LIVES OF THE LINDSAYS.

VOLUME III.

Lives of the Lindsays;

OR,

A MEMOIR OF THE HOUSES OF

CRAWFORD AND BALCARRES,

BY LORD LINDSAY.

TO WHICH ARE ADDED,

EXTRACTS FROM THE
OFFICIAL CORRESPONDENCE OF ALEXANDER SIXTH EARL OF BALCARRES,
DURING THE MAROON WAR;

TOGETHER WITH

PERSONAL NARRATIVES BY HIS BROTHERS,
THE HON. ROBERT, COLIN, JAMES, JOHN, AND HUGH LINDSAY;
AND BY HIS SISTER, LADY ANNE BARNARD.

IN THREE VOLUMES.—VOL. III.

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THE

RISE, PROGRESS, AND TERMINATION,

OF

The Maroon War,

ILLUSTRATED BY A SELECTION FROM THE

PUBLIC DESPATCHES AND PRIVATE CORRESPONDENCE

OF

ALEX. EARL OF BALCARRES,

GOVERNOR AND COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF IN JAMAICA.

LIVES OF THE LINDSAYS.

The Maroon War.

INTRODUCTION BY THE EDITOR.

Chapter I.

When Jamaica was captured by the English in 1655, multitudes of the slaves belonging to the Spanish colonists fled to the mountains of the interior, and commenced a life of savage independence, supporting themselves partly by predatory incursions on the Europeans, and partly by the chase of the wild boar,—from which occupation they acquired the distinctive appellation of Maroons, or "hog-hunters." They occupied the mountains to the North and East of the island, and, keeping up a constant communication with the plantation negroes, became a rallying point for all the disaffected, and a thorn in the sides of all the European settlers in that part of the country.

Thirty-five years afterwards, in 1690, a still more formidable insurrection took place among the slaves in the parish of Clarendon, on the Southern side of the island. Taking possession of the mountain-range to the rear of that district, they commenced a life precisely similar to that which distinguished the Maroons,—for that dreaded name was considered peculiar to the original refugees till the renewal of hostilities on a more vigorous scale in 1730, when it became gradually extended to the whole body of insurgent negroes.

Previous to that year, the internal history of British Jamaica presents little but an uninteresting tissue of atrocities on the part

of the blacks, and abortive attempts at their reduction by the English. The detail may be found in the valuable work of Mr. Long, whose summary (though it might be more briefly enunciated in the two words "robbery" and "murder") will sufficiently express the character of the struggle. "From the commencement of the war to this period," says that historian, "they had not once ventured a pitched battle, but skulked about the skirts of remote plantations, surprising stragglers, and murdering the whites by two or three at a time, or when they were too few to make any resistance. By night, they seized the favourable opportunity that darkness gave them, of stealing into the settlements, where they set fire to cane-pieces and out-houses, killed all the cattle they could find, and carried off the slaves into captivity. By this dastardly method of conducting the war, they did infinite mischief to the whites, without much exposing their own persons to danger, —for they always cautiously avoided fighting, except with a number so disproportionately inferior to themselves, as to afford them a pretty sure expectation of victory. They knew every secret pass of the country, so that they could either conceal themselves from pursuit, or shift their ravages from place to place, according as circumstances required. Such were the disadvantages under which the English had to deal with these desultory foes." *

Wearied out at last, and in absolute self-defence, the legislature determined on more serious efforts to extirpate these banditti. Flying parties were employed on this service—but with more energy than effect. This, however, produced the union, in the South of Jamaica, of all the scattered bands of the Clarendon rebels, under the celebrated chief Cudjoe—who was also joined by the Cottawoods, a tribe of the original Maroons, and by another of distinct origin, character, and language, named Madagascars, runaways originally from the parish of St. Elizabeth. Cudjoe himself was a Coromantee negro, and the ultimate prevalence of the Coromantee language among the Maroons establishes the descent of the majority of the nation so designated from that most ferocious and warlike of the tribes of Western Africa.†

* *Hist. of Jamaica*, tom. ii. p. 341.

† The Coromantees, says Bryan Edwards, "may be said to represent the genuine and original unmixed negro, both in person and character."—"The circumstances which distinguish them from all other negroes are—firmness both of body and mind,

"They now," says Mr. Dallas, "began to pursue a more regular and connected system of warfare, and in their frequent skirmishes with the troops sent out against them acquired an art of attack and defence, which, in the difficult and hardly accessible fastnesses of the interior of the island, has since so often foiled the best exertions of disciplined bravery. Plunder had been the original spring of their enterprises; but when they found themselves pursued and attacked in the very woods, every consideration became absorbed in the passion of revenge. Murder attended all their successes; not only men, but women and children, were sacrificed to their fury, and even people of their own colour, if unconnected with them. Over such as secretly favoured them, while they apparently remained at peace on the plantations, they exercised a dominion by the influence of Obeah,* and made them subservient to their designs. By these Cudjoe was always apprised in time of the parties that were fitted out, and, knowing the routes they must necessarily take, prepared his ambushes accordingly. As he frequently defeated his antagonists, his success was one means by which he supplied his men with arms and ammunition; nor was it the only one,—at that time there was no restriction in the sale of powder and fire-arms, and there can be no doubt that he had friends who made a regular purchase of them under pretence of being hunters and fowlers for their masters. Nay, a Maroon himself might, by carrying a few fowls and a basket of provisions on his head, pass unnoticed and unknown through the immense crowd of negroes frequenting the markets in the large towns. This is known to have been done in later times, and it must have been more easily effected formerly. The Maroons, too, were much more provident of their ammunition than the troops were, seldom throwing a shot away ineffectually. These circumstances account, in some measure, for Cudjoe's having been able to protract the war for so many years." †

In 1733, on reviewing the proceedings of the last three years,

a ferociousness of disposition,—but withal, activity, courage, and a stubbornness, or what an ancient Roman would have deemed an elevation of soul, which prompts them to enterprises of difficulty and danger, and enables them to meet death, in its most horrible shape, with fortitude or indifference." *Hist. of West Indies.*

* Magic.

† *History of the Maroons*, &c.

the retrospect was unsatisfactory. The flying parties of the English had proved almost uniformly ineffectual, through the length of their marches, the difficulty of subsisting them in the woods for so long a time as the service required, and the facility with which the Maroons eluded their pursuit; while, on the other hand, Cudjoe's band had become greatly augmented, and he had established a general interest with the Windward, or original Spanish Maroons, who, encouraged by the example of his activity and success, had become bolder and more enterprising in their hostilities.

The Assembly now devised a more effectual measure in erecting several barracks, with high walls and flanked with regular bastions, in different parts of the island, as near as possible to the favourite haunts of the Maroons; in every one of these they placed a strong garrison, who were regularly subsisted, and roads of communication were opened from one to another. These garrisons, says Bryan Edwards, "were composed of white and black shot [confidential slaves], and baggage negroes, who were all duly trained. They were subjected to rules and articles of war, and the whole body put under the governor's immediate order, to be employed, conjunctly or separately, as he should see occasion. Their general plan of duty, as directed by the law, was to make excursions from the barracks, scour the woods and mountains, and destroy the provision-gardens and haunts of the Maroons; and that they might not return without effecting some service, they were required to take twenty days' provision with them on every such expedition. Every barrack besides was furnished with a pack of dogs, provided by the churchwardens of the respective parishes, it being foreseen that these animals would prove extremely serviceable, not only in guarding against surprises in the night, but in tracking the enemy.—This arrangement was the most judicious hitherto contrived for their effectual reduction; for so many fortresses, stationed in the very centre of their usual retreats, well supplied with every necessary, gave the Maroons a constant and vigorous annoyance."*

With similar views, the Assembly resolved on taking two hun-

* *Account of the Maroon Negroes*, &c., printed with the *Historical Survey of the Island of St. Domingo*, 4to. 1801.

dred of the Musquito Indians into their pay. "They passed an act for rendering free negroes, mulattoes, and Indians more useful, and forming them into companies with proper encouragements. Some sloops were despatched to the Musquito shore, and that number of Indians were brought into the island, and formed into companies under their own officers." Their thorough experience in that species of action termed in America bush-fighting, and their skill, especially in tracking the Maroons, proved highly serviceable; and by their endeavours, in conjunction with the black shot, most of Cudjoe's settlements and provisions "were successively discovered and destroyed; not, however, without frequent skirmishes, which, though terminating in the defeat of the enemy, were always attended on the side of the assailants with the greater loss." *

Without, however, an acquaintance, at least by description, with the extraordinary scene of this warfare, it is impossible to form an adequate idea of its peculiar character or difficulties. "The general object of a Maroon chief in war," says Mr. Dallas, "was to take a station in some glen, or, as it is called in the West Indies, cockpit, enclosed by rocks and mountains nearly perpendicular, and to which the only practicable entrance is by a very narrow defile. From the first cockpit there is a succession of them, running from east to west, on a line, in which they are passable from one to the other, though with more or less difficulty. There are also parallel lines of cockpits, but as their sides are often perpendicular, from fifty to eighty feet, a passage from one line to another is scarcely to be found practicable to any but a Maroon. The Northern aspect is commonly the steepest, and often a solid perpendicular rock, so that, if the opposite ascent were practicable, to descend into the parallel line would be impossible. . . Such are the natural fortifications in which the Maroons secured themselves in times of danger, and from which it has been ever found so difficult to dislodge them. Having but one common

* The Indians were liberally rewarded for their good conduct at the peace of 1738, and three years afterwards the Assembly shewed a further mark of esteem for them in passing a bill, enacting "that all Indians imported into the island for sale should be as free as any other aliens or foreigners; and that all such sales should, *ipso facto*, be void, and the buyer and seller be liable to a penalty of 50*l.* each." *Long.*

entrance, the way to it was so trodden by the frequent egress and ingress of their parties who go out in quest of provisions and plunder, that when a distant track was observed by a sharp-sighted guide, it hardly ever failed to lead to the mouth of the defile. At this mouth, which looks like a great fissure made through the rock by some extraordinary convulsion of nature, from two hundred yards to half a mile in length, and through which men can pass only in single file, the Maroons, whenever they expected an attack, disposed of themselves on the ledges of the rocks on both sides. Sometimes they advanced a party beyond the entrance of the defile, frequently in a line on each side, if the ground would admit; and lay covered by the underwood, and behind rocks and the roots of trees, waiting in silent ambush for their pursuers, of whose approach they had always information from their out-scouts. These, after a long march, oppressed by fatigue and thirst, advance towards the mouth of the defile, through the track obscured by trees and underwood, in an approach of many windings, which are either occasioned by the irregularity of the ground, or designedly made for the purpose of exposing the assailants to the attacks of the different parties in ambush. A favourable opportunity is taken, when the enemy is within a few paces, to fire upon them from one side. If the party surprised return the fire on the spot where they see the smoke of the discharge, and prepare to rush on towards it, they receive a volley in another direction. Stopped by this, and undecided which party to pursue, they are staggered by the discharge of a third volley from the entrance of the defile. In the mean time the concealed Maroons, fresh, and thoroughly acquainted with their ground, vanish almost unseen before their enemies have reloaded. . . Such was the nature of the Maroon war, though it is reasonable to suppose that the people under Cudjoe had not arrived to the perfection of tactics displayed by his successors in the late contest. Indeed, it is known that for a considerable time his operations were carried on about Mouth River, Hector's River, and other tracts to the Eastward of the greater cockpits, where, though the country was rugged and difficult, it was easy in comparison with the seat of war in the year 1795.

"Cudjoe," continues Mr. Dallas, "finding his haunts accessible to the rangers, who were stationed at the barracks to the East of

him, and the communication of his foraging parties with his old friends in the back parts of Clarendon cut off, resolved to change his position, and to seek a situation of greater security for his quarters, as well as a more extensive field for his operations. He accordingly removed to a place in Trelawney, near the entrance of the great cockpits to the North-West, the first of which, called Petty River Bottom, now well known, was accessible by a very narrow defile. This cockpit was considered as a very large one, containing about seven acres of land, and a spring of water. Cudjoe displayed great judgment in chusing this position, as in case of alarm he could throw himself into the cockpit, whence no valour or force could drive him; and at the same time he placed the great range of cockpits between him and his former annoyers. The choice of the position was equally judicious in respect to predatory incursions, as the parishes of St. James, Hanover, Westmoreland, and St. Elizabeth, lay open to him, and, presenting more extensive and less defensible frontiers, afforded him opportunities of acting with smaller detachments, and of obtaining abundant supplies from different quarters. He sent out parties in various directions to a great distance, in order to deceive the government, and even kept up an alarm in the neighbourhood of his old position. Cudjoe now augmented a body he had placed under the command of his brother Accompong, and established them on the Northern borders of St. Elizabeth, where the country afforded more cattle, but where also his men had to act against a greater number of inhabitants prepared to defend their property. This station was above the mountains of Nassau, a place where there is still a town called Accompong after his name.

"In this situation did these people maintain themselves in a state of savage freedom for several years, living in indolence while their provisions lasted, and ravaging the country when excited by their wants. In their inroads they exercised the most horrid barbarities. The weak and defenceless, whenever surprised by them, fell victims to their thirst of blood; and, although some were more humane than others, all paid implicit obedience to the command of a leader, when that was given to imbrue their hands in blood; but, murder once commenced, no chief ever had power to stay the hand of his meanest follower, and there is hardly an instance of a prisoner having been saved by them. The Maroons

have been accused of torturing their prisoners, but there is no ground for this charge, as their eagerness to despatch a wounded enemy falling into their hands was such that he was soon released from his misery by one of the many cutlasses which on the sight of him were raised to cut off his head."

Such is the testimony of Mr. Dallas—the apologist (as he may comparatively be termed) of the Maroons!

"Eight or nine years had now elapsed since Cudjoe's renown had united all the fugitive negroes in the island, of whatever origin they were, in a general interest, and since the appellation of Maroons had been given indiscriminately to all the tribes of them. Force after force had been employed to subdue them in vain; their hostile operations against the inhabitants were carried on with unremitted vigour. At length the colonists resolved to make every sacrifice and use every exertion to put an end to so harassing a war. All who could carry arms volunteered their service, and a large body of the people were assembled under the command of Colonel Guthrie of the militia, and Captain Sadler of the regulars. Amidst these formidable preparations there were great apprehensions entertained of the uncertainty of the most vigorous measures, the failure of which would not only encourage the enemy and entail a perpetual war upon the island, but might operate on the minds of the slaves, who would be convinced of the power of the Maroons to maintain a successful opposition against the government. The governor, Edward Trelawney, was therefore urged by the principal persons of the country to offer them terms of peace.

"This being resolved upon, it was necessary that it should be done with the utmost expedition; for a treaty, the purport of which was to establish the freedom and independence of a body of negroes, could not be suffered to remain long pending in the contemplation of slaves, numbers of whom might be tempted to aim at obtaining the like advantage; Guthrie and Sadler were accordingly directed to communicate the offers to Cudjoe as speedily as possible. They could not but be acceptable to the Maroons, who were equally tired of war, and to whom the objects of their hostilities were conceded. On receiving intelligence of the offers to be made, Cudjoe called in his detachments, which had already fallen back, hearing of the preparations made against them. The for-

midable state of these threw a great difficulty in the way of negotiation, for the distrust of the Maroons would not allow them to reconcile it with the offering of peace; and the sincerity of the government was doubted.

"Governed by this motive, the cautious Cudjoe collected his forces, and waited the approach of the peacemakers, on a spot the most favourable to action in his mode of war, and on which his people might defend themselves, were treachery intended on the part of the government. His men were placed on the ledges of rocks that rose almost perpendicularly to a great height, on a ground which, compared to those precipices, might be called a plain, the extremity being narrowed into a passage, upon which the fire of the whole body might bear. This passage contracted itself into a defile of nearly half a mile long, and so narrow that only one man could pass along it at a time. Had it been entered by a line of men, it would not have been difficult for the Maroons from the heights to have blocked them up in the front and in the rear by rolling down large rocks at both ends, and afterwards to have crushed them to death by the same means. This defile, which has ever since retained the name of Colonel Guthrie, was one of the passages to the large cockpit called Petty River, already mentioned. The entrance was impregnable, the continuation of the line of smaller cockpits rendered the rear inaccessible, and nature had secured the flanks of her own fortification. In this dell were secured the Maroon women and children, and all their valuable things deposited. On the open ground before the defile the men had erected their huts, which were called Maroon-town, or Cudjoe's town, whence, in case of an alarm, the people could fly in a minute to the ledges of the rocks at the mouth of the cockpit; nor would their town have been a great loss had it been burnt. They did not, however, confide solely to the security afforded them by the cockpit, and the ease with which they made themselves masters of the defile; every approach to their mountains was, for a mile or two, at other difficult passes, well guarded by small advanced parties, who on the appearance of an enemy might alarm their straggling bodies by means of their horns, which were heard at a considerable distance, and gave timely notice for every one to repair to his post. Thus situated, Cudjoe patiently waited the arrival of the olive-branch, and clearly manifested his

intentions and his wishes for an accommodation, by ordering his advanced posts not to fire a shot. His parties therefore merely sounded their horns, and retired to the main body.

"At this solemn juncture, Colonel Guthrie advanced unmolested with his troops, through situations in which the Maroons might have greatly annoyed him, even with the large force he then had under him. Making, however, the best disposition of his troops that the nature of the ground would admit, he marched on with confidence, and, judging of the distance he was from the Maroons by the sound of their horns, he continued advancing till he thought he could make them hear his voice; he then halted, and, observing the smoke of their huts within a few hundred yards, though he could not see one of them, called in a loud tone that he was come by the governor's order, to make them an offer of terms, and treat for peace, which the white people sincerely desired. An answer was returned, declaring that the Maroons wished the same, and requesting that the troops might be kept back. This request being apparently dictated by suspicion, Colonel Guthrie proposed to them to shew the confidence he had in their sincerity, by sending a person to them to assure them that the white people were sincere on their part, and to inform them of the particulars relative to their freedom and security which the government had authorised him to propose to them.

"This being readily consented to, Dr. Russell was selected for that purpose. He advanced very confidently towards their huts, near which he was met by two Maroons, whom he informed of the purport of his message, and asked if either of them were Cudjoe. They replied in the negative, but said that, if he would stay a little while, and no man followed him, he would see Cudjoe. They then called out in the Coromantee language to their people; on which several bodies of them, who were before invisible, appeared on the rocks above. Being within the reach of the voice, Dr. Russell addressed himself to them, and begged particularly to have a conversation with Cudjoe, of whom he spoke in high terms, saying, that if he were with them, he was sure that, as a brave and good man, he would come down, and shew a disposition to live in peace and friendship with the white people.

"Several Maroons now descended, and among them it was not difficult to discover the chief himself. Cudjoe was rather a short man, uncommonly stout, with very strong African features, and a peculiar wildness in his manners. He had a very large lump of flesh upon his back, which was partly covered by the tattered remains of an old blue coat, of which the skirt and the sleeves below the elbows were wanting. Round his head was tied a scanty piece of white cloth, so very dirty, that its original use might have been doubted. He had on a pair of loose drawers that did not reach his knees, and a small round hat with the rims pared so close to the crown that it might have been taken for a calabash, being worn exactly to the rotundity of his head. On his right side hung a cow's horn, with some powder, and a bag of large cut slugs; on the left side he wore a mushet, or couteau, three inches broad, in a leather sheath, suspended under his arm by a narrow strap that went round his shoulder. He had no shirt on, and his clothes, such as they were, as well as the part of his skin that was exposed, were covered with the red dirt of the cockpits, resembling ochre. Such was the chief, and his men were as ragged and dirty as himself; all had guns and cutlasses. Cudjoe constantly cast his eyes towards the troops with Colonel Guthrie, appeared very suspicious, and asked Dr. Russell many questions before he ventured within his reach. At last Russell offered to change hats with him as a token of friendship, to which he consented, and was beginning to converse more freely, when Colonel Guthrie called aloud to him, assuring him of a faithful compliance with whatever Dr. Russell promised. He said that he wished to come unarmed to him with a few of the principal gentlemen of the island, who should witness the oath he would solemnly make to them of peace on his part, with liberty and security to the Maroons on their acceding to it.

"Cudjoe, after some hesitation, consented to their coming forward, and persuaded his people to come down from the rocks, which a few did, but not without their arms. As the gentlemen approached Cudjoe, he appeared to be in great trepidation, but whether caused by joy or fear was doubtful, though he was certainly under the protecting fire of his own men, and the negotiators were unarmed. Colonel Guthrie advanced to him holding out his hand, which Cudjoe seized and kissed. He then threw himself

on the ground, embracing Guthrie's legs, kissing his feet, and asking his pardon. He seemed to have lost all his ferocity, and to have become humble, penitent, and abject. The rest of the Maroons, following the example of their chief, prostrated themselves, and expressed the most unbounded joy at the sincerity shewn on the side of the white people. Colonel Guthrie and Captain Sadler repeated the offers that had been communicated by Dr. Russell, which were accepted with joy; and, confidence being established on both sides, the parties intermixed, exchanged hats and other tokens of congratulation, and reciprocally testified their satisfaction."

If this be true—"O most lame and impotent conclusion!"—But, can it be true?—I question not the good faith of the historian, but I may be permitted to doubt the accuracy of his informants, and to avow boldly that proofs strong as Holy Writ would scarcely convince me that the object of Colonel Guthrie's expedition was peaceful in the outset, or that the terms offered by him to the rebel chief, into whose fastness he had penetrated, were voluntary in the conclusion.

Lord Balcarres' statement of this affair (in a letter to the Duke of Portland, retracing the history of the Maroons about two years after their reduction) possesses at least as much authenticity and more probability. "The last attempt," he says, "which was made to reduce these people, was in 1738, by Colonel Guthrie, who marched through an immense tract of woods, now cleared away—got into the town lately known by the name of the Trelawney Maroon Town—but, pursuing an advantage which he supposed he had gained, he pushed on a little further, and marched into the first cockpit, where, finding himself entangled, he was forced to make a treaty, whereby the Maroons got everything they asked, and were put into legal possession of all the strongholds in the island." *

* Mr. Long's account of the steps which preceded the treaty is as follows:—"In 1739, Governor Trelawney, by the advice of the principal gentlemen of the island, proposed overtures of a peace with the Maroon chiefs. Both parties were now grown heartily wearied out with this tedious contest. The white inhabitants wished relief from the horrors of continual alarms, the hardship of military duty, and the intolerable burthen of maintaining an army on foot. The Maroons were not less anxious for an accommodation,—they were hemmed in and closely beset on all sides; their provisions destroyed, and themselves reduced to so miserable a con-

By this most injudicious treaty fifteen hundred acres of land were yielded to Cudjoe and his followers, otherwise the Trelawney Maroons, with supreme jurisdiction within the tribe, and the power of inflicting any punishment short of death for crimes committed within its pale, to that chief and his successors, who, after the death of himself and four other captains then living, were to be nominated by Government. On the other hand, their aid against all internal rebels and foreign invaders was stipulated for; in case of any injury committed by Cudjoe or his people against a white person, he was to submit himself, or deliver up the offender, to justice; and all runaway slaves who should in future join them were to be restored immediately to the magistrates of the next parish. Cudjoe and his successors were to wait on the governor or commander-in-chief every year, if required, and two white men were constantly to reside with them, to maintain a friendly correspondence with the inhabitants of the island.*

About a year afterwards similar terms and one thousand acres of land were granted to the Maroons of Charlestown, Scott's Hall, and Nanny or Moore Town, under their captain, Quao. These three tribes are usually spoken of as the Windward Maroons, in contradistinction to the two kindred tribes of Trelawney and Accompong to leeward, in other words, to the West of Jamaica.

I cannot better close the present, or preface the following chapter of this introductory memoir, than by the few expressive words in which Lord Balcarres states his opinion as to the merits of this convention:—"It cannot be denied that the consequence of the treaty of 1738 was internal tranquillity to the island for a series of years; but the temporary advantage the island derived from the services of the Maroons was more than balanced by the ruinous consequences of a country submitting to an *imperium in imperio*, by establishing them in the strongholds, and giving to

dition by famine and incessant attacks, that Cudjoe (whom I conversed with many years afterwards) declared, if peace had not been offered to them, they had no choice left but either to be starved, lay violent hands on one another, or surrender to the English at discretion. The extremity, however, of their case was not at that time known to the white inhabitants." *Hist. Jamaica*, tom. ii. p. 344.

* The treaty is printed at length in the works of Bryan Edwards and Dallas.

them dominion over that country which affords the sustenance for man,—for such are the mountains of Jamaica as contradistinguished from the plains."

CHAPTER II.

THE following account of the Trelawney Maroons, subsequent to their legal establishment, is extracted for the most part from the work of Mr. Dallas, which I should have preferred, if possible, exclusively resorting to, as a more favourable representation of their character and conduct than that of Bryan Edwards.

"We have seen that, by the treaty made with Cudjoe, fifteen hundred acres of land in the parish of Trelawney were granted to him and the body of Maroons under his command. On this land stood the town, about twenty miles to the South-East of Montego Bay. Let your imagination help me to convey you up to immense mountains, successively towering one above the other, presenting tangled forests, or immense precipices of barren rock. The habitations of the Maroons of Trelawney were so placed as to form two towns, the Old and the New Town, at the distance of half a mile from each other. . . The two towns were similar in most respects,—the Old Town was more open and extended than the New one. The communication between the towns was through a very narrow neglected defile, or path, half a mile in length, running through the wood. . . The elevated region, on which the settlement was established, is cool and healthy. The site of the New Town commands a prospect in which the charms of the sublime and of the beautiful are united, and presents subjects that would have been worthy of the Italian pencil in the age of Leo, and are worthy of the English one under George III. . . The fog of the West India mountains is not unwholesome. It collects in the course of the night, envelops hill and valley, appears at daybreak in gently undulating motion to the eye above it, and completely conceals all that it covers. Being up before

the sun, how wild and picturesque the scenery that lies before you! From the eminence which you have gained, you see the upper parts of the town, encompassed by rocky precipices and caves, irregular clumps of plantain-trees interspersed throughout the little inclosures which surround the houses, and here and there plants of coffee, cassava, and the broad-leafed cocoa. As the morning advances, the fog gradually sinks, and you have before you an ocean, diversified with a variety of little islands, broadening every minute at the base, as they are left by a tide which in its ebb discovers, not sands, but the beauties of wooded hills and vales. At length the sun is on the horizon, evaporation quickens, the remaining mists are dispersed by the warmth of his beams, and your eye travels over an immense country of descending mountains plumed with wood, catches the lively scenery of succeeding plantations, and extends the sight to the town on the coast, to the ocean, to bays and promontories, diminishing as they recede, till it is compelled to rest at last on an uncertain expanse of sea and sky.

"It is not to be doubted that the climate of these mountains, (which is seldom less than ten degrees cooler than the lowlands of the island,) the mode of life of the inhabitants, the constant exercise of their limbs in ascending and descending, and their custom of exploring the vast mountains and precipices of the interior of the country in pursuit of the wild boar, contributed to produce the strength and symmetry in which the Maroons of Trelawney Town and Accompong Town (who were the same race of men) far excelled the other negroes of every description in Jamaica.

"In their person and carriage the Maroons were erect and lofty, indicating a consciousness of superiority; vigour appeared upon their muscles, and their motions displayed agility. Their eyes were quick, wild, and fiery. They possessed most, if not all, of the senses in a superior degree. They were accustomed, from habit, to discover in the woods, objects, which white people, of the best sight, could not distinguish, and their hearing was so wonderfully quick, that it enabled them to elude their most active pursuers; they were seldom surprised. They communicated with one another by means of horns, and, when these could scarcely be heard by other people, they distinguished the orders that the

sounds conveyed. It is very remarkable, that the Maroons had a particular call upon the horn for each individual, by which he was summoned from a distance, as easily as he would have been spoken to by name, had he been near. . . .

"They spoke, in general, like most of the other negroes in the island, a peculiar dialect of English, corrupted with African words; and certainly understood our language sufficiently well to have received instruction in it. I cannot be of opinion that a sincere and fervent endeavour to introduce Christianity among them would have failed. It is true that a prejudice in favour of the magic of Obeah prevailed among them, as among other negroes; but it is no less true that the influence of this prejudice operated differently, according to the strength of their understanding and experience. The greatest dupes to it were the most ignorant; and it was a generally received opinion, that the charm of Obeah could have no power over any negro who had been baptised,—not but that the weaker ones, whether Maroons or others, dreaded the arts of Obeah even after baptism. . . They continued to believe, like their forefathers, that Accompong was the God of the heavens, the Creator of all things, and a Deity of infinite goodness; but they neither offered sacrifices to him, nor had any mode of worship.

"It is not to be supposed that an illiterate body of people, among whom ambition was unknown, and who spent their lives chiefly in hunting, raising provisions, and traversing the woods in pursuit of runaways, would attend to nice regulations for their internal government. There was no public revenue to manage, no army to maintain, though the whole formed a military body, under appointed officers; right and wrong were supposed to be understood, without being defined. The town consisted of a certain number of families collected together under a chief; and among them resided a superintendent and four other white men as appointed by the colonial legislature. Subject to the laws made for them in their relative situation, as dependent on the government of the island, they were in other respects at liberty to pursue the dictates of their own minds, and they consequently followed the customs of their fathers. All their disputes were subject to the determination of their chiefs, to whom they looked up with implicit confidence, and whom they usually obeyed without argu-

ment. The superintendent, likewise, took an active part in adjusting their altercations, which chiefly arose from their propensity to gaming, and from drunkenness. . . The successors of Cudjoe maintained a degree of influence and authority equal to his own. Till the death of Furry, who built the New Town, and went to reside in it with a certain number of the Maroons, they were governed in a very despotic manner by their chiefs and some of the older captains. The last of these chief Maroons was named Montague," their nominal leader in the rebellion of 1795. . .

" After the treaty with Cudjoe the Maroons became the subject of successive laws, consisting of regulations respecting runaways, trials, punishments, making roads, and a variety of minute affairs. Being careless whether they brought in a runaway alive, or only his head, a law was passed, with great policy, allowing, besides the usual reward, mile-money for every runaway produced alive. Inveigling slaves and harbouring runaways were punishable by transportation : that is, the offender was sold to foreigners on other islands, or on the continent of America. . . . They were not to quit their town without leave ; and if they stayed seven days beyond the time allowed them, they were liable to be taken up and sent home for trial. They were not permitted to purchase or possess slaves. . . . Lastly, there was a law which, in consideration of their increasing population, gave them the liberty of relinquishing their rights as Maroons, and residing in any other part of the island, except the Maroon towns, no longer subject to the superintendent, but enjoying the privileges of free people,—in which case they were bound to enlist in the militia.

" To some of these laws very little attention was paid. The Maroons bought slaves without any notice being taken of it. Parties of them were suffered to wander about the island, and many of them formed temporary connexions with the female slaves on the different plantations in the country. Whole families of them left their towns, and were permitted to establish themselves on the back settlements of the planters, without complying with the forms required by the law respecting such removals,—from which" most unfortunate " consequences resulted."

" Agriculture among the Maroons," proceeds Mr. Dallas, " was a very simple science. They had few wants, and the

supply of those required neither great knowledge nor much labour. They placed a considerable dependence on hunting, and on their rewards for taking fugitives; but they did not therefore entirely neglect the cultivation of land, and were by no means so averse to the toil it demands as they have been represented. Many of them were negligent of the more certain modes of labour, for they were strangers to the passions which stimulate superfluous industry; but none could be said to be indolent, for their lives were passed in unusual personal exertions, which, as I before observed, conduced to their strength and symmetry. A provident disposition, however, was spreading itself among them; they began to feel the advantages afforded by money, and large parties of them, of their own accord, frequently hired themselves to the planters and new settlers, to clear and plant large tracts of land for certain wages; and several families of them, as I have already observed, settled by sufferance on back lands which they cultivated for themselves.

"Their provision-grounds consisted of a considerable tract of unequal land, from which was produced a stock not only sufficient for their own use, but so superabundant as to enable them to supply the neighbouring settlements. Plantain, Indian corn or maize, yams, cocoas, toyaus, and in short all the nutritious roots that thrive in tropic soils, were cultivated in their grounds. In their gardens grew most of the culinary vegetables, and they were not without some fine fruits; for though to these, in general, the soil of their mountains was unfavourable, being either moist or clayey, yet they had some valuable fruit-trees, among which the Avocado, or Alligator-pear, ranked foremost. Mammees, and other wild but delicious fruits, were at their hand, and pine-apples grew in their hedges. They had cattle and hogs, and raised a great quantity of fowls. When to this domestic provision of good and wholesome food we add the luxuries afforded by the woods, the wild boar, ring-tail pigeons and other wild birds, and the land-crab, which some esteem the greatest dainty in the West Indies, we may doubt whether the palate of Apicius would not have received higher gratification in Trelawney Town than at Rome.

"The women chiefly were employed in the cultivation of their grounds; but this they did not account an imposition upon them

by the men. We are not to imagine that what would be real cruelty in a refined state of society is cruelty or even hardship in a rough and unpolished people, among whom every individual depends upon his own exertions for his support. . . If the Maroon women were employed in burning trees and in tillage, the men, besides hunting and pursuing runaways, were employed in fencing the grounds, building and repairing houses, attending to their cattle and horses, of which they had about two hundred head, and carrying on their petty commerce. They were none of them mechanics; all their knowledge of that kind was confined to the art of erecting a house and repairing a gun.

"Their traffic consisted in the disposal of the increase of their stock of all kinds, their jirked [smoked] hog, and superfluous provisions, which enabled them to purchase other commodities, and to put money by. They made a considerable profit by manufacturing tobacco. . .

