants of the country conceived that we had the worst of it, and instantly, to a man, became our enemies, plundered the baggage, and cut up every unfortunate fellow who had not strength or was unable to keep pace with Browne, and very many suffered. A large party of us dined to-day with my old friend and ship-mate Maling, and we had a very jolly evening. Slept at Forrest's, where Smith of the Engineers was also staying. Smith was employed in completing our route the last campaign, having surveyed the country for that purpose.

SEPT. 12.

This morning at break of day Smith and myself rode to the camp near Secundra. The 1st Battalion 2nd Regiment, 2nd Battalion 4th, 1st Battalion 4th and 2nd Battalion of the 15th remained encamped on the ground we took up on our arrival before the place, to besiege it. The 1st Regiment of Cavalry was also encamped near the flank of the Infantry line. We passed down the front, and galloped back into garrison to breakfast, to avoid the heat of the sun.



Duncan and Gordon tiffed with us to-day. In the ^{1804.} evening my baggage, horses and half a pipe of Madeira all arrived safe from Futtý Ghur. Wrote to ^{Fort of} Mrs. C—— and to Thornhill. The 4th Cavalry ^{Agra.} crossed the Jumnah to-day, and the army assembled quickly. We dined with Colonel Blair, and sat playing cards with the ladies till a late hour. The night was particularly cool and pleasant, and a party of us took a long walk on the ramparts, and it was nearly two o'clock before we reached our quarters.

Breakfasted with Cumberlege this morning. Macan ^{SEPT. 13.} by appointment met me there. I rode a horse of Cumberlege's on trial this forenoon, but did not like him. Called after breakfast on Colonel Blair, who informed me that he had received accounts that Holcar had been employed collecting boats at Muttrah, with an intention to cross a force over the Jumnah into the Dewaub.

Wemyss wrote me from a village near Mynpoorie, and by his accounts we expected the arrival of the Commander-in-Chief about the 20th. Murray and Forbes called on me to-day. This evening we had a report that Holcar was bringing on all his Infantry and guns, at which we all rejoiced, not doubting the event of an action with him, and we only hoped that chief would not alter his plans.

Rode Mrs. Blair's horse to the Tauge Gardens this ^{SEPT. 14.} morning with Forrest, and the sun was exceedingly hot before we returned. Went to the sale of the late Colonel Sutherland's baggage, of Scindiah's service.

Forrest had a large party of ladies at dinner to-day, and it was very late before we broke up.

We dined with Cumberlege this evening, and I sat ^{SEPT. 15.} near Miss Browne, who I found had sailed with Welstead in the "Tellicherry"; she was a buxom lass, but in point of figure and carriage a much less



1804.

*Fort of
Agra.*

pleasing girl than her sister, Mrs. Casement, who was just married to an officer of the 4th Infantry. We had a very gay evening, a great deal of card playing, and a great deal of cheating. It was nearly one before we broke up.

SEPT. 16.

By accounts this morning from Muttrah, we ascertained that Holcar's cannon had come up, and that, with nearly one hundred guns, and all his Infantry, he remained encamped in a strong position. In consequence of this information, I got on Mrs. Blair's horse and rode out to camp, in case a forced march should be made to attack him. But on my arrival Colonel Macan assured me that he had received positive orders to attempt nothing until the arrival of the Commander-in-Chief and the Cawnpore troops. As I was daily annoyed with pains of my side and head, and every symptom of the liver complaint, I was advised to return again into garrison, as it was much cooler in a house than a tent, and not to expose myself till it was indispensably necessary.

SEPT. 17.

Wrote to Mrs. Cunynghame this morning, and received a letter from her, dated Futty Ghur. Her pinnace was daily expected to arrive from Bareilly. Cunynghame had purchased Major Milhill's for her, at the price of four thousand rupees.

SEPT. 18.

Received a letter from Wemyss, who informed me that he had spoken to Colonel Lake, and told him of my wish to march with the army, instead of returning to the garrison of Gwalior. Colonel Lake mentioned my wishes to the Commander-in-Chief, and he most readily complied, and promised me a Brigade-Majorship in one of the Brigades of the army, and assured me also that my appointment as Major of Brigade to the Station of Gwalior should not be done away; that after the campaign (God willing) I may return to it, and this, of all things, was what I would



have wished. A letter from Colonel White this 1804. evening greatly damped my spirits—it brought the melancholy account of my friend poor Friele's death. *Fort of Agra.* I sincerely lamented his untimely fate. During my sickness at Gwalior he paid me the kindest attention, and it was my firm belief that owing to his care I was principally indebted for my recovery.

Reached camp just as dinner was going on the table, and dined with Arbuthnot. The line had changed its position of encampment since I was in camp a few days ago. We were now about half a mile to the north-east of Achar's Tomb, our right within musket shot of the wall, and running nearly parallel with the Tomb. *SEPT. 19. Camp near Secundra.*

This morning a body of the enemy made their appearance at the picquets. They came down in great numbers, and seemed to threaten an attack. Macan (Colonel Macan's brother and aide-de-camp) came to my tent and requested me to accompany him in a reconnoitring party in front. We galloped off to the Cavalry picquets, and with a squadron of the 1st Regiment, and a galloper, we advanced within musket shot of a body of the enemy, who were concealed in some high corn; they opened a galling fire of musketry on us, nor would the nature of the ground admit of our effecting a charge, but we soon cleared the corn of them by a few rounds of grape from the gun. The Infantry picquets were in motion to support us had it been necessary, which, the enemy observing, drew off towards Gow Ghaut, where we heard they were encamped in force. We withdrew our advanced party, re-posted the picquets, and returned to Colonel Macan's tent to breakfast. *SEPT. 20.*

Two twelve-pounders, in consequence of our report, were ordered out to a deserted village in front of the line. We had a straggling fire of musketry, and a shot at times from the Cavalry Gallopers at the picquets, constantly during the day.



1804.

SEPT. 21.

*Camp near
Secundra.*

This morning at daybreak I relieved Weston at the right picquet, and on posting my sentries I found that Anderdon commanded the picquet on my left. Nothing occurred during the day, and not a man of the enemy could we see.

At sunset some of our spies came to my picquet, and assured me that seven thousand of the enemy were encamped within five miles of us, and that they intended to attack our picquets in the course of the night. Paraded my Grenadiers and examined their arms, flints, pouches, etc., and ordered them to fill their muskets on a rising spot close to the picquet, and to lie by them during the night. Communicated the information to the Commanding Officer, and to all the picquets down the line, in order to be prepared for their reception. Fixed with Anderdon to join our picquets instantly, in case of an attack, and to take post on the flanks of a large reservoir which stood between us, and there to defend ourselves. A twelve-pounder was also sent to my post, and we were all night under arms, every moment expecting an attack. A proportion of the troops in the lines were also on the parade, ready to support us, but we were disappointed; not a man made his appearance.

SEPT. 22.

At daylight this morning I marched my Company into the lines. Breakfasted with Weston and MacGregor. Purchased a nice snug compact horse this morning of Captain Skinner, price five hundred rupees. He was exactly the size and colour and much resembled the little dun mare of my father's, and I only hoped would turn out so well. General Lake arrived on the opposite banks of the Jumnah this day, and the 8th Dragoons crossed over. Accounts from the enemy's camp state that he remains in full force, drawn up at a lake about three miles on our side of Muttrah, where it is said he means to wait our attack. The encampment of the enemy's horse still remained about five miles from us, at Gow Ghaut.



The European troops continued crossing the Jumnah all this forenoon. Received certain information this forenoon that my new tent (which I had supposed was plundered between Futty Ghur and Agra) had safely arrived in the garrison, but as it was expected that we should make rapid marches, in order to come up with the enemy, I determined to leave the new tent, and march with the old one, as being much lighter, and better calculated for a Mahratta campaign. The Commander-in-Chief came over the Jumnah this morning, and pitched his tents between the river and our encampment. All accounts agreed respecting the enemy and his supposed intentions to await our arrival, and we anxiously hoped he would do so.

1804.

SEPT. 23.

*Camp near
Secundra.*

Went to the parade this morning, and rode afterwards with Forbes on the flank of the line, and pointed out to him the spot where, two years since, I was encamped with Collins, Livesey and Marsden, all of whom were now dead; we were then on a party of pleasure, and it was one of the most pleasant trips I had ever made. We were returning to our tents to breakfast, when we saw General Lake and his staff coming round the flank. Banner rolls had been stationed, and the salute commenced as soon as he entered in front of the line. Rode up and made *my bow* to the Commander-in-Chief, and went down the line with Colonel Lake and Wemyss. Breakfasted at headquarters, and his Excellency asked me a great many questions about Gwalior, and paid us some compliments. As many of my friends had been persuading me to come forward as a candidate for the prize agency, and as it would be a most gratifying circumstance to me to be chosen for that honourable station by the officers of the army, I determined to try it, and as it had been hinted to me that I ought not to accept a Brigade-Majorship till this point was settled, as many would be of opinion that one officer could not

SEPT. 24.

*Camp,
Grand
Army,
near
Secundra.*



1804.

*Camp,
Grand
Army,
near
Secundra.*

attend to both duties, I stated all this to my good friend Colonel Lake, who thought I would be quite right in declining the Brigade-Majorship just then, and assured me that, after the prize agency business was settled, I should positively have the first that was vacant, and in the meantime draw my allowances at Gwalior, which was my station. The Europeans and Artillery continued crossing the Jumnah all this day. A report that the enemy had quitted his position near Muttrah, and was marching towards Delhi. In consequence of Wemyss's gallant and active services with us, the last campaign, General Lake got him appointed Collector of Agra, with a salary of three thousand rupees a month. Received a note from Young of the 8th Dragoons. Dined at headquarters this evening, and we had a great deal of hard drinking, and it was a late hour before we broke up.

SEPT. 26.

Breakfasted this morning with Wemyss, who made me a present of a beautiful chestnut Arab, for which he paid £300 at poor Campbell's sale. Campbell was riding him in the Battle of Lassuary, and was on his back when a cannon shot cut him asunder. We named the horse Lassuary, and after breakfast Wemyss sent him to my tent, with all his clothes, nets, combs, brushes and three sets of shoes made by a farrier of the Dragoons. Gave Wemyss the dun horse which I purchased of Captain Skinner, and which promised to turn out a very clever hack.

Cunynghame came into camp to-day, to pay a visit to the Commander-in-Chief before we march off. Cunynghame offered his Arab for sale for Rs. 3,000, and had not I met with a friend in Wemyss I should certainly have purchased him.

This evening we stopped some people at the picquets, who gave us information that the enemy had certainly decamped from Muttrah, and had declared his intention of attacking Delhi, in which we had but a small force. The whole of the Corps



came into their respective stations in the line to-day, 1804. and I received a note from headquarters to know if I was still resolved on coming forward for the prize agency; or if I wished now to be appointed Major of Brigade, and which, with suitable thanks, I declined, though I almost despaired of success, as several officers of rank and long standing in the army were candidates, and it was reasonable to apprehend they might have more friends than myself.