"The Maroon marriages, or contracts of cohabitation, were attended with no religious or judicial ceremonies, the consent of the woman to live with the man being sufficient. . . A plurality of wives was allowed. A man might have as many as he could maintain; but very few had more than two, and most of them confined themselves to one. It was very expensive to have several wives; for the husband, on making the marriage present to a new one, was obliged to make an equal gift to each of the others. Each wife lived in turn with her husband two days, during which time the others cultivated their grounds, or carried their provisions to market; the property of each was distinct from that of the others, but the husband shared with all. The children of the different women were to be noticed by their father only on the days when their respective mothers sojourned with him. A breach of this decorum would have inflamed the injured mother with jealousy; a passion, however, in every respect confined to the temporary dame, for to the others all the extra-gallantry of the man was a matter of indifference. If the men sometimes behaved with brutality to their wives or children, it was generally the effect of intoxication."

Comparing this statement of Mr. Dallas with that of Bryan Edwards, that "the Maroons regarded their wives as so many beasts of burthen—felt no more concern at the loss of one of

them than a white planter would have felt at the loss of a bullock, and always treated them with brutality"—there does not appear so very wide a discrepancy as to justify the repeated protests of the former writer against its accuracy. By his own testimony, moreover, (and he expresses himself still more emphatically on that subject than Mr. Edwards,) the utmost disregard to female purity prevailed amongst the Maroons—and where such is the case, the accusation of indifference and cruelty can create no surprise.

Finally, as regards the usefulness of the Maroons in a military point of view, and their observance of the pledge of cooperation against rebels, these authorities are equally at variance—differ, in fact, *in toto;* nor does, in my opinion, the testimony of the notorious Major James, adduced by Mr. Dallas in their favour, strengthen the argument deducible from their good conduct on one occasion on which they appear to have won the good-natured approbation of Mr. Quarrell—the only authority, except Major James, cited by him.

Mr. Edwards, on the other hand, speaks as an eye-witness—an advantage in which the contemporary historian does not appear to have shared. That the whites, in general, entertained an opinion of the usefulness of the Maroons, he admits, but adds emphatically, that "no part of their conduct, at any one period, confirmed" that opinion. The following anecdote of the rebellion of 1760, attested as it is, appears conclusive—illustrating, as it does, his opinion both as to their wilful inefficiency and their general character of ferocity.

. . . "Some days after this, as the Maroons, and a detachment of the 74th regiment, were stationed at a solitary place surrounded by deep woods, called Downs's Cove, they were suddenly attacked in the middle of the night by the rebels. The sentinels were shot, and the huts in which the soldiers were lodged were set on fire. The light of the flames, while it exposed the troops, served to conceal the rebels, who poured in a shower of musketry from all quarters, and many of the soldiers were slain. Major Forsyth, who commanded the detachment, formed his men into a square, and, by keeping up a brisk fire from all sides, at length compelled the enemy to retire. During the whole of this affair the Maroons were not to be found, and

Forsyth, for some time, suspected that they were themselves the assailants. It was discovered, however, that, immediately on the attack, the whole body of them had thrown themselves flat on the ground, and continued in that position until the rebels retreated, without firing or receiving a shot.—A party of them, however, had afterwards the merit (a merit of which they loudly boasted) of killing the leader of the rebels. He was a young negro of the Coromantee nation, named Tackey, and, it was said, had been of free condition, and even a chieftain, in Africa. This unfortunate man, having seen most of his companions slaughtered, was discovered wandering in the woods without arms or clothing, and was immediately pursued by the Maroons in full cry. The chase was of no long duration; he was shot through the head; and it is painful to relate, but unquestionably true, that his savage pursuers, having decollated the body in order to preserve the head as a trophy of victory, roasted and actually devoured the heart and entrails of the wretched victim!

"These circumstances," adds Mr. Edwards, "are partly founded on my own knowledge and personal observation, having been myself present, and partly on the testimony of eye-witnesses, men of character and probity. The shocking fact last mentioned was attested by several white people, and was not attempted to be denied or concealed by the Maroons themselves. They seemed indeed to make it the subject of boasting and triumph."—It will not appear incredible to the reader who has previously learned from Mr. Dallas's information that, in 1739 when the envoy of peace visited them, the women of the Maroons to windward (the more civilized, at least in late years, of the two divisions of the nation) wore—and Mr. Dallas mentions it with the view of shewing the "deadly hatred" they bore the Europeans—rows of the teeth of white men as ornaments.

These are facts that I would not dwell on, but for the illustration they convey of a character little, if at all, changed in 1795, and which ought to be rightly understood in justice to those concerned in the final and successful struggle with them which then took place.

The Trelawney Maroons, I may add, had in that year increased in numbers, from 276, living in the year 1749, to 660, exclusive of their numerous children by female slaves residing on

the low plantations.* It was not their numbers, however, so much as the impregnable character of the position they occupied, that rendered them so formidable.

Chapter III.

A few observations on the situation of Jamaica as affected by the consequences of the French revolution, and on the state of mind of the Maroons, at the period of Lord Balcarres' arrival, will sufficiently prepare the reader for the consideration of the war in which those savages were at last reduced.

"In St. Domingo," says Mr. Dallas, "as in old France, the horrors that rose to view in every quarter of the country," on the French revolution, "caused an immense emigration. Many thousands of the inhabitants fled for refuge to various parts of the continent of America; many sought an asylum in Jamaica, and a number of the principal planters went to England. So early as in the end of the year 1791, application had been made by many of these planters to the British government to send an armament and take possession of St. Domingo; but the ministry, cautiously watching the progress of the revolution, and anxious to preserve our country from every involvement in it, paid no attention to this application. The time, however, soon came when the National Assembly of France, withdrawing the mask of moderation, avowed their enmity against all the regular governments; and, observing in the British ministry an inflexible

* Such—observes Lord Balcarres, in the letter to the Duke of Portland already quoted,—such was originally "their pride and the rooted hatred of the slaves towards them, that no intercourse subsisted between them, and the population of the Maroons was kept up solely by cohabitation among their own tribe. This continued until twenty-five years ago, when, by the country being cleared away, many sugar estates were established at a very small distance from their towns,—of course that hatred became lessened; connexions were formed between the young people, and at the beginning of the Maroon war, in 1795, no fewer than twenty slave-wenches on the estates of York and Canaan had Maroon husbands, and those on the adjacent estates were disposed of nearly in the same manner." Of the slaves who joined the Maroons in rebellion, the greater number were related to them.

determination of supporting the constitution of Great Britain, and of opposing such innovations in the general system of Europe as tended to alter her situation in the scale of political influence, declared war against this country.

"Overtures were then again made by the planters of St. Domingo to the British ministry, who were now not unwilling to listen to them; and M. Charmilly, one of the planters, obtained despatches to General Williamson, the lieutenant-governor and commander-in-chief of Jamaica, authorising him to adopt such measures as in his discretion he might think proper, for the purpose of taking possession of those parts of St. Domingo that were disposed to surrender to his Majesty's arms, and to detach a sufficient force from the troops under his command,—to replace which, as well as to aid the operations in St. Domingo, speedy and effectual reinforcements from England were promised. More than half of the force in Jamaica was despatched to St. Domingo.

"There are two points in which this disastrous expedition bears a connexion with Jamaica. In the first place, it drained the island of the troops that were to protect the inhabitants,—and [secondly] it gave birth to the French proclamation abolishing all manner of slavery. It was impossible for the inhabitants to contemplate the dreadful events passing in an island almost within sight, without trembling for their own safety; and they watched with horror the progress of doctrines, the objects of which were to subvert all the known governments, and to put an end to the colonial existence of the West Indies. The colony remained thus in an awful state of tranquillity during the remainder of the administration of General Williamson, who, in the end of the year 1794, was appointed governor-general and commander-in-chief of his Majesty's possessions in St. Domingo, whither he repaired and took upon him the government in the month of May, 1795, being succeeded in that of Jamaica by Alexander Earl of Balcarres, who had arrived in the island in the month of April preceding, with the appointment of lieutenant-governor."

Such was the situation of Jamaica at the moment when the Maroon rebellion broke out. Mr. Dallas, I may observe, considers that rebellion as having arisen solely from internal dis-

content. Lord Balcarres' opinion, both during and subsequent to the period in question, was very different. His letters to the Duke of Portland, of July 18, 1795, and October 1, 1796, and the extracts from a paper written long afterwards, appended in a note to the first of these letters, will substantiate this. In that paper he expressly ascribes the Maroon rebellion to the intrigues of French emissaries from St. Domingo, and adds that he "had occasion to trace the cause of that war into the cabinet of M. Fauchet at New York, and proved the combination that rebellion had with the armament of seven ships of the line, then blocked up in Cadiz harbour, under the command of M. Richery, and also with several levies of people of colour at New York, Boston, and Philadelphia."

The immediate causes of—what afterwards turned out to be—the premature outbreak of the Maroons will be found stated in the letter of the magistrates of Trelawney to Lord Balcarres, dated July 18, 1795.

"The chief of these immediate causes hinged," according to Mr. Dallas, "on the esteem and affection of the inhabitants of Trelawney Town for" Major John James, once their superintendent, but who had been dispossessed of that office and succeeded by a Captain Craskell. If Mr. Dallas's description of this man be correct, he was indeed a character fitted to captivate the affections of the Maroons. He had been appointed superintendent of Trelawney Town about the year 1763. "He was the son of John James, who, previous to the treaty with Cudjoe, had been captain of the corps of Rangers, and their most formidable, active, and enterprising enemy,—a man who, from the many dangers to which he had exposed himself in the first war, was by them considered as invulnerable by balls, and possessing an Obeah-protecting power against bullets. The father had also been superintendent, and no man, his son excepted, ever possessed so great a degree of influence over the Maroons. The high opinion they entertained of the father's bravery and activity descended to the son, in whom they beheld all they so much respected and admired in their old enemy and friendly superintendent. As they supposed the former invulnerable, they deemed the latter invincible. Nature never produced a form more calculated for vigour and activity. Barefoot, he equalled the speed of the

hardiest Maroons over rocks and precipices, darting on with an agility peculiar to himself. He was indefatigable in every pursuit to which the Maroons were accustomed, and nothing that he pursued escaped him. Hunting the wild boar had been his earliest amusement and employment. His constitution of course was vigorous, and his body hardened; and with these he possessed an intrepidity of mind that seemed to court danger. When dreadful disputes took place among the Maroons, their cutlasses brandished against one another, and serious mischief likely to ensue, he would run among the thickest of them, knock down the most refractory, put them into irons, and afterwards punish them. In these cases they would often themselves determine the punishment to be inflicted, which, being too severe, he was obliged to exert his authority to mitigate. They loved, venerated, and feared him. He arranged and settled their accounts for their labour, adjusted differences, and neither suffered them to be imposed upon nor to impose upon others. Had he been born a Maroon, he could not have been better acquainted with their character, disposition, and prejudices. If he could not boast of the greater refinements of education, he had sufficient to be fully competent to the business of his office, in which a knowledge of accounts was necessary; and if his talents were not those that might have been expected had his mind been more cultivated, they were such as well suited his employment. Although at times seemingly ferocious, he possessed an excellent disposition and forbearing temper, particularly in the company of gentlemen, with whom he frequently associated, being himself of one of the best families in the island, and a man of independent fortune. In the year 1791 he was appointed superintendent-general over the whole of the Maroon towns in the island, with the rank of major, and his son appointed to act under him in Trelawney Town. Such was Major John James, of whom it was necessary to speak thus particularly.

"For upwards of thirty years after the treaty with the Trelawney Maroons, a succession of captains, from old Cudjoe to the death of Furry, as I have before observed, exercised a despotic authority over them, and supported the superintendents, whenever they thought it necessary to enforce their commands. After Furry's death, the respect attached to the office of chief Maroon captain

gradually declined, and at length entirely sank into the show of a few exterior ceremonies. Old Montague was the last captain of Trelawney Town. He wore a gaudy laced red coat, and a gold-laced hat with a plume of feathers. None but their captains and officers sat in his presence, except upon the ground. He was the first helped at meals; no woman ate with him, and he was waited on by the young men. He presided in the councils, and exercised an authoritative tone of voice to enforce order, which, however, he seldom effected; for he was, in fact, considered in no better light than an old woman, but to whom a shadow of respect was to be paid, as he bore the title of chief.

"For a time the expiring authority of the chiefs seemed transferred to their superintendent, Major John James, with double vigour, which increased while he continued in the office,—and when he abandoned it, he retained their affection. He and his family were considered by the Maroons as having a kind of hereditary right to the superintendency over them. It was not by resignation that he quitted it. He had held that of Trelawney Town for many years, and, it is certain, executed the duties of his office with diligence and propriety, till his attention was called from it by concerns that required the greater part of his time. When, therefore, the law of residence was enforced, he complained of the insufficiency of the salary annexed to his office, and paid no regard to that law, being engaged in the settlement of an estate at the distance of twenty-five miles from the Maroon Town. At length the Maroons, who were delighted to have him with them, became discontented with his absence, and for several years, during the sessions of the House of Assembly, preferred repeated complaints against him. He certainly had no desire to lose his appointment,—but, influenced by prospects of more substantial advantage, or indulging in amusements, (for he was no enemy to dissipation and pleasure,) he persisted in absenting himself from his place of duty, and the House of Assembly, being no longer able to overlook his neglect, he was removed from his office of superintendent-general, and his son from the superintendency of Trelawney Town,—to the latter of which Captain Craskell was appointed.

"Captain Craskell was an officer in the regular service, son of the former engineer of the island of Jamaica, and a very reputable

young man. Were the propriety of the appointment to have been determined by character alone, he would have had no occasion to fear a comparison; but, unfortunately, in a competition of greater talents for an administration of so singular a kind, he sank before his predecessor into a comparative insignificance. The Maroons became uneasy at the measures they had taken against Major James, for their object had been to compel him to the residence required by law, and not to have had him superseded; they sincerely loved him; no other appointment could satisfy them while he lived, and they saw, with regret, the remedy that had been the result of their application to the House of Assembly. They contrasted, according to their judgment, the abilities and habits of James and Craskell; and, as the former rose in their estimation, the latter fell into contempt. What offers might have induced Major James to continue in the discharge of the office with his son under him cannot be ascertained; but it was undoubtedly the interest of the island to humour prejudices which had grown up through the laxity of discipline, and which no pains had been taken to rectify. James was sore at the deprivation of the office, and it was regretted by the whole country; but the measure was deemed unavoidable. Had it been consistent with propriety and the dignity of the legislature to recede from the determination they had been compelled to adopt, Major James might have been suffered to remain superintendent-general, to be called upon only as it should have been found needful; but such a concession, even allowing that it would have averted the storm of which his removal was the chief and immediate cause, could not possibly be expected, nor can the wisest human foresight always suggest the surest expedients of counteracting the hidden evils of futurity.

"From the appointment of Captain Craskell, the insubordination of the Maroons (which had been gradually taking place since James's dereliction of his duty, and the succession of unqualified chief captains, unable to enforce authority without his assistance) began rapidly to increase. The weight of influence fell into the hands of seven or eight of the inferior captains, who were unalterably attached to James, and whom nothing short of his reappointment would satisfy. These frequently visited him, complained of Craskell's being unfit for the command, and made comparisons highly gratifying to James, whose language, it is

said, contributed more to irritate than appease their discontent. He might, perhaps, have felt an illaudable gratification in these petty triumphs, the consequences of which he did not foresee; but he must be entirely acquitted of the slightest design of promoting a rebellion, the success of which, had it been possible, must have ruined him and every part of his family, with the rest of the colonists."—

— Enough of this:—"Major James," writes Lord Balcarres to the Duke of Portland, on the close of the Maroon war, "I have ever looked upon as the head of that rebellion; and I had it in serious contemplation, in conjunction with the attorney-general, to prosecute him for high treason."

And, on closing this volume, the reader will determine how far Mr. Dallas is correct in his assertion, that "the sole object the Maroons had then in view was the restoration of Major James,"—that "the whole of their refractory conduct, their violence and insolence, had no other tendency, and shewed their anxiety to effect it,"—that "it was this that suggested their murmurs for the want of land, and their complaint of the treatment they received from the white people,—and this that led to the seizing of an occasion to dismiss their new superintendent." *

I pause here.—That the revolt originated in French revolutionary agitation—that between the alternatives of ruin and massacre on the one hand, and the adoption of the means employed for its suppression on the other, there lay no medium—that those means adopted were strictly legitimate—that the final expatriation of the Maroons was but justice to the colony, and more than mercy to themselves; the boon, in fact, which, under the circumstances of their reduction, they most coveted—and, finally, that Jamaica did not cast them forth, unpitied exiles, to the mercy of circumstances, heedless that they had been nursed at her breast and were once her children, but provided liberally for their future subsistence and comfort as a free and independent people—will,

* Let me premise here, once for all, that, wherever Lord Balcarres' statements and opinions can be elucidated or illustrated by the works of Bryan Edwards and Mr. Dallas, I shall quote them freely,—but I do not consider myself called upon to enter into controversial argument on such points of opinion respecting the Maroon war as are debated between those writers, or on which the latter and Lord Balcarres are at variance. Much, I apprehend, will be gained to courtesy, and nothing lost to truth and candour, by this forbearance.

I think, be sufficiently evident on the perusal of the following papers.

They consist of such selections from Lord Balcarres' public despatches and private correspondence as convey a clear, vivid, and authentic picture of the vicissitudes of the struggle, and of his own individual exertions, during every stage of its progress. I have divided them into three parts or sections—acts, they might be termed, of the drama, of which the meditated ruin and providential preservation of Jamaica is the plot, and Lord Balcarres the hero. Of these acts or parts, the rise and progress of the war occupies the first; its prosecution and successful close, the second; and the curtain falls on the departure of the vanquished and the vindication of the victor.

"Equidem beatos puto quibus, Deorum munere, datum est,
aut facere scribenda aut scribere legenda;
beatissimos vero quibus utrumque.
Horum in numero
AVUS
meus."

THE

RISE, PROGRESS, AND TERMINATION

OF

The Maroon War,

&c. &c.

LETTER

To the Duke of Portland, K. G., Secretary of State for the Home Department.

"My Lord Duke, "Jersey, Sept. 27, 1794.

"I am this instant honoured by your Grace's letter of the 18th.

"My uniform wish has been to acquire the good opinion of my sovereign, and the height of my ambition to merit his royal confidence.

"I am afraid that his Majesty has overrated my abilities and capacity to serve him in the high trust to which I am unexpectedly named.

"It is enough for me to know that I am under the protection of his Majesty, and it is only a secondary consideration with me whether I discharge the duties allotted to me in the island of Jamaica in the presence or in the absence of Lieut.-Governor Williamson.

"I shall be extremely proud to serve under his command, and I shall resign my trust to him whenever he is disposed to resume it.

"I have the honour to be

"Your Grace's, &c.

"BALCARRES."

PART I.

To the Duke of Portland.

"My Lord Duke, "30 May, 1795.

"Since the attempt to burn Kingston in the beginning of April, I have kept the most watchful and vigilant eye upon the whole body of French emigrants. I have not a doubt in my mind that it was a deep digested plan to feel the pulse of this valuable island. I did not see the report of Sir Adam Williamson to your Grace upon it, but, having formed my own opinion upon it, I have, in consequence, taken up different French people from time to time. Several attempts have also been made to bribe my secretary, and immense sums have been offered for his interest to procure the release from the prison-ships of many *very innocent* prisoners. I ordered him to give in to the idea, on purpose to know where the danger lay, and I am completely up to the business. Although there is every appearance of happiness and contentment among the slaves in Jamaica, that has not deterred the agents of the Convention from introducing persons of various descriptions into the interior of the country, and particularly mulattoes and negroes from St. Domingo.

"The steps I have taken have so frightened and alarmed the banditti at Kingston, that they are now giving most immense sums to procure their passage to America, which proves (what I before suspected) that the French gold had found its way into this island in abundance. The ferocity and revenge of these people induce them to say and to exclaim that the next attempt will probably be more successful.

"I think the gentlemen of the country shew a supineness and a carelessness upon this point. I take every opportunity to point out their danger to them. I shall allow no foreigner whatsoever to remain on this island, unless I know what he is, and where he is; and I positively will not suffer any man capable of bearing

arms to remain here. And my suspicions will be proved well-founded when the bulk of these people depart for America and not for St. Domingo.

"Although attempts have been made with much assiduity to introduce French principles into this island, I think they have made no impression at all, and it shall be my anxious care to suffer no inlet whatsoever for their doctrines.*

* A belief soon discovered to be fallacious.—This letter ought to ring as a *sotto voce* accompaniment in the reader's ear during the whole period of the Maroon war.

The following sketch by Lord Balcarres, of his policy towards the French emigrants and emissaries then congregated at Jamaica, occurs in a paper written several years after the above letter:—

"On my arrival in the island of Jamaica in April, 1795, I found a vast assembly of French emigrants, who had recently fled from the horrors of St. Domingo. They were composed of all ranks, qualities, and colours.

"Many of the *noblesse* of France, numbers of ladies of the highest condition and consideration, accustomed to every delicacy and luxury, and who had saved nothing from the general wreck of their fortunes, excepting their menial female slaves attendant upon their persons, and a few trusty male domestics, who to save the lives of their mistresses had endangered their own—these persons formed one class of those unfortunate people.

"A multitude of slaves and of handicraft men of colour, with great numbers of brown women, formed another class."

A third consisted of "an immense roll of French prisoners of war, of the most alarming description. These were confined on board of hulks moored near the shore; among them were bands of incendiaries who had been sent to Jamaica by the French Directory of St. Domingo, through the medium of the prison-ships; the object of these people was, to introduce themselves by bribery and artifice into the island for the purposes of destruction, conflagration, and revolt; they were furnished with profusion of gold, and had been too successful in finding the means of effecting their escape from those hulks, and getting into the interior of the island.

"An attempt had been made, on the morning previous to my arrival, to set fire to the town of Kingston, and the combustible materials were exposed to view. Shortly afterwards, the town of Montego Bay was burnt to the ground. Those circumstances, with the burning of Philadelphia, prove the system that prevailed with the Directory of France and her sub-directories at that period. . .

"Such was the first *coup d'œil* which I had of this people at the period of my landing,—the prospective was still more gloomy.

"The people of Jamaica had the greatest dread of the consequences which might eventually befal the island, should a want of success of our army serving in St. Domingo create the necessity of the numerous French corps falling back upon the island of Jamaica.

"In this situation, and with these sentiments, the legislature of Jamaica would not discriminate, but passed colonial laws, the effect of which was the confounding everything that was noble and deserving with that which was vile and dangerous.

"To

"The militia all over the island are very active at this moment, and much progress will be made in their discipline.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To Sir Adam Williamson, K.B., Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief of H. M.'s Possessions in St. Domingo.

"Dear Sir Adam, "Jamaica, July 18, 1795.

"I must condole with you upon the arrival of the Sampson, and the force destined for St. Domingo, at this post.

"As all these troops were sent out in loaded merchant-ships, it becomes impossible for them to carry the troops to St. Domingo; and indeed it is obvious that the contract by their charter-party is expired.

"In this situation nothing remains for me to do but to make every exertion in my power to forward them to you. I have been everywhere this morning, and find that I can obtain passage for seven hundred and fifty men in the government vessels,—one

"To my understanding the duty imposed upon me seemed difficult, but extremely obvious. National honour, and every sentiment of humanity, dictated to me the propriety of protecting with firmness and vigour the first class, and keeping a most vigilant eye on the conduct of the others.

"Having seen the necessity of bringing the whole of these French emigrants into order and form, I determined to connect their money allowance with some system of police, whereby each individual might be known and traced, and his occupation and description be duly registered. This kind of arrangement was not new to me, as I had been entrusted with a similar charge when I administered the government of Jersey, where I had some thousands of French emigrants under my authority and regulation.

"... The admission of the French emigrants into the island of Jamaica, and its consequences, form the history of my administration in that island.

"I had hardly fixed myself in the seat of government, when the apprehensions which had alarmed me on my arrival, respecting the unfortunate admission of some of these French emigrants into the interior of the island, proved but too well founded, by the breaking out of the Maroon rebellion, an event which nearly lost to his Majesty this most valuable possession of Jamaica.

"I had occasion to trace the causes of this war into the cabinet of Monsieur Fouchet at New York, and proved the combination that rebellion had with the armament of seven ships of the line, then blocked up in Cadiz harbour, under the command of M. Richery, and also with several levies of people of colour at New York, Boston, and Philadelphia," &c. &c.

I may refer, for the feelings of the higher class of French emigrants towards Lord Balcarres, to some verses and a letter printed *supra*, tom. ii. pp. 359, 360.

hundred and fifty more by the Penelope merchant-ship,—and the Sampson, with the Success and Penelope frigates, may take near four hundred. I expect that the vessel now charged with the French emigrants may convey them up to St. Domingo,—this must be done, right or wrong, for here they cannot remain. I trust that I shall be able to despatch this motley fleet in three days.

"... I feel the arduous situation you are placed in from the great blunder that has been committed. I can only exert myself to repair the mischief as far as our resources here may go.

"The season of the year is unfavourable for such an expedition. My only hope is, that the sea-breezes have been so strong for a duration of time, that there may be a faint chance of more moderate weather.*

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

Letter from the Magistrates of St. James's.

"Montego Bay, 18 July, 1795.

"My Lord,

"We are sorry to find that a very serious disturbance is likely to break out immediately with the Maroons of Trelawney Town. They have obliged the superintendent to quit the town. They have threatened the destruction of the two plantations nearest them. All the people belonging to the town have been called in; the women are sent into the woods; and, between this and Monday, they propose to kill their cattle and their children, who may be an incumbrance.

"The chief of this we have in evidence from various individuals, but, for the information of your lordship, we enclose the last letter from the superintendent. Since this letter was written, the letter from the magistrates to them, in answer to a proposal they made, was sent them, and we expect an answer this morning to it, but your lordship must well know the difficulty of quelling such a body of men, after they have once committed themselves, and their spirits roused.

* This providential blunder, as I may call it, it will be seen hereafter, saved Jamaica.

"We have despatched a letter to General Palmer, to call out the troop, and Colonel James has ordered out two companies of militia for the immediate protection of the plantations in the neighbourhood, and we hope the next intelligence will render unnecessary calling out the rest.

"Mr. Vaughan also informs us he has sent an express to Colonel Swaby, custos of St. Elizabeth, to have the militia in readiness for action, and to inform the neighbouring parishes on the south side, and has given the same intelligence to the custos of Trelawney.

"We beg leave to suggest to your lordship's consideration the propriety of a company of the Light Horse being sent on each side of the country, in case the militia are generally called out,—to overawe the negroes during the absence of the militia, or for any other necessary duty.

"The immediate cause of this disturbance was the inflicting the punishment of flogging on two Maroons, who had been convicted, by the evidence of two white people, of killing tame hogs.

"Since writing the above, Mr. Schaw, inhabiting their boundaries, has informed us that they expect this day to be joined by Accompong Town; but they have delayed their attack till tomorrow or Monday, when it will be by two parties, one on each parish,—and that they expect to be joined by some negroes of some particular estates.

"We have the honour, &c.

"WILLIAM DUNCAN,
"GEORGE MACLENNAN,
"SAM. VAUGHAN, JUN.
"MACLAURIN GILLIES,
"DONALD CAMPBELL,
"J. ROBERT JAMES,
"JOHN PERRY,
"JOHN INGRAM.

"P.S. We are in want, as the custos formerly advised, of both arms and ammunition."

Proposals of the Magistrates of St. James's to the Maroons of Trelawney Town.

"Saturday, 18th July, 1795.

"The Magistrates of St. James's propose to send four of the oldest justices to meet four chosen Maroons at Vaughan's Field, or Haddington, to-morrow—to settle all differences.

(Signed) "DONALD CAMPBELL,
"JOHN PERRY.

"The four Magistrates will be General Reid, Colonel James, Mr. C. Mowat, and Mr. Cuninghame, if it is possible to find them,—or else, others."

Answer of the Maroons to the proposals of the Magistrates of St. James's.

"Gentlemen,

"The Maroons wishes nothing else from the country but Battle; and they desires not to see Mr. Craskell * up here at all. So they are waiting every moment for the above on Monday.

(Signed) "COLONEL MONTAGUE,†
"and all the rest.

"Mr. David Schaw will see you on Sunday morning for an answer.

"They will wait till Monday, nine o'clock, and, if they don't come up, they will come down themselves."

Extract of a Letter from John Merody, assistant in Trelawney Maroon Town, to Thos. Craskell, Esq., the Superintendent, dated Trelawney Town, July 19th.

"The Maroons inform you that they do not want anything, for they have got plenty of powder and ball, for it is too late to do anything that is good."

* The superintendent they had driven away.

† Or, Montague James, the colonel or head chief of the Maroons.—"It should not be omitted, that of late years a practice has universally obtained among the Maroons (in imitation of the other free blacks) of attaching themselves to different families among the English, and desiring gentlemen of consideration to allow the Maroon children to bear their names. Montague James, John Palmer, Tharp, Jarrett, Parkinson, Shirley, White, and many others, are names adopted in this way."—*Edwards.*

To Major-General Forbes.

"Dear Sir, "20th July, 1795.

"I hope the torch of war is not lighted in this valuable island, but it is a fact that the Maroons are in open rebellion. I hope the intrigues of the French are not at the bottom, and that only private cabal is the source; but the alarm is general, and I have detached three troops of dragoons against them.

"This may turn out nothing, but I must be prepared for the worst—I must act upon the offensive, and light cavalry is suited to our immediate operations. I therefore request that the detachment of the 18th Light Dragoons be landed to-morrow morning in lieu of the flank companies of the 130th regiment, which will proceed to St. Domingo. You will therefore give out the orders accordingly.

"I am extremely concerned that this may derange the command of Lieut.-Colonel Walpole. His remaining here must be highly gratifying to me,—on the other hand, Sir Adam Williamson must no less feel the value of an officer who is so capable of forwarding such an important duty as forming a corps of cavalry for the service of St. Domingo.

"Lieut.-Colonel Walpole has it in his option to which island he will devote his service; and his decision will be perfectly agreeable to me.

"You may shew this to Sir Adam.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the Duke of Portland.

"My Lord Duke, "Jamaica, 19 July, 1795.

"It is with much concern that I inform your Grace of an insurrection among the Maroons in Trelawney Town; and those insurgents will probably be joined by the Maroons of Accompong Town, to whom they are naturally hostile.* The magistrates in all the neighbouring parishes are alarmed in the highest degree. It is probable that this insurrection is owing to private disputes, hatred to their superintendent, and such causes, but your Grace knows how very jealous I am of everything that has the least tendency to insurrection; and if the minds of these mountaineers have been poisoned by emissaries, it may prove very fatal to this country.

"Though I have received volumes of reports, I have got nothing of that distinct nature to lay before your Grace. The magistrates of Montego Bay have made some proposals to the Maroons,

* They were related to each other, but had quarrelled for the custody of the original treaty of 1738.—*Dallas.*

to which the enclosed is the reply. The superintendent thinks it impossible to settle the business amicably. I am, however, disposed to negotiate with them, but I have taken every vigorous measure to reduce them by force. The militia are arming all around them. Notwithstanding the date of the reply to the magistrates is the 18th of July, and that the distance to Spanish Town, viâ Montego Bay, is between 130 and 140 miles, I have been able, in thirty hours after the answer was sent, to detach from this three troops of the 20th light dragoons. The instructions I have given to Captain Wallen, who commands the party, are to put himself under the orders of the custos and magistrates of Montego Bay. If the insurrection is not instantly quelled, I shall march against them myself, with everything I can muster.

"I take this opportunity of stating to your Grace the efficiency of a force of light cavalry, and I am persuaded that nothing can be better judged than the measure adopted by ministers of sending out the 13th and 14th regiments of light dragoons to Jamaica; and I am of opinion that government will find them not only better adapted to preserve the tranquillity of this island, but that ultimately the expense will be less. I shall endeavour to post those dragoons in a way that will equally awe the Maroons and the negroes.

"Upon examining some of the defences of this island, I find exactly the same fault and defect that I have observed in most of the British possessions, namely, that there is no regular *place d'armes* to retire to in the event of a successful insurrection in the country. Fort Augusta and Port Royal certainly can be made so:—connecting these two points with the security of the capital, Kingston, against an internal foe, I think, deserves the attention of an officer in these dangerous days, and I mean to employ my thoughts upon that subject.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the Right Hon. Henry Dundas, Secretary at War.

"Sir, "Jamaica, 21 July, 1795.

"I am very sorry to inform you of an insurrection having taken place among the Maroons in Trelawney Town, who have

been for some days in a state of rebellion. If it is merely a dispute with the whites in the neighbourhood, the measures I have taken against them, I trust, may restore quiet. But if the intrigues of the French are at the bottom, it becomes infinitely more alarming. They have commenced with a regularity which shews more method than in any former dispute. They have made friendship with the Maroons of the next town of Accompong, who are naturally hostile to them,*—they have sent all their women and children into the woods,—in all their former broils, they had always recourse with their complaints to the governor—they have not come near me; and the reply to the magistrates who endeavoured to communicate with them was, that they desired nothing but battle, that they were prepared to receive the whites, and, if the whites would not come to them, they should visit the whites.

"I immediately marched three troops of dragoons, from the 20th regiment, against them. I have sent them only to the neighbourhood, and put them under the orders of the magistrates of Montego Bay, until I have further information. If it is a serious and deep-founded plan, I must endeavour to keep the Maroons to the mountains, and separate them from the negroes in the low countries.

"This I can only do by light cavalry. I intend, therefore, to detain the detachment of the 18th light dragoons, and I shall send the flank companies of the 130th to Sir A. Williamson, to replace them.