*Camp,
Grand
Army,
near
Secundra.*

Macan sent a roll round to be signed by different Corps giving their vote for prize agents, and I was told that the number was far in my favour.

I never experienced an anxiety equal to what I felt on this occasion, for I considered that to be chosen by a majority of the officers of the army was an honour that any man might be proud of, and would be a most convincing proof that one's conduct had gained their notice and approbation. I had the satisfaction of seeing many an officer's name down for me, to whom I had considered I was a perfect stranger. I found that both the Commander-in-Chief and Colonels Lake and Clinton had been using all their influence for me, and every officer of the General's staff and in the headquarters line had given me their names. A little before sunset Wemyss and myself mounted our new horses, he on the dun I had sent him and I on my Arab. We rode to Acbar's Tomb, and cantered gently from thence to the right flank of the line and down the front. MacGregor, Weston, Wemyss, Forbes, Murray, Grant and Arbuthnot, with two officers of the Reserve, dined with me this evening, and it was past one in the morning before we broke up.



CHAPTER XXII.

September 27th, 1804, to November 1st, 1804.
With the Grand Army from Agra to Muttrah and Delhi.

1804.
SEPT. 27.

*Camp,
Grand
Army,
near
Secundra,
five miles
from Agra.*

THIS morning the army was brigaded as follows:—

1ST BRIGADE CAVALRY.

To command Lieutenant-Colonel Vandeleur.
Corps H.M. 8th Light Dragoons.

Corps { 2nd Regiment Native Cavalry.
3rd Regiment Native Cavalry.
6th Regiment Native Cavalry.

2ND BRIGADE CAVALRY.

To command Lieutenant-Colonel Browne.

Corps { H.M. 27th Light Dragoons.
29th Light Dragoons.
1st Regiment Native Cavalry.
4th Regiment Native Cavalry.

1ST BRIGADE INFANTRY.

To command The Honourable Lieut.-Col. Monson.

Corps { H.M. 76th Regiment Foot.
1st Battalion 2nd Regiment (ours).
1st Battalion 4th Regiment.

2ND BRIGADE INFANTRY.

To command Lieutenant-Colonel S. Browne.

Corps { 1st Battalion 15th Regiment.
2nd Battalion 15th Regiment.
1st Battalion 21st Regiment.

3RD BRIGADE INFANTRY.

To command Lieutenant-Colonel Ball.

Corps { 1st Battalion 8th Regiment.
2nd Battalion 22nd Regiment.



RESERVE.

1804.

To command Lieutenant-Colonel Don.

Corps { Flankers H.M. 22nd Regiment Foot.
1st Battalion 12th Regiment.
2nd Battalion 12th Regiment.
2nd Battalion 21st Regiment.

Camp,
Grand
Army,
near
Secundra,
five miles
from Agra.

Prize agents for the Grand Army under the personal command of his Excellency General Lake, Commander-in-Chief for the campaign of 1804-5.

Prize Agent for Headquarters, Captain Covill, 27th Dragoons.

Prize Agent for King's Infantry, Captain Boyce, 76th Regiment.

Prize Agent King's Cavalry, Captain Smoke, 27th Dragoons.

Prize Agent Native Cavalry, Captain Houston, 6th Regiment.

Prize Agent Native Infantry, Lieutenant Pester, 2nd Regiment.

Prize Agent for the Artillery, Captain Hay, Artillery.

This morning at five the army commenced its march, agreeable to the general orders of yesterday, and in the order there directed. The country to-day was finely cultivated, and the morning dreadfully hot. We arrived at our ground about ten. I suffered extremely by the headache. Encamped in our station in the line (on the right flank), with the 76th Regiment on our left. A small village extended along our front. A great deal of corn around the line in every direction, and much was unavoidably destroyed by the troops and baggage. The officers of our Battalion dined with me to-day. The evening was very close, and all complained much of the heat.

Oct. 1.
Mil. 9.

Grand
Army
Camp near
Gow Pass.



1804.

Oct. 2.

Mil. 11.

The army marched this morning by the right. The line in some confusion at marching off, and our Battalion, which should have led, was headed by the 2nd Battalion of the 8th. We did not recover our station till broad daylight. I had the command of the Flankers this morning. At seven o'clock we heard a firing of musketry in front, and soon afterwards the Horse Artillery and Cavalry Gallopers opened. Large bodies of the enemy's Cavalry were discovered hovering round our line. About two miles from our new ground the Cavalry line formed among some high corn fields, and it had a very grand effect. We formed our line also, and moved on to support the Cavalry. The enemy showed a front, and appeared as if they intended to make a stand. On our coming up to the Cavalry they wheeled by troops to the right, and both columns advanced parallel to each other, and heads of columns dressing to each other. The enemy drew off as we approached them, and all we could effect was to send the shot from the flying Artillery and some shells among them. They were very numerous, and every discharge had apparently good effect. Encamped about twelve o'clock on a spot of ground, surrounded by the finest crops of grain I ever beheld. Some parties of the enemy's horse continued all day to annoy our picquets, and the guns at them were frequently firing, to prevent their coming too near.

*Camp,
Grand
Army,
Camp near
Fiomah.*

Oct. 3.

*Camp,
Grand
Army,
near
Muttrah.*

This morning we marched at half-past five. I lost one of my camels in the night, which occasioned great inconvenience, not having cattle sufficient left to move without difficulty. At daylight we perceived the enemy round us in every direction, and they greatly harrassed the Flankers during the march, and killed many of our men—numbers of them were also shot. A smart cannonade was at times kept up by the rearguard, and a considerable body of the enemy made a dash at our baggage, and were driven back



with slaughter. About eleven o'clock I was ordered 1804.
with my Grenadier and the 1st Battalion Company to
take post in some ravines; a squadron of Cavalry and *Camp,*
a Galloper were also detached under my command— *Grand*
and I used every endeavour to outflank a body of the *Army,*
enemy which threatened our baggage, and to bring *near*
them to action, but they cautiously avoided me, never
coming within musket shot or allowing us to get
nearer to them. I remained at this post till all the
baggage had passed, and marched into camp with the
rear guard. Saw the faces of the enemy's lines and
encampments in several places during the march
to-day, and at one of them we were told that Holcar in
person, with twenty thousand Horse, was yesterday
encamped; he moved off on hearing of our approach.
We passed a lake this morning which afforded a very
strong position to an army, and on that spot Holcar
had once drawn up his troops with a determination to
fight us, but changed his mind and moved off with all
his Artillery (nearly one hundred guns) and Infantry.
We encamped to-day about eleven, two miles from the
city of Muttrah, into which Colonel Don and the
Reserve immediately marched without opposition.
Lost my horse tent on the march this morning, and
pitched the upper fly of my own for them. The
picquets were not much annoyed this afternoon. By
the different accounts it appeared that we had upwards
of one hundred camels taken off by the enemy's horse
during the march this morning, and with them went
many of the officers' tents and a great deal of bag-
gage. A great number of their horsemen were shot
in the act of plundering the baggage, and many lives
lost of both parties.

The army halted to-day. A report that the enemy *Oct. 4.*
in full force were encamped eight miles distant from
us—with upwards of one hundred pieces of cannon.
Our Battalion on picquet this morning. I found
myself extremely feverish and hardly able to sit on my



1804.

Camp,
Grand
Army
near
Muttrah.

horse. I relieved the right picquet with my Grenadiers and a six-pounder. Soon after daybreak a great deal of skirmishing took place at the picquets, and in front of my post I observed the enemy drawing down as if to make an attempt on a party going with bullocks laden with ammunition and provisions for the troops in the town, with Colonel Don. I instantly mounted the troop of Cavalry stationed under my command at the picquet. The enemy, as I expected, dashed down on the convoy, but the Cavalry came up in time to rescue it. A large party of the enemy, observing this at a distance, were coming briskly down to reinforce the others who were skirmishing with my troop of Cavalry and as if determined to carry off the convoy. I instantly ordered the six-pounder to be wheeled round, and opened on them. They had no idea of our having a gun at the picquet, and the whole of them immediately took to their heels, and we pelted them with round shot as long as they continued in the range. The Commander-in-Chief was all the time on horseback on the brow of a hill very near my post, and saw all that passed; he came afterwards to the picquet and paid us a compliment for our "vigilance" and "timely support of the convoy," which was all saved, and brought by the troop of Cavalry into my post, there to wait a stronger escort. There was no officer at the picquet (European) but myself. Colonel Vandeleur rode into the post while we were blazing away from the field piece, and much admired the effect of the shot and the skill with which the sergeant who belonged to the gun pointed it.

Posted some small parties concealed in the high corn in front of my post, and as they were all *choice* shots from the Company, they succeeded in *dropping* some of the most daring of the enemy who came near the post, and thereby kept the others at a more respectable distance. I took up my quarters in a pagoda near the picquet, and did not pitch my tent



to-day. When everything was perfectly quiet, and the enemy had retired, the Grenadiers piled their arms under the pagoda, and I got my breakfast.

At five in the evening they came down again, and continued to exchange shot and to annoy the sentries. During the night we had a good deal of firing, and I was not a minute off my legs. About one in the morning I doubled the sentries, and was soon after reinforced from camp with an officer and one hundred and fifty men of the 4th Regiment. We were under arms all night, every instant expecting an attack, but they contented themselves with annoying us at a distance. The musket shot flew thick about the post, and I lost several men. By way of securing the Arab (Lassuary), I ordered him into the pagoda.

Camp,
Grand
Army.
Right
Picquet,
near
Muttrah.

I was relieved this morning at break of day by a Grenadier Company and a gun from the 15th Regiment, under the command of Lieutenant Hartley. The orders for the army to march this morning were countermanded. The enemy appeared in strong columns on the right and left of the line soon after sunrise. They did not approach very near to our line, and a couple of shot only from the left picquet were fired at them from one of the Gallopers. Some recovered men of the different corps having been very injudiciously sent from Agra to join their respective corps in camp were attacked, overpowered by immense numbers of the enemy's Horse, and nearly all cut to pieces. Twelve Sepoys only of the party escaped, and those dreadfully wounded. A great number of camels also sent with them were captured by the enemy. Immediately on this unpleasant intelligence reaching camp a detachment was ordered to march under the command of Colonel Dubois to save if possible some of the unfortunate fellows, but they succeeded in bringing in only the twelve wounded men. Upwards of one hundred bearers sent from Bareilly by Seton to carry the sick and wounded

OCT. 5.

Camp,
Grand
Army.
near
Muttrah.



1804.

*Camp,
Grand
Army at
Muttrah.*

of the army were also cut up. Holcar's guns and Infantry said to have marched towards Delhi, and some apprehensions were entertained for the safety of that city, as the garrison was but weak in regular troops, and the inhabitants, most of them reported to be disaffected.

Oct. 6.