"Having stated my fears to you, I should be sorry if this business should be taken up by the merchants in London in any other light than a Maroon insurrection. The country, however, is so alarmed, that many letters may go home by the conveyance of the packet that may give more uneasiness than the affair, perhaps, deserves.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

Matters, in the mean while, had taken an unexpected turn at St. James's. The militia, having assembled, on the 20th of July,

* These Accompongs, in the result, proved faithful, and acted with vigour against the rebels.

to the number of four hundred, "moved," says Mr. Dallas, "up to Green-Vale, a penn at the foot of the mountains leading to the Maroon Town, about three miles distant, and of most difficult access. Mr. Tharp, the custos and chief magistrate of the parish, and several other gentlemen, accompanied the corps. As they approached the hill, they observed a single man winding along the acclivities with singular agility, and brandishing a lance to shew that he had no other arms. This was a Maroon captain of the name of Smith, a young fellow of exquisite symmetry, whose limbs united all that was requisite both for strength and activity; the superiority of his gait, as he descended the side of the mountain, and the wild grace with which he flourished the lance over his head, excited the highest admiration. He approached the custos, and delivered a letter to him, in which he was requested to proceed to the town, accompanied by Mr. Gallimore, Mr. Knowles, Mr. Galloway, and Mr. Stewart. The invitation was accepted, and these five gentlemen went forward to Trelawney Town, where they found General Reid, Mr. Mowat, and Major James, their late superintendent.

"The Maroons had prepared for this meeting, and received their visitors under arms, not however in the manner of a regular army, but with an apparent ferocity, wild manœuvres, and evolutions, little suited to a deliberate and free discussion; nor indeed could the scene be viewed without a degree of alarm.* Some of the Maroons had been qualifying themselves, as they often did on great occasions, with a sufficiency of rum, with which they had been abundantly supplied by intimidated persons in the neighbourhood, willing to secure their favour.

"After much clamour it was settled that one of their captains, named John Jarrett, by no means the least violent, should moderate his voice, and deliver himself in such a manner as to enable one of the gentlemen to write down what the Maroons wished to say. This being reduced into some form, the grievances they complained of appeared to be as follows:—

"1. An infringement of their treaty by the magistrates of

* "There appeared about three hundred able men, all of whom had painted their faces for battle, and seemed ready for action; and they behaved with so much insolence, that the gentlemen were at first exceedingly alarmed for their own safety." *Edwards.*

Montego Bay, in causing the punishment of whipping to be inflicted on some of their people by the hand of a slave.*

"2. That the land originally granted them for their subsistence was worn out, and, being not sufficient for their support, † they required an additional quantity, saying that the penns of several settlers in the neighbourhood would suit them.

"3. That Captain Craskell, their superintendent, was, on account of his timidity, unqualified for his office; and as they had experienced the disposition and abilities of Major James, they were desirous of his re-appointment, and averse to receiving any other.

"Other matters were also alleged by them as grievances, but which they were induced to relinquish, on condition that the gentlemen present would consider themselves as pledged to obtain redress for what was specified in this statement from the House of Assembly, who were to meet early in the ensuing month; at the same time they shewed a firmness of determination to pursue their object until these claims were satisfied. The gentlemen promised that their causes of complaint should be inquired into by the legislature, in order to be redressed. . .

"The Maroons being soothed by the promises they had received, and the mediators being relieved from the apprehensions caused by the mode of their reception, the latter engaged to use all their influence to promote their wishes. Pleased at

* On this, Mr. Edwards remarks that, however much it is to be regretted that the magistrates had paid so little regard to the pride and prejudices of the Maroons in this respect, "the punishment and the mode of administering it were strictly legal and according to the very letter of their treaty, and a white offender in a similar case would have been whipped by the same man."—"It appeared afterwards," says Dallas, "that these two Maroons were persons of no consideration among them, and that, but for the occasion afforded them of a pretence for complaining, they would themselves have hanged them without ceremony."—"The Maroons often afterwards declared that they wished for permission to hang both of them, having long considered them as runaways and thieves."

† "It was not long before," observes Mr. Dallas, "that the Assembly, on a similar complaint, had caused their tract to be surveyed and examined, and had judged it to be adequate to their support, notwithstanding their increase. Besides, they were actually trespassers on the adjoining settlers, who permitted them to continue on sufferance, and many of them lived at a great distance from their lands. The fact therefore is, that this demand of additional land was merely brought forward to support the turbulent insubordination into which they had been gradually falling, and which was now breaking forth into excesses."

the result of the visit, or with a view of farther insuring the satisfaction that appeared, it entered the mind of one of the mediators to propose a collection of money among themselves for the people with whom they had come to mediate, and each gave something, except the gallant Colonel Gallimore. He saw in success, obtained by tumult and violence, the seeds of future turbulence; therefore, instead of producing his purse, he took from his pocket some bullets, and shewing them said, 'This is the reward you deserve, and no other coin shall you get from me!'—In the evening the mediators left Trelawney Town, hoping they had for a time, at least, tranquillised the Maroons."

That the insurrection had broken out prematurely—that this conference was an artful stroke of policy to lull suspicion till the period originally fixed for the outbreak, viz. the occasion of a fleet sailing for England with the greater part of the British troops then in the island—and that this plan was disconcerted by the unexpected arrival of the force intended for St. Domingo*—fully appeared afterwards.—"In the mean while," says Mr. Edwards, "they pleased themselves with the hope of prevailing on the negro slaves throughout the island to join them, and, by rising in a mass, to enable them to exterminate the whites at a blow.

"The very day the conference was held they began tampering with the negroes on the numerous and extensive plantations in the neighbourhood of Montego Bay. On some of these plantations their emissaries were cordially received and secreted; on others, the slaves themselves voluntarily apprised their overseers." . . .

To Sir Adam Williamson, K.B.

"Dear Sir Adam, "Jamaica, 25 July, 1795.

"The insurrection among the Maroons has subsided for the moment, the magistrates having conceded everything, notwithstanding I had moved such a force as would have reduced them in a few days. I care the less about it, as it does not appear that there was any understanding among the negroes,

* It will be observed, that Lord Balcarres' letter to Sir Adam Williamson, announcing the arrival of the St. Domingo troops, and that of the magistrates of St. James's, announcing the revolt of the Maroons, are dated the same day.

although it is believed by the council that the French are at the bottom of it. . .

"I have ordered down the chiefs of Trelawney Town on Friday next, and, if they do not come, I shall treat them as rebels. By such want of exertion, and such timidity among magistrates, are countries lost. . .

"I am, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the same.

"Dear Sir Adam, "Government Penn, July 27, 1795.

"I have made every exertion to get off your fleet, and I hope they may sail to-morrow morning. I don't like our appearances here at all,—the magistrates have acted with the utmost timidity.

"I have every reason to think the plan of the Maroons deeply founded, that the whole Maroons are in concert, and that an explosion is ready to burst. I have with difficulty opened the eyes of the council. Most of the gentlemen, I see, treat it lightly—I wish it may be so; if my hands had not been tied up, I should have extirpated Trelawney Town some days ago. I am inclined to think we shall have martial law before the week expires, but the indolence of gentlemen here, in viewing their danger, is extreme.

"Yours affectionately,

"BALCARRES."

To the same.

"Dear Sir Adam, "Jamaica, 28 July, 1795.

"We are very much at a loss here for want of the large map of Jamaica, which Mr. Frazer conceives to be in your possession; if you can lay your hands on it, I need not say how very useful it may eventually be to us. . .

"Several detached parties of the Trelawney Maroons have been seen on their road to the Blue Mountains,* and, some weeks ago, they have held general plays or dances, which is uncommon. The women have taken to the woods,—it has been in contemplation to kill their children. If the chiefs don't come on Friday, we must have martial law.†

"If the Maroons are connected in this business, it is a most serious thing indeed, and I see no alternative but using the force of light cavalry to check

* The fastnesses of the Windward Maroons.

† The chiefs did not come down on the appointed day. It has been stated that they were unable to do so, owing to a delay occasioned by the messenger who brought the despatches. Be that as it may, after those despatches reached them, out of a colonel, a lieutenant-colonel, and fourteen captains, four captains only, with two private Maroons (men, however, it is said, "of the greatest influence"), started for Spanish Town—were arrested at St. Ann's, and, on Lord Balcarres' passing through that town on his way to Montego Bay, on the 5th of August, were handcuffed, sent to Montego Bay, and confined on board a ship in the harbour for security.

any correspondence with the negroes on the estates. Should there be a coalition proved between all the Maroons, I shall be very desirous of the assistance of the 17th light dragoons. I shall seize upon every horse I meet to mount those detachments, in case there is martial law.

" . . . Two o'clock, Tuesday.—It is reported that the Maroons of Trelawney Town are making abatis,* destroying the roads, &c.

" I have the honour, &c.

" BALCARRES."

To Lewis Cuthbert, Esq.

" Government Penn, 30 July, 1795.

" Dear Sir,

" The present language of the Maroons is the effect of our energy.

" Their timidity is owing to the same cause.†

" I have my alarms, nor are they lessened by Mr. Vaughan's letter. . .

" If Mr. Vaughan's letter is correct in the facts, we have to bless God that our suspicions have been so early roused.

" If he is correct, we have no medium—this country is lost, or it is preserved, at this moment.

" My opinion is:—

" That, if my hands had not been fettered, I could have put an end to this disturbance last week,—

" It may be in my power next week,—and a fortnight hence, instead of the action of the soldier, we may hear of the Rights of Man.

" We have no force to oppose these doctrines—strike a blow, and you will preserve the island until a force arrives; if you do not strike, they will.

" I have the honour, &c.

" BALCARRES."

" *Substance of my Speech to the Council of War, August* 2, 1795.

" These papers, which you have just examined,‡ shew that something deeper was at the bottom of this evil than the mere circumstance of flogging the two Maroons.

" Much mutiny and discontent had been shewn before that period.

" I am of opinion that the minds of the Trelawney Maroons have been corrupted by incendiaries from the enemy.

" That the enemy have felt the pulse of this country is notorious.

* A species of military defence formed of trees cut down and laid with their branches turned towards the enemy, so as to protect troops stationed behind them.

† " Finding that, far from being supported, they were upbraided by the Accompongs, the Trelawney Maroons had leisure to reflect on the insolence of their conduct, and after some days evinced a less intractable disposition," &c. *Dallas.*—This writer attributes the final relapse into violence to the arrest of the six "deputies," as he calls them, mentioned in a note to the preceding letter.

‡ All or most of these papers (as produced to the Assembly on the 22nd of September) are printed in the Appendix to Mr. Dallas's work.

" The attempt to burn Kingston—the intemperate expressions of Frenchmen, whom I had taken up as spies—the circumstance of some Frenchmen of the worst of characters hovering at large about the country—these, and many other such indications, have long ago given the alarm to my mind.

" The letters before you have established beyond a doubt that the Maroons of Trelawney Town were, to the amount of three hundred, in a state of rebellion on the 18th of July.

" Allow me to consider the moment allotted for this insurrection.

" The fleet for England was on the eve of its departure, and it may be said, this argument operates in favour of the Trelawney Maroons. But it was not likely that a measure would have been taken so very disagreeable to this island, as the detaining the fleet upon what might appear only as a private disturbance, and subjecting the planters and merchants to double insurance. On the other hand, they had to dread the arrival of the reinforcement from England, which everybody knew was shortly to be expected.—They therefore, whether by accident or otherwise, took the most critical period that possibly could be found for the accomplishment of their designs.

" If Mr. Tharp's assertion is well founded, viz. the aid the Trelawney Maroons could at pleasure receive from our slaves, we have indeed to bless a merciful Providence for having preserved this country.—The arrival at Jamaica of the force destined for St. Domingo, and the mistake that produced it, have probably saved this island.

" The appearance of this force, and the rapid movement of the 20th light dragoons, have operated to humiliate in some degree the insurgents, and surely a more unfortunate *contretemps* to their designs could not have happened.

" The majority of the magistrates have ascribed the cause of this insurrection to the flogging of the two Maroons; and, as they have been alarmed both for their properties and the credit of the island, they have considered it as a wise step to make every possible concession to the insurgents.

" If peace and quiet could be attained by this most humiliating conduct, perhaps the steps taken by the magistrates might receive the approbation of a part of the proprietors of this country; but there seems to be but one opinion in the island in condemning the measures adopted by the magistrates.

" Let me now consider whether these concessions produced the effects intended. You have now before you the letter of one of three magistrates, sitting on the bench in their judicial capacity. The letter states that they have received remonstrances from the negroes of eight or ten plantations in the immediate neighbourhood of the Trelawney Maroons, complaining of their managers—men who are known in the country to be remarkable for clemency. If this is true, and if that credit is to be given to Mr. Tharp's assertion which is due to his character, abilities, and fortune, can gentlemen hesitate a moment in forming their opinions?

" And I must here remark that the Maroons themselves seemed dissatisfied with those unqualified concessions, as they said they were only granted to gain time,—and this also proves that they thought they had chosen the best time to effect their purpose.

" This seems undeniable,—that the Trelawney Maroons have been in a state

of rebellion :—whether this rebellion has proceeded from internal grievances, or from the machinations of an external foe, it does not alter the fact that they have been in rebellion.

"You have now present seventeen hundred infantry, in the full vigour of health and spirits. Twelve hundred of those belong to St. Domingo, and must leave Jamaica immediately. The 130th regiment is to remain. They are composed of nearly four hundred men, all are recruits, and a short time indeed may break down this regiment.—Before further reinforcements can arrive, this island will be weak indeed in regular force.

"My opinion is,—strike at the Maroons of Trelawney Town. Strike at that source of rebellion, and its fibres will be cut off.

"Providence has given you the means of doing it,—if you temporise, and lose the moment of securing your lives and properties, the responsibility must lie with yourselves. I have rung the alarm—it is long since it existed in my mind."

To the Duke of Portland.

"My Lord Duke, "Spanish Town, 3 August, 1795.

"It gives me peculiar concern to be under the necessity of communicating the intelligence of internal commotion in this island. The following is a transcript of the letter which first apprised me thereof."

[See the letter of the magistrates of St. James's, and extracts appended, pp. 36 sqq.]

"Having received those despatches on the 19th ult., and being very apprehensive for the terrible consequences of an insurrection in this island, I determined to lose no time in sending three troops of the 20th light dragoons, to keep in awe the negroes in the neighbourhood of Trelawney Town. They marched that evening, under the command of Captain Wallen.

"The following day my alarms were increased by a letter from one of the magistrates of Montego Bay, sitting in his judicial capacity, stating that the negroes of nine plantations had presented remonstrances against their managers,—all known in the country as men of remarkable clemency.—It was also substantiated to me from the strongest evidence, herewith sent, that the Maroons of Trelawney Town could command the aid of the plantation negroes at pleasure.

"I conceived that not a moment should be lost in apprising the country of their danger. It appeared to me that the island was perhaps on the very brink of destruction,—and the alternative

that presented itself did not convey much comfort to my mind—that I must either strike at the Maroons and cut out the very root of the rebellion, or that this valuable colony was for ever gone.

"To think of reducing a race of men who had hitherto resisted successfully every force brought against them—who had long maintained themselves in their mountains and fortresses—and who actually held their situation and property under a solemn treaty and compact made with this island—were circumstances that did not hold out any flattering view. But the necessity of giving the Maroons a severe and sudden check was decisive in my mind.

"I therefore assembled his Majesty's Privy Council, and laid before them the letters and authorities which I had received. The Council was pleased to recommend to me the measure of assembling a Council of War, and to propose to them the question, whether it was, or was not, proper to declare martial law?—The Council, after examining the letters and authorities which I laid before them, unanimously voted the affirmative; and martial law was proclaimed in Jamaica on Sunday the 2nd instant.

"The very sudden appearance of the three troops of dragoons at Montego Bay, operating like lightning, has hushed the clamours of the plantation negroes.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the Duke of Portland.

"Head Quarters, Vaughan's Field,
11 August, 1795.

"My Lord Duke,

"The very manly and energetic advice given to me by his Majesty's Privy Council, not to temporise with the Trelawney Maroons, gave me that confidence of support which is the soldier's best consolation in an arduous undertaking of very doubtful issue.

"Conceiving that similar motives would actuate the minds of the members of the Council of War, composed of the members of the Council, the members of the House of Assembly, the Chief

Justice, the Commanders-in-chief by sea and land, and the field-officers of the regulars and militia, I determined to begin my operations even before martial law was declared.

"Having obtained the most perfect knowledge of every road, path, or track of the minutest description, that led into the Trelawney Maroon towns, I resolved to blockade their country by seizing on every entrance,—although the manœuvre was to be performed in a circle of forty square miles of the most rugged and mountainous country in the universe.

"For this purpose, and to conceal my design, I ordered, secretly and confidentially, the custodes of parishes, and colonels, to assemble their militia to make a search for concealed arms in all the negro huts over the island.

"I also gave orders for their seizing the respective passes to the Trelawney Maroon towns,—this was executed in the morning of the 9th inst., with a precision that would have done honour to any troops. On the same morning I sent to the Maroons my two proclamations, and letter addressed to themselves, herewith annexed.*

* "*To the Maroons of Trelawney Town.*

"You have entered into a most unprovoked, ungrateful, and a most dangerous rebellion.

"You have driven away your superintendent, placed over you by the laws of this country.

"You have treated him, your commander, with indignity and contempt—you have endeavoured to massacre him.[a]

"You have put the magistrates of the country, and all the white people, to defiance.

"You have challenged and offered them battle.

"You have forced the country, which has long cherished and fostered you as its children, to consider you as an enemy.

"Martial-law has, in consequence, been proclaimed.

"Every pass to your town has been occupied and guarded by the militia and regular forces.

"You are surrounded by thousands.

"Look at Montego Bay, and you will see the force brought against you.

"I have issued a proclamation, offering a reward for your heads. That terrible edict will not be put in force before Thursday the 13th day of August. To avert these proceedings, I advise and command every Maroon of Trelawney Town

[a] Mr. Craskell had retired to Vaughan's field, on being ordered to quit Trelawney Town; and a day or two afterwards an attempt was made on his life, which he very narrowly escaped. *Edwards.*

"I had attempted to charter vessels for the carrying round some troops from Kingston. I procured one, in which were embarked two companies of the 63rd regiment, but I immediately abandoned the further prosecution of this idea, as all the small craft capable of beating to windward had been taken up, and had sailed the 31st of July, with eight hundred troops, for St. Domingo, under the convoy of his Majesty's ship Success, Captain Pigot.

"Finding it impracticable to execute my purpose without his cooperation, I despatched an open boat to sea, acquainting him with my situation, and requesting him, as he tendered the safety of Jamaica, to go round to Montego Bay. He accordingly arrived there on the 7th inst., with four hundred and fifty men, exclusive of the emigrants. One of his transports had stranded, getting out of Port Royal harbour, and another had sprung a leak and had put into Port Antonio in distress.

"I arrived at Montego Bay on the 8th, and at Vaughan's Field on the 10th instant, within a mile and a half of the Maroon towns.

"It is remarkable that a manœuvre embracing the movement of all the light dragoons, the seizing of every pass by a scattered militia, and the operation of a fleet beating to windward, and afterwards falling down the length of the island, should have appeared as comprised in the space of seven days,—martial law having been declared at Spanish Town on the 2nd instant, and all the posts, up to the boundaries of the Maroon district, being actually occupied by his Majesty's forces on the morning of the 9th instant.

"I have the honour to enclose a sketch of the position taken on that day. The movement of the troops is my own, but I am solely indebted to Mr. Frazer, a half-pay lieutenant of the 42nd regiment, and now island engineer, for the extreme correctness of the position.—To have blockaded such an enemy, in such a country, can only be ascribed to my having had so very able an assistant.

capable of bearing arms to appear before me, at Montego Bay, on Wednesday the 12th day of August instant, and there submit himself to his Majesty's mercy.

"On so doing, you will escape the effects of the dreadful command ordered to be put in execution on Thursday the 13th day of August.

"BALCARRES."

"I have sent the Hon. Colonel Walpole, with a detachment of nearly one hundred dismounted dragoons of the 13th regiment, to St. Elizabeth's, to keep in check the negroes, as well as the Accompong Maroons.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the Duke of Portland.

"Head Quarters, Vaughan's Field,
14 August, 1795.

"My Lord Duke,

"The Maroons employed the 9th and 10th instant in reconnoitring our posts, and in considering the effects of my proclamations. Having explored every path, they found to retreat was impossible.

"The older part of them then, but not sooner, proposed to surrender themselves in terms of the proclamation; the younger and more numerous part refused to listen to any other thing than to proceed to extremities. Each followed their own opinion.

"About two o'clock p. m. on the 11th instant, proposals were made to me from the moderate party to be permitted to surrender themselves, and, on my acceptance, a body of thirty-eight came in, and laid their arms at my feet. This, with nine other Maroons of the same town, whom we had already secured, amounted to more than one-third of their numbers capable of bearing arms.

"The return of the township, made to me by the superintendent, dated 1st July, was—

"Colonel	1	
Lieutenant-Colonel	1	
Captains	14	
Lieutenants	8	
Privates	109	
		133
Invalids		5
Women		201
Boys		164
Girls		157
Total		660

"Amongst those whom we secured were—their colonel, lieutenant-colonel, and eight other chiefs.

"The moment that it was known in their towns that such an event had taken place, the wild and impetuous young savages set fire to both,—which is the immediate signal of the most inveterate violence and hostility.

"At that moment, as I am informed, many of their children were massacred.

"Early next morning they seemed inclined to make a break towards Hanover. As I had received intelligence that they had endeavoured to corrupt the negroes in that quarter, I thought it proper to post at the extremity of the path leading towards that parish a strong company of the mulattoes belonging to the St. James's regiment. This company was attacked at daybreak with vigour, repulsed the Maroons, with considerable loss, and maintained their post with the greatest intrepidity and coolness, although, at the very first fire, they lost one man killed and four wounded, and one negro killed and two wounded.

"As I had great reason to believe that a very considerable part of the Maroon force was drawn towards this extremity of their district, in which they have a large tract of fine provision-grounds, extending from their boundaries nearly to their New Town, I sent off an express to Colonel Sanford, who commanded on the Trelawney side, to mount the hill and attack the town,—leaving the disposition to himself, but commanding him, the instant he carried it, to wheel to the right, by which movement he got possession of the brow of the hill immediately above the provision-grounds, and had the Maroons in their rear while I had them directly in front.

"Colonel Sanford moved on accordingly. He took with him forty-five dragoons, armed with their swords and pistols; several volunteers accompanied him, and he was supported by a very strong detachment of the Trelawney militia. He ascended the hill about five o'clock p. m., attacked and immediately carried the post, without any loss.

"Flushed with his first success, he determined to gallop on, unsupported, and to surprise the Old Maroon Town, which is distant about three-quarters of a mile. Unfortunately, between the two towns, he fell into an ambuscade which proved fatal to himself

and one quartermaster, to fourteen of his corps, and thirteen volunteers.

"The command devolved on Captain Butter, of the 18th Dragoons, in a most awful situation indeed! To retreat to the New Town by the same track, through a tremendous ravine, over a road narrow, rugged, almost impracticable, and overhung with rocks lined by the enemy, was one alternative; the other—Forward!—to dash over mountains, an unexplored rocky country, and in the face of forty Maroons—who were so far surprised as to be found standing in a body to oppose him. The sight of the savages decided the difficulty, and, after charging and cutting down eleven of them, he and his party rushed on, and, crossing at full gallop a country almost inaccessible, joined me at Vaughan's Field in the dusk of the evening, having traversed the whole of the Maroon district. This decision certainly saved the whole party, and Captain Butter has infinite credit in the adventure.*

"Happily Colonel Sanford had made so very rapid a movement that the Trelawney infantry had not been able to keep up with him. They made their retreat unmolested, after having occupied their post in the New Town all night.

"While we lament the over ardour and the intrepid courage of Colonel Sanford, who fell a victim to this excess, I had only to console myself with the idea that so severe a lesson would induce

* The officer who headed the volunteers, and fell on this unfortunate occasion, was Colonel Gallimore. "His death," I am sorry to add from Mr. Dallas, "was not immediate; he was certainly wounded, and never seen after. The Maroons could give no account of him. . . . They had the watches, knives, pencils, and other things of the rest that fell, but nothing of Gallimore's except his gun, which he must have dropped on being wounded, and making for the woods. As his body was never found, it is probable that the confusion of the scene and the approach of night favoured his retreat into the covered woods, where, from fatigue or loss of blood, he may have expired, like others, in some recess, which, from the difficulty of being penetrated, time itself may never discover. Gallimore was a brave, active man, and generally beloved."

More fortunate in his escape was, says Bryan Edwards, "my late excellent and lamented friend George Goodin Barrett. He was attended on that day by a favourite negro slave, of whom it is related that, during the first attack, perceiving a Maroon from behind a tree present his gun at his beloved master, he instantly rushed forward to protect him by interposing his own person, and actually received the shot in his breast. I rejoice to add that the wound was not mortal, and that the poor fellow has been rewarded as he deserved for such an instance of heroic fidelity as history has seldom recorded."

our young soldiers to give in future the most scrupulous obedience to orders.*

"The effect of this disaster is nothing further than the loss of so many gallant and valuable lives.

"I have ordered the whole party to resume their ground by a circuitous march of twenty miles.

"The post they carried is everything. They will carry it again, and I trust, when they get it, they will be content with it.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the Duke of Portland.

"Head Quarters, Trelawney Old Maroon Town,
August 24, 1795.

"My Lord Duke,

"From the 12th to the 18th instant our time has been entirely occupied in getting forward provisions and supplies.

"The labour of effecting this service in so rugged a country has been beyond description difficult and harassing. Our outposts have been daily disturbed, and our convoys as regularly attacked.

"As I had fixed on the morning of the 19th instant for an attempt on the New Maroon Town, I made a false attack from Vaughan's Field, which had the desired effect of drawing off all their force from the Trelawney side, and Colonel Hull took possession of that very important post without loss. He immediately proceeded, by my orders, to hut the soldiers, and to prepare materials for erecting a block-house with a stockade round it.

"On the 23rd I moved against the Old Town by three different tracks, and in three columns, under the respective commands of Colonels Fitch, Incledon, and Hull. The columns under

* "So general was the alarm," in consequence of this misadventure, "that the Governor thought it necessary, in a proclamation which he issued on the occasion, to make public the orders he had given to Colonel Sanford, and to declare in express terms, that, if the detachment under that officer's command had remained at the post which he was directed to occupy, the Maroons, in all probability, would have been compelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war. 'Soldiers will learn from this fatal lesson,' adds his lordship most truly, 'the indispensable necessity of strictly adhering to orders. An excess of ardour is often as prejudicial to the accomplishment of any military enterprise, as cowardice itself.'" *Bryan Edwards.*

the orders of Colonels Incledon and Hull consisted of one hundred men each; that of Colonel Fitch, with which I marched myself, was composed of one hundred and fifty men.

"The movement commenced exactly at daybreak. I had ordered secrecy, which was inviolably kept, and the columns preserved the most profound silence. This was absolutely necessary, as I had to march over a country where a very few determined opponents are sufficient to stop an army.

"This exact obedience to my orders had the happiest effect.

"The column under the command of Colonel Hull approached within two hundred yards of the Old Town and of the enemy, before it was discovered by their sentinels.

"The heads of the other two columns appearing immediately afterwards, the Maroons were instantly dispossessed of a post which commands nearly all their districts and provision-grounds.

"This important manœuvre was executed with the loss of only three men wounded.*

"The Maroons retreated into a country of rocks beyond description wild and barren, into which no white person has ever entered.† In this situation they must starve; or if famine drives

* "By some shots from a dozen Maroons, standing upon a high rock that overlooked the town."—*Dallas.*

† "The body of Maroons," says Dallas, "retired to their women in Guthrie's Defile, the entrance of which they occupied in such a manner as to render it impregnable. The sides of this defile are nearly perpendicular,[a] and can only be entered one by one, nor have any of the gallant fellows who have attempted it ever returned. The practicability of advancing upon an enemy in these cockpits is not to be judged of by other seats of war; nor the hardships of a campaign, by those sustained in a regular warfare. The tactics required in the Trelawney mountains are not to be learned from Saxe, Symes, Dundas, or any other writer on the military art.

"It was resolved to surround the seat of action, as far as it was practicable, and reinforcements were called up, consisting of a hundred men of the 62nd regiment, under Colonel Hull, a detachment of that gallant regiment the 17th light dragoons, and large bodies of militia. The men were employed several days in destroying all the provisions in the vicinity of the Maroon Town, a work the Maroons could not venture out of their fastnesses to repel. Upon the heights, however, within three-quarters of a mile of the head-quarters, their advanced picquets kept their ground in sight, relieving their sentries with the utmost regularity, and communicating intelligence by their horns from height to height along their posts. The different bodies employed in destroying the provision-grounds fired frequent volleys into the gullies, which made the woods re-echo and the Maroons smile, for they knew

[a] See the description of this defile in the Introduction.

them out, many parties of militia and armed confidential negroes, equally accustomed with them to range in woods, are ready, sup ported by regulars, to fall upon them; and the country is so exasperated against those rebels as to offer very large rewards for their destruction.*

"The district lately possessed by the Trelawney Maroons, and its vicinity, are now occupied by his Majesty's forces as follows:—

"Atherton's Pen, .	40 dragoons,	as a depôt.
Shaw's Castle, .	90 men.	
New Maroon Town,	100 men, .	. post fortified.
Old Maroon Town,	150 men, .	. post fortified.
Vaughan's Field, .	100 men, .	. as a depôt.

where to obtain provisions, and were amused at the waste of powder. Success had increased their insolence, and rendered them more daring. Johnson and Smith had joined them with their families; and the confidence they reposed in these chiefs, particularly the former, to whose command they submitted themselves, gave greater regularity and effect to their enterprises, and kept alive the hope of forcing the government to advantageous terms."

I subjoin a striking scene which occurs a few pages further on in Mr. Dallas's work.—Major James, going out shortly afterwards with a party of young huntsmen, his partisans, "led them to the Maroon tracks, and told them the route the rebels would take. By smelling the smoke of their fires, he directed the party to a spot where they found an old invalid or two, who had not strength to escape, and, after a very tedious and fatiguing march, close at the heels of a body of Maroons, he brought them up to Guthrie's Defile, 'So far,' said he, pointing to the entrance, 'you may pursue, but no farther. No force can enter here; no white man, except myself or some soldier of the Maroon establishment, has ever gone beyond this. With the greatest difficulty I have penetrated four miles farther, and not ten Maroons have gone so far as that. There are two other ways of getting into the defile practicable for the Maroons, but not for any of you. In neither of them can I ascend or descend with my arms, which must be handed to me step by step, as practised by the Maroons themselves. One of the ways lies to the Eastward, and the other to the Westward, and they will take care to have both guarded if they suspect that I am with you, which, from the route you have come to-day, they will. They now see you, and, if you advance fifty paces more, they will convince you of it.' He had hardly spoken when the Maroon horn sounded his call. To this he made no answer, and then a voice addressed the party, desiring to know if he was among them. 'If he is,' said the voice, 'let him go back,—we do not wish to hurt him; but as for the rest of you, come on and try battle if you choose.' It being impracticable to enter the defile, the party, exhausted by fatigue and hunger, returned by a circuitous route," &c. &c.

* For taking or killing every Maroon man of Trelawney Town carrying arms, three hundred dollars, offered by St. James's, three hundred by Trelawney, three hundred by the House of Assembly, and twenty by Westmoreland—in all, nine hundred and twenty dollars.

"Having established this position, which I am confident can be maintained, I am proceeding to erect small fortifications, and to clear sufficient roads of intercourse, but I have been forced to disband the militia, as the great consumption of provisions by that body and their followers renders a depôt for the troops in the Maroon district extremely precarious.

"Martial law, or something equally effective, must however continue some time longer in force, as I must retain the power of commanding the negroes, to do the necessary and indispensable work I have described.

"His Majesty's forces have succeeded in carrying all those points that lay within the range of their exertions. They have been exposed to every hardship that can attend the most severe service. What we have attained is to be ascribed to the patience, fortitude, and courage which they have eminently displayed on this occasion.

"I am much indebted to the strenuous exertions of Major-Generals Palmer and Reid, in forwarding our means of subsistence, and also in endeavouring to bring back the rebels to a sense of their duty.

"I am particularly obliged to Major-General Taylor, who commanded at Kingston, and to Major-General Campbell, who commanded in Spanish Town during my absence; as also to Major-General Grizell, who had charge of the parishes of Hanover and Westmoreland. And it is with every confidence that I assure his Majesty that he is possessed of a gallant, obedient, and well-disciplined militia, equally capable of being presented with effect either to an external or internal enemy.

"Colonels Fitch, Incledon, and Hull conducted their columns in the most judicious manner.

"Colonel Fitch remained on the same side of the country with myself. His exertions could not be surpassed,—and I am the more indebted to him, as a very severe fall, by which I was much wounded in the head, had disabled me from visiting the outposts. I have the greatest confidence in his abilities, and I have left him in command of the Maroon district, with orders to extend mercy to most of those deluded men, should they be disposed to submit themselves.

"I owe much to the able assistance I have received from Lieute-

nant Alston, 63rd regiment, Deputy Quartermaster General, and Lieutenant-Colonel Atkinson of the militia, my aide-de-camp.

"The correctness of all my movements is to be ascribed to the great professional knowledge of Captain Frazer, island engineer, who also acted as aide-de-camp.

"I cannot omit mentioning, in warm terms of approbation, the conduct of Lieutenant Dixon, commanding the detachment of Royal Artillery. The extremely steep and rugged face of the Maroon district rendered it necessary to take the light brass three-pounders off their carriages, and convey them by negro labour to the towns. His exertions on this occasion, and his uniform steady behaviour, marked his professional abilities, as well as his active zeal for the service.

"The Hon. Colonel Walpole commanded upon the Accompong side, and has occupied the most judicious posts. He has also much conciliated the Accompong Maroons, who we have some hopes may be induced to act with vigour.

"I deeply lament the misapplied valour of the Trelawney volunteers on the 12th instant. It now appears that the greatest part of them were not on horseback. Their high spirit unfortunately led them to leave the corps of Trelawney infantry which remained in the New Maroon Town, and to accompany the movement of the light cavalry. Thirteen of these brave men perished,—many of them from excessive fatigue; and it is only matter of astonishment to me how Colonel Barrett and the others, who behaved most gallantly, survived the difficulties they had to encounter before they joined me at Vaughan's Field. I pay the tribute due to the bravery and to the memories of these unfortunate gentlemen, by laying their names and singular merits before his Majesty.

"I cannot close my letter without expressing the sense I entertain of the very ready acquiescence of Captain Pigot with my request to proceed to Montego Bay, and remain there as long as I find his presence essentially necessary; as also that of Captain Bingham, of the Cormorant, who, at my desire, conveyed the detachment of the 13th regiment, light dragoons, to Black River, and that of the 62nd to Montego Bay.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the Duke of Portland.

"Head Quarters, Montego Bay,
25 August, 1795.

"My Lord Duke,

"I have enclosed to your Grace the chain of evidence which induced me to take the strong steps I have adopted,—in which I have been supported by all the leading interests in the country. I leave it with his Majesty's ministers to determine upon the weight due to that evidence,—I acted upon it; and, had I temporised or remained inactive, I might only have submitted correct proofs of the causes by which his Majesty had lost his island of Jamaica.

"My opinions were:—That the Trelawney Maroons, possessing a country of inconceivable strength, a district abounding in ground provisions, and, as a point, concentrating in a moment the five smaller Maroon nations—were a force formidable to this country.

"—But, as a power commanding at their pleasure the aid of the plantation negroes—the properties and liberties of every person in this island were at their disposal and under their dominion.

"They were a people enjoying the most uncontrolled freedom—possessing every comfort of life.

"Their numbers were 276 persons in the year 1749. In July, 1795, they had increased to 660, exclusive of their numerous children by female slaves, residing on the low plantations.

"The nature of their connexions was alarming, and their resources, their views, and the example of St. Domingo, naturally pointed their way to the dominion of this country.

"I must close this description by remarking, that we found ground provisions for more than six times their numbers,—and, for about eighteen months past, they have with every industry cultivated pieces of land in their cockpits, (the technical term for an hollow, surrounded by perpendicular rocks,)—a thing they had never thought of since peace was concluded with them in 1738.

"The contrast is,—that they are reduced, by surrender, capture, and deaths, upwards of one-third, or [to] nearly one-half of their number capable of bearing arms.

"Their ground provisions are already in a great measure, and in a few days will be almost entirely, destroyed.

"Their district is completely possessed by his Majesty's forces.

"Lines of communication are formed, and regular posts established in both their towns, and in every situation commanding access to the low countries.

"They are driven back among barren and almost inaccessible rocks, and nearly destitute of every species of subsistence.

"Numerous parties of the militia, armed confidential negroes, and the Accompong Maroons, supported by his Majesty's troops, are in pursuit of them. Immense rewards are offered by the country for their destruction.

"They may escape in small numbers, and give disturbance as a band of robbers, but never are to be considered as an enemy capable of endangering the security of this island.

"I have accomplished every object that I had in view when I undertook the arduous task of giving a severe and sudden check to the Trelawney Maroons.

"I was obliged to move with celerity and to strike with rapidity, as the safety, as well as the credit, of the island must have been materially injured by any procrastination.

"I stopped the sailing of the Halifax packet for three weeks, judging that much less mischief would accrue by detaining her than by her proceeding at so very critical a period.

"As the Trelawney Maroons can only now subsist by depredations on private property, I have returned to Montego Bay, that I may combine civil police with military operation, and so close the effects of what I must now greatly regard as a local disturbance.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

PART II.

To the Duke of Portland.

" My Lord Duke, " Montego Bay, 29 August, 1795.

" I held a council of war here yesterday, in order to submit the propriety or otherwise of continuing martial law. It was attended by the Speaker, and many members of the Assembly—in all, thirty-three.

" It was voted in the affirmative unanimously.

" Although this business is reduced in great measure to a local disturbance, there is still a necessity for continuing martial law, owing to a blunder in the Party Act, which unfortunately renders it a nullity.

" As nothing can be more severe upon this island than the continuing martial law unnecessarily, I have thought it right, by the advice of the Speaker, to call together the legislature on the 22nd of September, and the first thing it will proceed to is the amending the Party Act Law,—under which Act only I shall follow up the sentiments of the country in extirpating the Trelawney Maroons.

" The seasons are now against me, and I must secure my posts. Those rains are as much distressing to the enemy, who have consumed all their ground provisions, as to us.

" They must be reduced to despair,—their wives and children will be an insupportable load to them, and, although it is impossible to divine how even distress and despair may operate on minds formed like theirs, still I think their submission may not be entirely out of the question.

" As the country are determined to get rid of them if they can, it gives me a greater latitude in offering mercy by sparing their lives.

" Mr. Speaker has informed me this day, that he had received

letters seven months ago from America, informing him that our *Charibs* were soon to give us disturbance; and I have seen mercantile letters from that country, pressing for the payment of debts, because it was there conceived that Jamaica was not likely to remain in a quiet state.

"While men's minds are alarmed, and the business [is] not entirely finished, it is not prudent to hazard an opinion that the island is in a state of security. But, viewing with sober coolness the causes and effects of my rapid advance upon the enemy, I have no difficulty in pronouncing that the blow is struck which will give that security.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the Countess of Hardwicke.

"My dear Lady Hardwicke, "Sept. 1, 1795.

"I have been exposed to fatigue and the open air on the high Maroon mountains of Jamaica for this month past, and engaged in an arduous and bloody war with the Maroons. If I had not attacked them as I have done, my firm opinion is, that the island of Jamaica was inevitably lost. . . I had a bad fall at the close of Colonel Sanford's rash business. . . It jumbled my brain for two days, but I fortunately could retain my command.

"As I have been much engaged in intrigue with all sorts of people of late, I have discovered and ferreted out this business *alone*, the indolence of this country not permitting the inhabitants even to see their danger when almost presented to their eyes.

"I have had the good fortune to carry with me all the leading interests in the country, and my conduct will be publicly decided upon by the legislature of this country, when they meet on the 22nd of this month.

". . . Believe me ever yours,

"BALCARRES."

To the Earl of Balcarres.

"My Lord, "Old Maroon Town, 2 September, 1795.

"Eleven of the Maroons have been with me this morning; they seem desirous of peace, but they will not treat till two or three of their people appear from Montego Bay.* They are apprehensive that they have been

* Two of the Maroons were allowed to go and see those at Montego Bay, on the rest pledging themselves to surrender to Colonel Fitch, if the permission were granted. "At the end of two days," says Mr. Dallas, "the visitors returned, bringing with them a few pounds of salt. Colonel Fitch remonstrated with them on carrying in the salt, which was unnecessary, as they were to surrender the next

destroyed, and nothing but their presence will convince them to the contrary.

"I have granted them a truce for the present time. They have sent out people to call in their parties that have been scattered about this place.

"What I have always apprehended, and have frequently represented to your lordship, was this day to have been carried into execution. A strong ambush was to have been formed on all the roads leading from Vaughan's Field to the Maroon towns; our supplies were to have been cut off, and every person murdered that should come within their reach. They urged in the strongest manner that no person should be allowed to pass on this day, as it would be at the certain risk of life.

"I must beg leave to state to your lordship, in the strongest terms, that unless a very large body of labourers, properly directed, and well supplied with the necessary tools, are immediately furnished, it will not only be impossible to carry on offensive operations, but it will be equally so to supply provisions, and in consequence the posts of the Maroon towns cannot be maintained.

"Parkinson headed the party that came in to me. He says that he had nothing to do with burning the towns,—he has not been engaged in the out-parties—Dunbar and Forbes are at the head of them.

"The body of Chambers * has this day been found; it is certain that he was murdered by the Maroons. His head was found at a considerable distance from the body. His torn handkerchief and some other articles were known to the Accompongs, who buried him with military honours.

"This man was sent by myself to offer terms to the Maroons, and, if they would not come in, to desire that they would send in the women and children of those that had delivered themselves up.—In this manner was the messenger of peace treated,—and his son an eye-witness.

"I have the honour, &c.

"WM. FITCH, Colonel,
"Commanding Maroon District."

To Major-General Taylor, &c. &c.

"Dear Sir, "Montego Bay, 7 Sept. 1795.

"I rejoice to hear from Mr. Atkinson that near fifty of the Charlestown Maroons have come in.

"I look upon this as of the very highest consequence during our present contest.

"The Maroons, as a body, have got a severe, and to them an irretrievable check.

day; but on their observing that the quantity was so small as scarcely to admit a division, he suffered it to pass. With Dunbar and Harvey old Montague returned from Vaughan's Field, where he had been kept. . . Dunbar and Harvey reported that their friends were *on board a ship*, and in consequence Colonel Fitch had no more visits from the Maroons, who now prepared to fight to the last man, rather than surrender."

* A captain of the Accompongs.

"The Maroons are more numerous here than I expected. One hundred and thirty-eight men, capable of bearing arms, were returned in July last; I now can account for one hundred and seventy men.

"We have had a truce for some days, but it is likely to end in hostilities being recommenced; I believe from ten to twenty may be induced to surrender.

"Provided justice is done me by granting me working negroes to clear my front and communication from Vaughan's Field, neither numbers nor their situation can distress me. It surely stands to reason that the occupying and the maintaining their district must starve them, provided they draw no resource from the surrounding plantations,—my idea is to grant safeguards, which must, in its effect, starve them out.

"However, the disposition of the country is to try its prowess,—and why not? It may succeed—should it fail, my slower operation will carry the point.

"I should be very glad to end this business, especially as our views must be directed to repel an external attack.

"Should we be so attacked, our little experience that we have obtained here must be of the highest service.

"I have discovered the weak points both of the regulars and the militia, which would have operated against us, when little errors might have counted seriously. . .

"One singular advantage we have gained cannot escape your penetration, viz.—by our having taken possession of the Maroon district, we must have every advantage over an external enemy that the Maroons could have over us.

"Although our truce has lasted three days, I have not lost an hour in bringing up the force to act (as it is imagined) in the cockpits. I shall have an opportunity, I trust, of communicating our exact situation before I close this letter.

"—8th.—I am sorry I cannot close my letter so agreeably as I could wish. None of the Maroons have come in, and they seem determined on inveterate war. The appearance of peace was to gain time,—it has not, however, had that effect. I believe they will be attacked to-morrow morning—but what good can we expect from such an attack in an unexplored country? I tremble for the consequences of my leaving this country; it requires the whole authority of the governor to keep in any bounds the disaffected spirit of the gentlemen,—neither do I exactly think it prudent to declare publicly my dread of an external attack. They laugh and treat everything as a chimera. They were themselves the alarmists and the terrorists, and now they deny that they were afraid, or that there is subject for terror. Certain I am, if we had not carried the Maroon Old Town, that this country was in a deplorable state. The Maroons had abundant force to defend it against us, and unless the country will enable me to maintain that post, which can only be done by clearing round it, the consequences will be as bad as possible.

"This country must take a very serious view of its situation. I must support St. Domingo. It not only appears from a general reasoning, but from our own actual intelligence, that the moment we lose St. Domingo, this island is in great danger indeed. Our intelligence has brought forward the reasons

why Sir Adam Williamson has not been earlier attacked by Rigaud.—I must, of necessity, send to Sir Adam the force intended for St. Domingo, otherwise the responsibility of the loss of both islands lies upon me.

"On the other hand, the impolicy of calling away the militia from this country, leaving it bare—that would be madness. Can we reasonably expect that the negroes to windward have not been debauched? The enemy have been indefatigable in sending emissaries there, and the embodying the militia at any given point seems to be attended with danger.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

"P.S. I have just mentioned to General Palmer the examination of Monsieur Moranson,* and his exclamation was, 'Good God! we have been all in the wrong!'—And completely have they been in the wrong, for every measure has been thwarted.

"I have, however, secured my depôt of provisions,—and, if all their plantations are burnt to the ground, they have to thank themselves."

To the Right Hon. Henry Dundas.

"Montego Bay, — Sept. 1795.

"Sir,

"I left the Old Maroon Town on the 25th August, it being necessary to assemble a council of war to determine whether the situation of public affairs required the continuance of martial law. It was unanimously carried in the affirmative.

"Colonel Fitch took the command of the Maroon district. For some days the Maroons professed an inclination to surrender, and Colonel Fitch granted them a truce accordingly.

"It proved only a deception, for on the last day they murdered their own colonel, who was our prisoner, and who carried a message to them.†

"On the 11th inst. Colonel Fitch, with great judgment, advanced Captain Leigh and a party of the 83rd regiment to take possession of a very important post near to the entrance of the

* His declaration, proving the Maroon rebellion to have originated in Fauchet's cabinet at Philadelphia, is printed in Mr. Dallas's work, tom. i. p. 353, and bears every appearance of truth. He afterwards retracted it. But a reference to Lord Balcarres' expressions (see *ante*, p. 35, note) will shew that he must not only have ascertained the truth, but discovered still more of the scheme than had been imparted to the traitor Moranson.

† Even later than this, on the 13th inst. (the day after the death of Colonel Fitch, though I believe before he had heard of it,) I find Lord Balcarres writing to General Reid, "I believe no door remains open for receiving any proposal of surrender; should it, however, be otherwise, I am always inclined to shew them the King's mercy."

cockpits. He advanced some hundred yards in front, to watch the effect of a shell thrown from an howitzer towards the cockpits. —Unfortunately he fell into an ambuscade, by which we lost one officer and three rank and file of the 83rd, one volunteer, and two Accompong Maroons, killed,—and two officers and six rank and file of the 83rd, and two Accompong Maroons, wounded.

"I am very sorry to add that the officer killed was Colonel Fitch. He had received several wounds through his body, and had sat down on a rock, supported by Colonel Jackson of the militia, who had promised not to leave him. In that situation he received a second fire from the Maroons.

"The universal dread they entertained of that valuable and much-lamented officer, and their anxiety to destroy him, can only account for the preservation of Colonel Jackson. *His* courage and sensibility merit my laying his name before his Majesty.*

* Mr. Dallas gives a full and interesting account of the circumstances of this melancholy event.

Captain Lee (for so Mr. Dallas writes the name) having reported to Colonel Fitch that his advanced posts was commanded by heights accessible to the Maroons, Colonel Fitch "moved forward with the double intention of advancing the post, and of establishing it in a position less liable to be annoyed. As this party proceeded, the mountains seemed to rise higher and higher, and the valleys to sink; a better situation was sought in vain,—none presented itself. Marching on, however, they came to a spot, where the Accompong captains, (Reid and Badnage,) observing some recent traces of the Maroons, said it was better to advance no farther, as the rebels had just been there, and could not be far off. Being ridiculed for their timidity, they proved that they had good grounds for the advice they had given, by pointing out the tops of the wild cocoa or eddo that had been lately dug up, and other incontestable evidences.

"Proofs so unanswerable made an impression on Colonel Jackson, who immediately represented to Colonel Fitch that his life was too valuable to be unnecessarily risked, requesting permission to advance with Captain Brisset a little farther to reconnoitre the ground, and declaring, that, if the nature of it proved impracticable and unpromising, he would return, but, if at all favourable, he would despatch immediate information to him of it. The earnestness with which Jackson spoke made Colonel Fitch smile.—'What, Jackson,' said he, 'in point of duty do you think I should not be as forward as any other man?' Then in a placid manner, which was natural to him, he added, 'Well, go with Brisset; there is no keeping him back; but I shall expect to see you here again in ten minutes; for if no eligible position presents itself within a quarter of a mile, I must endeavour to secure Lee a little better.'

"Colonel Jackson proposed to Captain Brisset that they should go alone; but the latter desired the two Accompong captains, Reid and Badnage, to advance with them. They moved on accordingly, Colonel Fitch and the party following slowly. When they had proceeded about a hundred yards, the path striking into two smaller

"The militia of Westmoreland have sustained a loss of one officer killed, and one officer and five privates wounded, in covering

ones of very abrupt descent, Jackson proposed taking the one, and Brisset preferred the other. After a moment's hesitation, Brisset, turning to the two Accompongs, said hastily, 'Come, take that way, and I will follow you.' These three had gone down about five yards, and Jackson, who had pushed in to examine the nature of the path he proposed, had returned, and was just descending after the others, when a tremendous volley of small arms was poured upon the whole party by the Maroons, from an elevation within ten paces of them. The soldiers mechanically discharged their pieces at the smoke made by the volley, but to little purpose; for, as usual, the unseen enemy were covered and protected by trees and rocks. On the fire of the Maroons, Brisset, wounded, was seen staggering to the right, and probably fell dead among the bushes. Reid, the Accompong, gave a loud shriek and fell; Badnage, the other Accompong, fell dead without a struggle or a groan.[a] Jackson escaped unhurt, and, running back on ground lower than the path, came up to Colonel Fitch, whom he found seated on an old fallen tree, his arm supported by a projecting stump, and his head resting on his hand. His blood was trickling down from the middle of his waistcoat, and the short red and brown striped linen jacket which he wore stuck out behind, appearing as if a rib had been broken. There could be no doubt that he was mortally wounded. Jackson, taking him by the hand that hung motionless by his side, repeated his name to him, 'It is Jackson, your friend Jackson; look at me.' Saying this, he drew from his side a small dagger, and, holding it up to Colonel Fitch, assured him that he should not fall alive into the hands of the rebels while he could prevent it, declaring at the same time that he would die with him rather than leave him.[b] No one who knew Jackson could doubt that he would have executed this brave resolution, had the occasion required it. Fitch knew him capable of it, and turned his face with a benign look towards him, as if to say something kind; but by this time the Maroons had reloaded; and the clicking of their guns, as they were cocked one after the other, giving notice of their being ready to fire, Colonel Jackson called out to the soldiers to lie down, which being obeyed in proper time, the second volley did little mischief. On hearing the order, Colonel Fitch turned his head towards them, as if appearing to wish to speak, while Jackson at the same instant was endeavouring to pull him down under cover. This he resisted and again turned, seemingly to speak to Captain Lee or the men; but remaining in the situation I have described, he was too conspicuous a mark, and Jackson's efforts to remove him from it were succeeding, when they were too well aided by a fatal ball, which penetrated Colonel Fitch's forehead just above the right eye, and he fell lifeless."

"No man," adds Mr. Dallas, "was ever more lamented than the gallant and

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[a] At the ensuing meeting of the Assembly, they voted £500 to reward the Accompongs for their good conduct, and particularly to provide for the families of Badnage and Reid.—*Dallas.*

[b] This is related rather differently, and I hope truly, in the St. Jago Gazette:—"The first shot that Colonel Fitch received in the ambush passed through his body; Colonel Jackson, who witnessed his situation, went to him, asked him if he could assist him,—he was unable to reply. Colonel Jackson then assured him he would not depart from him while he saw life remained.—He had scarcely uttered the words when another shot struck him on the forehead, and stretched him breathless on the rock. Colonel Jackson *then*, and not till *then*, retired."

the party charged with the destruction of their provision-grounds. I have not as yet received the names of the officers.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the Right Hon. Henry Dundas.

"Sir, "King's House, 21 Sept. 1795.

"I beg leave to observe that the only force that I have detained from the service of St. Domingo is 450 men, exclusive of the French.

"Two other transports, with the 83rd on board, met with distress, and formed no part of the force with which I acted.

"Having employed every small vessel to repair the error of

amiable Colonel Fitch. In his person he was tall and graceful. The manly beauty of his face, expressing the liberality of his mind, rendered his countenance extremely interesting and engaging. Easy and affable in his manners, he was never happier than when relieving the wants of his soldiers, or providing some comfort for the younger officers from his own stores. It was his custom to lay in a stock of things for his men, which he occasionally dealt out in presents or rewards. His social disposition enlivened the tropic summits that were the seat of the Maroon campaign; his table was crowded by his friends; and, by method in his establishment, he threw around his hut a certain elegance that bespoke the gentleman. His activity in the field equalled his modesty in company. He fell in the bloom of youth. He was brave, benevolent, and of a bewitching address. He had talents, and energy to make them useful,—he was therefore a great loss to his country; and his private virtues endeared him to his friends, to whom his death was a deep wound."

"On the 15th ult." (Dec. 1795) "was interred, at the Old Maroon Town, the remains of the late gallant Colonel Fitch. His funeral was attended by the whole of his regiment, and the officers quartered there. Although a period of two months had elapsed since his fall, yet his former goodness and peculiar mildness of disposition were fresh in the memories of all present. The feelings of his friends and fellow-soldiers on this melancholy occasion were sincere proofs of the affection they bore his memory; and even this last sad ceremony infused into their minds a pleasing consolation, that they had saved his relics, and laid them near to those who had shared both his friendship and his fate—he was buried next to Captain Leigh, who died of his wounds. . .

"Almost every one knows that, upon gaining the ground, the body could not be discovered. The unceasing researches of Colonel Jackson found it in a cockpit hidden by rocks, and thus brought the remains of his friend to the interment due to his rank. For an interval of two months it had lain exposed to the weather; but 'the sweetest tears shed on mortals are those with which Heaven bedews the unburied HEAD of a SOLDIER!'"—*St. Jago de la Vega Gazette.*

For the abominable insult offered to his remains by the Maroons, see the concluding note by Lord Balcarres to his letter to C. Yorke, Esq., 2 May, 1796.

bringing the St. Domingo reinforcement to Jamaica, no vessel remained for me to send to Sir Adam Williamson the accounts of my having detained part of his force.

"I shall now make it up the best way I can. I hope no mischief has happened in consequence of what I have done. I certainly risked some post in St. Domingo to save Jamaica, but I trust no such loss has been sustained.

"I have acted to the best of my judgment, and I am fully sensible of what I owe to St. Domingo, when I have weakened my post as I have done.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

Lord Balcarres' Speech to the Assembly,
22 *September*, 1795.

"*Gentlemen of the Council,*

"*Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly,*

"The exigency of public affairs has put me under the necessity of calling you together at a very early season of the year.

"The unfortunate insurrection which has taken place among the Maroons of Trelawney Town is the immediate cause of my now assembling you.

"These insurgents have committed the most daring acts of unprovoked rebellion.

"I have every reason to believe that hostility has long been premeditated, and at the instigation of the convention of France; whose object it undoubtedly is to throw this island into a state of anarchy and confusion.

"I have ordered the several documents to be laid before you. The evidence contained marks, in a strong manner, the designs, the progress, and the expectations of the enemy, in fomenting internal commotion.

"By the blessing of Providence, this conspiracy has been frustrated before it had ripened into maturity.

"Their plan of raising a rebellion might have produced a co-operation of the most dangerous tendency, and the early intimation we have obtained thereof is truly fortunate.

"The precipitate and insolent conduct of the rebels gave me the advantage of acting with celerity and vigour; for, had I permitted them to gain time, and to manage the war according to their arrangements and those of their supporters, this island would have been undone, and the inhabitants must have submitted to a dominion similar to that now exercised in several of the Windward islands.

"The valour and conduct of his Majesty's forces have secured every advantage that could be obtained by regular manœuvres.

"The troops now occupy a chain of posts through the Maroon district. They have stormed and carried their country; they have dispossessed them of

their towns, and have driven them to fastnesses rugged and barren, where they can subsist only as a band of robbers.

"The insurrection has now assumed, in some degree, the form of a local disturbance; and it will deserve your most serious consideration whether statutes may be so framed or amended as to put proper and efficient power into the hands of government, without subjecting the country to the serious inconveniences that result from the declaration of martial law.

"*Mr. Speaker and Gentlemen of the Assembly*,

"I have to lament the heavy expense incurred in consequence of the measures I have been obliged to adopt. But as you have witnessed the necessity of striking at the root of the rebellion, so I trust you will grant such supplies as, in your wisdom, the exigency of the service may require.

"*Gentlemen of the Council*,

"*Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the Assembly*,

"When you reflect that the principles of the present rulers of France are to overturn every system of government founded on social order, morality, and religion, you will be aware that a degree of danger results to you from the general prosperity hitherto enjoyed by this happy island:—this they will endeavour to destroy, and this, I trust, your energy and unanimity will maintain.

"Great vigilance is required at this moment, to guard against the admission of their dangerous systems; and every effort is necessary to resist their pernicious consequences, wherever they may appear.

"It is with these maxims that I have entered upon the administration of Jamaica, and I now meet you with the avowal of these sentiments.

"It gives me the highest satisfaction to observe the steadiness, the discipline, and the alacrity of the militia. It is with every confidence I have assured his Majesty, that in them he is possessed of a force which, I am decidedly of opinion, will be found equally capable of being presented with effect to an external or an internal enemy.

"The glorious and important victory gained by Lord Bridport, and the recent advantages obtained by his Majesty's fleets, assuredly lessen the impending danger of this island; and the general aspect of affairs in the interior of France may fairly lead our hopes to an honourable termination of the present war."

Extract from the Address of the Council and Assembly of Jamaica to his Majesty King George III., 26th Sept. 1795.

"We humbly return our thanks to your Majesty for your parental attention in appointing to the government of this island a nobleman of distinguished abilities, eminently adapted to fill, at this critical period, the arduous and important office committed to his charge; whose zeal and activity for the preservation and prosperity of the island endeared him to its inhabitants before

their representatives had an opportunity of meeting him in Assembly; who, by the vigour and promptitude of his measures in detecting and resisting a most unnatural, unprovoked, and unexpected rebellion of the Maroon negroes of Trelawney Town, has saved the country before he could well be said to have seen it; and who has opened his administration with such strict purity and disinterestedness in office, that it is with heartfelt satisfaction your Majesty's faithful Council and Assembly augur the most auspicious consequences to the general interests of the island." *

To the Right Hon. Henry Dundas.

"Sir, "Jamaica, 29 Sept. 1795.

"I have the honour to enclose a copy of my letter of the 21st instant. It is a painful thing to me to be under the necessity of sending away so many troops contrary to the sense of the country, and the more so as all the Maroons to windward expressly refuse to obey my orders to come in. This may be owing to fear, but it may be ascribed to a very different cause. The Moore-town Maroons, who are a very warlike tribe of men, have declared that they not only will not come in, but, if the Charles-town Maroons go into rebellion, that they will join them; the converse of the proposition may be nearly admitted, that, if the Moore-town Maroons go into rebellion, the Charles-town Maroons will

* "At this crisis the inhabitants of the island, in looking back, had to view the following melancholy statement of the war. In the attack upon Captain Hamilton there were two killed and six wounded; in Colonel Sanford's engagement thirty-seven killed and five wounded; the Westmoreland militia, with their working-party of slaves, had been ambushed, seven of the soldiers killed, and five wounded, and ten of the slaves killed; Captain Oldham, of the 62nd regiment, had perished through fatigue; of Colonel Fitch's party there were eight killed and seven wounded; two express dragoons, and a sergeant of the 62nd regiment killed; Brooks's house burnt and two men killed; Schaw castle burnt; Bandon burnt; Shands burnt; Stephens and Bernard's house burnt; Kenmure burnt, and twelve negroes carried away; Darliston trash-house burnt; Catadupa, Mocha, and Lapland burnt, and two negroes carried away; Lewis's burnt.—This was the progress of the losses sustained by the troops and the country:—on the other hand, not a Maroon was known to have been killed; the rebels had seen the troops abandon in a panic one of their towns, had set fire to both, and retired to their fortresses. The loss of Colonel Fitch threw a gloom over the whole island, and the frequent discomfitures which had rapidly succeeded one another spread apprehensions through the colony which were not to be allayed by the governor's encouraging speech at the opening of the assembly."—*Dallas.*

join them. I am very sensible that Sir A. Williamson has not been attacked hitherto with due vigour, and I am clearly of opinion, if St. Domingo falls, that this island may also go; to detain the troops is therefore impossible, and I must temporise with the Windward Maroons the best way I can.*

"The 130th regiment is nearly useless; all of them that are fit for duty go to St. Domingo. The island stores are exhausted of everything, from the support given to St. Domingo. The whole of the field-artillery is almost useless, owing to the multitude of jobs; the carriages are rotten, and have been filled up from time to time with putty, merely to deceive the eye.

"The rebellion having broke out to leeward, the impending danger is the more formidable. The card I have to play is difficult and critical. The general opinion here is, that the Windward Maroons are solely actuated by fear. I hope they are correct in their judgment. My faith is not up to theirs, and much distrust hangs upon my mind.

"Six Charles-town Maroons, out of sixty-two, attended me this day according to my orders. I gave them presents, and said everything to remove their fears. They are a bold, hardy-looking people, and seem by their deportment to have a much greater portion of contempt than fear in their constitutions. The best hopes I have of their continuing quiet is, that the evidence I have received mentions that the French have only gained a part of the Maroons.

"The Moore-town Maroons are near fifty, capable of carrying arms, exclusive of boys.

"The collective force of the Windward Maroons, consisting of Charles-town, Moore (or Nanny) Town, and Scott's Hall, may be about the same strength as those of Trelawney and Accompong, to leeward. They can fly in a moment to the Blue Mountains, but I do not understand they have got provision-grounds there, whereas there is the greatest abundance to leeward, which we are fast destroying.

"As to the mode of proceeding against the Trelawney Maroons,

* "If you had given way, my dear Lord, to the request of the Assembly, and held back all the troops destined for St. Domingo, I must have deserted Port au Prince, for I have not now two hundred and fifty men fit for duty, and seventy of them at Fort Bizzator." *Letter from Sir Ad. Williamson, Oct.* 8, 1795.

there is much difference of opinion. My idea rather is, to keep possession of their towns, and to take again the position which I took on the 9th of August, but was afterwards obliged to alter from want of provisions. This mode, with continuing to destroy their ground-provisions, seems the only steady plan. The opinion of the gentlemen of the country was to form strong parties of those militiamen who were woodsmen, and some confidential negroes, and to follow the Maroons into their fastnesses. This was recommended to me, in form, in a council of war. I gave way to it, upon condition that they should find their own provisions, for I would not risk my post by supplying them. I shall give the country their full swing,—it may answer—if it does not, I shall adopt my own. But, as it must require time to produce due effect, the inconveniences of martial law will be severely felt, and the legislature has not been able to frame a sufficient act for the purpose of quelling local insurrections.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the Duke of Portland.

"My Lord Duke, "30 Sept. 1795.

"The Valiant lugger, or cutter, not having sailed this morning, gives me an opportunity of writing your Grace a few lines.—There is certainly a degree of distrust on the part of the Americans against Jamaica, as several merchants have withheld lumber, owing to the general opinion, there prevailing, that Jamaica is to be attacked.

"In the present aspect of affairs I cannot go to leeward. Colonel Walpole will, therefore, command there, to whom I have given the rank of major-general, and put him on the staff, otherwise he is commanded by all the militia major-generals, which will not do. I intend to send to him an able second, in Major Skynner, of the 16th regiment, who knows that kind of service. From militia interference, I gave him the rank of colonel in this island; any such appointments are made until his Majesty's pleasure is known.

"A report prevails to-day that the Scott's Hall Maroons, a small tribe to windward, have joined the Trelawney Maroons. I

could almost wish that it may prove true, for it would go far in establishing that the disobedience of the Charles-town and Moore-town Maroons proceeds from their fears only.

"The emissaries of the enemy are now working upon these fears, and try to persuade them that I am sent over to extirpate them all. If they are so impressed, I hope the steps I took yesterday may remove those terrors, as I appropriated handsome presents for all the Charles-town people, (who seemed astonished at finding I treated them kindly,) and shewed them the presents designed for their comrades, if they had presented themselves.

"If they do not come in now to receive these presents, the rebellion may extend itself to windward. If they do come in, I shall be disposed to draw the opposite inference.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To Captain Douglas, Superintendent of the Moore (or Nanny) Town Maroons.

"King's House, 30 Sept. 1795.

"Sir,

"I am much grieved to find that some villains have been conveying most false reports into the ears of the Moore-town Maroons.

"My King is the father of all good and loyal Maroons, and he has sent me here to give them protection.

"The Moore-town Maroons have deserved and obtained my thanks for their quiet and orderly behaviour.—How is it possible that they can believe that I am their enemy, when I have declared myself their friend?—When I speak, they hear the speech of the King.

"If they are afraid, let them stay where they are, until their fears are past, and then come to me; but if they come now, I shall be very happy to see them.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the Hon. Major-General Walpole.

"King's House, 1 Oct. 1795.

"Dear Sir,

"From the complexion of matters to the windward, I think it dangerous to leave this part of the island at present. I therefore think it right to throw more command into your hands. I have therefore named you brigadier general, and, to give you rank over the major-generals of the island, I have named you major-general of the forces until his Majesty's pleasure is known.

"As I am afraid they will hardly allow you the appointments, you being only a lieut.-colonel, that was my reason for naming you brigadier-general, because that establishment, there is every reason to think, will be allowed to

you,—at the same time the other lies open for them to grant. I have written to the Duke of York on the subject.

"You have the command of the five parishes round you, and I shall take care that you can draw force from St. Anne's.

"Your object is to distress the enemy by every means in your power; consequently, whatever you do about Lebanon will be fully supported by myself and the House of Assembly. Two companies of mulattoes will be raised at St. Elizabeth's, and two black companies will be raised,—one here, and the other in the parishes of St. James's and Trelawney.

"You are now supreme where you are, and will issue your orders accordingly. Commissioners are sent to every parish to support your requisitions for negroes, provisions, &c. You have only to ask and have.

"The board of works is also transferred to your district, and 5000*l.* currency voted for buildings, not 2500*l.* of which is expended; you will of course make this money go far as possible.

"It is impossible to heap more powers than those now given you.

"I think of sending you Skynner by land, and the 16th by sea. You will get about 110 excellent stuff there.—I am sorry to give you a piece of intelligence,—that the country don't like the idea of mounting the 13th and 14th regiments, light dragoons, nor finding them stabling. You will, of course, not exceed the fifty horses, as formerly specified.

"I have wrote to St. Elizabeth's, to raise the two mulatto companies immediately.

"Yours,

"BALCARRES."

To the same.

"King's House, 3 Oct. 1795.

"Dear Sir,

"I am favoured by yours of the 28th September, and am really concerned to find that so little punctuality is observed in sending forward the negroes. I hope everything will now go smoother.—That we must do something is evident, and now all is in your own hands, and the articles of war are made much more efficient than they formerly were.