The morning was as usual dreadfully hot, and I was very unwell; did not quit my tent all day. Purchased a camel this morning for one hundred and ten rupees. A rumour this evening through the camp that our Brigade would march in the course of the night to attack an encampment of the enemy. Much firing all day at the picquets, and several men killed and wounded. In order to distinguish the Irregular Horse in our pay from those of the enemy the Commander-in-Chief ordered that the flags of the former should be a dark blue ground with a white St. George's Cross, and officers were directed to pay particular attention to the distinguishing colours. In the evening General Fraser issued a line order for the whole to be under arms at a quarter before four o'clock to-morrow morning. This evening I put the Sergeant-Major of our Corps in arrest for insolent, unsoldierlike conduct. Two men of my Company when I paraded them to examine their arms and ammunition had not their complement of the latter, nor could they account for the deficiency; this, in the face of an enemy, I considered to be of the greatest consequence, and immediately reported it to the Adjutant and to the Commanding Officer; to the shame of the latter, be it said, he merely reprov'd the men, and without ordering them any punishment. I was determined that no soldier in my Company, and *immediately* under my command, who could not account for the expenditure of his ammunition, or who paraded without his proper complement, should go unpunished, and therefore ordered my Subadar (black captain) to parade the Company at sunset, and



in front of the rest rattan the two men in question. 1804.
The Subadar was obeying my orders, when the Sergeant-Major ordered him in an insolent manner to refrain, while he went to inform the Commanding Officer; this the Subadar instantly reported to me; and I ordered him to inflict the punishment, which was accordingly done. I then put the Sergeant-Major in arrest. This man had often behaved in a like insolent manner to other officers, and I determined on bringing him to a sense of his duty to his superiors. He was a smart officer, and on that account was upheld in his impudence by the Commanding Officer, who, in fact, was *incapable* of ordering the *detail* of duty of the Battalion, without the Sergeant-Major's assistance.

Camp,
Grand
Army at
Muttrah.

A request was made to me by the Commanding Officer to excuse the Sergeant-Major; in answer I told him that on a former occasion (at Sarssney) he had behaved to me with great insolence, but that at the desire of Colonel Blair, then in command, I excused him, but as he had again behaved in a similar manner, I could not put up with it, and therefore was sorry that I could not comply. The Commanding Officer expressed himself offended at this, but it had no weight with me, as I well knew that without subordination there could be no discipline, and without discipline the most *spirited* troops cannot be depended on.

We paraded at three o'clock this morning, and about an hour before daybreak we advanced in three columns to attack an encampment of the enemy about five miles in our front. Oct. 7.

The Cavalry formed the right column, the Reserve the centre, and our Brigade the left column. We primed and loaded before we marched off. About two miles in front we drove in a strong picquet of the enemy, and an irregular fire of musketry immediately commenced with our flankers and their advanced



1804.

Camp,
Grand
Army at
Muttrah.

sentries. This firing gave the alarm to their camp, and we found the whole of them, amounting at least to twenty thousand men, all under arms, and drawn up in order of battle. They were strongly posted, with a lake along their front, and the high village of Arlem on the right flank. They got into motion as we were gaining ground to our right, to clear the lake, and we soon found that they were making off. As there was no likelihood of our closing with them, or of our getting any nearer to them, the Horse Artillery and Cavalry Gallopers were advanced, and opened a smart cannonade on them as they retreated. The Cavalry at the same time endeavoured to charge, but could effect nothing. The enemy after they had moved off their line still retained possession of the village of Arlem, and our Battalion was ordered to break the line, and storm the village. We immediately advanced under a smart fire of musketry, which brought down some of our men, and gained possession of the post. The line still pressing on, and continuing a distant cannonade on the enemy, I was left with five companies and a field piece to keep possession of the village, and the remaining five companies of the Battalion pushed on in pursuit of the enemy, and again took their station in the line. As soon as the army had passed on about a mile, a large body of the enemy's Cavalry made a movement round the rear, and advanced boldly, as if to re-take the village in which I was posted. I had posted the five companies in a manner I thought most favourable for their *reception*, and waited their approach. General Fraser, who had observed the enemy getting round the rear, sent an officer to know if I could maintain the post without a reinforcement. I assured Menzies that as long as our ammunition lasted I was convinced I could keep my ground, with which answer he returned by a circuitous route to General Fraser. The enemy advanced, preserving a front which to troops less acquainted with them than we were



would have had a formidable appearance. I allowed 1804.
them to approach till their musket shot reached the
village, and then opened a smart fire of grape on *Camp,*
them; they still advanced very boldly until I ordered *Grand*
my men to commence file firing, which was continued *Army at*
very briskly till the enemy became staggered, and *Muttrah.*
began to fly. Every discharge from the field piece
brought down great numbers of the enemy, and many
fell by our musketry. The gun continued firing on
them as long as our round shot would reach them,
and they made off with great precipitation. Finding,
with the line, that they had no chance of coming up
with the flying enemy, who were also completely dis-
persed, the General faced about, and passed close to
my post, when I received an order to join the rear
guard, and with it to march into camp. We got to
our lines about eleven. The sun was exceedingly hot,
and we all lost the skin from our faces this morning.
On our return we passed a great number of men and
some fine horses which had been killed by the flying
Artillery in the early part of the day.

As usual the line paraded this morning an hour
before daybreak, and remained until arms till six
o'clock. I marched off the Battalion guards as officer *Oct. 8.*
of the day, and rode with Young round the Videtts.
A report from a prisoner that Holcar in person com-
manded the troops we saw yesterday, and that he had
a very narrow escape of a cannon shot, when our
Flying Artillery first opened. Breakfasted this
morning with Colonel Macan.

Late last night an order came out directing the *Oct. 10.*
troops of the line to be under arms at four o'clock,
and this morning we paraded accordingly. The
Commander-in-Chief with the Cavalry and some
Corps of the Infantry not employed on the 7th
marched to make another attempt on the enemy's
camp.



*Grand
Army,
Camp near
Muttrah.*

I was posted on the right of the camp with three Companies of Infantry, three twelve-pounders, and two sixes, to protect that flank in case the enemy should make a dash with their Cavalry.

At six o'clock we heard our guns open, and rightly concluded that the enemy had again declined making any serious stand. Some bodies of the enemy's Horse wheeled round towards the flank of our line, but kept at a very respectable distance. Our matches were alight, guns primed, and all in perfect readiness for them, but as they did not approach I threw no shot away at them. The Commander-in-Chief returned into camp about ten, and I withdrew my party, and ordered the Artillery officer with his guns to rejoin the Park. Some of the enemy fell again this morning by the shot of the Horse Artillery and Cavalry Gallopers, and some prisoners wounded and taken assured us that Holcar himself headed them in the morning. Grain from Agra crossing the river this day, and a report in the afternoon that we were to change ground immediately. We dined with Colonel Macan this evening, and, it being the anniversary of taking the town and of storming the ravines at Agra, the bottle circulated freely. Accounts of our posts being cut off and the postmen murdered between our camp and Agra. The letters carried into the enemy's camp.

OCT. 11.

This morning our Battalion being for picquet I marched off to the right of the line at gunfire and took post with my Grenadiers and a six-pounder in the pagoda, relieving a Grenadier Company of the 8th commanded by Lieutenant Kerr. The Brigadier of the day visited my post soon after I got to it, and General Fraser remained with me nearly an hour, observing the movements of some columns of the enemy. We had a good deal of skirmishing during the day, but with little effect, as the enemy declined coming very near the pagoda.



We marched this morning (the army) at half-past 1804.
five o'clock. At five I joined the field officer of the Oct. 12.
day at the centre picquet, and our Battalion with our *Grand*
field pieces and a regiment of Cavalry with its *Army,*
gallopers formed the rear guard. We were exceed- *Camp near*
ingly harrassed during the march, and our guns were *Brindabund.*
open nearly the whole way. We were obliged to
unlimber every ten minutes. They made several
desperate pushes at the baggage and cattle, but were
as frequently driven back with loss. I found myself
exceedingly ill to-day, and the fever attacked me most
severely immediately on our arrival at the new
ground.

A raging fever (in consequence of which my life Oct. 25.
was for many days despaired of) prevented me *Grand*
journalizing since the 12th. This morning I found *Army,*
that the fever abated, and I had no doubt but a short *Delhi.*
time with care would recover me. I was so much
reduced and cut up that my friends scarcely knew me.
We arrived here (Delhi) on the 17th. Colonel Lake
rode up to my palanquin as we were marching into
the encampment, and most kindly insisted on my
going instantly into the city, as I should find a house
much cooler than a tent, and in I was carried accord-
ingly, with the fever raging upon me, and in almost a
state of delirium.

My friend Rose, who was stationed at Delhi, and
who had behaved most gallantly during the siege, as
I had often witnessed his doing on former occasions,
particularly in the Battle of Delhi and at the siege of
Gwalior, heard of my illness, and sent an orderly to
my tent to conduct me to his quarters in the city, in
which I was as comfortably lodged as the unpleasant
state in which I was would admit. We found that the
enemy had gone off towards Lassuary, leaving four
complete breaches in the town wall, which, however,
they had not the spirit to assault. They moved off on
hearing of our leaving Muttrah, and being in motion



1804.

*Grand
Army at
Delhi.*

towards Delhi. It was the intention of the Commander-in-Chief to have halted here one day only, and to have pushed on with a view of coming up with Holcar's guns and brigades, but this plan was frustrated owing to a scarcity of grain in our camp and the uncertainty of getting supplies in the country we should have to march through.

The army encamped about a mile from the city, on the banks of the Jumnah, the Cavalry line facing the river. Rose took his leave of me this morning, and crossed the river with his Corps (2nd Battalion 14th) on the route to Seharanpore. An Irregular Battalion and a body of Hindustani Horse marched with the 14th under the command of Colonel Burne. The day after our arrival at this place Colonel Dubois's Battalion was detached across the river for grain.

Oct. 26.

About ten this morning the whole of the Cavalry moved out, in consequence of some large bodies of the enemy's Horse having made their appearance on the left flank of the line. Our Brigade also got under arms, but the enemy fled as we advanced. Ordered the groom to walk out the Arabs daily in front of my quarters. Continued swallowing bark in great quantities, and still to remain exceedingly weak. Accounts received that the cantonment and town of Khauss Gunge is destroyed by the enemy. This appears to have been done by the disaffected inhabitants in that quarter for the sake of plunder as well as to invite the enemy.

Oct. 28.

A report to-day of the death of poor Ford of the 12th, and of Aldin of our Regiment in consequence of the wounds he received in the Battle of Delhi, at which time I left him for dead in the field, so dreadfully was he wounded. A camel laden with letters which had been detained at Agra in consequence of all communication being cut off in our rear came into camp to-day, having passed up the opposite side of



the river with grain, under an escort commanded by 1804.
Captain Munro of one of the new Corps. Gave the Arab Lassuary nitre this morning in consequence of some blotches in his skin, occasioned by his high living and want of work. *Grand Army at Delhi.*

I had him daily exercised in front of my quarters by his groom during my sickness. No accounts from the enemy's camp had reached us for many days. This morning we heard a distant cannonade, but from what quarter we could not exactly ascertain. Several officers visited me to-day, and some remained with me till evening.