"I send you the list of the commissioners in the parishes under your command, that you may make every requisition upon them that the good of the service and the speedy termination of the rebellion may seem, in your sole judgment, to require.—I expect that the four new companies will very soon be raised.—I am glad you think the provision-grounds nearly destroyed,—all the provisions in the environs should likewise go. Although you have only five parishes under your command, I shall, notwithstanding, give them orders in the parish of St. Anne's to obey any order or requisition you choose to make.

"The Maroons to windward are all in a state of rebellion, but it seems implied that, if we do nothing against them, they will not for the present act against us. They obey no order, they buy up gunpowder, and have built huts in the woods of the Blue Mountains.

"I am ordering away the French—the rebellion proceeds from them unques-

tionably. A large force will be sent immediately to St. Domingo,—they say twelve thousand men, and we had accounts of their sailing.

"With my compliments to General Reid,

"I remain, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the same.

"Dear Sir, King's House, 3 Oct. 1795.

"I think there are five material points in our consideration of this Maroon rebellion.

"First:—To maintain our posts in the Maroon lands.

"Second:—To destroy all their provision-grounds, and other sources of supply to them.

"Third:—To attack them and harass them, as we are now doing.

"Fourth:—To take post all round them, such as we occupied on the 9th August.

"Fifth:—To plant safeguards in the surrounding plantations.

"Our own resources seem not up to do the whole of this; the question therefore is, which part of these five propositions we would adopt and which reject.

"These are the different points for your turning in your mind. The Maroons surely must weaken themselves very much, by furnishing these numbers to make incursions into Westmoreland,—that is the time to attack them at home, and to get at those who remain with the women and children.

"Yours,

"BALCARRES."

To the Right Hon. Henry Dundas.

"Sir, "King's House, — Oct. 1795.

"I have nothing new to communicate respecting the Maroons in rebellion. The legislature have been employed in rendering effective the resources of the island. Such arrangements were absolutely necessary, as we had not sufficient power to regulate either armed parties or gangs of negroes. A new set of articles of war was also requisite.—All these things being now adjusted, I shall return to Montego Bay, in order to bring everything into due action. Forty negroes are missing from one estate; it is possible they may have joined the Trelawney Maroons, though I have no certain account of it. If it is true, I think it would weaken instead of strengthening the Maroons. The less numerous the Maroons are, the more trouble will they give us.

"I am now sending off multitudes of French people. Every soul that is capable of bearing arms all over the island must be shipped off—not for America, but to St. Domingo. The alarm has got among them, and immense sums, I hear, are in train to be remitted to America.

"The Maroons to windward are in a state of inactive rebellion; they refuse to obey any order from me,—they stop people on the roads,—they have out their sentinels,—they have bought gunpowder, and have built their huts in the heart of the Blue Mountains. If we do not attack them, it is, however, understood they will not attack us; and, should the Trelawney Maroons succeed, everything to windward may be in the worst situation.

"I have almost succeeded, I believe, in destroying the ground-provisions of the Trelawney Maroons, and their excursions are getting more frequent, I apprehend, from that cause. A good deal, however, is still to be done, in destroying all the ground-provisions within their reach. They are nearly driven out of their district.

"We occupy a chain of posts through the centre of their lands. We have the New Town, and a small blockhouse there, which is stockaded. We have a barrack fit for two hundred men in the Old Town, which is in the middle of their grounds, and I am establishing two blockhouses, one at the S.W., the other at the S. E. extremities. That at the S. E. is beyond the point that was occupied by Colonel Guthrie when he made the peace with them in 1738-9. The other commands the entrance into the cockpits, and has been until now unexplored. . .

". . I trust we shall soon have a reinforcement to this island. I do not desire a strong one. I wish the whole force applied to St. Domingo. But we are now at the mercy of the Maroons to windward, who seem to be losing the only moment that presents itself in their favour. I shall use no active force against the windward Maroons. I shall merely throw some companies of militia into Stony-hill.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the Duke of Portland.

"My Lord Duke, "King's House, 7 Oct. 1795.

"I enclose to your Grace two letters from Major-General Reid of the militia.* Your Grace will observe how perfectly impossible it is to draw service from the militia. The fact is, that they always go to the point of danger, but never encounter it.

"Your Grace will perceive the necessity of my going down there immediately. Laws are now enacted by which I can both command the troops and the resources of the country.

"The lines of operation are very long, and the service arduous in the extreme. I think I have read of a robber in Poland that gave employment to some regiments for years,—this rebellion may not be so soon quashed. The rainy season is before us, and may prevent our acting. I shall succeed in a great measure if I break them up as a body. The Maroons to windward are lying by, waiting for events which will not happen. The great force coming out from England to St. Domingo will secure us against external danger, and the negroes will not join the Trelawney Maroons in their present desperate state.

"This disturbance will be attended with a considerable expense, but it is little in comparison with the immense stake at issue.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the Duke of Portland.

"Head-quarters, Spanish Town, 24 Oct. 1795.

"My Lord Duke,

"We are now in the midst of the seasons,† and I am rather averse to making an attack on the Maroons sooner than

* . . . "I will proceed," says Mr. ——, in a private letter of the 6th inst., after describing the extraordinary misbehaviour which occasioned Lord Balcarres' animadversions, "to signify to you the deplorable state of affairs in this parish. Many of the militia, in consequence of R——'s detestable conduct, have deserted; nay, not individually, but in companies. No confidence is placed in their commanders, (nor, in my opinion, do they deserve any,) and, unless some extraordinary exertions are employed to rouse the dampened spirits of our men, they will not be rallied again."

† The periodical rains.

three weeks hence; and my reasons are,—we are daily getting better acquainted with the actual situation of these cockpits, and some of our posts have got a bird's-eye view of their range and extent.

"My information is not so perfect as to enable me to decide whether we shall advance upon the enemy by our working parties clearing towards them, or attack from different points without the assistance of those working parties. The Maroons would do wisely if they would now break into small parties, but they have strong inducements to remain where they are. First, their women are with them, and in such numbers that they cannot easily disperse. Secondly, they are afraid to scatter, as the rewards are so great for killing or apprehending them, and they must previously take the horrid step of murdering all their women. I suspect the children are already sacrificed.*

"The best that I can hope for is, that, by their remaining where they are, I shall have an option as to the manner of attacking them, and also that I may employ the interval in planting safeguards for the double purpose of protecting the properties when they do disperse, and following up the blow when that event happens. The last is so material a point, that it ought to be well systemized before we make our general attack, and I think of posting the militia of St. James's and Trelawney as the safeguards, and that we shall dislodge the enemy by the regulars and a detachment of brown militia from Kingston.

"General Walpole is going on vastly well. His figure and talents are well adapted to the service he is upon, and he has got the confidence of the militia and the country. He is ably seconded in Colonel Skynner. We act so well together that matters must go right; we only call for a little patience.†—I have found it impossible to leave this part of the country. I have pushed out

* "The women," according to the deposition of Jumbo, a baggage negro who had been taken prisoner by the Maroons in October, and escaped in December, "all seem wishful to submit; but when they are in danger of being discovered from the crying of their children, he says, they suffocate them, and that ten of them shared that fate since he joined them, and he heard the like cruelty was practised by the Trelawney party, and that they were by far the most numerous."

† For a full account of General Walpole's operations (which were not, however, carried on so independently of the commander-in-chief, either in his presence or absence, as would appear from the narrative) see Dallas's work, tom. i. pp. 235 sqq.

of the island above one thousand of the greatest scoundrels in the universe, most of them Frenchmen of colour, and a multitude of French negroes. I was obliged to take the strongest and most expeditious measures throughout all this business.

"The desperate situation of the Maroons to leeward, and my having cleared the island of the French banditti, has kept the Maroons to windward quiet, although they remain sullenly in their own district.

"I have collected the 20th dragoons, and am getting the horses into order, that I may dash them over the country during the Christmas holidays, which is the dangerous moment for insurrection,—before which time I hope to report to your Grace that the island is in a state of perfect security.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the Duke of Portland.

"My Lord Duke, "Jamaica, 25 Oct. 1795.

"I have the honour to enclose to your Grace a letter from Mr. Shirley to General Taylor, which will give you some information. I am confident that Mr. Shirley has exaggerated greatly the number of slaves who have joined the Maroons. Many of those negroes have joined them, but have afterwards left them. But if it is true, their junction can only distress the rebels, and give us the manifest advantage of working upon a point.

"My mind is so impressed with the idea that the Maroons will not easily quit the cockpits, that my primary object is to render that post totally useless; if I had not laid the surrounding country waste by destroying ground-provisions, the rebels would have been joined by multitudes of negroes.

"I am more afraid of their deserting their post, and giving me the slip, than by their remaining, which must end in their destruction. If four hundred negroes joined them, instead of two hundred, it would not give me a moment's uneasiness, and the end of this business would be considerably nearer than if none joined them.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the same.

"Jamaica, 27 Oct. 1795.

"My Lord Duke,

"I have the honour to enclose a letter from Sir Adam Williamson. . .

"Sir Adam also notified to me that he had received letters from America, dated July 20th, informing him of the report current there of an intended insurrection among the negroes in Jamaica.

"I have for some weeks past suspected the Spaniards as accessories. There are now in Jamaica several Frenchmen who came here with Spanish passports from Hispaniola, and under Spanish names. These Frenchmen have spoken Spanish in their common conversation until they were detected. Three of these men I have taken up—I cannot prove anything against them.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the Hon. the President of the Council, the Attorney-General, and the Speaker of the Assembly.

"King's House, 18 Oct. 1795.

"Gentlemen,

"The enclosed paper states the reflections I made on my marching in force to quell the rebellion entered into by the Trelawney Maroons, as also the degree of success that has attended our operations.

"'*My reflections and reasoning on the insurrection of the Maroons of Trelawney:—*

"'I. That the Trelawney Maroons possess a country of the greatest strength, and a few men are capable to maintain it against the attack of an army.

"'II. That their country is extremely fertile, and abounds in ground-provisions, and that the quantity now in their command is sufficient for the support of some thousand men.

"'III. That these Maroons can communicate with, and concentrate in a moment, all the smaller Maroon townships.

"'IV. That the Maroons, so concentrated, and enjoying these advantages, are a power most dangerous to this country.

"'V. But, as a power also commanding the aid of the plantation-negroes in their vicinity, the property of the country is almost under their dominion.

"'VI. That I give credit to the intentions of the enemy to raise an insurrection among the slaves.

"'VII. That to suffer a combination between the Maroons and the slaves, if it is in my power to prevent it, would be to endanger this island.

" 'VIII. That a rapid movement of the light cavalry may strike a momentary terror into the minds of the negroes, and that I can, by means of a part of the force intended for St. Domingo, attack the Trelawney Maroons before they are prepared, and certainly before the other Maroons or negroes can join them.

" 'IX. That, if I can seize upon the Maroon district, and form a chain of forts through it, and also destroy their whole range of ground-provisions, I certainly take from them the talisman by which they hold their power, and also cut out the heart of the rebellion.

" 'Everything that I attempted being effected—a chain of posts being established through their district—their ground-provisions being nearly destroyed—my object is fulfilled.

" 'The Maroons can no longer be considered as a formidable power, endangering the general safety of the island and the empire.

" 'Such negroes as have joined them have perceived the impossibility of their being subsisted, and the other Maroon towns will not now join them in their present desperate situation.

" 'They are now to be regarded as a band of robbers and plunderers, and their new situation requires a new consideration.

" 'The present state of the war appears to be as follows:—

" 'The enemy, having lost their district, have retreated to the cockpits. These cockpits have been only cultivated lately, and the young provisions are not as yet in such maturity as to be of essential use.

" 'The Maroons now bring the provisions for themselves and their families from a considerable distance. We have intelligence where these provisions are, and we are steadily pursuing our plan of destroying them.

" 'We are occupying such posts in the vicinity of the cockpits as will reduce the enemy to the constant hazard of fighting for their supplies of food; and there is every reason to hope, on our part, that we shall attain our object of starving them,—but this is a work of some time.

" 'Considering these Maroons as a body, we shall succeed in shutting them in. But our being able to prevent their escaping in small parties must be a matter of great doubt.

" 'As the dry season approaches, those small parties of Maroons, unless very quickly followed up, must set fire to cane-pieces, and occasion heavy losses to individuals.

" 'General Walpole agrees with me in opinion, that an attack on the cockpits will be a most dangerous expedient, the success doubtful, and the loss of men may be great. We hardly think it would be justifiable, where the object can be attained by pursuing our present plan of starving them.

" 'The Maroons are now, evidently, much discouraged,—they never give but one fire, and abandon their provisions when danger appears.'

" Having stated what I conceive to be our present situation, I request your opinion upon the following points:—

" First,—As to the propriety of prosecuting this war, and persevering in

our object of starving them by destroying their provisions, thereby forcing them to surrender, or to give up their post of the cockpits?

"Secondly,—Supposing they do give up that post, murder their women, and scatter:—is the mischief they may do, in burning cane-pieces in that country, &c., of sufficient public consideration to impose the necessity on the island of making terms with these Maroons?

"Thirdly,—Under that supposed necessity, what kind of terms could be acceded to, short of restoring to the Maroons their district of country?

"Fourthly,—If the Maroons accede to any terms short of restoring to them their district of country, or that they are conquered, is it your opinion that the internal tranquillity of the island has been promoted by these Maroons being dispossessed of their district, and that the value of property in Jamaica will be enhanced thereby?

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

Answers to Lord Balcarres' Queries.

"I. Considering that the Maroons are possessed of holds so strong and defensible by nature as to make any attack upon them very perilous and of doubtful success, and that a failure in any attempt of that kind would be productive of ruinous consequences to the island; we are of opinion that the mode of carrying on the war which has been hitherto pursued, with the view of starving the Maroons, is judicious, and ought to be pursued.

"II. We think the species of mischief which the Maroons are likely to do in their despair, when the dry season of the year arrives, is of such important consideration to the public as to make it advisable to accede to any terms which will not endanger a recurrence of the evil we have been combating at a very great expense.

"III. The consideration of this question involves so many possible events of the war, that we feel great difficulty in giving an opinion upon it; but, as well as we have been able to form a judgment, after maturely weighing all the present circumstances, we think that your lordship might, in case of an immediate surrender of their arms, assure them of the safety of their lives and of those of their wives and children, also either promising to abide the opinion of a Joint Committee of the Council and Assembly in all other matters respecting them, or requiring them to be confined to a residence in the towns, with the promise of a recommendation to the legislature to make a pecuniary provision for them during their lives. We, however, flatter ourselves with the hopes that, from the pressure of the difficulties with which they are surrounded, they will gladly accept of terms of the first description, and which are such as are most likely to insure the island against any future danger.

"IV. It is apparent that the Maroons of Trelawney are possessed of a country of great strength and fertility, a circumstance very favourable to their defence and population. This superior advantage has made them more formidable than the Maroons of the other districts. We are therefore clearly of opinion, that any terms which can secure the possession of that important dis-

trict to the white inhabitants will greatly contribute to the internal security of the island and to enhance the value of the properties in it.

(Signed) "THO. TRIDELL,
"GEO. C. RICKETTS,
"W. BLAKE.

"Spanish Town, 26 Oct. 1795."

To the Duke of Portland.

"My Lord Duke, "Jamaica, 27 Oct. 1795.

"The enclosed letter from myself to the President of the Council, the Attorney-General, and the Speaker of the House of Assembly,* states concisely my opinions respecting this Maroon insurrection, from its commencement until the present moment. My object in writing such a letter is, to draw an opinion from the Speaker.

"I may venture to assert, that the measures which have been adopted have had the sanction and approbation of almost all in this island, either in their public or private capacities. There is, however, an *imperium in imperio*, and that is, the parishes of St. James and Trelawney, which, at first, opposed and thwarted everything that was done. At all times they hold opinions of their own, and not regulated by those of the legislature, or the other eighteen parishes. In fact, most of the gentlemen have connections with the Maroons, and almost the whole of them pay contributions to those fellows, to induce them not to injure their properties. The most dangerous man in that country is Major James. He has been, I may say, all his life the head of the Maroons, and both those two parishes are generally connected with him by marriage and consanguinity. He rules the whole with a rod of iron. His niece, a young lady of twenty, is married to the custos, Major-General Palmer, aged about eighty,—he is the senior major-general of the militia. The second major-general is Mr. Reid, who is a younger man and more active, but overbearing, hated by the whole militia, and is equally under the rod of Major James and the Maroons. Colonel Reid, the person alluded to in the enclosed letter, is his nephew.

"It was impossible the service could go on under such commanders, and I was, therefore, forced to appoint Colonel Walpole

* Of the 18th October.—Answered 26th October.

to be a major-general in the King's service until his Majesty's pleasure should be signified. This gives him the *pas*, and the appointment has given universal satisfaction, excepting to that set.

"I believe their opinions are somewhat altered, and they are now acting with more zeal. The Speaker lives in the adjoining parish, and is brother-in-law to General Reid.

"As Mr. Speaker was absent at the commencement of the business, and as his office does not require of him to commit himself by voting on any question, I thought it very inexpedient to leave a person of his official consequence to reason solely upon events. I was, therefore, desirous by this letter to fix him to an opinion, which is a measure of safety when we are at the general issue of a war that leads to such important consequences. With respect to the terms specified in their answer to [my] third query, they are nearly those which I have offered to the Maroons from the very beginning, and which I would most gladly give them now.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the Duke of Portland.

"Head Quarters, Dromilly, near Wilts,
"16 November, 1795.

"My Lord Duke,

"I had the honour to inform your Grace by the last packet, the Countess of Leicester, that Major-General Walpole, whom I had left in the command of the Trelawney Maroon Town, had got a bird's-eye view into the cockpits adjoining to that post.

"The major-general, having, by the most unremitting exertions, possessed himself of the different tracks and paths of communication into their cockpits, the Maroons chose rather to abandon their post than to risk an action,—which had been their intention, as we found some of the gorges of their cockpits regularly stockaded.*

* A letter to Colonel Atkinson, dated Old Maroon Town, 6 November, from Major Dixon, (the officer of whom honourable mention is made in Lord Balcarres' despatch of August 24th,) describes the capture of the cockpits as follows:— . . .

"The Maroons seem to have divided into two very strong bodies, one of which has been lurking for ten days past between Fleming's and Wilts, near which Captain Stewart, of the Trelawney militia and a member of the Assembly, had an obstinate engagement with them on the 6th instant.

"The other strong party occupies the grounds near Mocha, upon the borders of Westmoreland. Near this post, Lieutenant Williams, of the militia, had a very smart and an extremely successful affair on the 8th instant, having killed seven of them and wounded many.*

"On the nights of Tuesday and Wednesday, shells were thrown, at intervals, into or rather towards the Maroon cockpits, to harass the enemy, and keep them awake from the dread of their effects. On Thursday morning a detachment under the command of Colonel Skynner moved Eastward from this post; another, under Major Brown, passed by Cudjoe Town, and ambushed the Maroon paths leading from the cockpits to Tackey's Bum; a third, under Major-General Walpole, entered Guthrie Glade (where they made their last stand). With *this* went your very humble servant, who took special care to scour it well with the howitzer before it was entered.—The Maroons, seeing themselves thus beset, abandoned, without resistance, their boasted cockpits and glade, which, had they defended it, would have cost us many lives in carrying them. That which Skynner entered was stockaded regularly at the gorges with loopholes at proper intervals. The inside was level, round, and spacious. It had twenty huts, containing seventy beds, with fires between each. Nothing was found by the parties but a few belts, cartouche-boxes, and helmets, belonging to those whom they had slain, together with Montague James's identical white jacket, which you have seen him wear.

"From the tracks, &c. &c., we have reason to suppose the Maroons retreated to the Eastward,—indeed, every other direction was so well guarded, that they could not pass. Every spot of ground bears testimony to the extremely wretched condition of these vagabonds; they eat cocoa-tops, and parts of the yam which are in general thrown aside by negroes. Two or three slaves, who made their escape from them this week, say they are absolutely starving, that they had nothing but what they obtained by plunder, which became very precarious and hazardous from the rebuffs they had lately experienced, and that their powder was nearly exhausted."

* "This body, which consisted," says Mr. Dallas, "of their greatest force, was still called old Montague's, though commanded by Captain Charles Schaw; but the chief commander among them was Johnson," (or Johnstone,) "who was generally at the head of a force inferior in number to those with Schaw, but more active and enterprising. These were the men by whom the greatest ravages had been committed; these, led by Johnson, had burned the settlements in Westmoreland, and afterwards Mocha, Catadupa, Lapland, Ginger Hill, Gowdy's, and other places. Johnson surprised a convoy of provisions guarded by ten soldiers, going to the posts established at Mocha and Augustus, and cut off the heads of the soldiers. He had no particular station, but shifted from ground to ground, according to the enterprise he meditated. Though known to be at a certain place one day, he would the next surprise another place at the distance of twenty miles. He was

"As it is impossible to get up with these savages without first receiving the fire of their ambush, our loss in every affair is constantly from eight to twelve men killed and wounded; and, as the ambuscade is generally formed within a few yards of the track, the return of the killed is often, unfortunately, greater than the wounded.

"I found it impossible to carry on the business of the country,

not encumbered with women or children, and to his own party he had attached about forty slaves, whom he had armed. These had cause to repent it, but, having once joined, they could not retract, and suffered themselves to be persuaded that, when the peace took place, they would be included in the terms as Maroons. Some of them Johnson flogged for not fighting, while he made others captains, whom he again broke or flogged if they deserved it. This treatment was general, nor did he scruple to inflict the same punishment on his own sons, and, Smith excepted, whose vigour and valour were equal to his own, he was a despot over his men, yet under his discipline they fought better than the rest."

Johnstone highly distinguished his valour in the engagement with Lieut. Williams. "Far from screening himself during the engagement, he was loud in giving his orders, and was violent in the abuse of Williams, whom he knew. Being wounded with a ball, he immediately cut it out with his knife, and continued exerting himself to the utmost to obtain the victory; but all his efforts proved fruitless, and after a hard struggle he was obliged to quit the field, which he managed to do with great address."

In the examination of Jumbo, (Dec. 30th,) the negro who escaped after having been several weeks his captive, Johnstone is described as follows:—"Johnstone, he says, is the most cruel, savage, and enterprising man amongst them,—that even his own people disapprove of his conduct at times, but that he has more authority than any other commander, and that his devastations would have extended far beyond what they did long ere this, only for the wound in his leg; and, were it not for his late defeat at Chester River," (in the beginning of December,) "that Belvedere, Hazelymph, Greenwich, Wiltshire, and Montpellier would have most certainly been burned—that was to be his first expedition after his recovery; his next was intended against St. Elizabeth's, and Gandy's, and Whittaker's—negroes were to be his guides; and that he never conceived the whites could have him to his last retreat."—"Johnstone has made a Coromantee negro, named Cudjoe, belonging to Mr. Fowler, a captain, and he raised another belonging to the estate of Whittaker, named Casacrui, to the same rank. . . Johnstone has great confidence in these two villains, for he has not conferred such marks of his favour on any other plantation negroes. Unless they are runaways he views them with a jealous eye," &c.

According to Mr. Dallas, both Johnstone and Smith had been averse to hostilities and advised peace, but, finding their settlements and provision-grounds had been destroyed in their absence, indiscriminately with those of the other Maroons, they at once made common cause with them.—Granting this statement to be correct, I must remark, that their wish for peace was not evidenced by obedience to Lord Balcarres' summons to Spanish Town, and consequently that there was no reason why their provision-grounds should be exempted from the fate that followed on the general disobedience.

and to regulate the movements of the army, at one and the same time; I was therefore forced to prorogue the Assembly and to repair again to the field.

"The scene of our action is more tremendous than possibly can be described,—mountains rising one above the other, almost perpendicular from the base, all covered with wood, the surface everywhere sharp and rugged—each mountain detached, and only separated from the next by a narrow defile or glade, which, being daily watered by the rains, produces an inexhaustible stock of ground-provisions.

"Bold as the scenery is, nature has exerted herself in producing something still more astonishing.

"In the heart of this wonderful country the mountains change their appearance,—losing nothing in their perpendicular height, they become stupendous honeycombed rocks, undermined into an innumerable range of caves, some of which are near two miles in length.—Immediately adjacent to these terrible retreats have the Maroons fixed and established themselves for ages.

"This country* differs from all European settlements. *There* the valleys are fertile, and produce the necessaries for the sustenance of man. *Here* it is exactly the reverse; the valleys produce nothing but sugar-canes,—the sustenance of man is received from the mountains.

"Every settlement on the low grounds has a mountain as its appendage, that is parcelled out to the slaves; and every negro has his particular lot apportioned to him for raising his provisions, —which is absolutely his property, and his whole dependence. One day in each week is allowed him to cultivate his lot of land, and to bring down his subsistence for the following week.

"Hence he must feel the greatest interest in preserving what in reality is his own, and any person that violates or destroys this property must necessarily be his enemy. So long as the Maroon (who lives behind him) holds out the charms of food and freedom to the negro, so long will the negro look up to him. But the matter is entirely changed when the Maroon throws himself on the negro to be fed, instead of feeding the negro.

"It was upon this principle that I attacked and carried their

* Jamaica.

towns, and, by destroying all provisions planted by the Maroons, I have thrown them upon the lands of the slaves for subsistence.

"My policy is, to destroy their power of concentrating any negro force, whether of Maroons or slaves. I shall follow them so close as to force them, if I can, to disperse and to seek for personal safety, instead of looking for the dominion of the country.

"No sign of repentance or contrition has hitherto appeared in any of their actions, and I see no alternative but to use with the greatest vigour those powers and resources which the country have unanimously put into my hands.

"It is equally in the power of a few Maroons, as of the whole body of them, to burn down the cane-pieces. But I have a month still to act in, before that dry and dreaded moment arrives.

"The great quantity of ground-provisions is to be ascribed to the consequences of the hurricanes that prevailed here between 1780 and 1786. In the two latter years it is computed that fifteen thousand negroes died of famine. Every precaution has been since taken to avoid the effects of a similar calamity.

"I am convinced the forcing of the Maroons to look for sustenance from the provision-grounds of the slaves has already been attended with the happiest effects. A negro belonging to Pembroke estate has just seized upon a runaway negro, who had voluntarily joined the Maroons and left them this morning,—with the greatest difficulty the other slaves have been prevented from tearing him to pieces.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the Duke of Portland.

"Head Quarters, Dromilly, near Wilts,
20 Nov. 1795.

"My Lord Duke,

"I enclose a rough sketch of the position I took in this quarter on the 15th instant.

"Your Grace will observe by it the nature of the protection, and the strength of the safeguards, which I have afforded to the adjoining properties.

"I had the honour to state, in my letter of the 16th instant,

that one strong body of Maroons lurked between Fleming's and Wilts.

"Having posted the safeguards, I also formed three distinct columns, of one hundred and twenty men each, for the purpose of active operation, severally commanded by young, active, and intelligent officers of militia, to whom I gave suitable rank.

"The first of these columns, under Lieut.-Colonel Galloway, with Lieut.-Colonel Shawe, had orders to turn Wilts, and to proceed in a line between that and the cockpits.

"The second column, under Lieut.-Colonel Stevenson, had directions to turn Fleming's,—and the third column, under Lieut.-Colonel Stewart, was ordered to move straight upon Unity provision-grounds, where the Maroons had been posted.

"I also ordered Major-General Walpole to advance and to get, if possible, a more forward position in the cockpits. He proceeded on the 16th, and discovered a town of upwards of three hundred huts, which the Maroons had abandoned,—the only path to it leads down a precipice of one hundred and fifty feet. On the other side of this cockpit General Walpole took post, waiting for the event of the movement which was to be made from this district by the three columns on the 17th instant.

"Those three columns having taken their respective routes, the second column, under Lieut.-Colonel Stevenson, on the morning of the 18th, observed their advanced sentinels descending from the tops of the highest trees; he immediately dashed forward, but could not spring in with them. The Maroons had only time to save their persons. Their pots were boiling; they left most of their clothes, provisions, and bags—containing musket-balls and some money. Several graves were also seen. Lieut.-Colonel Stevenson pursued their track as long as he could find a trace.

"The other two columns were not so fortunate as to fall in with the rebels.

"These different parties have burned or destroyed upwards of seven hundred of their huts, and they will keep out in the woods as long as possible.

"If the Maroons retreat towards Hector's River, they will be there received by the Clarendon, Vere, and part of the St. Elizabeth's militia. Different columns are looking for them in various

directions. They are unable to move in large bodies. The slaves who had joined them are daily deserting them.

"I have got the lead and I shall keep it; they shall find neither rest nor repose anywhere.

"We conjecture that part of their force are endeavouring to get to windward, to insurrect the Charles-town and Nanny-town Maroons.—Although those Maroons are very well inclined to join the rebellion, if it could be supported, they will hardly take up a desperate cause. The island being now cleared of the swarms of French banditti, and the Trelawney Maroons being now dispossessed of everything which made them formidable as a power, the Windward Maroons will probably remain at peace.

"My fears for the safety of the country are much abated. We often retake the slaves who had joined them. But, in such a country, and with such resources of ground-provisions, I am afraid we can hardly hope to secure the persons of the rebels.

"However, to avert the terrible consequences of setting fire to the cane-pieces, we must persevere in the measures we are now pursuing.

"I can assure his Majesty, that both his regulars and militia have most honourably discharged their duty. They have encountered the extremity of danger and fatigue without a murmur. They have thrown themselves from ambuscade to ambuscade to get within reach of the enemy, who have suffered most severely from their fire. And your Grace is well entitled to represent to his Majesty the magnanimity of their conduct.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the Duke of Portland.

[After returning from the field to meet the Assembly on the 27th.]

"My Lord Duke, "29 Nov. 1795.

"I am somewhat alarmed by accounts I have received this day from the parish of St. Elizabeth, which state that a body of fifty-four negroes have joined the Maroons in rebellion.

"I have already found the excellent effect that my presence has had upon the minds of the negroes in the neighbourhood where I commanded in person.

"I must endeavour to make a third expedition to leeward, and I must do it, if I can, [so] as to reconcile it with such business of the Assembly as is indispensable.

"It is hard labour in this climate, but I must go through with it. . .

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

Arrived at this stage of the war, I must delay the reader for a few minutes, while I refer to a measure determined on by the General Assembly, in its session of September, viz. the employment of the Spanish dogs of Cuba for starting the ambushes and securing the persons of the Maroons. It may be easily supposed that the adoption of such a measure—misrepresented as it was, with the most infamous exaggeration—occasioned much outcry in England—not only on the part of those who took up the question simply as a legitimate topic of party invective, but of numbers who, living in ease and quiet at home, in utter ignorance of the nature of the country, the character of the enemy, their mode of warfare—in short, of all the real facts of the case, were startled at the idea of such a seemingly ferocious engine of warfare.

The following is Mr. Edwards' account of the proceedings of the Assembly on this point, and of the arguments, anticipative of future discussion in England, on which that body determined upon its adoption:—

"The first deliberations of the Assembly were directed to the subject of the Maroon rebellion, with a solicitude equal to its importance. On this occasion it was natural to recur to the experience of former times, and enquire into the measures that had been successfully adopted in the long and bloody war which, previous to the treaty of 1738, had been carried on against the same enemy. The expedient which had then been resorted to, of employing dogs to discover the concealment of the Maroons, and prevent the fatal effects which resulted from their mode of fighting in ambuscade, was recommended as a fit example to be followed in the present conjuncture; and it being known that the Spanish Americans possessed a certain species of those animals which it was judged would be proper for such a service, the Assembly

resolved to send to the island of Cuba for one hundred of them, and to engage a sufficient number of the Spanish huntsmen to attend and direct their operations. The employment to which these dogs are generally put by the Spaniards is the pursuit of wild bullocks, which they slaughter for their hides; and the great use of the dog is to drive the cattle from such heights and recesses in the mountainous parts of the country as are least accessible to the hunters.

"The Assembly were not unapprised that the measure of calling in such auxiliaries, and urging the canine species to the pursuit of human beings, would probably give rise to much observation and animadversion in the mother country. Painful experience, on other occasions, had taught them that their conduct in the present case would be scrutinised with all the rigid and jealous circumspection which ignorance and hatred, and envy and malice, and pretended humanity, and fanaticism, could exercise. The horrible enormities of the Spaniards in the conquest of the new world would be brought again to remembrance. It is mournfully true that dogs were used by those Christian barbarians against peaceful and inoffensive Americans, and the just indignation of all mankind has ever since branded, and will continue to brand, the Spanish nation with infamy for such atrocities. It was foreseen, and strongly urged as an argument against recurring to the same weapon in the present case, that the prejudices of party, and the virulent zeal of restless and turbulent men, would place the proceedings of the Assembly on this occasion in a point of view equally odious with the conduct of Spain on the same blood-stained theatre in times past. No reasonable allowance would be made for the wide difference between the two cases. Some gentlemen even thought that the co-operation of dogs with British troops would give not only a cruel, but also a very dastardly complexion to the proceedings of government.

"To these and similar objections it was answered, that the safety of the island and the lives of the inhabitants were not to be sacrificed to the apprehension of perverse misconstruction or wilful misrepresentation in the mother country. It was maintained that the grounds of the measure needed only to be fully examined into, and fairly stated, to induce all reasonable men to admit its propriety and necessity. To hold it as a principle, that it is an act

of cruelty or cowardice in man to employ other animals as instruments of war, is a position contradicted by the practice of all nations. The Asiatics have ever used elephants in their battles; and if lions and tigers possessed the docility of the elephant, no one can doubt that these also would be made to assist the military operations of man, in those regions of which they are inhabitants. Even the use of cavalry, as established among the most civilized and polished nations of Europe, must be rejected, if this principle be admitted; for wherein, it was asked, does the humanity of that doctrine consist, which allows the employment of troops of horse in the pursuit of discomfited and flying infantry, yet shrinks at the preventive measure of sparing the effusion of human blood by tracing with hounds the haunts of murderers, and rousing from ambush savages more ferocious and bloodthirsty than the animals which track them?

"The merits of the question, it was said, depended altogether on the origin and cause of the war, and the objects sought to be obtained by its continuance; and the authority of the first writers on public law was adduced in support of this construction. 'If the cause and end of war,' says Paley, 'be justifiable, all the means that appear necessary to that end are justifiable also. This is the principle which defends those extremities to which the violence of war usually proceeds; for, since war is a contest by force between parties who acknowledge no common superior, and since it includes not in its idea the supposition of any convention which should place limits to the operations of that force, it has naturally no boundary but that in which force terminates—the destruction of the life against which the force is directed.' It was allowed (with the same author) that gratuitous barbarities borrow no excuse from the licence of war, of which kind is every cruelty and every insult that serves only to exasperate the sufferings or to incense the hatred of an enemy, without weakening his strength, or in any manner tending to procure his submission; such as the slaughter of captives, the subjecting them to indignities or torture," &c. &c. "These enormities are prohibited not only by the practice of civilized nations, but by the law of nature itself; as having no proper tendency to accelerate the termination, or accomplish the object of the war; and as containing that which in peace and war is equally unjustifiable, namely,

ultimate and deliberate mischief. Now all these very enormities were practised, not by the whites against the Maroons, but by the Maroons themselves against the whites. Humanity therefore, it was said, was no way concerned in the sort of expedient that was proposed, or any other by which such an enemy could most speedily be extirpated. They were not an unarmed, innocent, and defenceless race of men like the ancient Americans, but a banditti of assassins; and tenderness towards such an enemy was cruelty to all the rest of the community."

I give the argument as I find it. I think it strong. But, whatever we, in calm deliberative security, may think of it, few will question the impression it must have made on the minds of men whose friends and neighbours, wives and children, were daily massacred by parties of these miscreants—whose own lives were denounced—whose plantations would, ere long, in their regular progress to maturity, be in such a state of aridity that a spark of fire might involve the whole island in conflagration and ruin,—on the minds of men, I say, who, reduced to a desperate struggle for life and property with a gang of banditti, were destitute of a military force adequate to their defence—were surrounded by a population of negroes, many of them, there was reason to fear, corrupted by French intrigue*—men who saw their small force daily diminishing in a war of ambuscades—and who knew that the use of these animals, and had reason to believe that the mere exhibition of such a weapon, would put an immediate end to the protracted struggle.†

Lord Balcarres, at least, thought the measure fully justifiable; and his reasons for thinking it so—grounded on the strict military distinction by which an instrument of war is esteemed lawful or

* Lord Balcarres says, in a letter to the Duke of Portland, dated November 29th—"that every danger is to be apprehended, during the approaching Christmas holidays, of an insurrection, both of the Maroons and negro slaves, in the windward part of the island."

† Mr. Dallas's additional argument (after quoting that of Bryan Edwards) deserves candid consideration. "Had the suggestion proceeded from a despotic and ferocious spirit, bent on the extermination of some of the human species by a barbarous expedient, it is not likely that a mild, humane, and benevolent mind, like that of Lord Balcarres, or that the majority of any assembly of educated men, would have concurred in the experiment. It appeared to them at that time, as it must appear now to every rational man, a choice of two evils; and the one wisely chosen was trivial in comparison with the magnitude of the other."

not, according to the offensive or defensive character of the service in which it is wielded, will be found in his letter to Charles Yorke, Esq., 2 May, 1796, which I earnestly recommend to the reader's perusal, before he proceeds with the remainder of these despatches.

I may add that the Spanish dogs did not arrive till the 14th of December,—that when brought into the field they were kept in the rear of the column till the 14th of January—and that the Assembly's estimate of their efficacy was justified by the pleasing fact "that not a drop of blood was shed after they arrived." The Maroons, in fact, were terrified into submission, and thus, in all human probability, the island was saved.*

* See Dallas's 'History of the Maroons,' for a full account of the dogs and chasseurs, and of the journey of Mr. Quarrell, the commissioner sent by the Assembly to Cuba to fetch them.—"The dogs carried out by the *chasseurs del Rey* are perfectly broken in, that is to say, they will not kill the object they pursue unless resisted. On coming up with a fugitive, they bark at him till he stops; they then crouch near him, terrifying him with a ferocious growl if he stirs. In this position they continue barking to give notice to the chasseurs, who come up and secure their prisoner. Each chasseur, though he can hunt only with two dogs properly, is obliged to have three, which he maintains at his own cost, and that at no small expense. These people live with their dogs, from which they are inseparable. At home the dogs are kept chained, and when walking with their masters, are never unmuzzled, or let out of ropes, but for attack. They are constantly accompanied with one or two small dogs called finders, whose scent is very keen and always sure of hitting off a track.—The chasseurs are under an officer of high rank, the Alcalde Provinciale, and receive a good pay from the government, besides private rewards for particular and extraordinary services. They are a very hardy, brave, and desperate set of people, scrupulously honest, and remarkably faithful."

"If entire credit," says Edwards, "had been given to the description that was transmitted through the country of this extraordinary animal, it might have been supposed that the Spaniards had obtained the ancient and genuine breed of Cerberus himself. . . Whether these reports were propagated through folly or design, they had certainly a powerful and very salutary effect on the fears of the rebel Maroons," &c.

"We cannot but take this opportunity," says the House of Assembly, in a message to the Governor, 1 May, 1796, "of expressing our acknowledgments of the eminent advantages derived by the importation of the chasseurs and dogs, in compliance with the general wishes of the island. Nothing can be clearer than that, if they had been off the island, the rebels could not have been induced to surrender, from their almost inaccessible fastnesses. We are happy to have it in our power to say that terror excited by the appearance of the dogs has been sufficient to produce so fortunate an event," &c.

To the Earl of Balcarres.

"My Lord, "Old Maroon Town, Dec. 20, 1795.

"I returned here last evening, and have the satisfaction to report to your lordship the success of the detachment under Colonel Hull. The Maroons, by his judicious conduct, were attacked before they discovered the advanced guard. I need add nothing further to your lordship; Colonel Hull's report will explain everything.

"I have the honour, &c.

"G. WALPOLE."

To the same.

"My dear Lord, "[Private], Dec. 20, 1795.

"Hull has agreed, I understand, to a sort of truce. This is the only part which, *entre nous*, I dislike; but, however, for the sake of public faith, I shall keep it. My intention was to give them terms, but by no means to suspend hostilities until they should first lay down their arms. I shall adhere strictly to your lordship's instructions. I understand that they will surrender on their lives only, wishing for land to be allotted them to cultivate.

"I have the honour, &c.

"G. WALPOLE."

To the same.

"My Lord, "Dec. 22, 1795.

"I have the honour to enclose to your lordship the proposals of the Maroons, to which I have acceded.

"I have the honour, &c.

"G. WALPOLE."

PROPOSALS OF THE MAROONS.

"First:—That they will, on their knees, beg his Majesty's pardon.

"Second:—That they will go to the Old Town, Montego Bay, or any other place that may be pointed out, and will settle on

whatever lands the governor, council, and Assembly may think proper to allot.

"Third:—That they will give up all runaways."

"I grant the above,

"GEORGE WALPOLE, Major-General.

his

"MONTAGUE + JAMES.

mark.

"Done on Guard-hill, 21st December, 1795."

To the Earl of Balcarres.

"My dear Lord, "[Private], 25 Dec. 1795.

"I was obliged to accede on my *oath;* I promised a secret article, that they should not be sent off the island.

"Old Montague is, as far as I can guess, the obstacle to peace, as much as he dares. Some of the Maroons were heard to tell him that they would have peace, whether he would or not.*

"I am, &c.

"G. WALPOLE."

* According to Dallas, Johnstone, the Maroon chief, had become anxiously solicitous for peace, and was meditating an offer of terms at the moment General Walpole made the peace. "He had moved to concentre the Maroon force for the purpose of adopting a dreadful alternative, had a negotiation been unsuccessful. . . It is a circumstance hardly known, that he meant, on the junction of the whole Maroon force, if he had found no opportunity of treating, or, in negotiating, had failed, to have crossed the island, and on the South of the cockpits, through Cave River, to have made a descent on the estates in the mountains of Clarendon, where he expected to find a more favourable disposition in the negroes than to the Northward and Westward; for in these parts, besides the great military force to awe the slaves, the majority of them were actually the determined enemies of the Maroons; whereas in Clarendon, whence the Maroons originally came, a degree of family connexion was still acknowledged among them, and emissaries had been employed to ascertain their inclination," &c.

"Spanish Town, Dec. 24, 1795.

"*At a meeting of such members of the Council and of the Assembly as could attend at the King's House,—*

"*Present,*

"EARL OF BALCARRES,

"HON. MR. ATTORNEY-GENERAL,

"HON. MR. RODON,
"HON. MR. SPEAKER,
"MR. TAYLOR,
"MR. VAUGHAN,
"MR. COCKBURN,
"MR. CUTHBERT,
"MR. SHIRLEY,
"MR. REDWOOD,
"MR. FITCH,
"MR. CHRISTIE,
"MR. BATTY,
"MR. GALBRAITH,—

"It was resolved, That if the Trelawney Maroons, according to the third article of their treaty, deliver the runaways that have joined them, and if they, according to the first article of their treaty, lay down their arms, which arms are to be taken away from them, that then, and in such case, General Walpole's secret article ought to be ratified, as far as their not being sent off the island; but that they are to remain in Jamaica, subject to such regulations as the governor, council, and Assembly may think proper to enact in that respect.*

* The substance of the debate, preliminary to this resolution, is recapitulated as follows, in a letter of Lord Balcarres to the Attorney-General:—

"By those who favoured the ratification of the treaty it was urged, 'That the question was not whether we should offer the Maroons any propositions by way of treaty, but whether we should advise the ratification of one which was already made by an officer of distinguished talents, who had been long fighting our battles, and who possessed to an extraordinary degree the opinion and confidence of the commander-in-chief.

"'That General Walpole must have thought the terms of the treaty to have been within the limits of his instructions, or that he would not have acceded to them on his *oath*.

"'That, independent of such idea, it is clear that both Colonel Hull and himself conceived the terms were not of a disgraceful kind, from the desire expressed by the former to be the bearer of the news to England, and urgently recommended by the latter in a letter written to the Lieut.-Governor.

"'That the concurrent opinions of two such respectable military characters, who had the best opportunities of knowing the ground, the nature, and resources of the enemy, and were capable of considering the question in its fullest extent, ought to have a great degree of strength.

"'Superadded to these considerations, the state of the island was to be viewed. The time was arrived when it was necessary that the crops should commence.

"I have received, in Spanish Town, the treaty signed by General Walpole and Colonel Montague James, and have ratified the same. And I do hereby appoint Friday morning, the first

The overseers who were to make the sugars were employed in the militia. Although the Assembly has voted large assessments of slaves to be formed into corps, yet that a considerable time must elapse before these could be raised, and, when raised, confidence could not be immediately placed in their fidelity; therefore the militia must necessarily be kept to their duty, and martial law continued.

"'That the expenses of the latter exceeded all former experience, and were likely, if not soon moderated, to overburthen every species of property.

"'That if the negotiations for peace were prolonged, much was to be apprehended from a foreign enemy, who knew of our troubles, were fond of anarchy and confusion, and so subtle and insidious as to be capable of plotting every artful and underhand scheme to foment and keep up the rebellion, and, in the weak state of our naval defence, might think it expedient to come down in force, and place us between two fires. That the nature and conduct of our internal enemy were not to be disregarded. That they had manifested great fortitude, great generalship, and had preserved a secrecy in their manœuvres unparalleled among European soldiery. That the velocity of their movements, and their knowledge of the ground, were so superior to ours as to make them be considered as almost unconquerable. At the same time, the concealment of their women, their old and infirm people, and their children, shewed that their haunts were still totally unknown to us.

"'That we had hitherto formed hopes of their being deficient in provisions and ammunition, but these had proved fallacious. It was now clear that they had an ample supply of provisions; and as to ammunition, the late conflicts had plainly shewn that they were not scanty in that article.

"'That, in viewing the treaty which had been made, the following observations occurred:—

"'First,—That in it there was an implied preliminary, "that the Maroons should surrender their arms, and deliver up the runaway slaves." Two important circumstances to prove their state of humiliation to all the negroes.

"'Secondly,—That the preservation of their lives, and residence in the island, were the only objects of *express* stipulation, either in the public or private articles, all other matters being left to the option of the legislature.

"'That, with respect to the first, no person was found to have any objection,—and that, as to the latter, it was not to be expected that they would surrender under fears of transportation, to be sold to the Spaniards and doomed to work in the mines—the usual terrors held out to negroes, as concomitant with the state of transportation. That, therefore, to refuse a compliance with that article was to resolve upon their extermination, which seemed almost impossible, or, at least, not without the danger of evils of much greater magnitude. What these were would occur to a reflecting mind on the consideration that our estates were at this season of the year composed of very combustible materials.

"'That the small settlers in the mountains could not be sufficiently guarded. That their properties, and also their lives and those of their families, while they continued to draw the subsistence which residence supplied, must be exposed to the irruption and violence of the rebels.

"'That the residence of the Trelawney Maroons in the island would not appear

day of January next, at ten o'clock, for the Trelawney Maroons to come in a body to Castle Wemyss, to perform the treaty.

"Dated at Castle Wemyss, this 28th day of December, 1795.

(Signed) "BALCARRES, Lieutenant-Governor."

To the Duke of Portland.

[Accompanying the preceding treaty, resolution, &c.]

"Castle Wemyss, near Old Maroon Town, 31 Dec. 1795.

"My Lord Duke,

"The Maroons have been so closely pressed since the commencement of the rebellion that they have been reduced to the greatest distress. They have been driven out of their cock-

of much consequence, when it was considered that their departure would not remove, but only lessen the evil; for that, while the Windward Maroons continued to enjoy their freedom, the island could not be exempt from danger.'

"On the other hand, it was contended,—

"'That no punishment was inflicted in any degree adequate to the crime, and, in that point of view, it might be a very bad and dangerous lesson held out to the negroes.

"'That the effects of not sending the Maroons off the island may in future be severely felt.

"'That the power of the Maroons to windward has not been reduced.

"'That, in the event of settling in any shape the Trelawney Maroons in this island, they would undoubtedly on some future occasion join the Nanny-town, Charles-town, and Scott's Hall Maroons; and if this should be the case, we had in fact achieved little or nothing.[a]

"'That, when we had expended so much blood and treasure—when we had by our active measures greatly succeeded in subduing their minds—and at a time when they were appalled with horror at the idea of being hunted down by dogs of the most terrible description, it would be very unwise and puerile on our parts to grant such terms.'"

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[a] The views and character of the Windward Maroons are entered into more at length in the letter from which the preceding note is extracted.

"The Charles-town Maroons, although they have disobeyed my orders to come in a body to Kingston, have, notwithstanding, come in by small and detached bodies. They are an infinitely softer and more docile people than those of Trelawney-town.

"The Nanny-town Maroons are closely connected in relationship with the Trelawney: *they* have *not* come in, either in a body, as they were commanded, or in parties, and have sullenly rejected the bounty of the Assembly.

"They have openly declared, that if the Charles-town Maroons will go into rebellion, they will join them, regardless of the causes of that rebellion. They have actually built huts out of their own district, within the range of the Blue Mountains, (a country of immense strength,) as if preparing for hostilities, either in the event of the Trelawney Maroons proving successful, or of a rebellion taking place among those of Charles-town. This body, being equally depraved with the Trelawney Maroons, is more to be dreaded from the ease with which it could be supported from St. Domingo."

pits, but have retreated into a country equally impracticable. They have been harassed without intermission, and have suffered most severely in the several actions we have had with them. The loss they have sustained has not been much felt, as their numbers of fighting-men are recruited by Coromantee runaways, who have joined them.

"I estimate their force to be three hundred men armed, the unarmed runaways two hundred, and their women and children upwards of four hundred.

"I look upon all the Maroons in the island as ripe for rebellion. I have intelligence that a party of ten Maroons from Nanny-town, under a lieutenant, have been visiting the rebel Maroons, and are now about to leave them to return home. I hear, also, that most of the furniture and finery among the Accompongs has lately disappeared, and that they do not consume the salt rations which are allowed them.

"The mountains occupied by the Leeward Maroons are of great extent, and the sugar-plantations, which nearly encircle this tract, everywhere encroach upon the base of those mountains. The Maroons, being centrical to all those sugar-plantations, can with ease descend from any mountain, and set fire to the cane-pieces. Hence their power of doing mischief is almost unbounded, and I do not see that an army of twenty thousand men could prevent it.

"That peace is desirable in such a situation is perfectly obvious, but nothing, in my opinion, is more remote from the intentions of the Maroons than to make peace with us. They have held out proposals twice, merely to extricate themselves out of some momentary difficulty, and to remove to some new place of concealment, when we had discovered their haunts. Twice have the country struck at the lure, and twice have they been deceived.

"My principal object in ratifying the treaty has been, to prove to the conviction of the country that no pacific intention has ever entered into the minds of the Maroons. If I had refused to ratify it, the whole responsibility for the mischief that may ensue would have been thrown upon my shoulders. Whereas, my having ratified it must unite the country in the opinion that these rebels mean destruction to this island, and that no alternative presents

itself but to follow them up, whatever may be the difficulties or expense.

"The Maroons have received every benefit from their insincerity that they looked for.—They have got a supply of ground-provisions, which may enable them to change the scene of the war to another part of the circle.

"I have now every military difficulty to encounter. The sugar crop is beginning. It is impossible to keep the militia together, and it is really almost impracticable to put the sugar-mills round without them. The whole of the carts and cattle that have been used for the carrying of our provisions must now be applied to the bringing in of the canes, and the manufacturing of the sugar.

"Should the enemy remove to Hector's River, our magazines here would be of no service to us; and at that point, where the roads are abominable, our line of operation from the sea is nearly fifty miles. We have live cattle, however, much nearer,—and they shall be followed up with all the vigour and celerity that circumstances can admit of.

"I have one resource from which I have great expectation,—that is, the Spanish dogs.

"I have only to add, that the rebels are in want of everything—clothing, shelter, salt, and gunpowder. But I speak of this last the more doubtingly from the circumstance of their shooting wild pigeons.

"Upon the whole, this is an alarming war. If followed up with due vigour, I have no great terror of the consequences, but any unnecessary relaxation of it, any repetition of these dangerous truces, may prove very fatal indeed.

"The packet cannot be detained, as she would lose the benefit of convoy to St. Domingo.

"I am in the field, and my accommodation of paper is bad.—I have given my sentiments upon the outlines of this war very hastily. They will, however, pretty accurately convey to you my way of thinking on this most interesting subject.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the Earl of Balcarres.

"My dear Lord, "January 1st, 1796.

"I now give the matter up; only Smith, Dunbar, Williams, and two boys, are here. I shall send them to Falmouth to-morrow. I suppose that your lordship will admit them to the terms of the treaty upon which they have surrendered.

"I fear that our baggage negroes will not be here in time for me to move after these rascals in the morning, and that I must postpone it till Sunday. In this case I shall endeavour to seduce the Maroons still to keep near us.

"Your lordship shall hear the result as soon as possible.

"Should any future parley proceed from them, I shall refer them to your lordship.

"I have the honour, &c.

"G. WALPOLE."

To the Duke of Portland.

"My Lord Duke, "Castle Wemyss, 1 Jan. 1796.

"I fixed upon Friday, the 1st of January (this day), for the surrender of the Trelawney rebel Maroons, in conformity to their proposals for peace, which were signed by their leader, Colonel Montague James, acceded to by Major-General Walpole, and ratified by myself on December 28th, 1795.

"The farce has ended as I expected,—only three of them and two boys have come in. I shall be ready to attack them in less than forty-eight hours, preceded by the Spanish dogs. I cannot say what the effect will be, but I am sanguine in my hopes.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the Earl of Balcarres.

"My Lord, "Old Maroon Town, Jan. 4th, 1796.

"I ventured yesterday to trust Smith to return to the cockpits to bring in his family, which he did in the evening, to the amount of thirteen,—three of them very fine young men, the others comprehended his wife and several small children. He had (which induced me to trust him) given me a strong proof of his fidelity and gratitude by a material piece of information, that one of those who surrendered, in my absence with your lordship, is a runaway; that this is an experiment on the part of the runaways to try whether they can pass for Maroons; and by his (Smith's) advice, I let him return to the cockpits. A large body are expected in to-day of Maroons, and I hope others,—it will take some days, I suppose, to get in the whole; for they are as mistrustful as possible, and each is desirous that the other should make the

experiment before him. All this will naturally and conclusively prove to your lordship the impropriety of holding forth more harsh conditions than those now granted.—Should there be any person so dull to common policy and common sense as to think that another turn of the screw would be better, ask him this question, 'Is he prepared to spin out the contest till foreign assistance may arrive?' This may be followed up by another question, 'If foreign assistance arrives, what will be the situation of the island?'

"I have the honour, &c.

"G. WALPOLE."

To the Hon. Major-General Walpole.

"Castle Wemyss, 5 Jan. 1796.

"Dear Sir,

"Unless a great number of the Maroons came in last night, or do come in in the course of this day, I hope and trust that nothing will prevent the dogs from going out to-morrow.

"I am perfectly with you, that the pin ought not to receive another screw; but also clear that it ought not to be relaxed.

"Should the Maroons disencumber themselves of their women, children, old men, sick and convalescents, they would acquire a degree of pliability which they have not at present, and, by removing from their present country into a new one, we should be very much censured by the island for not having made the attack while it was in our power. We cannot stop the operations of war; I look upon the treaty in the same point of view with yourself, but I see the danger of not attacking them so very clear as to induce me to declare that I cannot take upon myself the responsibility of acceding to a moment's unnecessary delay.

"I remain, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the Earl of Balcarres.

"January 5th, 1796.

"My Lord,

"Nine (additional) Maroons, men, women, and children, came in last night. I have permitted two or three to return this day, to bring in more of their relations; one, however, I suspect will not come out to us again.

"The Spaniards are, I fear, a little out of temper. If they cannot be kept, it would be better to avail ourselves of the breach of the treaty by the Maroons themselves, and to move on,—as nothing can be clearer than that all treaty would soon terminate were they off the island.

"I am, &c.

"G. WALPOLE."

To the Earl of Balcarres.

"January 8th, 1795.

"My Lord, . .

"One misfortune will, I fear, occur as to the dogs—the extreme want of water. There is none, during seven hours' march, between the great cockpit and the spot where Colonel Hull engaged the Maroons. Smith likewise informs

me that there is none beyond the last-mentioned place, except what may chance to be got from wild pines.* If the dogs cannot be got on through want of water, we must leave them behind; but I fear that it will be impossible to supply the post with provisions through such a length of defile, and so difficult a path as it must be, that it takes up seven hours to go only five miles.

"However, we will get at them somehow or other, either with or without dogs; and the best shall be done that can by me.

"I am, &c.
"G. WALPOLE."

To the Hon. Major-General Walpole.

"Dear Sir, . . "Castle Wemyss, 9 Jan. 1796.

"I sincerely hope and trust that no column shall proceed against the enemy without the dogs until their inefficacy is proved; such a measure, I know, would set the country in an uproar. My own responsibility, as well as my opinion and the report I have made to his Majesty of the intended operations with the dogs, leaves no other alternative than to give immediate and due energy to the enterprise and ideas of the country, in sending, at an enormous expense, for these dogs.

"Yours faithfully,
"BALCARRES."

To the Earl of Balcarres.

"My dear Lord, "O. M. Town, Jan. 12, 1796.

"Two new Maroons are arrived, and three that were in before, and two women. Johnstone has sent to me to say that he has not been able to prevail on the women, several of whom have been lost, and only one found since the late actions. He desires to know what I have to say in answer to

* The wild pine, (*Tillandria maxima,*) the black and grape withes, which are about two inches in diameter, and the roots of the cotton-tree, all furnish a supply of water to the thirsty wanderer in these wilds of Jamaica. "Of the last," says Mr. Dallas, "six feet junked off the smaller part of the root, where it tapers to the thickness of a man's thigh, will yield several gallons of water. In the greatest drought these resources seldom fail. For the wild pine they" (he is speaking of the Spanish chasseurs) "are obliged to climb trees; but that they do almost with the velocity of a monkey. This plant takes root on the body of a tree, and the leaves of it are so formed as to catch the rain and conduct it to a reservoir at the base, where, being never exposed to the sun, it is found delightfully fresh and cool. But the easiest method of obtaining water in the woods, and with less delay on the march, is from the black and grape withes; it is done with greater expedition than drinking at a spring. The chasseur catches a pendent withe, which, with his muschet, he divides about two feet from the ground, and applies the end of the withe, as it hangs, to his mouth, or to his dog's, who indicates his thirst; he then cuts the withe off, about six feet higher, keeping the upper end elevated, when, the air being admitted above, he receives through the porous fibres of it near a quart of delightful cold water."

his message; my answer is, that I shall move against him unless twenty men come in to-morrow. I shall therefore begin my march at two to-morrow afternoon, weather permitting, unless I hear to the contrary from your lordship. I am, however, apprehensive that Johnstone's reply will scarcely arrive in time. They beg till four o'clock; but, if I delay till that time, it will be too late for me to move till next day.

"Your lordship will please to consider what I mentioned this morning, exclusive of the position stated by you, viz. whether we should be the first to recommence hostilities; certainly we shall not make peace for some time to come, after the first shot is fired.

"I remain, &c.
"G. WALPOLE."

To the Earl of Balcarres.

"My Lord, "January 12, 1796.

"The Maroons were so terrified last night, and begged so hard, that I told the man who was to return to Johnstone, that if they were not able (the twenty men) to reach me by two o'clock, and yet were disposed to keep the agreement, that I would, upon hearing their horn, defer my march for one hour.

"I think that we shall not, on account of water, be able to move beyond the great cockpit this night. On further examination, it will, I fear, not be practicable to carry water enough in beakers for so many men and dogs, but we can carry some.

"I am, &c.
"G. WALPOLE."

To the Earl of Balcarres.

"My Lord, "Jan. 12, half-past two.

"We had scarcely advanced two hundred yards when I met a Maroon coming from Johnstone to say that he would come with his people to-morrow into the cockpit to make their huts, and begged that I would have provisions for him; and that he would adjust every point. I have therefore ordered the troops to stop at the advanced posts, which is about half a mile on this side where we meant to halt during the night. If Johnstone will build his huts within our posts, I shall permit him to keep his arms till he sees you, then to lay them down. If, on account of the women, he insists on building them in the cockpits, in that case he must lay down his arms to me.

"In hopes that your lordship will not disapprove of my proceedings,

"I have the honour, &c.
"G. WALPOLE."

To the Hon. Major-General Walpole.

"Dear Sir, "Castle Wemyss, Jan. 13, 1796.

"The Maroons with Johnstone at their head are either serious, or they are not serious. If serious, it can make no difference to them whether they go immediately to Montego Bay barracks, there to remain until the Assembly

shall dispose of them, or that they are permitted to rebuild their huts in the Old Town or vicinity. If they are not serious, we shall only give them time to get out of our way.

"We are not a match for them in duplicity. We may put our strength in truth and openness.

"I think you may give them an opportunity until two o'clock to-morrow afternoon to come in, and then proceed against the remainder. I really am for pushing them hard. We have this day seen the good effects of it.

"Permit me to express the very high sense I have experienced of your punctuality. Although the principle of the order is not discretionary, still I give you free permission to modulate it according to your judgment.

"Yours very sincerely,

"BALCARRES."

To the Earl of Balcarres.

"Advanced Post, 17th Lt. Dragoons,
"Jan. 14th, 1796.

"My Lord,

"Young Jarrett, and four boys, capable of bearing arms, with nineteen women and children, have arrived at the Old Town; but on my arrival here I found Bonny, the Maroon, despatched to me by Johnstone yesterday, returned with another message, saying, that he had so many sick people that he could not reach me this day, but would not fail being with me in the morning. This is really so perplexing that I do not know what to do. Your lordship's directions will reach me time enough, if despatched immediately, to enable me to proceed part of the way to-night, if your lordship disapproves of my waiting till to-morrow; but if, on the other hand, your lordship should think it proper for me to wait till the morning, it will certainly be right for me to delay where I am at present.

"I have the honour, &c.

"G. WALPOLE."

To the Hon. Major-General Walpole.

"C. W., Jan. 14, 1796.

"Dear Sir,

"My orders are,

"That young Jarrett, the four boys, Bonny, and the nineteen women and children, be immediately secured as prisoners;

"That you do advance against the rebels at the very earliest moment after you receive this order;

"That you may take Bonny as a guide, if you choose, and take every measure to discover where the Maroons are;

"Should the Maroons, in a body, offer to surrender, you may receive their arms on the spot;

"Any messenger going backwards or forwards is not to delay your operations;

"All the Maroons now in to be sent to Montego Bay as soon as you can procure a sufficient escort.

"I have the honour to remain, with the greatest esteem, yours,

"BALCARRES."

To Major-General Campbell, Spanish Town.

"Castle Wemyss, 16th Jan.

"Dear Sir,

"I have great satisfaction in announcing to you, that, in consequence of orders which I issued to Major-General Walpole, he moved forward with a strong column of regulars, accompanied by the Spaniards and the dogs.

"He had only advanced some hundred yards when a Maroon delivered a message from Johnstone. As he had experienced much trifling evasion and insincerity, it was judged expedient to move slowly on, merely taking the precaution of keeping the dogs in the rear of the column.

"In consequence of this arrangement of the line of march, which I conceive was both firm and temperate, the Maroons, to the number of two hundred and sixty, have surrendered.

"I have in my possession, of Trelawney Maroons, upwards of four hundred persons, of whom I count about one hundred and thirty men. Some of the young Maroons are still out; but I think we have a near and happy prospect of extinguishing the embers of this rebellion.

"You will announce this pleasing event as speedily as possible in the Spanish Town papers.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the Hon. Major-General Walpole.

"Castle Wemyss, Jan. 15th, 1796.

"Dear Sir,

"I give you joy of your successful operations.

"I have no orders to give; those which I have already issued are exactly conformable to his Majesty's intentions, which have been communicated to me this day by Mr. Dundas and the Duke of Portland *per* the Duke of Cumberland packet. Every person that comes in shall receive quarter, but you will not relax one moment in using every means in your power to crush these rebels:—if mercy can be shewn, your own feelings will point out the way, but it cannot be extended at the expense of one moment's delay.

"All the Maroons who come in are to be disarmed within your posts, and they will be conducted to Montego Bay.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the Earl of Balcarres.

"Old Maroon Town, Jan. 17th, 1796.

"My dear Lord,

"Mr. Mathison will have informed your lordship of the result of yesterday. . . I hope to despatch a body of about two hundred, this day or to-morrow, to Montego Bay. There does not appear to be the least hesitation either to go down there or to deliver up their arms. Johnstone is more easily to be brought to a conclusion than any of their chiefs whom I have met with, and he preserves very strict discipline amongst his people.

"I wish that your lordship would have the goodness to allow me to keep

such a body of them here with me as, from circumstances of the moment, may most conduce to keep them satisfied in their minds. There is more in this than most people think for, and we are at present very great friends. . .

"I have to thank your lordship for your personal kindness to me, and the approbation that is likely to flow to me from the King. It ever has been my wish to discharge my duty honestly; and, although I do not expect that his Majesty will ever consider my humble exertions to the disparagement of my seniors, yet I hope that your lordship will not think me unreasonable in requesting, at the termination of this rebellion, your permission to return to Europe, with a view to obtain his Majesty's consent, at a general peace, to a sale of my commission.

"I have the honour to be, with every regard and respect, &c.

"G. WALPOLE."

To the Hon. Major-General Walpole.

"Castle Wemyss, Jan. 17th.

"Dear Sir,

"I am honoured by yours of the 17th instant, and I have not the smallest doubt you will do all you can to realise those advantages we have attained, which are in some degree insecure until such time as these quicksilver rebels are under lock and key. . .

"At the end of the rebellion I shall very eagerly embrace any opportunity of doing what may be pleasing to yourself.

"Yours faithfully,

"BALCARRES."

To the Hon. Major-General Walpole.

"Castle Wemyss, Jan. 22, 1796.

"Dear General,

"I must use one other argument, in addition to those I urged this day, as to the expediency of sending down the Maroons to Montego Bay, and that is a strong one, viz. that it will be most difficult, I may say impossible, for me to meet the legislature until this measure is effected.

"The situation of the Maroons must be the immediate object of their deliberations, and something must be done by the Assembly as to the disposal of their persons.

"It will be impracticable for me to inform the Assembly that the people have surrendered themselves, unless I can give a much more solid proof of it than the information of their skipping about in the Old Town. . .

"Yours sincerely,

"BALCARRES."

To the Hon. Major-General Walpole.

"Castle Wemyss, Jan. 23rd, 1796.

"Dear Sir,

"I give every respect to the solidity of your opinion, though it is contrary to my own.

"It is impossible, however, that I can meet the legislature, until the persons of the Maroons, who have come in, are actually at Montego Bay.

"It is impossible also that I can carry into effect those commands which have been given to me by his Majesty, and which are rather of a secret nature.

"When I enforce the measure of sending these Maroons to Montego Bay, I surely take off from you all responsibility respecting the bad effects of our taking such a step, for which I am alone answerable.

"I therefore most earnestly and most pointedly request that all the Maroons may be sent to Montego Bay previous to the return of the dogs, excepting only a few, which you may keep, as being useful to you, as described in my letter to you of the 20th instant.

"I remain yours sincerely,

"BALCARRES."

To the Hon. Major-General Walpole.

"Jan. 27, 1796.

"Dear Sir,

"I had the pleasure of your two letters last evening.

"We have already secured advantages beyond either my own expectations, or any formed by the country. I have already realized everything pointed out to me in my instructions from his Majesty. To allow eight Maroons to go into the woods, to endeavour to persuade people to come in, whom you yourself could not prevail upon, would be in contradiction to the spirit of my orders.