It was currently reported this forenoon that the Bhirtpore Rajah had actually taken the field against us; if this proves correct he will have acted a most diabolical part, as our Government had showed him the most pointed favour, and from our own conquest we added very considerably to his estate, and on every occasion he had been dealt by with the greatest lenity and attention to all his requests. *Oct. 29.*

It was also said that the Begum (Queen) Somereau had also marched troops to his aid, and had declared her determination to join him in opposition to us. By a long letter from my good friend Brigadier White, commanding at Gwalior, it appears that things wear a very displeasing aspect in that quarter; he represented the inhabitants to be in a state little short of rebellion.

A party which the Brigadier had detached to meet and escort treasure from Agra to pay his troops had been attacked by very superior numbers and forced to retreat for shelter into an adjacent small fort, there to remain till a second party was sent to their relief.

The Brigadier mentioned also that the most horrid murders and depredations were almost daily committed in the vicinity of his garrison, beyond the walls of which, and those of the town, he had no authority to interfere, nor indeed would the numbers

of his troops admit of his doing it, even if he had been authorized, as he had barely men sufficient to man his works and to furnish the necessary number of night guards and sentries. A report that Colonel Burne's Battalion, which crossed the Jumnah from this place a few days since, was entirely surrounded by large bodies of the enemy's Cavalry, which had crossed purposely after him some miles above the city of Delhi.

Our foraging parties for the last two days experienced no kind of annoyance, and it was evident that the enemy had withdrawn his Cavalry to act in force against some particular object, and we thought Burne's Battalion very likely to be his point of attraction. The Commander-in-Chief and staff passed my quarters this evening on their way to visit the Emperor. The General was escorted by a squadron of Dragoons, and returned to camp soon after sunset.

Oct. 30.

This morning at daybreak the Reserve of the Army, under Lieutenant-Colonel Don, crossed the river into the Dewaub; supposed in consequence of a confirmation of the report of Burne being surrounded. Ridge, whom we left sick at Agra, arrived in camp this morning, and came to me at my quarters in the city.

The air was somewhat fresh and cool, and it was more like a morning of the cold season than any we had yet experienced; towards noon, as usual, the sun became very powerful.

To-day I received a letter on the service from the Field Pay-Master, and two from my agents, with Company's paper to the amount of one thousand two hundred rupees. A Calcutta post came into camp this day, and some despatches were also said to have been received at headquarters from the Decan, stating the capture of Indore, Holcar's capital, by the forces under Colonel Murray. It was also reported that Murray had received General Lake's orders to march



in a direction to form a junction with our army. 1804.

Colonel Murray's Detachment is very strong, particularly in European troops. In our camp it was the general opinion that things were never known to wear a more unfavourable aspect than at the present period. In our own Provinces the different Rajahs and every petty Zemindar having at command a small force showed every disposition to be hostile and rebellious, and in many parts of the Dewaub (to the northward of the Jumnah) have already evinced the most disaffected conduct; and if the enemy should have crossed to them in any force, the worst may be apprehended, and at all events it will be the thing impossible for us to advance at any great distance to the southward, and to quit the borders of our own Provinces. In the evening I received some notes from my friends of the Cavalry, telling me that they were to cross the Jumnah to-morrow at daybreak, all except two Regiments; the Infantry to stand fast.

*Grand
Army at
Delhi.*

This morning the Commander-in-Chief, with His Majesty's 8th, 27th and 29th Light Dragoons, 1st, 4th and 6th Native Cavalry and Flying Artillery (Horse), crossed the Jumnah after Holcar, who had actually surrounded Burne's Battalion, and commenced burning and laying waste our country. The whole of the Infantry, except the Reserve, which had crossed the river with Don, remained on their old ground of encampment, under the command of Major-General Fraser.

*Oct. 31.
Camp,
With
General
Fraser's
Division at
Delhi.*

The 2nd and 3rd Native Cavalry also remained attached to General Fraser's Division of the army. This forenoon I felt somewhat recruited, and the fever less violent than it had for many days been. Wrote to Colonel Ashe at Agra, to send me by the first escort some dozens of Madeira from a pipe which he had kindly taken charge of for me. Several Europe letters and extracts from English papers were this evening received in camp; some of so late a date as May.

**1804.**

Nov. 1.

*Camp,
With
General
Fraser's
Division at
Delhi.*

We heard no tidings of the Commander-in-Chief since his departure yesterday. Grain was crossing the river the whole of this day, brought by a detachment from Agra. A report that we (the Infantry) should march as soon as the whole of it was over. Forage for two days ordered to be brought into camp. Lieutenant Plunkett of the 4th died this evening, and was buried in the city.



CHAPTER XXIII.

5th November, 1804, to December 27th, 1804.
Battle of Dieg and Siege and Capture of Dieg Fort.

WE marched from Delhi on the 5th. Our original ^{1804.}
route on leaving Delhi was back to Muttrah, but on ^{Nov. 12.}
the 9th accounts reached our camp that Holcar's ^{Camp near}
Brigades and guns had left Gassouly, and were on ^{Dieg:}
their route to Dieg. General Fraser determined in ^{Day before}
consequence of this information to strike off on the ^{the Battle.}
10th (next day) and to proceed towards them. He
accordingly sent orders for the European Regiment
at Muttrah to join us at Goberdown, at which place
we arrived on the 10th, after a march of twenty-three
miles, and found that the Europeans had arrived.
After so long a march it was thought necessary to halt
on the 11th, and on the 12th we marched to within a
short distance of Dieg. This day our Cavalry had a
skirmish with a body of the enemy's Horse. After
encamping, and the dust clearing away, we plainly
saw a very large camp, extending with their left close
on the fort of Dieg, to a large high village on the
right, an immense lake all along their front, and
another covering their rear—altogether as strong a
position as could be conceived. Finding them thus
advantageously posted, and not having any satisfac-
tory information, the General did not think it
advisable to attack them this day, but having
reconnoitred from a high village in front of our line,
and ascertained the road down to the enemy's right,
it was determined to fight them next morning. About
four in the afternoon the enemy brought out four
heavy guns to their front, and cannonaded our camp
across the lake, without, however, doing much
execution.



1804.
Nov. 13.

*Camp near
Dieg;
Day before
the Battle.*

At three this morning we were all under arms, and moved down to the attack in three columns, Infantry on the right, guns in the centre, and Cavalry on the left. We had to make a circuit of nearly three miles, to get round the lake which covered their left. On our way we fell in with several bodies of the enemy's Horse, and soon drove them in. They gave the alarm to their camp by communicating the approach of our line. We drew up in two lines before daylight, with our right on a mosque, and, as the day was breaking, faced to the left, gained ground, so as to attack them immediately in front. The two Regiments of Cavalry (2nd and 3rd Native Corps) were ordered to keep their Cavalry in check during the attack, and to prevent them cutting in upon our rear. The baggage had all been packed, and left on the ground of encampment, with the 3rd Brigade (Ball's) for its protection. The Corps destined for the attack were H.M. 76th Regiment, 1st European Regiment, 1st Battalion of the 2nd Regiment (ours), the 1st Battalion, 4th Regiment, the 15th Regiment, amounting in the whole to about three thousand men. The leading line of Infantry supported by the second commenced the attack on the high village of Aow. At sunrise their cannonade began, and awful and destructive it certainly was. The high village lay immediately in the route of our Corps, and we charged, and were soon clear of it; here poor Forbes fell by a cannon shot. He was riding my little mare. MacGregor's horse was shot at the same moment, and he rode her during the remainder of the action. Shot, stones and brick were flying at a tremendous rate, and many men of our regiment were killed and wounded by the two latter, as well as by shot. The cannonade of the enemy seemed every instant to increase till we reached



the muzzles of the first Batteries. In descending from 1804.
the village General Fraser was wounded, and lost his *Field of*
leg by a shot. Many a gallant fellow fell also at this *Battle near*
period. Their guns were judiciously posted in tiers, *Dieg.*
and after pushing on from the first line of guns to the
second we observed those who had escaped the
bayonet getting round our rear, and again opening
them on us. They were soon re-taken, and spiked
with our bayonets. We now began to close with them
in earnest, and the slaughter among them, in their
turn, became great, and at length they fled with pre-
cipitation. We pressed on them close down to the
glacis of Dieg, and the carnage among the enemy was
such as on *cool reflection* would make the hardest
heart relent. At this instant we were checked by a
heavy fire of round and grape from the walls of the
fort and tower, and we drew off with the captured
guns, and took post at some salt pits, from which we
completely commanded the field of battle, and at dusk
we dragged off the captured guns, amounting to
eighty-seven fine pieces of ordnance, in the highest
possible condition, and elegant guns. The enemy
were most completely defeated, and had not the fort
fired on us, every man of them almost must have been
put to death. Murray of our Battalion was wounded
near the salt pits by a grape shot, but we hoped not
dangerously. Poor Forbes, who fell in the village,
we all lamented most sincerely; he was leading on his
Company in a most gallant style, when a cannon shot
struck him to pieces. After General Fraser was
wounded the command fell on Colonel Monson. We
pitched our camp after the battle in front of the village
of Aow. This glorious affair was attended with great
loss on our part, and several gallant officers fell.



1804.

OFFICERS KILLED.

*Field of
Battle near
Dieg.*

Captain Norford, 76th Regiment.
Lieutenant Forbes, 1st Battalion 2nd Regiment.
" Burgess, 4th Regiment.
" Faithfull, 4th Regiment.
" Hales, 15th Regiment.
" Boyd, 15th Regiment.
" Lyons, 15th Regiment.

WOUNDED.

General Fraser (died of his wounds).
Captain Chisolm.
Captain Boyce.
Lieutenant Mansell.

" Murray.
" Maxton.
" Wood.
" Hunter.
" Garner.
" Scuell.
" Perry.
" Nicholl.
" Bampton.
" Glubb.
" Smith.
" Chatfield.
" Morris.
" Bryant.
" Merriman.

Total: — Seven officers killed, and nineteen wounded; of the latter, several died of their wounds.

General Fraser's leg taken off, and he doing as well as could be expected, and no danger apprehended.

Colonel Ball, with the Brigade which had been left in charge of the baggage, advanced to the salt pits, and relieved the troops stationed there, and which had been all the morning in action.



At dusk the whole of the enemy's guns were 1804.
dragged off the field of battle, and safely lodged in our Park. The Pioneers employed all night in burying the dead and clearing the field of the wounded, as our camp was pitched on the very spot where the battle had been hottest. Our surgeons most humanely amputated on a great number of the wounded of the enemy, and dressed the wounds of as many as they could attend to. Poor Maxton of the European Regiment received a grape shot, which literally went through his head; he continued alive, but little hopes were entertained of his recovery.

*Field of
Battle near
Dieg.*

Among the guns taken from the enemy this day were those lost by Monson in his inglorious retreat; they were perfectly complete in everything, and the ammunition which the Colonel reported he had *destroyed* was all found in *high preservation* in the tumbrils, excepting only what the enemy had expended in the action. We also took six elegant eighteen-pounders, which had formerly been given to the Peishwah by Lord Cornwallis, and taken from him by Holcar. Before the fort of Dieg opened its fire on us we did not know the Rajah had determined to act against us; he never declared himself till our troops were upon the glacis, bayonetting the enemy.

The evening before the action General Fraser wrote him a letter, desiring to know whether we were to consider him our friend or our foe, to which no kind of answer was returned. It was now concluded that we should immediately invest Dieg and Bhirtpore, and as both places are said to be very rich, we flattered ourselves with the hopes of benefitting considerably by prize money, and as prize agent my prospects were good.

Upon a return of casualties being made out, we found to our sorrow that our Battalion had again suffered considerably. Four hundred and thirty men only marched out to the attack, of which number

Nov. 14.



1804.

Field of
Battle near
Dieg.

ninety-three were killed and wounded, and two officers, a great proportion for so weak a Battalion. This action, considering the uncommon strength of the enemy's position and the numerous and powerful train of Artillery opposed to comparatively speaking a handful of men, may be reckoned among the most brilliant victories that were ever obtained.

Nothing could exceed the silence and promptitude with which our troops advanced, and everything seemed equally determined on the part of the enemy. They did not open a gun till they heard our bugle sound the signal to advance, and at the same moment the dawn of day presented our line moving on to the attack, from which period, till we reached them with our bayonets, their cannonade was extremely heavy, and our men fell very thick. General Fraser was heading us, and descending from the village of Aow, when he fell, wounded, and nothing could exceed the conspicuous gallantry and heroism he evinced in leading the line into action. We were in action nearly six hours, and a *hotter* day Britons had seldom experienced in any quarter of the globe.

Nov. 21.

About nine o'clock this evening accounts reached us that the Commander-in-Chief, with the Cavalry, had come up with Holcar on the 17th instant, under the walls of Futty Ghur. He attacked and routed him, taking all his camp equipage, cattle, etc.; about five thousand of the enemy are said to have been put to death. The rest fled towards Mynpoorie.

Nov. 22.

This morning we fired a Royal Salute and three volleys of musketry in honour of the Commander-in-Chief's victory at Futty Ghur. The Bhirtpore Rajah said to have offered a crore of rupees as an atonement for his rascally conduct in firing on our troops in the Battle of Dieg, and thereby declaring himself our enemy. This, we hoped, would not be attended to, and we looked forward with pleasure to the time of the



arrival of the Commander-in-Chief in our camp, when **1804.**
we expect to proceed, and take our revenge by *Field of*
battering his fort about his ears, for his conduct on *Battle near*
the 13th. *Dieg.*

Letters received this day from the Adjutant-General give the particulars of the defeat of the enemy. It appears that the Commander-in-Chief, with the Cavalry alone (having left the Reserve in the rear), came up with Holcar on the 17th, after a march of seventy-two miles. A tumbril belonging to the Flying Artillery most unfortunately blew up a few miles before they arrived in the enemy's camp, which alarmed them a little, and was the cause of the surprise not being so complete as it otherwise would have been. They, however, had not an idea that our troops were within fifty miles of them, and many of them had not got on their legs when the General attacked them at daybreak; they were soon routed, and dispersed in all directions. Holcar himself, and two thousand scattered Horse made off early in the morning, in the direction of Mynpoorie. Upwards of two thousand of the enemy were said to have been killed and wounded, without the loss of a *single man* of ours. They thought not of making any resistance, but fled on the first alarm. It appeared that our troops at Futtty Ghur, consisting only of a few raw recruits, had remained under arms two nights previous to the arrival of the enemy. On the evening of the 16th they discovered them advancing in great numbers, and encamped near the Cavalry lines, which they immediately set fire to, and completely destroyed. The few officers at Futtty Ghur with the recruits had taken post on the Infantry parade, with ravines in their front, and there waited the attack of the enemy, which they were in instant expectation would take place.

Two heavy guns were carried down to a bridge at the entrance into the Infantry lines, and the enemy were cannonaded from them, while they were destroying the Cavalry cantonment on the afternoon



1804.

*Field of
Battle near
Dieg.*

of the 16th. Our troops were all night under arms, drawn up on the Infantry parade, and from the immense numbers of the enemy they had much to apprehend, and Holcar sent to them in the evening and threatened to take their lives at daylight, but our gallant Commander-in-Chief told them another story. At break of day on the morning of the 17th our troops were all under arms, momentarily expecting an attack; their surprise was great at hearing a very sudden and smart cannonade open very near them, and their joy was, of course, great when day, breaking, discovered our Dragoons charging the enemy in every direction, who were flying in all quarters. The cannonade from the Flying Artillery and Gallopers, it appeared, was very heavy for a short space of time, until they were completely dispersed. They fled without making any kind of stand. Holcar himself did not halt till he reached "poor Mynpoorie," where he destroyed the lines of White's Provincial Corps, and Cunynghame's elegant house, coach houses, stables and all its buildings shared the same fate. White took post in his own house, round which he had thrown up a strong ditch, and raised some small bastions which flanked it. His men were posted on the top of the house, and behind a parapet within the ditch. The enemy made a faint attack, but were driven back by the musketry.

Cunynghame's house, which cost him full half a lac of rupees, was nearly ruined; all the windows and doors destroyed; the beams set fire to, and they had used every means to fire the house, but could not effect it.

Ryley's bungalow shared the same fate, and all the furniture it contained was destroyed. Accounts came into camp to-day of Colonel Wallace having taken a strong fort in the Decan.

Nov. 25.

Major-General Fraser having unfortunately died of the wounds he received on the 13th, whilst leading us



on to victory, was buried this evening with all the 1804.
honours of war, near the town of Muttrah. All officers
off duty attended, and deep affliction for the loss of so
gallant an officer was visible in the countenance of
every individual who attended on this melancholy
occasion. *Camp
between
Muttrah
and Dieg.*

For many days after he received the unfortunate
wound, no apprehensions were entertained of his
danger; the shot struck him about the ankle, the leg
was taken off just above the wound, and he appeared
doing well till a day or two previous to his death.

The Commander-in-Chief having joined us, we
proceeded to commence the siege of Dieg, and this
morning we encamped within sight of the fortress.
The enemy's Horse continued to hang on our flanks
and rear, and some men were daily killed, of ours as
well as of the enemy. *Dec. 5.*

The Bhirtpore Rajah sent vakeels into camp this
morning, but they were received in a manner the
conduct of their Rajah had merited.

We moved ground this morning, and encamped
between Goverden and the field on which the battle
of the 13th was fought. Several hogs were seen this
morning during the march, but the enemy were so
thickly hovering round our line that it was impossible
to pursue them. The whole of the troops that escaped
on the 17th near Fatty Ghur, and all the Bhirtpore
Rajah's own Cavalry, were constantly harassing our
picquets and the baggage during the march. A strong
party approached our picquet on the right of the line,
and a smart cannonade from the two six-pounders
commenced on them (at the picquets). Rode a long
way down in front this evening, and saw the enemy
plainly on the works of the town, and an immense
encampment close under the walls. Dined with
MacGregor this evening. *Dec. 6.*

*Camp near
Dieg.*

The army marched at daybreak this morning in two lines, the Cavalry and two Battalions forming one, and the remaining Corps of Infantry the second line. The baggage moved between the two columns, and was perfectly secured by the rearguard in the rear. The enemy endeavoured to annoy us by throwing rockets, but a few rounds from the guns with the advanced guard kept them at a respectable distance. We did not make a march of more than four miles this day; we passed over the skirts of the field of battle, and saw the skeletons of many poor fellows who fell with us on the 13th. Encamped about four miles from the fort of Dieg, with the high village which we stormed on the 13th on our right flank. Went round the picquets in the evening; the officer commanding that on the left of the line was amusing himself firing at a small party of the enemy crossing on his flank, but it was a waste of ammunition, not a shot taking effect. Dined at Arbuthnot's, and about nine o'clock orders came in for our Battalion to be under arms at ten, as we supposed, to beat up an encampment of the enemy, but soon after ten we marched off to a lake of water about one mile and a half in our front, with three Companies of Pioneers, to cut through an embankment with a view to overflow that face of the fort. We soon reached our destination, and remained all night under arms, whilst the Pioneers were working. It was strange that the enemy did not discover us, as we could plainly hear them shouting in their camp, across the lake, and see their lights going the rounds on the ramparts of the town. We completely finished the work, and returned to camp before sunrise.

DEC. 8.

Having been all last night under arms, we took the advantage of the halt to-day, and brought up our arrears of sleep. Rode down in front this afternoon, and saw a great deal of the ground on the east face of the fort under water, and the enemy endeavouring in



vain to stop it. It appeared to rush out most furiously, 1804.
and we did not doubt but that they would have infinite labour to check its progress. Dined with the Com-
mander-in-Chief to-day, and gave him the particulars of our last night's employment. As usual at head-quarters, we all drank a good deal of wine. *Camp near Dieg.*

We halted this day, and the hircarabs were employed in gaining information respecting the strength of the place, and ascertaining the most vulnerable part of the town. Firing at the picquets all day, at some advanced parties of the enemy. *DEC. 9.*

This morning we marched at daybreak, in the same order as on the 7th; in getting round a large piece of water, of some miles extent, we were obliged to pass through a thick jungle, in which the enemy was concealed, and several of our men were shot by them, without discovering the enemy or even the quarter from whence they fired, so thick was the wood. Our Flankers were soon out, and a brisk fire commenced in all directions. I was employed in this duty, in command of the Flankers of our own Battalion; some of them were shot, and I had many narrow escapes myself. We killed a great many of the enemy, and at length succeeded in beating them quite off, and the line passed unmolested through the latter part of the wood. We encamped about nine, not more than four miles distant from our last ground. Here we supposed we should remain, as in a position proper to commence our approaches against the town and fort of Dieg, which was about two and a half miles in our front. I found myself much annoyed by a violent headache, in consequence of having exerted myself a little with the Flankers in the morning. Did not quit my tent the whole of this day. *DEC. 10.*

We moved about one mile this morning, in order to take up a final position for the siege. Soon after we *DEC. 11.*



1804.

*Camp
before
Dieg.*

left our ground a considerable body of the enemy were seen collecting under a hill about a quarter of a mile from our line. Colonel Monson, who commanded our Brigade, desired me to endeavour to surprise them—with three Companies and a six-pounder. The army passed on, but the rear guard was at hand to support me if I should have been hardly pressed by superior numbers. By a circuitous route I gained the top of the hill undiscovered, while the gun moved round one point of it, to open on them as they made off. Nothing could exceed the surprise of the enemy when I gave them my fire from the hill; they were immediately under me, and so close that almost every shot had effect, and numbers of them fell, whilst others made off under a smart fire of grape from my gun, which mowed them down in dozens. On hearing my fire the line was halted, and they all witnessed the surprise and the slaughter which took place among the enemy, who had never dreamt that it was possible for troops to ascend the hill on the part next our line of march. I rode Lassuary this morning, and was not off his back the whole of the time; he carried me up the precipices on the side of the hill in a most astonishing manner, and where very few other horses could have gone. By the time I joined the line the rear guard was come up, and the army was nearly encamped. MacGregor kept breakfast ready for me in his tent. Some guns opened from the town on our picquets, and their Horse annoyed our Videtts and advanced sentries. Dined with Colonel Macan.