"I am much afraid that you have not been able to carry into execution my orders of sending down the Maroons to Montego Bay. The delay is of the highest inconvenience. . .

"The opinions of his Majesty's confidential servants are fixed and determined on the principles of carrying on this war. I feel and I know that I am acting with them in the orders I have given on the subject of sending the Maroons to Montego Bay. Nothing can be left, under these circumstances, to your discretion. My orders therefore are,

"That the Maroons be sent down immediately to Montego Bay. . . — If you wish to keep a few men with you, agreeably to my letters of the 20th and 23rd, you may; but even that goes much against my inclination. . .

"I am, &c. &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the Earl of Balcarres.

"Old Maroon Town, Jan. 29th, 1796.

"My Lord,

"In obedience to your lordship's orders, received this morning, I have sent the Maroons down to Montego Bay.

"I cannot but lament that the opportunity (as far as I am capable of judging) of bringing in those at present out should be thus lost. Positive I am, that, had your lordship had the same opportunity of judging on the spot that I have, you would have been of the same opinion, and the war probably terminated.

"From the information which I received from Smith, there seems to be but little chance of any but a Maroon discovering a Maroon, whenever these

people are where they can remain quiet for any time. Dogs cannot scent but on a recent step; and I fear that the Maroons are now so deep in the woods, that no expedition can be supported against them, without risking a failure of food and water for those animals, with a great probability, even if it could be sustained, of never finding the enemy. Had we accompanied Smith, we should, if they had not been induced to surrender, at all events have discovered where they were, and then could have pursued them. The die is cast, and it is now too late, unless they discover themselves; for I am told that the Spaniards say that they could live in these woods for ever,—that they never saw such woods for sustenance anywhere.

"Your lordship will be so good as to let me have your orders,—but I could wish that nothing should be left to my discretion.

"I have the honour, &c.

"G. WALPOLE."

To the Hon. Major-General Walpole.

"Dromilly, 1st Feb. 1796.

"Dear Sir,

"I am rejoiced to find that all the Maroons are now secured; but I am sorry that your judgment has differed with mine on the propriety of that measure.

"Your requisition of twelve hundred negroes, I am afraid, will startle the country, who believe, and I think with reason, that their efforts to crush this rebellion have nearly succeeded, and that they may look with some reasonable hope to their being suffered to go on with their crop, in a degree of tranquillity and repose.

"Baggage negroes will be required, as usual, to attend any columns which you may send out; but if the 1000 or 1200 pioneers are wanted for the purpose of making roads and communications, I am of opinion that such a measure should be done by an act of the legislature, and not without it. I cannot, however, judge of it, as you have not mentioned the specific, or even the general purpose for which they are wanted.

"With respect to the active operations of the war, our opinions have gone hand in hand, but, although we cannot be too watchful to smother the embers of rebellion, still I think you give much more consideration to the present state of the war than either I do or the country does.

"My general notion of it is, that, the instant the reinforcement arrives, the militia may go home; if a further reinforcement is necessary, I think it should be dogs:—

"That the duty of the regulars will be to guard the Maroon prisoners at the posts of Montego Bay, Falmouth, and St. Ann's, which last place some of the prisoners should be sent to from Montego Bay:—

"That the troops should be so posted as to be able to furnish a column to move to any point where the rebels may appear, in a very short space of time; three posts are very evident, as being consonant with this idea, viz. Mocha, Dromilly, Old Town, and Vaughan's Field. I should have liked a division of the dogs to have been at each of these places; but at all events, Dromilly ought to be a post for one division.

"My situation in this country, and the necessity I am under to attend personally when there is a meeting of the legislature, must confine me much to the fixing of general principles, which are founded both upon my instructions, public and private, from the King and his confidential servants, and also regulated by what relates to the civil government of the island. I know how pleasant it is to an officer to act under direct orders; the next pleasant circumstance is, to have the greatest latitude given consistent with the absolute duty of the commander-in-chief or governor. But your request, to have nothing left to your discretion, is totally incompatible with the very high situation in which you are placed; I must leave much to your discretion, as having the chief command in my absence; and the great opinion I have had of the proper exercise of that discretion assuredly will justify the favourable report I have made to his Majesty of your services in this war.

"I have the honour to be, dear Sir, yours sincerely,

"BALCARRES."

To the Right Hon. Henry Dundas.

[Number I.]

"Sir, "Castle Wemyss, 30 Jan. 1796.

"I had the honour to inform you, by my despatch of the 30th December, 1795, that I had entered into a treaty of peace with the Trelawney Maroons, which was duly signed, ratified, and exchanged. Two of the articles were very important, namely—the surrender of themselves and arms, and their giving up all the runaway slaves who had joined them in rebellion. Notwithstanding that I had ratified the treaty, I had not the smallest confidence in their sincerity, and every preparation was made to continue the war with unabated vigour.

"Three weeks having elapsed without any apparent intention on the part of the Maroons to fulfil the treaty, I ordered the Hon. Major-General Walpole to move forward on the 14th instant, with a strong column of regular troops. He had only advanced some hundred yards when a message was delivered from the Maroon chief, begging that no further hostile step should be taken. As we had experienced much duplicity and evasion, it was judged expedient to move slowly on, and the line of march was so arranged as to give the Maroons an opportunity of coming in with safety. This had the desired effect,—the Maroons, to the number of five hundred, surrendered themselves and were conducted within our posts. Including those whom I had formerly secured, I have in my possession near six hundred.

"Thirty Maroon men, and one hundred women and children,

still remain out,—of this number, several men are severely wounded, others are sick. I do not compute the effective Maroon warriors now in rebellion to exceed fourteen; and these are afraid to come in, from a consciousness of their crimes.

"The Maroon rebellion, I think, is drawing to a close,—and a substantial proof of my assertion is, that public credit, which was destroyed at the commencement of this revolt, is now completely restored. The general opinion is, that property has acquired a degree of security which it never had before in this island.

"His Majesty's forces, regulars and militia, have fought the rebels in more than twenty actions.* They have been impelled by one sentiment, that of crushing a most daring, unprovoked, and ungrateful rebellion.

"I should, indeed, find it a most arduous task to detail individual merit. The efforts of the whole community have been directed to shew their attachment to his Majesty and to maintain his government and their own happiness against all banditti whatsoever. I must, however, recommend to his Majesty's notice the Hon. Major-General Walpole,—and I am proud to say that much is owing to his personal activity and excellent conduct.

"Our success, though great, is not without its alloy. The Maroon rebels, like to other rebels, have found it easier to raise rebellion than to quell it.

"Runaway slaves are still in the woods, to the number nearly of one hundred and fifty, ill-armed and with very little ammunition. Their reduction may take some time, and create further expense and uneasiness to the country. But they merit the less consideration, as I am happy to give the most unqualified assurances of the excellent and peaceable disposition of the negro slaves throughout the island.

"I shall certainly esteem it a most important part of my duty to watch over the embers of this rebellion, until I am satisfied of its being thoroughly extinguished. But I conceive I shall be enabled, on the arrival of the expected reinforcement, to give every relief to the militia, and permit them to return to their homes with those honours which they have so justly deserved.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

* "Each," Lord B. says in another letter, "preceded by an ambush."

"*Supplement to my Letter Number I.*

"I throw in this sheet, to mention one or two little circumstances.

"When I say credit is restored, I give the following anecdote. Lieutenant-Colonel Shawe, an attorney, who is doing duty here as one of my militia aide-de-camps, received, previous to this rebellion, an order from the house of Manning in London to lend Mr. Shirley, of Jamaica, 40,000*l.* At the troubles breaking out, he would not give Mr. Shirley a shilling of his clients' money; but, upon the last batch of Maroons coming in, he let him have the 40,000*l.* sterling.

"With respect to the number of Maroons, I stated in a former letter, in August, that the number on July 1st was . 660.

We secured early in the business	103	
Surrendered now	481	
In the woods now, men (thirty), women, and children	130	
Killed, died by sickness, and lost in the woods	50	—764.

"The excess is accounted for by their numbers proving, as I suspected, more than were specified in the return, and also by a considerable number of runaway negroes who had joined them in rebellion and had come in as Maroons. Perhaps we must devote a number of these as victims to public justice. This I shall submit to his Majesty's council and the Attorney-General, as, perhaps, their punishment may be the groundwork of a general amnesty.

"I have the honour, &c.

"B————."

To the Right Hon. Henry Dundas.

[Number II.]

"Sir, "Castle Wemyss, 30 Jan. 1796.

"In my letter No. I. I have avoided giving any account of the arrangement of our line of march on the 14th instant. The disposition was this:—

"The dogs and their keepers were placed at the head of the column, but, when indications were shewn on the part of the Maroons of a desire to come in, the dogs were placed in the rear of the column.

"As it is possible my letter No. I. may be published, I have sunk the circumstance of the dogs, as that is an engine of war which many people may reprobate.—I shall soon make a report respecting these dogs, as it may deserve the attention of government.

"The rebels have retired to some new retreat, which we have not as yet discovered.

"Although the Maroons of Jamaica have got a blow nearly amounting to the extirpation of their principal nation, still they have not received the check to the extent that I wish.—The Maroons to windward have absolutely refused to obey any orders from me, and they have remained inactive, only waiting to see the event of the rebellion to leeward. The terror they have at the dogs, and the misery which the rebel Maroons have brought upon themselves, will probably operate to reduce these Windward Maroons to submission on such terms as may leave no grounds to apprehend future danger to the island. This I shall probably effect by negotiation.* The security of the island, I think, is established by what has already been done, and I assuredly shall take no step that can tend to throw the windward part of this island into a state of war.

"It is proper that I should apprise you of one other circumstance.

"I hold the treaty signed by Major-General Walpole on the one part, Colonel Montague James, chief of the Maroons, on the other part, and ratified by me—absolutely as nothing. Exclusive of my having been obliged to move against them weeks after it was exchanged, the main article of it, viz. the surrender of the runaway slaves, is not fulfilled.

"I believe Major-General Walpole, and part of the country, think otherwise,—and should any difficulty arise respecting the disposal of the persons of the Maroon prisoners, I shall send to you the whole correspondence.† I have purposely kept out of

* "Although there are other Maroon tribes in this island still remaining, their power is at an end by the extirpating the Trelawney Maroons. Civil polity will produce the extinction of the rest, by mixing them in the mass of the free people." *Letter to the Earl of Hardwicke.*

† So much of this correspondence as is requisite to shew the progress of events and the commander-in-chief's sentiments and line of conduct is inserted in this volume. The correspondence is printed entire in the 'Proceedings of the Governor

the way of a meeting with the Maroons, consequently the country and myself are unfettered.

"As General Walpole had the additional merit of going unarmed into the woods, and held a conference with them, it is possible he may feel a delicacy which my public duty cannot allow me to support.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the Right Hon. Henry Dundas.

"Sir, "Jamaica, 15 Feb. 1796.

"My letter of January 30th apprised you that thirty Maroon men and one hundred women and children remained out in rebellion. I have now the honour to inform you, that, after having ineffectually searched for them from four different points, forty-three more have surrendered themselves, of which six are stout, able Maroon men. The Maroons now out consist of twenty-four men and sixty-three women and children. The body of runaway negro slaves, which I had the honour to state as being near one hundred and fifty, are still out; some, however, have come in, but I have not as yet been able to discover where the main body of them are gone to. I imagine that we shall be able to take off martial law in the month of March, or as soon as the legislature shall have amended the Party Act, under which I trust his Majesty's regular troops will put an end to this disturbance.

"The Maroons to windward still obstinately refuse to obey my orders. I believe they are actuated by their fears of being laid hold of and sent off the country. From our great success against the Trelawney Maroons, and also from the favourable appearance of revolt in our favour in St. Domingo, we can have no dread of those Windward Maroons.

"Although I have not made up my mind as yet respecting the conduct that ought to be adopted, what I anxiously wish for is, peace in this island—so absolutely decided, that I may venture to

and Assembly of Jamaica in regard to the Maroon negroes, published by order of the Assembly.' London, 8vo., 1796.

See also, for all that can be said on the other side of the question, Mr. Dallas's 'Hist. of the Maroons,' tom. ii. pp. 173 sqq., and, for what Lord Balcarres calls the key to the whole business, his letter to Lord Hardwicke, *infra*, July 17, 1796.

throw some force into St. Domingo, as, under your late arrangement of the forces destined for the West Indies, even such a reinforcement as I can spare may be extremely well timed.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the Earl of Balcarres.

"My dear Lord, "March 5th, 1796.

"The enclosed I send with all speed to your lordship, and give you joy of having again the opportunity of finally and effectually terminating the rebellion.

"The letter is written in so much hurry as not to admit of giving any detail; but the affair I believe to be this:—That the Maroons, finding that we could get at them, sent forward Shawe, whilst the others were conveying, as well as they could, their families from the dogs. Nothing but the exhausted state of both the detachment and dogs would have prevailed, I am confident, on either the Spaniards or the 13th to have continued the pursuit; but I fear there was no conquering the want of water; for nearly three days I was a witness to it; and my reasons, under these circumstances, for permitting the detachment to go forward, your lordship is already in possession of.

"I shall grant lives only. I have been too scandalously traduced already to exert my judgment for the public good, notwithstanding your lordship's ratification of the terms heretofore granted. I shall endeavour to keep the matter afloat till I may be honoured with your lordship's commands; for I cannot but apprehend that they may make some effort to get to windward, desperate as it may appear, should they be dealt with too rigidly in their conceptions.

"I hope that the country will not lose the opportunity.

"I have the honour, &c.

"G. WALPOLE."

To the Hon. Major-General Walpole.

"Dear Sir, "March 9, 1796.

"In your letter of the 5th instant you write me that you have been too scandalously traduced already to exert your judgment for the public good, notwithstanding my ratification of the terms heretofore granted.

"This I do know, that all public men everywhere will be traduced by restless and violent characters,—but my ratifying the treaty which you signed sufficiently marks the support which I gave to that measure; and the respectable council that advised me to ratify it bears you out as well as myself. The same council expressed themselves in clear terms as to the assurance you gave the Maroons that they should not be sent off the island; and it stands on the minutes taken at that council, that, provided the Maroons performed the first and third articles of the treaty, the secret article should be complied with.

"Every man, however, will form his own opinion as to these two points,—

First, whether or not the treaty is a wise one? Secondly, if it has been performed? It now lies before the Assembly, as well as our correspondence upon it, from the period of Colonel Hull's action to the moment of the Maroons coming in, inclusive, and also my letter dated the 2nd of February.

"In regard to the third article of the treaty, it stands upon a matter of fact to establish whether the runaways were surrendered, agreeably to that article, or not.

"As to the first and second articles, my mind is made up on the subject; and my opinion is, that if force had not been sent out against them, in conformity to my orders of the 14th of January, issued in consequence of my receiving your letter of that date, they would not have come in at all.

"But from the high situation which you have filled, from the intercourse and conversation you have had with these Maroons, and, above all, that these unhappy people may have every circumstance adduced to the Assembly that can operate in their favour, it may be fair and right in you to give an opinion, if you are so inclined, how far, in your conception, these people have complied with the articles of that treaty.

"I am perfectly aware, and shall hold in my recollection, the favourable opinion you have of the Smiths and Johnstone; and I shall represent it to the Assembly at a proper time. Whatever opinions we may hold respecting the treaty, we are united in the sentiment of bringing the business before the public in the fullest and fairest manner; and if the state of the war can permit of your absence, I could wish you here, that we might do it in conjunction.

"I wish to make a remark upon the first part of your letter of the 5th, which runs in these words:—'I give you joy of having again the opportunity of finally and effectually terminating the rebellion.'

"This, I presume, alludes to the circumstance of your wishing to keep the Maroon prisoners at the Maroon Town, instead of sending them to the coast. I really cannot state this to have been a difference of opinion between yourself and me; and I am free to confess that their remaining in that situation might have been an inducement for those still out to have come in. But I thought it was playing too deep a game; and if the Maroons had given us the slip, I should have had a dreadful reckoning to account for to the King, this country, and my own tranquillity of mind.

"I am, &c.
"BALCARRES."

To the Earl of Balcarres.

"My dear Lord, "[Private], March 11th, 1796.

"I must trouble your lordship with a few words in privacy and confidence.

"For some days past I have been in a state of considerable uneasiness at a report, which seems to gain ground, that the legislature means to infringe the capitulation accepted by me and ratified by your lordship.

"My Lord, to be plain with you, it was through my means alone* that the

* Lord Balcarres, I must remark, entertained, and has expressed, a totally different opinion.

Maroons were induced to surrender, from a reliance which they had on my word—from a conviction impressed upon them by me that the white people would never break their faith.

"All these things strongly call upon me, as the instrumental agent in this business, to see a due observance of the terms, or, in case of violation, to resign my command; and if that should not be accepted, to declare the facts to the world, and to leave them to judge how far I ought or ought not to be implicated in the guilt and infamy of such a proceeding. So much the more strong is this call upon me, as there was no occasion to ratify the terms; for your lordship will well recollect that I told you at Castle Wemyss that the time appointed by me for fulfilling them was expired, and the terms therefore [were] null and void; but your lordship then thought that there was so much advantage to the country in those terms, that it would be best not to give them up.

"As the great object of the war is now declared to be accomplished, I shall shortly solicit your lordship for permission to return to England, with an intention to retire from the service.

"I am, &c.

"G. WALPOLE."

To the Hon. Major-General Walpole.

"King's House, 16 March, 1796.

"Dear Sir,

"If I had not looked upon the treaty signed by you as advantageous to the country under the existing circumstances, I never would have ratified it. But the country has a right to every advantage which that treaty affords; and I am decidedly of opinion, that if the terms of the treaty have been complied with by the Maroons, the country is bound in honour not to send them off the island. So far I go with you, and so far I will support you; but I shall certainly leave it with the legislature to decide whether that treaty has been observed or not,—indeed, they will decide that for themselves, as a matter of right inherent in them.

"All I can say is, that I have not the smallest light upon what their decision will be; but I assure you, those strong sentiments which you have expressed relative to these Maroons shall be fairly canvassed. I do not enter into what the country, in its wisdom, ought to do. I feel we have done our duty as soldiers. The executive power, in my person, has amply supported you, by ratifying the treaty which you acceded to.

"But, in a political consideration of this subject, the country will not be guided either by your politics or mine. There is a word in your last letter, namely, *capitulation* is used instead of *treaty:* it has always hitherto been mentioned as a treaty; perhaps it may be a distinction without a difference. Be it what it may, I look upon my responsibility to the public as *equally* committed; for surely, if there is anything upon earth in which a legislature has a right to exercise its judgment, it is *internal rebellion.* Under the whole circumstances of the case, you have done extremely right in withholding any offer to the rebel Maroons still out, excepting *lives, and their being placed exactly in the same situation, and to share the fate, whatever it may be, of the*

Maroon prisoners now in our possession. I cannot offer them more, until the sentiments of the legislature respecting those now in be communicated to me.

"In respect to your going home, I shall be extremely happy in doing whatever may be agreeable to yourself on this point. But I regret your determination of quitting the service, in which you are so well advanced.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the Duke of Portland.

"My Lord Duke, "Jamaica, 26th March, 1796.

"I have the satisfaction to inform your Grace of the termination of the Maroon war.

"Thirty-six Trelawney Maroons, and all the runaway negroes who had joined them in rebellion, surrendered their arms on the 17th and 21st March.

"The Maroons to windward, who had shewn a most refractory and disobedient spirit since the commencement of the rebellion, have made their submission, and, on their knees, in the presence of commissioners, have sworn allegiance to his Majesty. I shall, by the packet, enclose the commission, and the return upon it.

"The most perfect internal tranquillity is restored to the island; the slaves on every plantation are obedient, contented, and happy.

"Our operations against the rebels have been carried on with unremitting vigour. In following the enemy into their new recesses, the troops have undergone fatigue hardly to be credited. The last column which moved against them were five days without one drop of water, excepting what they found in the wild pines.

"The rebels, worn out with fatigue, continually harassed, and disturbed in every new settlement, have been conquered in a country where no European had ever thought of penetrating.

"Thus has ended the nation of Trelawney Maroons—a people which historians assert were not to be overcome, but would ultimately acquire the dominion of this island.

"The very fortunate close of this war is to be ascribed to the activity and good conduct of Major-General Walpole,—and I most humbly recommend him to his Majesty's favour.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

HOUSE OF ASSEMBLY.

Friday, April 22, 1796.

"Resolved, *nem. con.*, That the Receiver-General do remit the sum of seven hundred guineas to the agent of the island, for the purpose of purchasing a sword, to be presented to the Right Hon. ALEXANDER Earl of BALCARRES,* as a testimony of the grateful sense which the House entertains of his distinguished services, displayed both in the field and cabinet; and under whose auspices, by the blessing of Divine providence, a happy and complete termination has been put to a most dangerous rebellion of the Trelawney Town Maroons, whereby the general value of property, as well as security of the island, have been highly augmented.

"Ordered, That a copy of the above resolution be sent to his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor."

Saturday, April 30.

The Lieutenant-Governor's Answer to the Message from the House, with the Resolution of the 22*nd inst.*

"Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly,

"The present you have made me, by your unanimous resolution of the 22nd instant, is inestimable.

"A soldier's honour, with emblem and emphasis, is placed in his sword; and I shall transmit your precious gift to my posterity, as an everlasting mark of the reverence, the attachment, and the gratitude I bear to the island of Jamaica.

"BALCARRES."

"The following address was this day presented to his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor:—

"We, his Majesty's dutiful and loyal subjects, the Assembly of Jamaica, beg leave to offer to your Honour our most sincere and cordial congratulations on the happy and complete termination of the rebellion of the Trelawney Town Maroons.

* The same day, five hundred guineas were similarly voted for the presentation of a sword to General Walpole. He refused to accept it, on the idea that the treaty with the Maroons had been broken.

"This great and important event must be productive of substantial benefits and salutary consequences to the country, in every point of view in which it can be contemplated; tranquillity and the enjoyment of our civil rights are restored; public credit, so essential to the support of government, and to the prosperity, if not to the very existence, of the country, is reestablished; and our internal security greatly increased and confirmed.

"From all these inestimable advantages we look forward with confidence to the augmentation of the value of property which is likely to take place; and which in time, we trust, will compensate all the losses and expenditure of treasure unavoidably incurred in the prosecution of the war.

"It is with peculiar satisfaction and gratitude we acknowledge the lively impression made on us by the energy displayed by your lordship in difficult operations of war, which affords the most convincing proof, that the zeal, ardour, and activity manifested in your military conduct, have only been equalled by the sound policy and decisive measures which marked the wisdom of your counsels."

His Honour's Answer.

"Mr. Speaker, and Gentlemen of the House of Assembly,

"Your address excites in my bosom every sensation of pleasure the mind of man is capable of receiving.

"The picture you have drawn of the future prosperity of the island is strong and impressive.

"After contemplating the unavoidable calamities of war, a sentiment arises, grateful and soothing to a feeling heart:—

"That, during your contest with an enemy the most ferocious that ever disgraced the annals of history,—

"That, during your contest with an army of savages, who have indiscriminately massacred every prisoner whom the fortune of war had placed in their power—no barbarity, nor a single act of retaliation, has sullied the brightness of your arms.

"I pray that the energy, the vigour, and the humanity, which you have so honourably displayed, may descend to your children, and secure to them for ever those blessings which you have hitherto enjoyed, under the mild and happy government of the illustrious House of Hanover."

PART III.

To the Duke of Portland.

" My Lord Duke, " Jamaica, 17 April, 1796.

" I have the honour to enclose to your Grace the resolutions of a secret committee, formed from the two branches of the legislature of this island.

" The committee consists of twelve,—three from the Council, and nine from the House of Assembly.

" The matter under their discussion was,—the future disposal of the persons of the Trelawney Maroons, and also the situation of those slaves who had joined them in rebellion and are now our prisoners. The question being of the greatest importance to the general interest of the island, the House of Assembly named three members from the three different counties. The resolutions this joint committee have come to are founded upon a chain of evidence, commencing with the proposals which were made by the Maroons for peace, accepted by General Walpole, and ratified by myself; and also upon a chain of circumstances that took place from the day of ratification to the period of the final surrender of the whole.

" I have thought it my duty to submit to your Grace copies of all the correspondence and papers which I laid before the committee, on which they have in great measure founded their report. And I feel the necessity of sending these papers, as a violent opposition party in this country have asserted that we have broken faith with the Maroons, the fallacy of which will stand exposed on reading these papers.

" Although the committee have closed their report, it is not as yet presented. But I lay it before your Grace, as sufficiently authentic.

" In the course of this service I have met with republican and

inflammatory principles where I least expected them,—I have sailed over a sea of prejudice. I look upon the enclosed address of his Majesty's council as flattering in the extreme, being the winding up of a business, the aspect of which made me tremble. As soon as the report is made, a similar one will be presented by the House of Assembly.

"The war has been expensive. The country have thought fit to incur that expense in their own way; and the appointment of commissioners in each parish was not the most likely mode to do it at the cheapest rate. Although the nature of such appointments is, in my conception, objectionable in principle, still it was attended with much energy and effect.

"My idea is, that the amount of the expense will be near 350,000*l.* sterling, which will be paid off in two years. There is not one dissenting voice in the whole country, of any respectability, in the opinion that the money is well laid out.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the Duke of Portland.

"My Lord Duke, "Jamaica, 20 April, 1796.

"Among the papers submitted to the committee of the two Houses of the legislature of this island, an extract from your Grace's letter of the ——, addressed to me, has given most peculiar satisfaction. Your Grace has there anticipated both the wishes and policy of the island, in adopting the measure of sending off the rebel Maroons to another country. I have embarked about eight hundred of them on the northern side of the island, about two hundred of which may be runaway slaves, and some women attending them. The number to be shipped off I should guess to be from four hundred and fifty to five hundred, of which one half nearly may be men and boys. On their arrival at Port Royal harbour, I shall move them from the small craft into two of the transports now lying in that harbour; and they must proceed to sea with the convoy which will sail, I believe, on the 1st of June, but possibly on the 21st of May.

"I cannot possibly divine your Grace's sentiments or resources as to the future fixing of this people. New Brunswick may, per-

haps, be a likely place for establishing them. The price of provisions here is enormous at this moment, and a scarcity, almost bordering upon famine, is to be apprehended. At Halifax they will be fed at much less than half the rate they are now subsisted at. I have therefore consulted with Rear-Admiral Parker, who will order the two transports to proceed to Shelbourne Bay, under convoy of the Dover, (old 44,) employed in the transport service ; and they will keep company with the homeward-bound fleet, as long as their lines of voyage are the same.

" The admiral will write to Admiral Murray, and I shall submit the case to the Governor and Commander-in-Chief at Halifax, who, I believe, is H. R. H. Prince Edward.

" I have no doubt that, however unwilling they may be to admit a tribe that have ever proved so dangerous, they will not refuse the two vessels anchorage-ground, until your Grace's commands shall arrive respecting these Maroons and the transports. . .

" I have the honour, &c.

" BALCARRES."

To the Duke of Portland.

" My Lord Duke, " Jamaica, 8 May, 1796.

" I have the honour to enclose to your Grace the report of the joint committee of the General Assembly of this island.

" This committee have made their report to their respective Houses, after a very minute investigation, which had in its object, not only the wisdom of the measures it recommends, but also the strict preservation of the honour and the public faith of Jamaica. Your Grace will observe that it discriminates between the various classes of the rebels, and the dates and circumstances under which they respectively surrendered. I am, however, to inform your Grace, that, although some of the Maroons are permitted to remain in the island, they decline accepting the indulgence, and have petitioned me to be sent off. Many other Maroons, whom Major-General Walpole has recommended to a similar indulgence, have also declined accepting it, and the reasons they give are—that, when they were embarked on the north side of the island, to be brought round, it was done amidst the execrations of the

whole people, and they say they wish to go, because they see that neither the whites nor browns will ever forgive them.*

"By the last packet I sent your Grace a report of the joint committee, although it was not at that moment presented to their respective Houses. I then told your Grace that my intention was to send them to Halifax, there to remain until his Majesty's commands shall be signified as to their ultimate destination.

"Upon my receiving your Grace's letter of the ——, and Mr. Dundas's letter, dated the ——, I felt myself less inclined to take responsibility to any great extent, and therefore wrote the enclosed letter to Admiral Parker. I also enclose his answer, by which you will perceive that I am driven by necessity to the measure of sending the Maroons away. For I assure your Grace that I could not reland them without exposing the Maroons to be torn in pieces by the people, or creating such a clamour as would go very near to the adopting the most violent means of enforcing the sending of them away. The very shipping of these people has already made a spring in property of at least 15 *per cent.*

"I do not think his Majesty's ministers have ever thoroughly known either the difficulties of my situation, or the full extent of danger to which this island stood exposed.

"I have, &c.

"BALCARRES."

REPORT, ETC.

[Enclosed in the preceding Letter.]

"Wednesday, 20th April, 1796.

"Mr. Murray, from the Special Secret Committee appointed to join a Special Secret Committee of the Council, in a free conference on matters of business of the utmost importance to the island, reported,

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* "I have spent," says Mr. Quarrell, in a letter to Lord Balcarres, same date as the above, "a considerable part of this day on board of the Dover and the other transports with the Maroons, and from long conversations with Johnson, Smith, Shaw, and other of their chiefs, I find that their minds are perfectly made up to leave the country, strongly impressed with the opinion that they could never live in security or quiet with the free people of colour and negroes in the island. They in general look very well, are quiet, and express no other concern but at the delay of their sailing. Many of them have demands in the country, of which I have taken a list, and shall collect them. They are not without money, and individuals are pretty rich,—the plunder obtained at Gowdy's and elsewhere is not expended. The following are possessed of slaves, which they have desired me to apply to your lordship for permission to dispose of," &c. &c.

"That both Committees accordingly met; and his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor's message of the 2nd day of March last, and the papers therewith sent, and his Honour's message of the 23rd of March last, and the papers therewith sent, also a petition of sundry persons known under the denomination of Maroons, presented to the House on the 30th day of November last, and also his Honour's message of the 3rd day of December last, and the petition of the Trelawney Maroons then in Kingston barracks, therewith sent, were severally read; and also an extract of a letter from his Grace the Duke of Portland to his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, to the said report respectively annexed, having been laid before the joint Committee by his Honour, the same were also severally read: And that the joint Committee having proposed certain questions in writing to his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, which questions and his Honour's answers thereto are to the said report annexed, the joint Committee thereupon came to the following resolutions:—

"1st. That it is the opinion of the joint Committee, that all runaway slaves who joined the Trelawney Maroons in rebellion ought to be dealt with according to law.

"2nd. That it is the opinion of the joint Committee, that all persons of free condition who joined the rebels ought to be dealt with according to law.

"3rd. That it is the opinion of the joint Committee, that the thirty-one Maroons who surrendered at Vaughan's Field, under the proclamation of the 8th of August, together with the six deputies taken up at St. Ann's, having come in before any actual hostilities commenced, should be sent off the island, and some settlement provided for them in another country.

"4th. That it is the opinion of the joint Committee, that Smith, Dunbar, and Williams, with their wives and children, and the two boys who came in on the 1st of January, are entitled to the benefit of the treaty.

"5th. That it is the opinion of the joint Committee, that all the Maroons who are confined in Kingston, Falmouth, and elsewhere, that have petitioned the honourable House of Assembly to be permitted to take the benefit of an act passed in the year 1791, intituled 'An Act to repeal "An Act for the better order and government of the negroes belonging to the several negro towns, and for preventing them from purchasing of slaves; and for encouraging the said negroes to go in pursuit of runaway slaves; and for other purposes therein mentioned," and for giving the Maroon negroes further protection and security; for altering the mode of trial; and for other purposes,'—not having been at any time in rebellion, be allowed to do so, according to the prayer of their petition.

"6th. That it is the opinion of the joint Committee, that the Maroons who petitioned his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor on the 3rd of November last (the thirty-one Maroons who surrendered at Vaughan's Field excepted), being also guiltless of any act of rebellion, be likewise admitted to take the benefit of the said act.

"7th. That it is the opinion of the joint Committee, that all the Maroons who surrendered after the 1st of January, and until the 10th day of March last (within which period Johnstone and his party came in), not having complied with the terms of the treaty, are not entitled to the benefit thereof, and ought

to be shipped off the island; but the joint Committee are of opinion, that they ought to be sent to a country in which they will be free, and such as may be best calculated, by situation, to secure the island against the danger of their return; that they ought to be provided with suitable clothing and necessaries for the voyage, and maintained at the public expense of this island for a reasonable time after their arrival at the place of their destination.

"8th. That it is the opinion of the joint Committee, that Parkinson and Palmer, and all the Maroons who came in with them, are entitled to their lives only, but ought to be sent off the island; and as their conduct was marked by aggravated guilt, they ought, in the manner of their being sent off the island, to be dealt with more rigorously than those in the class mentioned in the preceding resolution.

"9th. That it is the opinion of the joint Committee, that as there may be among the rebels a few who, by their repentance, services, and good behaviour since their surrender, may have merited protection and favour, that it be recommended to his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor to permit such to remain in the island, together with their wives and children; and to distinguish them by any other marks of favour, as his Honour in his discretion may think proper.

"10th. That it is the opinion of the joint Committee, that the Lieutenant-Governor, in complying with the matters mentioned and recommended in the preceding resolutions, should be fully indemnified at the public expense."

Extract of a Letter from his Grace the Duke of Portland to his Honour the Lieutenant-Governor, referred to in the annexed Report, dated Whitehall, 8th January, 1796.

"From the cordiality and zeal with which the militia and the inhabitants in general co-operate with your lordship, I have no doubt of your being able to take such measures against the Maroons as will most speedily and effectually tend to their reduction.

"The very defence which, from their local situation and other causes, they have been able to make against a very superior force, renders it essential that the island, in any terms which may be granted them, should be secured against the possibility of a similar insurrection.

"This will, I conceive, be best effected, first, by not restoring to them their district; and secondly, by placing them in such a situation within the island (if it cannot be done out of it, which would be preferable) as will, from its nature, incapacitate them from contriving further mischief."