Dec. 12.

Our Corps on picquet this morning. Colonel Ball was the Brigadier of the day. I was posted at the centre picquet, and several heavy shot passing over my tent I quickly sent all my horses to the lines, out of the reach of shot. Graham and a party of the 3rd Cavalry was posted at my picquet, and some men of his were injudiciously placed in front of my sentries, and having pistols only they were no match for the



enemy, who came deliberately down, took a cool shot 1804. with their matchlocks (with which most of them kill certain at eighty and a hundred yards) and galloped off without danger from the troopers with their pistols. One man was shot in this manner close to the picquet, and another came in at speed, with his horse wounded, and which dropped dead as soon as he reached his picquet. I represented this to Brigadier Ball, and was ordered to withdraw the Videtts during the day. Some of the most daring of the enemy then came down, and exchanged some shot with my sentries, who, with their muskets, were a much better match for them. With my rifle I went out in front, and one of their horsemen galloped down, presented his piece, and fired at me. The shot passed very close to my face, and as he was going off I fired, and evidently wounded him. He continued, however, to sit his horse till he nearly reached the party to which he belonged, when we saw him fall and his horse run off. I never saw a horseman of the enemy within musket shot distance of the picquet afterwards. All the cattle and people employed bringing materials and making fascines and gabions. Graham dined at my tent.

*Camp
before
Dieg.*

A Battalion of the 8th relieved us this morning. Every preparation making in camp for the commencement of the siege, and on reconnoitring it was found that our Batteries could be formed at a convenient breaching distance, by cutting through a mound of earth in front of a village near the fort, and this evening a Battalion of the 12th Regiment and some Companies of Europeans advanced to break ground. The rattling of the gun carriages and tumbrils alarmed the enemy, who had some parties advanced in front, and who gave their fire, and ran under the walls of the garrison. The party ordered for this duty was commanded by my Gwalior friend Colonel Don, who, after dislodging the enemy, took post in the

DEC. 13.



1804.
Dec. 14.

*Camp
before
Dieg.*

village, and commenced his entrenchments. No firing during the night.

The enemy having discovered Colonel Don's party at daybreak this morning, commenced a heavy fire of cannon from the town and from as many of the fort guns as they could bring to bear on the grove and village. Some twelve-pounders were run down to a well in front of the picquet this morning, and we observed the enemy bringing out guns in all directions from the town, and erecting batteries. On the right of the village from which we commenced our approaches was a great deal of broken ground, and a small redoubt occupied by the enemy; from the former they kept up a constant fire of musketry on our troops, trenching, and many of our men were killed. At sunset this evening the relief of the trenches took place; the troops paraded in front of the 76th Regiment. Rode to the picquets, and remained till dark; saw the enemy with our glasses, erecting batteries in all quarters, under the wall of the town. The General Officer of the day was ordered to mount in the evening, and to command in the trenches, the Field Officer of the day to have charge of the picquets. Dined with Weston this evening.

Dec. 15.

By this day's orders the Brigadiers of Cavalry were directed to take the duties of the day, as formerly, and the Brigadiers of Infantry the duty of the trenches. A Royal Salute was fired this day in honour of the capture of Gaulney by the detachment under the command of Colonel Wallace. The 1st Battalion 4th and 1st Battalion 15th Regiments, with two hundred men of the 76th Regiment, were in the trenches to-day. A smart fire on the working parties all the forenoon, and when the salute opened in camp the enemy, as if enraged at our rejoicing, redoubled their fire, and continued firing platoons of cannon for nearly half-an-hour on our trenches. The Com-



mander-in-Chief came in front of our parade to 1804. ascertain the occasion of so heavy a fire. The relief of the trenches took place at the usual hour. Dined with the Commander-in-Chief this evening. The General was in high spirits, and expressed his hope soon to have an opportunity of punishing the Rajah for his infidelity and treacherous conduct.

*Camp
before
Dieg.*

A foraging party ordered to parade to-morrow morning, and three days' forage to be brought into camp.

DEC. 16.

*Trenches
before
Dieg.*

The relief of the trenches to be on the parade of the 76th, at six o'clock, and to move off immediately after. The General Officer in the trenches was directed to send a non-commissioned officer from each party posted in the trenches to the parade of the 76th at sunset. The different parties for each post to be told off before they move down, and the non-commissioned officer to conduct each relieving party to its destined post, as soon as they get near the centre of the grove. I was in the trenches this day, and commanded a detached party, posted on the right of the village, for the purpose of keeping the enemy in the broken ground on the right of our Batteries in check and to prevent their coming sufficiently near to fire with effect on our men in the trenches. On this post the enemy kept up a constant heavy fire, and I lost a great many of my men, and had myself many narrow escapes. Lieutenant Dickson of the 4th, with three Companies of that Corps, relieved me. I cautioned him on the necessity of keeping his men as much under cover as possible, as there was literally an uninterrupted and perpetual shower of ball on the post, and the enemy were so spread in the broken ground that we could not give our fire with the effect that was wished. I took my leave of Dickson, and returned to the trenches, which I had scarcely reached when an orderly came running to inform me that poor Dickson was shot through the head. He was giving



1804.

*Trenches
before
Dieg.*

his orders to his men to fire on some of the enemy, who were drawing near his post, when a man from an embankment on the flank of his parapet shot him dead; he was a very worthy young man, and a gallant officer. His body was immediately sent to camp, and the following general after order appeared: "A funeral party of one Company from the 1st Battalion 4th Regiment to parade immediately in front of that Corps to attend the remains of the late Lieutenant Dickson to the grave. All officers off duty are requested to attend." The enemy kept a very heavy fire of cannon from near thirty heavy guns on us in the trenches, and the men employed in erecting the Batteries were necessitated to leave off their work till the cover of the night enabled them to continue it. Many poor fellows fell this day, and one of our twelve-pounders which we had in a redoubt to strengthen the trenches was dismounted, the axle being struck in shivers by a shot. The Engineer and Artillery officers declared they had never witnessed such a fire at a battery, every shot either struck the batteries, or the top of the trench, and many came through the loose earth, and killed our men. The European Regiment and 2nd Battalion relieved us this evening, and we reached camp about eight o'clock, and all dined with me.

DEC. 17.

*Camp
before
Dieg.*

A working party of forty Dragoons was ordered to accompany the relief this day to the trenches. After breakfast I went with Macan to the advanced picquet, and we had the satisfaction to observe that the shot from two of our twelve-pounders in advance seemed greatly to annoy some parties of the enemy posted near the glacis. Ridge commanded the centre picquet, and we tiffed with him. Two heavy shot passed over the tent and killed one of the gun bullocks. An Artillery officer told us that they expected the batteries would be finished in the course of the night. An order appeared this afternoon



directing that whenever working parties of Europeans 1804.
were sent to the trenches liquor equal to afford two *Camp*
drams to each man is to be sent and served to them *before*
during the time they are working. *Dieg.*

The person in charge of the liquor is to carry a note to the Commanding Officer, and to be instructed to serve the liquor at such time as he shall direct. Two hundred of the 76th Regiment and a Battalion of the 15th, and one of the 12th, for the trenches.

This morning our batteries opened on the Shah *DEC. 18.*
Burge, or King's bastion, and continued a heavy fire the greater part of the forenoon. The Mortar Battery, which was sunk in the rear of the village, commenced its fire at the same time. This was returned by a very spirited fire from as many guns as the enemy could bring to bear on our batteries and trenches. An incessant roar of cannon continued with but little intermission the whole of the day, and our shot made a considerable impression on the bastion and a gateway close on its left, which seemed to have been blocked up. A foraging party ordered to parade in front of the centre of the Cavalry at eight o'clock to-morrow morning; forage for three days to be brought in. All spare musket balls ordered to be sent to the Park. The general officer when relieved from the trenches is to send a return of casualties which may occur in the Corps under his command to the Adjutant-General, and all occurrences of an unusual nature in the trenches to be reported immediately to headquarters.

Mounted Lassuary at daybreak this morning, and *DEC. 19.*
rode round the picquets, and down to the guns in advance. Shairpe was with me, and we rode very *Trenches*
close to a post of the enemy, and were *before* *saluted* with *Dieg.*
two shot which passed very close to us. The firing from our batteries continued very heavy, and with considerable effect. Last night new trenches were



1804.

*Trenches
before
Dieg.*

DEC. 20.

commenced on, about a quarter of a mile on the left of the Grand Battery, there to raise a two-gun battery to knock down the defences of a couple of bastions from which the enemy could otherwise keep up a flanking fire on the storming party, and in all probability terribly annoy us. I went down to the trenches this evening. We marched off at the usual hour; some confusion occurred during the relief, owing to the enemy keeping up a smart cannonade on us, which in the dark caused some hurry and irregularity, and which officers in such situations always find a difficulty in putting a stop to. Our Battalion was posted in the trenches on the left of the Grand Battery, in which several men had been killed during the day, owing to the enemy having brought some guns round so as to completely enfilade the trench. The Corps we relieved gave us this information, and in consequence of which we immediately commenced throwing up traverses, to prevent their cannon shot ranging down the trench. This employed us the greater part of the night, officers and men in parties continuing it all night. At daylight a smart fire opened from our batteries, which was as briskly returned by the fort, town and batteries of the enemy on the glacis. The enemy threw several shells with great precision at our trenches in the forenoon. Lieutenant Groves of the Artillery was killed in the Mortar Battery this day. He was a brave officer, and much lamented by all who knew him.

About three in the afternoon the enemy opened a fire which enfiladed our trench. The fire appeared to be from two guns, and but for the traverses we threw up in the night the post would not have been tenable. I had as narrow an escape this afternoon as I ever had in my life. A shot carried off a soldier's arm who was sitting in the *bottom* of the trench. I was using my endeavour to keep them as much as possible under cover, when a cannon shot grazed on the top of the trench, took the bearskin of my hat, tore it to



pieces, and lodged in the parapet, burying itself 1804.
nearly two feet in the side of the trench. It was
within half a foot of carrying away both Durant's *Trenches*
legs; he was standing *on* the parapet, looking over at *before*
the enemy on the works of the town. It was a twelve- *Dieg.*
pound shot. This escape was a very providential one
to us both, and a hearty shake of the hand with
mutual congratulations followed. Had the enemy
continued this enfilading fire we must have suffered
exceedingly, as their shot completely raked the
trench, and went through the traverses often. For-
tunately they fired a few rounds and discontinued it,
not knowing, as we concluded, the effect of their fire.
Brigadier MacRie commanded in the trenches this
day, and at sunset Durant and myself, as the two
senior officers in the Corps, went to him, and offered
our services, with our Battalion, to storm some
batteries of the enemy's, which lay to the left of the
trenches, and to spike their guns if we found it
impossible to drag them off, and which it appeared to
us could be effected. Brigadier MacRie very hand-
somely thanked us, and told us that he should report
our offers of service to the Commander-in-Chief, but
it appeared to him to be a service that would be
attended with severe loss, as their guns were all
drawn up under the cover of fire from the ramparts,
and therefore he thought that he could not with
propriety allow us to make the attempt without the
Commander-in-Chief's order.

About half-past seven the relief of the trenches *Grand*
arrived, and we moved out from the different angles *Army,*
and assembled by appointment in the rear of the *Camp*
grove near the village, and out of the usual range of *before*
the enemy's shot. Our Battalion arrived in camp *Dieg.*
before nine, and we all dined with MacGregor, and
passed a very jovial evening.



1804.

Dec. 21.

Grand
Army.
Camp
before
Dieg.

Breakfasted at headquarters this morning; met Fraser near the picquets, and returned with him to the General's tents. The Commander-in-Chief was pleased to express his approbation of Durant's and my own proposal to Brigadier MacRie last evening in the trenches, and which the Brigadier had reported to his Excellency.

Passed an hour after breakfast in Colonel Lake's tent, with the Colonel, Menzies and Fraser. Went afterwards to the advanced picquets with Macan and Peyron to see the effect of our batteries this morning on the works; their fire was very effectual, and particularly that of the new battery directed principally against some defences which flanked our intended route to the breach.

This new battery was completed the last night, and consisted of three eighteen-pounders, of which my friend and brother prize agent, Hay, had the command; Hay kept up an almost incessant fire nearly all the day, and the cross fire of his right-hand gun, which alone bore *immediately* upon the breach, had great effect in breaching; his other two guns were entirely directed against some defences on the works. Several of the enemy's troopers came very near our picquet, and a horse was killed by a shot fired from one of the field pieces, which kept them at a more respectable distance; the trooper escaped. A little before sunsetting Shairpe and myself mounted our Arabs, and rode out in front of the line of picquets, and round the right flank of our encampment. An advanced sentry from one of the enemy's picquets was patrolling within half cannon shot distance of the flank, and we walked our horses quietly towards him; which the fellow observing, and seeing that we were unattended with any escort, came boldly towards us; he was elegantly mounted, his piece was slung over his shoulder, and he had a spear in his hand. On approaching sufficiently near to speak he commenced his abuse, and, at the same time, prepared his piece;



we determined to take a shot at him, and both drew 1804.
our pistols, walking still towards him without *Grand*
noticing his *salutation* till we got pretty close, when *Army,*
we put spurs to our horses and pushed directly at *Camp*
him; he fired his piece, and the shot passed close to *before*
us; at the same moment, turning his horse, he made *Dieg.*
off towards the party to which he belonged. I was
alongside of him in a very short time, and at a
distance not exceeding *five yards* fired directly in his
face, but owing to the rate at which we were going (at
speed) I missed him! Shairpe then went within a
sword's length of him, and gave his fire, also without
effect—by this time the picquet to which the soldier
belonged became alarmed, and we saw a strong party
of them mounted and galloping towards us, and we
now thought it high time to move off. The man had
depended on the speed of his horse, which was a
beautiful animal, and none but an Arab could have
gone near him. The prospect of securing his horse
it was, added to his uncommon insolence, which
induced us to risk a shot with him, and though it
ended without accident to us, we both agreed *after it*
was over that it was a very unwise scheme of ours.
About fifty of the enemy followed us down within
range of shot of our picquets, but by keeping our
horses in a smart canter we kept easily out of their
way. The reliefs of the trenches were marching off
as we reached the parade. I dined at the mess of the
12th with Shairpe this evening.

Our Corps was on picquet this morning, and after *DEC. 22.*
posting our advanced sentries and distributing the *On Picquet,*
Companies along the front for the protection of the *before*
lines, we got our breakfast about eleven o'clock. *Dieg,*
About twelve the Commander-in-Chief came to the *with the*
centre picquet (where I was posted) to observe the *Grand*
effect of our fire on the breach. The enemy's fire of *Army.*
musketry at this time from the broken ground to the
right of our trenches was exceedingly heavy, which



1804.

*On Picquet,
before
Dieg,
with the
Grand
Army.*

his Excellency remarked, and asked if there was no mode of silencing them. I took this opportunity to describe the nature of the ground in which the enemy were posted, and told the General that it was impossible our cannon shot could have the smallest effect, as the ravines where they were were so steep that the shot passed *over* them. I then took the liberty of mentioning to his Excellency that from the village, a couple of howitzers, or cohorns, it appeared to me, when I was down at the post, could be used with great effect, as the shells would annoy them certainly, although they were quite secure from shot. An aide-de-camp was immediately despatched to the Commandant of Artillery, with orders to him to send down either a couple of howitzers or cohorns, which could be best spared, to the village in the rear of our trenches. A very heavy fire continued the whole of this day upon the breach and defences of the town, and we suspected that the storm would take place in the course of the day or night to-morrow.

My friend and ship-mate Captain Robinson of the Engineers, who had been down reconnoitring in front, came into my tent on his way back to the lines, and in confidence assured me that the breach would be reported practicable with another day's firing from our batteries. Robinson remained and tiffed with me. Many of the Cavalry officers (who had very little else to do) came daily to lounge at the picquets, and to enquire "when the breach would be practicable," expressing *their* surprise at the "deal of battering it required"; few of these knowing gentry had ever been in a breach, at least not till it had been rendered *easy* of ascent by many *hundreds* going *before* them, and then when they could with ease and safety take their time for it, without an enemy to oppose them, or the risk of getting a broken head.

Several of the enemy approached our picquets at sunsetting, and we mounted a squadron and detached them with a Galloper upon the flank, to keep them at



a more respectable distance; seven or eight shot were fired at them. 1804.
Dec. 23.

*On Picquet,
before
Dieg.
with the
Grand
Army.*

An incessant fire the whole of this day from both our Breaching Batteries. That of the three-gun Battery in front of the centre picquet seemed to have very fine effect, and the defences came down in great style.

We were fully prepared in our arrangements for the storm, expecting it to take place in the course of the evening or night. No regular relief at the trenches took place this afternoon, and at sundown orders arrived for us to be under arms at night at ten o'clock without our Battalion guns.

Soon after ten we began to assemble, and at eleven marched down to the attack; we formed (under cover of the night) in three columns, upon the left flank of the Grand Battery. Brigadier MacRie commanded the whole of the storming party, Captain Kelly the right column, and Major Ratcliffe the left, all under the directions of MacRie, who himself led the centre column to the breach. The rising of the moon was the appointed signal for us to advance, and the Cavalry in camp were to mount at the same time, for the protection of our lines. Captain Kelly was ordered to storm the enemy's batteries on the left of the breach with our right column, and Ratcliffe the guns on the right of the breach with the column he commanded, and an Artillery officer prepared with a party carrying hammers and spikes accompanied each of the flanking columns to spike their guns if they could not possibly be brought off. Between our batteries and the breach the ground was very much broken, and in the dark it was utterly impossible to preserve such distance and order as could have been wished; the troops were as silent as death on our approach, but we were no sooner discovered from the works than the whole face was completely illuminated by the enemy's cannon and musketry. The shot flew



1804.

*Storm
of the
Shah Burge
and
Enemy's
Batteries at
Dieg.*

like hail, and many a gallant fellow dropped; it was, however, no check to us, and instead of returning a single shot we rushed on, with the bayonet, and gained the summit of the breach, in spite of the formidable resistance opposed to us and the obstinacy with which they disputed every inch of ground.

We immediately scoured the works of the Shah Burge, and were shortly in possession of the whole; about twenty minutes as sharp fighting as was perhaps ever witnessed put us also in possession of all their batteries under the walls on the flanks of the breach. I was well aware that the tremendous fire they had kept up on us must have caused us great loss; for a very considerable time we were literally exposed to a shower of shot, and the blaze of cannon and musketry from the works was so very *brilliant* that we could plainly see the flanking columns closing with the enemy, although at a considerable distance from us. By twelve the enemy had all retired (those who escaped) into the fort and to those parts of the town under its fire, and almost all firing ceased. On enquiring after the officers of *my own* Corps, I was distressed to find that the 2nd had again suffered considerably; poor Bowyer was killed, and Forrest lost an arm and was otherwise dreadfully wounded; he appeared quite senseless and in a dying state. I found him lying at the foot of the breach, and Bowyer was shot a few paces only distant from it. In the breach I heard Anderdon's voice (my Bareilly friend). He had received a dreadful wound in his shoulder, and was almost fainting with loss of blood, and begging for assistance to be carried to camp, which we instantly procured him. Near Anderdon lay Captain Young of the same Corps (8th Infantry), a very intimate friend of mine; he had received a grape through his breast and was dying in horrid agonies, entreating those about him in a most distressing and earnest way to put him out of his misery. We sent



him off in a litter, but he expired before he reached 1804.
camp.

*Storm of
Dieg.*

About twenty officers were killed and wounded in this assault. I, thank Providence, escaped with no further injury than some severe blows from splinters and stones thrown up by the cannon shot.

The only officers now left of *our Battalion* out of *eighteen* were Hammond, MacGregor, Weston, Grant, Arbuthnot and myself; a more *cruel* slaughter in one battalion during three campaigns had perhaps seldom been known. We were all this night under arms, and the fort kept up a random fire upon us with very little effect except that of destroying the houses of the town. The shot from a seventy-pounder mounted on a high cavalier came frequently among us, and killed most of our men during the night. Not a moment's rest this night.

At daybreak this morning we discovered heaps of DEC. 24.
the enemy lying killed and wounded in all directions
around and among us. The proportion of wounded *Town of
Dieg,*
was very trifling to the amount of their killed. *with the
Storming
Party.*

We had no leisure for removing the dead, but the wounded were treated with much humanity by our surgeons. About six we advanced to endeavour to find a way from the Shah Burge (of which we were in complete possession, and our guards all regularly posted) and the town. Colonel Ball (my Lassuary friend) offered his services to reconnoitre in hopes of discovering the communication, and the Colonel paid me the compliment to ask me to accompany him. We advanced with one hundred and sixty men, and the enemy from the town commenced a very galling fire upon us. We continued skirmishing with them, and they fell back to a gateway in their rear, which we plainly saw was the communication we were looking for. We were planning the best mode to force it, when Colonel Ball, with whom I was then conversing, received a musket shot through his right breast;



1804.

*Town of
Dieg,
with the
Storming
Party.*

the shot after having gone through his breast entered the fleshy part of the right arm and passed out near the elbow. The party of the enemy from whose fire he fell were withing thirty yards of us behind a parapet which covered them completely, but we quickly dislodged them. The manner in which Colonel Ball fell and the blood streaming from his breast made me very apprehensive that he was mortally wounded. I ordered two Grenadiers of the 8th to remain with him, and we rushed on and gained possession of the gateway. Brigadier MacRie was made acquainted with what we had done, and immediately on learning that Colonel Ball was severely wounded and that we had taken post at the gate which led into the heart of the town he advanced and joined us with a Battalion of the 8th and one of the 15th Regiment, headed by two hundred men of the 76th and European Regiments and eighty men of the 22nd Flankers.

*With the
Storming
Party
in the
Palace
Gardens at
Dieg.*

The enemy had suffered so much in the assault last night that they showed no very strong inclination to oppose any formidable resistance to us this morning; to do them justice, they undoubtedly fought very gallantly, and made a desperate resistance to our cost as well as their own. We met with no serious resistance till we reached the Palace Gardens, which are within half-musket shot distance of the fort from the walls of which opened a smart and galling fire of grape and musketry. I was with Brigadier MacRie and Colonel Haldane at the head of the column; several men were shot around us, but we all escaped. I advanced with MacRie, for as prize agent I considered it a point of duty to be foremost in order to secure any property that may fall into our hands and prevent the soldiers plundering it. This check near the Palace Gardens induced us to halt, and we withdrew the troops out of sight and posted them in the Palace, and some were drawn up under the walls of the garden, which sheltered them from the musketry of the garrison and also prevented their being seen.



The enemy lost no time in bringing some guns to 1804. point in the direction of the Palace, but the walls of the fort were so lofty, and we were so close under them, that they found it no easy matter to bring their Artillery to bear on us, and almost every shot whistled over our heads, and made great havoc among the houses of the town. There were many rooms in the Palace nearly full of rose water; the soldiers, some of them, got hold of it, and came out highly perfumed, having thrown it at and over each other. We posted guards in all the different avenues leading to the Palace and gardens to prevent a surprise; this was one of the sweetest spots I ever beheld. The Palace itself was built of fine stone, very lofty and elegant, and had a most stylish appearance; it was supported within at many places with marble pillars of an immense size, and beautifully inlaid with cornelian, agate and various other kinds of valuable stones. The rooms were forty and fifty feet in height, and eighty feet long or upwards. On the *top* of the Palace was a reservoir of water, which supplied the fountains immediately in front of the building; any of which could instantly be set playing by drawing certain plugs. There were numerous fountains in every part of the gardens, which were very extensive and elegantly laid out. It contained ranges of myrtle and orange trees of the finest kind I ever saw; the oranges were hardly ripe, but the men helped themselves plentifully. The walks were all paved with the same kind of stone as the Palace was built of. They were about thirty feet wide, all regularly laid out and kept in the highest possible condition. The Rajah was particularly fond of seeing and feeding fish in the ponds of his garden, and on going from one guard to another I met a soldier of the 22nd Foot with a very fine fish in his hand, just fresh from the water, and on enquiring where he had procured it and how, the answer was "With a sharp-pointed bayonet, sir; that's how I catch my fish," and then pointed out to

*With the
Storming
Party,
in the
Palace
Gardens
at Dieg.*

*In the
Palace
Gardens
at Dieg,
day after
the Assault
of the
Shah Burge.*



1804.

*In the
Palace
Gardens
at Dieg,
day after
the Assault
of the
Shah Burge.*

me a pond about thirty feet square only in which were nearly as many soldiers sticking fish with their bayonets. They had, of course, been preserved, and were as thick in this place of confinement as they could possibly swim. We were told the Rajah himself always fed them daily. As soon as we had stationed the necessary guards in the vicinity of our post we began considering the best mode of gaining possession of the fort, which we had reason to believe could not long hold out, as the houses of the town enabled us to approach so near that we could easily beat them from the works with our musketry, and a few hours' bombardment, we concluded, would make the garrison *too warm* for them. A flag of truce was despatched to them from the Palace Gardens, but, unfortunately, just as the native officer who carried it approached sufficiently near to be heard from the works and a soldier of the enemy was preparing to communicate with him, a sergeant of the 76th Regiment from behind a building fired at the man on the ramparts, and they, of course, instantly returned it on the flag. The sergeant was not to blame; he knew nothing of what was going on, and had been sent down under cover of some ruins with a party to snipe at the enemy on the works. This put an end to all prospect of treating, and the garrison continued a smart firing all the afternoon. We proposed to send to camp for a couple of twelve-pounders, and to attack the gates as soon as the dusk of the evening set in; the guns were accordingly sent for and arrangements made for the assault, but the former did not arrive till the relief came; it was then too late to effect it, and the Commander-in-Chief sent Menzies and Fraser down to us to give us notice that he had received information which gave him reason to think that there was a probability of the enemy evacuating the fort in the course of the night. At eight this evening our Battalion and one of the 4th were pushed on to the Palace Gardens, and Brigadier MacRie was relieved



by Brigadier Sackville Brown. My old servant 1804.
managed to find me out with a bottle of claret and
some cold meat, upon which Kerr, Lumsdaine and
myself made a good meal on the ground, and felt
much refreshed by it. We had been all the night and
all day without a morsel to eat. About ten at night
Brigadier Brown assembled the commanding officers
and staff of corps on duty, and made them acquainted
with his intention to attack the fort by the gateway
at daylight in the morning. A proportion of us laid
down on the stones, and got a little sleep. I posted a
sentry of my own Company close to me, to give me
immediate notice of the smallest alarm, and ordered
that he should be relieved hourly.

*In the
Palace
Gardens
at Dieg,
day after
the Assault
of the
Shah Burge.*

About an hour before daybreak this morning we
all paraded for the purpose of storming the gates of
the fort.

Dec. 25.

A party was advanced to reconnoitre, but just as
we were prepared to move off an Artilleryman came
running to inform us that the place was evacuated.
We went instantly down with two Companies (the
Grenadiers of our Regiment the senior corps) and
about one hundred men of the 76th Foot.

*Fort of
Dieg.
with the
Storming
Party.*

The gates we found jarring open, and the garrison
completely empty of troops.

I posted my Grenadiers on the ramparts and with
my own hands planted our Battalion colours on the
works at the principal flagstaff on which we found the
Rajah's standard still flying. At daybreak they were
pleasantly surprised in camp by seeing our colours
flying in the garrison. As soon as we had taken full
possession I commenced and secured all the property
in the place by posting guards at every store-house,
magazine, etc. Some very fine horses were left by the
enemy; we found them all standing at their picquets;
a great deal of cattle belonging to their guns were also
left, and was secured, and sent with the horses to
camp, to be disposed of for the benefit of the army.



1804.

*Fort of
Dieg,
with the
Storming
Party.*

Captain Boyce of the 76th Foot, Captain Hay of the Artillery, and myself, as prize agents, as soon as everything was secured without, commenced searching the most probable places for treasure, nor were we unsuccessful. In one of the buildings near the Rajah's quarters we found three lacs of rupees. It was concealed in a vault, the communication to which was down a very dark, long, winding staircase, covered on the top with a flat board, so contrived that perhaps none but soldiers in pursuit of *plunder* would have discovered it. We instantly secured the treasure, and sent it with a guard to camp to be lodged in the Park for the present with the Artillery, till we should be at leisure to divide it.

We found also large quantities of cotton, ghee and other valuable stores and pits containing, by the invoices buried on the top of them, nearly one hundred thousand maunds of wheat and other grain. (A "maund" is 80lbs.) Many granaries were also discovered in the town, and guards planted over them. There was also a great variety of linens, chintzes and valuable cloth; these were sent up to the lines to be immediately disposed of.

The different gates leading into the town were all guarded to prevent camp followers from getting in to plunder; hundreds of these scoundrels were disappointed of their aim by this mode of keeping them out. I was extremely anxious to see my wounded friends, Anderdon and Forrest, in the lines, and, mounting Lassuary, I galloped up to camp. Anderdon had received a dreadful sabre cut down his shoulder, and lay in a very precarious state, much weakened by loss of blood. Poor Forrest's left arm was taken off near his shoulder, and he had some very severe wounds in his head. He knew me, but was unable to speak. It was fortunate that so soon after the accident we were enabled to find him, though we had no hopes of his life. At six this evening I mounted my horse and rode over the ground on which



we charged the enemy on the 23rd. The slaughter 1804.
among them was horrid, and they actually laid in
heaps in their trenches and batteries. Nearly all their
Artillerymen were bayoneted at their guns, and they
fought like brave fellows. The ground was become
extremely offensive, and a general order was issued
for the Pioneers to be employed in burying the
enemy's dead. They were covered up in their own
trenches. Our loss on the 23rd was very severe, but
did not exceed what might have been expected from
the nature of the attack, and under a very destructive
fire from the ramparts of the town. At sunset I went
to camp, and found that my servants had gone to the
fort in search of me. Slept in my boat cloak, in
MacGregor's tent.

*Fort of
Dieg,
with the
Storming
Party.*

Destroyed all our batteries to-day, took up all the
platforms, and carried all the battering guns to camp,
lodging those taken from the enemy on the 23rd safe
in the garrison. We had altogether discovered in a
store-room and in the fort three lacs of rupees and
as many maunds of grain. The captured property
was disposed of in camp this morning for the benefit
of the army. The Commander-in-Chief came into the
garrison this morning, and, calling me to him,
desired me as prize agent to give orders that no grain
should be carried out of garrison, and added that
“we were near losing Ali Ghur owing to their having
emptied all the granaries.”

*Dec. 26.
Town of
Dieg.*

The Commander-in-Chief came into garrison this
morning, and desired me to point out to him the
arsenal and principal store-rooms in the garrison, all
of which I had searched in quest of prize property,
and knew their contents. The General left the
garrison about twelve o'clock. Colonel Lake requested
that I would come to camp in the evening, and dine at
headquarters.

Dec. 27.



1804.

*Town of
Dieg.*

We were employed the greater part of this day in placing guards over the captured property, and in preventing the camp followers from making away with any part of it. Guards were placed at the different gates in order to prevent any being carried out, but we discovered them throwing it out at many places over the ramparts, and then saw them swim the ditch with it. Of a few we made severe examples, in order to deter the rest, but some of them lost their lives before it could be put a stop to. We delivered over the treasure found in the fort this day to the Deputy Field Paymaster, and received his acknowledgments on behalf of the Army. All loose property found in the town was sold in camp this afternoon, also a great deal of the cattle taken from the enemy. Colonel Browne received orders to commence immediately the repair of the breach and to cut away some gardens in the neighbourhood, which might afford shelter to an enemy, and of which we had availed ourselves during the siege. They were beautiful gardens, but we had destroyed them in a great measure by cutting the trees down to make picquets and for other uses in the batteries. Orange trees, mango trees and myrtles all went to wreck, and the enemy themselves destroyed several beautiful buildings in firing on us. Such is the unfortunate situation to which a country, the seat of war, is liable, and of which we had very many times been a witness.

*Camp at
Dieg.*

At sunset I galloped to camp, dressed in the head-quarter lines, and dined with the Commander-in-Chief. We passed a very pleasant evening, talking over the siege, and in pushing the bottle pretty rapidly, as was generally done at headquarters. All were in high spirits, and looked forward with pleasure to the approaching time for the attack of Bhirtpore, against which we were now marching.