Questions proposed to his Honour the Lieut.-Governor, and his Honour's answers thereto, referred to in the annexed Report.

"Q. Whether General Walpole, upon the surrender of Palmer and Parkinson, and other Maroons in their party, had promised anything more than safety of their lives?

"A. Lives only.

"Q. Upon what terms were Harvey and Williams, the two brown men, received, and did they surrender in the character of negroes?

"A. They surrendered as Maroons, without any special conditions, and after January 1st.

"Q. Were the runaways surrendered by the Maroons, and were they received upon any express terms?

"A. No runaways have been surrendered by the Maroons; they came in in the character of Maroons."

To His Royal Highness Edward Duke of Kent, Governor of Halifax.

"Sir, "Jamaica, 3 June, 1796.

"The General Assembly of Jamaica have decided upon the fate of the Maroons lately in rebellion. They have determined that they shall not remain in this island; and, from the knowledge these Maroons have of the very strong fastnesses in the interior of this colony, it would be risking too much to reestablish them.

"The legislature of this island have passed an act, making it felony for these Maroons to return to Jamaica; their future destination must, of course, be fixed by his Majesty. These Maroons are now in three transport-ships,—the Dover, Lieut. Wilson, (44,) is one of the three vessels. I could wish extremely to keep them in Port Royal Bay in Jamaica until the King's pleasure should be known; but the very great scarcity of provisions that now unfortunately prevails here, and the convenience of getting the transports, put me under the necessity of sending them away to another port. I have therefore to request that they may be permitted to come to anchor at Halifax, until his Majesty's pleasure is signified. And from the early intimation I have given to his Majesty's ministers respecting the temporary allotment of these people, there cannot be a doubt but orders will arrive on the subject at Halifax about three weeks after your Royal Highness may receive this letter.

"One of the members of the House of Assembly, Mr. Quarrell, accompanies the Maroons. He has a letter of credit, and is very deserving of any attention that may be paid to him. He has also a commission, which he will, of course, lay before your Royal Highness.

"It would be a most fortunate and pleasing circumstance to the island of Jamaica, the permitting Mr. Quarrell to purchase some lands in Nova Scotia, or New Brunswick, for the settling of these Maroons; and he is charged with instructions, should this be granted to them, to provide suitable clothing, implements, and whatever else is deemed necessary for their establishment.

"I have the honour to remain, &c.

"BALCARRES."

Two Letters to Charles Yorke, Esq., published, with comments, by the writer, Lord Balcarres.

No. I.

"Dear Sir, "Jamaica, May 2, 1796.

"General M———, on the authority of a low, private letter, has arrogated to himself the right to call me to the bar of the House of Lords.

"If I stand charged at the bar of that august tribunal, I presume it will be at the instance of all the Commons of Great Britain,—not at the pleasure of General M———, who seems to have forgot the primary principles of the British constitution.

"My public character is never prominent; but, when contrasted with that of the honourable general, I think it is at least a matter of doubt which of us may first appear as a culprit at the bar of that right honourable House.

"The general has honoured me with the endearing names of friend and fellow-soldier.

"I dined twice in company with him during my whole life.

"I am gratified by being classed as his fellow-soldier, but I lament I never had the good fortune to serve one hour with him in any country.

"The only circumstance the general in his kindness and friendship has omitted is the calling me his fellow-citizen.

"I have the honour to be

"Very faithfully and sincerely yours,

"BALCARRES."

No. II.

Copy of a Letter from the Hon. Major-General Walpole to the Earl of Balcarres, dated Jan. 1, 1796.*

"My dear Lord,

"I now give the matter up; only Smith, Williams, and two boys are here; I shall send them to Falmouth to-morrow. I suppose that your lordship will admit them to the terms of the treaty upon which they have surrendered.

"I fear that our baggage negroes will not be here in time for me to move after these rascals in the morning, and that I must postpone it till Sunday. In this case, I shall endeavour to seduce the Maroons still to keep near us.

"Your lordship shall hear the result as soon as possible.

"Should any future parley proceed from them, I shall refer them to your lordship.

"I have the honour," &c.

Extract of a Letter from the Hon. Major-General Walpole to the Earl of Balcarres, dated Jan. 5, 1796.

"The Spaniards are, I fear, a little out of temper. If they cannot be kept, it would be better to avail ourselves of the breach of the treaty by the Maroons themselves, and move on,—as nothing can be clearer than that all treaty would soon terminate were they off the island."

Copy of a Letter from the Earl of Balcarres to Major-General Campbell, dated Castle Wemyss, 16 *Jan.* 1796.

"I have great satisfaction in announcing to you, that, in consequence of orders which I issued to Major-General Walpole, he moved forward with a strong column of regulars, accompanied by the Spaniards and the dogs.

"He had only advanced some hundred yards when a Maroon delivered a message from Johnstone. As he had experienced much trifling evasion and insincerity, it was judged expedient to move slowly on, merely taking the precaution of keeping the dogs in the rear of the column.

"In consequence of this arrangement of the line of march, which I conceive was both firm and temperate, the Maroons, to the number of two hundred and sixty, have surrendered.

"I have in my possession, of Trelawney Maroons, upwards of four hundred persons, of whom I count about one hundred and thirty men. Some of the young Maroons are still out, but I think we have a near and happy prospect of extinguishing the embers of this rebellion.

(Signed) "BALCARRES."

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* January 1st was the day appointed for carrying into execution the treaty ratified on the 28th of Dec. 1795, by which the Maroons stipulated to surrender themselves, and give up all the runaway slaves who had joined them in rebellion.

"Dear Sir,

"Do the above papers prove those crimes and cruelties imputed to me by the honourable general?

"Do they prove any forwardness on my part to use these dogs as a dreadful instrument of war?

"Is it of any weight that not a drop of blood was shed by these animals?

"These dogs were brought here at the instance of the General Assembly of Jamaica, who sent one of their own members to procure them, one of their own ships to convey them, and were at the sole expense.*

"It is most strange that the use which the Spaniards made of bloodhounds against the Indian inhabitants of the western world should be deemed by the honourable general a case parallel to ours.

"The Spaniards sent them, for *attack* and *robbery*, against the peaceful proprietors of those countries.

"This island has brought dogs (not bloodhounds, as they are styled) *for their own defence*, and *for their own protection*, against a banditti who had entered into a most dangerous and ungrateful rebellion.†

"These Maroon savages‡ possessed a country the most tre-

* "Apropos to the chasseurs and the dogs," says Lord Balcarres, in a subsequent letter to the Duke of Portland, "I have just discovered a letter, of which I send an extract; it not only shews that Jamaica had formerly used such an instrument unimpeached, but also that the measure of sending for these dogs had been adopted during the lives of the present generation."

† "Let us pause for a moment on the dreadful consequences, had those assassins succeeded,—certainly no less than a general revolt and the massacre of all the white people of Jamaica."

‡ "I served last war with eleven nations of Indian savages. Their dress is not more wild and fantastic than that of the Maroon savage; but the one is a real character, the other an assumed one.

"In war, a Maroon savage goes through his exercise with his hair plaited, his face besmeared, and his body painted the colour of the ground or foliage; he conceals himself; when discovered, he twists and turns to avoid his enemy's fire,—he throws his arms in the air with wonderful agility, and, when a victim falls, the children rush forward, and with their knives close the scene.

"As it suits their views, all this is reversed; they change with their dress their ferocity; they assume the most mild and most insinuating manners; they descend from the mountains to the plains, and mix with civilized society,—the proprietors of estates dare not, however, refuse them anything they ask.

"Looking at the country in a military [point of] view, it is this:—These Ma-

mendous, into which no European had ever dared to penetrate.

"*Their* skill and ability in planting ambushes made it impossible to reduce them by ordinary means.

"*Our* skill and ability started these ambushes by extraordinary measures—measures justified in the eye of God and man.

"An instrument of war* is in one case fair, and in another unfair.

"Why do the laws and customs of war authorize a fort to fire red-hot shot, and deny it to a ship of war? The reason is obvious; the one is defence, and the other aggression.

"It is upon that principle that I used the instrument in question in Jamaica.

"It is upon that principle that I have refused it to St. Domingo, who offered to reimburse to the island the expense, provided they could get the dogs.

"I refused them in the one case, because territory was to be acquired;

roons possessed a district, in the rear of their town, of amazing strength; and their policy was such as to deter all Europeans from approaching it.

"This country is in the centre of the island, and is surrounded by plains which, in the value of their produce and consequential effects, employ forty millions of British capital.

"To reduce my argument, as I would do a chart by a pentagraph, the power of these Maroons was that of a fort on an eminence which commands the plains below it:—that the Maroons understood this is evident; and the bolder sister of a bold and noted Maroon, on the first day of the rebellion, took the title of Queen of Montego Bay.

"In attacking the Maroons in their district, my line of operation was more than twenty miles long, the last six miles of which was through tracks and glades of which the military term *defile* can give no adequate idea; and notwithstanding our unremitted exertions, at no time could we bring up a force nearly equal in numbers to our enemy. Delay, in my opinion, would have produced as fatal effects, and was as much to be dreaded by us, as a defeat."

* "Why did the late Earl of Chatham make use of such an instrument of war as savages?

"Why did those great and illustrious characters, Lord Amherst and Marquis Townshend, avail themselves of such an instrument?

"That reason is also obvious:—If those officers had neglected to use them, the enemy would; and a dreadful responsibility would immediately attach,—no less than the sacrificing the lives of his Majesty's subjects, of wounding the sensibility, and committing the honour of their sovereign.

"In that case, which was supported by General Burgoyne, it was a fair instrument of war. But, if the neutrality of those savages could have been secured, the mildness of the British government would have absolutely fixed it an unfair instrument."

"I employed them in the other case, because territory is to be maintained by every possible means that resource can suggest.

"I *must* be judged by my actions; I desire no screen, no shelter, but the honour of my own mind.—But I publicly avow, in the face of the world,

"That if necessity had obliged me to use those dogs, I should have had exactly that compunction which yourself might have felt, if a murderer* had entered your gates, and was torn by your house-dog.

"I have the honour to remain

"Very faithfully and sincerely yours,

"BALCARRES."

To the Duke of Portland.

"My Lord Duke, "Jamaica, 9 May, 1796.

"In reply to your Grace's letter of the 3rd of March, I have, very shortly, to observe—That what I have done admits of no medium. I have either deserved the thanks of my country, or I merit to be branded with infamy, and separated from society as a monster of cruelty and barbarity.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the same.

"My Lord Duke, "Jamaica, 9th May, 1796.

"In obedience to his Majesty's commands, signified in your Grace's letter of the 3rd of March, I shall endeavour to col-

* "Let Britain shed her tears—let the strong nerves of Englishmen be unstrung—when I relate that the decollated head of the brave and gallant Colonel Fitch was found entombed in his own person, and both denied the rites of sepulture.

"One of the Maroon chiefs, in his *civilized* state, was overseer on the property of a Mr. Gowdie, who had always been an affectionate and indulgent master to him; he came to the house of his benefactor, murdered his nephew, murdered himself,—and gave as his reason, that all the Maroons had taken an oath to kill every white person. All our evidence establishes that the Maroons had entered into this obligation.

"Let this affecting narrative close with a melancholy truth, that all the prisoners who fell into their hands were murdered in cold blood; and the shrieks of some of the miserable victims were distinctly heard by their fellow-soldiers.—But let this island and the empire rejoice, that no barbarity, no act of retaliation, has disgraced the national character of virtue and humanity."

lect as many of the dogs as I can. But, the most of them being private property, I neither know where they are, nor can I enforce their being given up. However, such as I can procure shall be sent back immediately to Cuba.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the same.

"My Lord Duke, "Jamaica, 9 May, 1796.

"The island of Jamaica having conferred upon me a mark of their esteem by presenting me with a sword, I must remind your Grace that it is not lawful for me to accept of any present until I have his Majesty's permission.

"I therefore most humbly entreat his royal consent, to enable me to accept the very precious gift that is so tendered to me.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the Countess of Hardwicke.

"Dear Lady Hardwicke, "Jamaica, 10 May, 1796.

"I thought the saving of Jamaica and seventy millions of British capital was rather a good service.

"I find, however, that a man may lose empires, provided he does it only in a regular way.

"Thanks to Yorke! He is the only man who has ventured to say that a man of character may be consistent. My actions will bear me out, and, as they are before the public, honest ministers have no medium; they must censure or applaud. . .

"As to the propriety of what I have done, it can admit of no doubt. Ministers have got alarmed at the nature of the business, and I must have been sacrificed if I had not succeeded.

"Yours ever affectionately,

"BALCARRES."

To the same.

"Dear Lady Hardwicke, "Jamaica, 23 May, 1796.

"Mr. Foster Barham has taken up my cause, and that of Jamaica, so warmly that I have addressed a letter to him, as preparatory to my defence on the attack of Mr. Sheridan, as to the justice of the war, and its principle of being a war of extermination.—I can easily perceive that this business is not nearly finished, and that it will come forward again in the course of the next session of Parliament.

"Although the Maroons are extirpated, and that I have taken and dispersed four hundred slaves who had joined them in rebellion, there are a few slaves straggling in these fastnesses, who have descended last week into the plains, endeavoured to murder one man, and have severely wounded another. Sorry I am to say, that no party is equal to march against so small and apparently so insignificant a force; with the scenting-dogs which I had here, these men could have been followed and secured in a few days,—at present, they are exactly the foundation of a new race of Maroon savages. I have done *my* business, and let future governors save the island in their own way, and by their own resources, as they can. I certainly feel at present more obliged to my personal friends at home than to his Majesty's ministers; perhaps a necessity existed for them to stand between the King and a measure which might be unpopular in the first instance, and stamped with opprobrium in the second. However, one thing is certain, that, if I had not succeeded, poor Pil must have gone to the wall. . .

"Yours affectionately,

"BALCARRES."

To Foster Barham, Esq.

"Sir,

"I return you my most sincere thanks for the very manly and generous manner in which you have supported my conduct in the measures I adopted for the reduction of the rebel Maroons.

"I am astonished to find it has been asserted that the militia of Jamaica have been employed solely against the Maroons.

"The militia here were called out upon the same principle by which the militia of England were embodied. Danger was in every quarter:—the island swarmed with multitudes of French people of colour, that had been introduced to raise an insurrection —half the negroes on every estate were ready to revolt; but the quickness of my movements to crush the rebellion forced the slaves to wait the event of the Maroon war.

"The rapidity of our march with the light dragoons inspired them with such terror as to prove to me the happy effects that must positively result by my continuing to work upon that passion, —and this principle of the war I never lost sight of.

"Four hundred negroes did, however, join them in rebellion. And if I had not taken the precaution of destroying all the ground provisions in the neighbourhood of the Maroon town, this island was to a certainty gone.

"Had I delayed one moment, I should have had it only in my power to have informed his Majesty and the people of England,

with much correctness and great precision, of those causes by which the valuable island of Jamaica had been lost for ever to the British empire.

"Had I hesitated an instant, no after exertion of mine could have prevented a general massacre of all the whites in the island.

"My responsibility is immense—not only the lives of his Majesty's subjects, but also the preservation to the empire of seventy millions sterling of British capital, dependent on the prosperity of this island.

"As to the justice of the war:—The first intelligence I had of hostility was an overt act of rebellion on the part of the negroes by driving away their superintendent, and a public determination of those savages for war at all events against the *country*, signed by their colonel in his own name, and in the name of all the rest of the Maroons,—which was most duly notified. This was accompanied by entreaties from the country for troops to protect them.

"I thought the danger of magnitude, and marched against the rebels myself, but did not attack the Maroons before they attacked me; and it is notorious that his Majesty's troops were fired upon, and numbers killed, before one single shot was returned.

"You know the constitution of Jamaica, and that it is not in the power of any governor, or commander-in-chief, to make war either from his own caprice, or on any urgency whatever.

"Martial law can only be declared with the advice and opinion of a council of war.

"This council of war is composed of all the members of his Majesty's council, of the members of the House of Assembly, field-officers, &c.

"I laid before his Majesty's council the several papers which I had received, and the council advised me to call a council of war.

"A majority of the General Assembly were actually present at the council of war, and, on due investigation, unanimously voted for the declaring of martial law.

"More formality, more cool and temperate discussion, could not have been observed, nor could the sense of the country be more honourably or more effectually taken.

"The acrimony of those people who seem to have no other wish than to plant the seeds of discord and confusion in the British

empire makes no impression upon me; but I will tell those worthy characters, that neither themselves nor any man alive shall instruct me how I am to defend my post. I am solely responsible for it; and when my general conduct is disapproved at home, his Majesty will no doubt fix that responsibility upon some other person better qualified for the important charge of Jamaica than

"Your most obliged humble servant,

"BALCARRES."

To the Earl of Hardwicke.

[With Copies of Correspondence with General Walpole.]

"My dear Lord, "July 17, 1796.

". . . General Walpole has ventured to accuse this respectable country 'of a breach of faith towards the Maroons.' That General Walpole was the first man who asserted that the Maroons had violated the treaty stands established by himself.

"The ground he now takes is, that the treaty should have continued open from the 1st to the 14th of January.

"I should with pleasure have extended that indulgence, if, even on that day, the Maroons had complied with the first and third articles, so that the country might then have enjoyed a state of peace instead of a state of war.

"I have done General Walpole ample justice as a soldier. I look on the fair side of all men's actions; and although I had reason to be somewhat uneasy at his not securing such of the Maroons as did come in between the 15th of January and the ——, still I looked on General Walpole's exertions in getting in the remaining part of the Maroons as meriting the honourable mention of his name,—and I accordingly recommended him to his Majesty.

"But in the same proportion I condemn his after conduct as a politician.

". . . I well knew the cautions that were required to be taken in the steps of internal rebellion; and the consequences of my having taken every precaution, both as a soldier and as a man acquainted with the constitution of this island, have borne me out against a host of enemies. . .

"The intention of this letter is, to give the key to this business.

"The only disaffected parish in this island is the parish of St. James, which was the principal seat of the Maroon war.

"Notwithstanding the general support which I got from the other parts of the country, this parish did everything they could to thwart all my measures, both military and civil. The head of the party is a Major James, a bold, violent, and determined man, who had been formerly superintendent of the Maroons, which he had been forced to resign. This man rules a party in that parish with a rod of iron. The party, though small, was, however, formidable, as having in it two gentlemen who hold the rank of majors general in the militia, both of whom opposed me in everything. This Major James I have ever looked upon as the head of that rebellion, and I had it in serious contemplation, in conjunction with the Attorney-General, to prosecute him for high treason.

"Finding myself thus opposed, and being under the necessity of leaving the seat of war to meet the General Assembly, it was found indispensably requisite that a regular officer should be advanced to a rank which would supersede these two militia generals. This is the history of the rank of major-general, which I gave, *pro tempore,* to Lieutenant-Colonel Walpole; and, in order to give him further power to counteract this faction, I invested him by general orders with every power in that district that I could confer,—and nothing short of that was up to the case, so as to defeat the evil without plunging the country into confusion.

"I am sorry to say that General Walpole yielded to the intrigues of this party, and submitted to be entirely ruled by these designing men, who alone formed his councils and governed him in everything.

"Their interested policy made it necessary to create a schism, if possible, between the first and second in command.

"Hence, ...

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the Duke of Portland.

"My Lord Duke, "July 17th, 1796.

"I trust your Grace will forgive me for using the freedom to refer you to the letter I have written to Lord Hardwicke, analyzing and commenting upon General Walpole's correspondence.

"The truth is, that General Walpole was led astray by evil and designing men so very far indeed as imposes the necessity upon me to confute by evidence and proof those most extraordinary and wild opinions which he has advanced.

"I have troubled your Grace with general reasoning only, and, as I think it impossible that I can be incorrect in it, my wish is to stop short there, if it can be done with propriety; but it is most highly proper that your Grace should have an opportunity (if you choose it) to make yourself master of the whole circumstances,—and that may be done without bringing the matter to public controversy by the line I have adopted. . .

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

To the Right Hon. Henry Dundas.

"Sir, "Jamaica, 1 Oct. 1796.

"By the Duke of Portland's letter to me, of the 12th July, I evidently see that a most unfair impression is made on the mind of his Grace by Colonel Walpole. I shall only say that I am at issue with the colonel upon all public points, and the business (as far as it relates to him) lies completely and clearly stated in the hands of Lord Hardwicke, to which reference may be immediately had.

"I therefore wrote to his Grace the enclosed letter,—the arrival of the Westmoreland packet has prevented me sending it. I find the people of England are with me, but, as it is highly probable that the propriety of many points in that Maroon war may be the subject of public discussion, I take the liberty to send the letter to you, as being a short abstract of the whole; and I well know that you will give it that liberal exposition which a soldier, who

has acted upon upright intentions, may expect to receive from a fair and liberal investigation.—Should it be deemed worthy to be laid before his Majesty, it would be a comfort indeed to me,—and as nothing is more interesting to me than the preservation of the esteem of the Duke of Portland, I should be very happy in his receiving it, though not officially.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES."

"My Lord Duke, "Jamaica, 1 Oct. 1796.

"I am honoured by your Grace's letter of the 12th July, which relates to our sending the Maroons to Halifax, and also to the proposed removal of the 20th regiment of light dragoons. I am now to reply to what regards the Maroons, and in my following number I shall enter into the business of the 20th.

"I should, unquestionably, have preferred the detaining of the Maroons in Port Royal harbour until instructions should have arrived from your Grace; but the scarcity of all kinds of provisions, and an appearance of famine, made it impossible to subsist them here. Immediately on their departure Indian corn rose in price from 10*s.* to 32*s.* 6*d.* per bushel. Rear-Admiral Parker gave his consent to our using the transports for the purpose of conveying the Maroons to Halifax, but gave most powerful reasons why those transports could not remain in the harbour of Port Royal. The temper of the island was so justly irritated against those Maroons, that it would have been unsafe to have relanded them.

"The humanity of the measure, and not its severity, was another cause which most powerfully operated. Those people, if relanded, must have remained in rigorous imprisonment. To have allowed them to repossess their district of country, or to have given them an opportunity of doing it, would have been madness, and in direct opposition to my orders and instructions from your Grace and Mr. Dundas. The Maroons saw their situation, and were most impatient to leave the country. The generosity of this island has been unbounded. They have sent commissioners to watch over their comforts, to provide them in everything necessary to their happiness, and to establish them at the sole expense of

the colony.* To have sent the men without their families would have been cruel in the extreme. I must, however, impress on your Grace, that no Maroon was sent off, excepting such as had been concerned in the rebellion. All who were innocent were permitted to remain on the island.

"And now, my Lord, my honour, my character, and I may say my glory, impel me to make some solemn assertions; and if I do not make every one of them good to the minutest scruple—I surely can have no future claim to the confidence of his Majesty or my country.

"*First*:—If I have acted with rashness and intemperance, and plunged this island into a war without due grounds,—or that I could have avoided it by any means consistent with the preservation of Jamaica—

"*Secondly*:—If I have compromised the dignity of the Crown, by wantonly, cruelly, and unwarrantably carrying on a war of extirpation—

"*Thirdly*:—If I have, in the smallest degree, violated public faith—

"—In either of these cases, I ought to be regarded as a dangerous man, and unsafe to trust.

"As to the *First* point:—Before his Majesty's troops entered their district, those Maroons committed three most atrocious actions, which I construed into three overt acts of rebellion,—by chasing away the superintendent placed over them by law, and threatening to kill him; by setting fire to their towns, and also the King's house in that district (so named by being the residence of the superintendent); by attacking and killing his Majesty's soldiers, sent to secure the peace and to reestablish the quiet of the country.

"These were my reasons for entering their lands in a hostile manner.

"As to the *Second* point:—The Maroons carried on a war of extirpation against us; they murdered every white person who

£25,000
10,000
6,000
8,400
£49,400

* "I am to inform your Grace that large sums of money have been granted to defray the expenses of the Maroons at Halifax, from the day of their embarkation to the 22nd of July, 1798; the total sum voted in that period amounts, as per margin, to £49,400." *Letter to the Duke of Portland*, 1798.

fell into their power; they put to death all their prisoners; and they took an oath to spare no white person whatsoever.

"As to the *Third* point:—Did the Maroons comply with one article of their proposals, which were accepted as a treaty?—I say, *not one item of it.*

"My Lord, I think I have as competent a knowledge of the British constitution as any officer in my line of service. I know that humanity, benignity, and mercy, are the ornaments of the British Crown. I also know how intimately they are interwoven into the texture of our government. I hope and trust these may ever be my rule of action as a governor. But, where I have supported those principles—where I have offended none of them, nor even erred—I dare to shew the spirit of an upright man; and I call upon the justice of your Grace to vindicate my character, and to give it to the world with the stamp that belongs to it.

"I court investigation,—I think it may be demanded elsewhere,—and I stand pledged to answer to those three points. . .

"My Lord, although I have saved the island, it is of the highest importance to me to prove to his Majesty that I have done it by means strictly honourable,—and that I have not extinguished this rebellion as Gulliver did the flames of the palace of Lilliput.

"I have the honour, &c.

"BALCARRES.

"P.S. I add a postscript—to shew to your Grace that this country has barely acted up to its self-preservation, and also to shew the danger this island would have stood exposed to, had we relaxed in any point. The arms which the Maroons gave up are good for nothing; it now appears that they left in the woods other arms, and my conjecture is not unnatural that they left the good and brought in the bad. We have reason to believe this, as near one hundred runaway negroes have lately appeared armed. They had the address to conceal themselves for a long space of time after the conclusion of the Maroon war. Forty of them were lately seen in a body; they put to death one man,—but they enquired most earnestly of other negroes if the Maroons were really sent away, and, upon receiving assurances that it was so, they declared that they would never molest the whites. Is not

this an indication that the Maroons left this as a rallying point, in case this island had been so weak as to have given them the opportunity of repairing the error they committed in beginning their rebellion too soon?—One effect of our success has been, that the negroes hold us in high estimation, having conceived that the Maroons were not only invincible, but invulnerable.

"From our late intelligence it is evident that the plots of the enemy against Jamaica were getting into maturity; and perhaps it is not a wild idea, that their plans are rendered abortive by the unexpected reduction of the Maroons, and their measures thereby frustrated.

"I close this business by sending to your Grace the copy of a letter from Captain Gillespie to myself, which I beg may be added to those already sent. The justification of my conduct begins only with the commencement of hostilities. My responsibility does not go back to the causes of those hostilities. But this letter, with the others forwarded by me, as well as the intelligence which his Majesty's ministers received from other quarters, ought to carry conviction to men's minds that this war had its origin in French principles and the unjustifiable mode of warfare adopted in these islands by the ruling power in France. And, of whatever nature the spark might have been that set fire to the combustibles, the Maroon war had not its origin in the killing of a pig, or the consequent violence against the magistrates of Montego Bay for having sentenced two Maroon criminals to receive a punishment for that offence—those culprits having been regularly tried, according to the laws of the land, and duly convicted.

"BALCARRES."

ANECDOTES OF AN INDIAN LIFE,

BY

THE HON. ROBERT LINDSAY.

ANECDOTES OF AN INDIAN LIFE,

&c. &c.

INTRODUCTION.

"MEN leave the pictures of their frail and transitory persons to their families; some lineaments of their minds were a better legacy, and would make them more known to posterity."—The truth of my father's observation is obvious, and, were each individual to keep a diary of the occurrences that happen to him during his journey through life, anecdotes would be found, to fill an interesting volume. I, as an individual, have to regret that I did not pay attention to my father's suggestion thirty-five years ago, when, like the hunted hare, I returned to the native ground from which I was originally started; my trifling adventures were then full in my recollection, and might have been told to advantage; but sixty-five years of age neither improve the genius or memory of the narrator:—It was at this period of my life that, lying on the couch, suffering under a severe paroxysm of gout, and surrounded by my three daughters, Anne, Cecilia, and Elizabeth, who had in rotation exerted their young and cheerful minds to beguile the tedious hours, one of them took up my father's memoirs, and, having read the passage I have just now quoted—"Why do you not, my dear father," said she, "follow up this good advice? Here is pen, ink, and paper; exert your memory—dictate to us the events you recollect, as far as concerns your own private history, and we will to the best of our ability commit your ideas to paper." It was impossible to refuse their reasonable request, and, before the fit of gout was effectually removed, they contrived to squeeze from me the following short history of my active career, commencing at the period I left Britain, in 1768, and ending in 1789, embracing a period of

twenty years, when my narrative ceases. I then followed the example of my father in becoming farmer, and for the next thirty-five years devoted my time and attention to the cultivation and improvement of the portion of the Balcarres estate I purchased from my eldest brother, and my other landed property. On this subject I do not mean to enlarge, leaving it to some one of my family to describe how far I succeeded in my farming operations and improvements, or the reverse.

CHAPTER I.

I WAS born on the 25th of January, 1754, the second son of James Earl of Balcarres, and Anne daughter of Sir Robert Dalrymple.

In the autumn of 1768 my father died at Balcarres, leaving a family of eight sons and three daughters. My mother's brother, William Dalrymple, then a merchant at Cadiz, offered a situation for one of us; being the second son, this was proposed to me, who cheerfully accepted it, then at the age of fourteen.

Charles Dalrymple, my mother's youngest brother, carried my brother Colin and me to London. He left Colin at Mr. Rose's academy at Chiswick, and embarked me on board a Cadiz trading-vessel at Deptford. The talents of my brother Colin were far superior to mine; he was very handsome, showy in his appearance and elegant in his address; we were bosom companions, and the same intimacy continued till the latest period of his existence. Twenty-seven years afterwards, his duty as a general officer called him to the West Indies, where he fell a victim to that unhealthy climate. In the interval he served at Gibraltar during the memorable siege, and he has left behind him, as a proof of his abilities, an approved work on military tactics. So much for a favourite brother, whose memory I shall ever respect.

I lived with my uncle very happily for some months, when his affairs became involved in consequence of unsuccessful speculation to South America, and I therefore accepted my cousin Mr. James Duff's invitation to occupy a room in his house until my uncle's affairs were settled. The arrangement was soon made, and I took possession of my room and seat at the desk; but my good friend, Don Diego, was too kind a master, and, instead of giving me a fixed task in the counting-house, I did as I pleased, and learnt nothing, not even the language of the country. In a few months it was found advisable to send me to Xeres de la Frontera, the place where the Sherry wine is made. I was consigned to the care

of Don Juan Haurie, the correspondent of the house, with directions to have me instructed in the Spanish language without delay. Don Juan, on his part, made me over to his father confessor, a friar of the order of San Francisco, who gave me an apartment in the convent. I had no reason whatever to complain of my fare, and, having none to converse with but the friars, my progress in the language was rapid. I was regularly summoned to attend the morning prayers, and evening vespers followed of course; and before and after meals a long benediction was never omitted. Often during the course of the day, and particularly in my walks with the holy brethren, they admonished me to become a Roman Catholic, and, had I remained much longer there, they might have succeeded; fortunately, in four months, I was recalled to Cadiz, where the gaieties of the town soon made me forget the mysteries of the convent.

Xeres was then inhabited by many of the ancient Spanish nobility, who lived a retired and primitive life. Their chief amusement was a species of tournament, called the Manexo. The *noblesse* and better families, dressed in the ancient costume, and mounted on the most beautiful horses, attended by their servants (also mounted), entered the principal square, and were met, in the opposite direction, by other caballeros. They then ran at the ring, and performed many evolutions exhibiting dexterity and able horsemanship. Towards the close of the day, an active young bull was introduced, with a long rope affixed to his horns, so as to allow him to range over half the square. The younger nobility then amused the bystanders by playing around his horns, with infinite dexterity, in a thousand different ways, the bull occasionally clearing the whole square. When the horsemen were tired, the bull was made over to the people, who teazed him on foot until the animal was exhausted.

The regular bull-fight I will not describe, it being well known. The first one I saw was of a superb description, given to the ambassador from Morocco; it highly delighted the ladies, and drew from them gestures of applause and admiration, but upon me it had a very different effect,—I swore never to witness so barbarous a scene again; but we are all children of habit,—I again followed the crowd, and Viva el toro! was soon the order of the day with me as well as the Doñas. All who can command a pistoreen

flock to the bull-fights, which are the favourite amusement of the Spanish populace, and certainly not so barbarous as an English boxing-match.

I once more occupied my seat in the counting-house, but my assiduity at the desk was never conspicuous. Mr. Duff's business lay chiefly in the shipping department; ships, with cargoes in search of a market, came consigned to him from different parts of the world. He soon found that I had abundance of activity, and, in this department, was daily becoming more useful to him. One instance I will here mention. The better houses of Cadiz have each a tower, from which ships may be seen at a great distance. One morning, having risen early, it then blowing a heavy gale of wind, I looked through the telescope and observed a ship standing into the bay, with a signal of distress flying, and also carrying the distinguishing flag of Mr. Duff's house. I immediately ran down to the mole, and with much difficulty succeeded in getting a boat to venture off to the ship. Upon boarding her, I found that she had lost all her cables and anchors, and in this situation was drifting towards the shore before the wind. I put about, went on shore, and soon returned with all she required, and thus saved the vessel. For this Mr. Duff gave me a severe reprimand, but at the same moment slipped a couple of dollars into my hand, to carry me to the opera in the evening.

Some months had passed away, and I had nearly made up my mind to continue in the house, when a circumstance occurred to change my destination to a distant part of the globe, and make me take leave of my worthy friend for ever. Although fifty years have elapsed since we then parted, the recollection of his kindness has left an impression upon me never to be effaced, and it is a tribute due from me to his memory to say that he possessed more benevolence and urbanity than any man I ever was acquainted with. He died at Cadiz, upwards of eighty years of age, respected and beloved by the Spaniards, and every one who knew him. His mild and unsuspecting temper made him often a prey to designing men, which greatly impaired his private fortune, and kept him abroad at a period of life when he ought to have been enjoying the fruits of his industry at home, and this circumstance has at times drawn from me regret at my having

left him, as I might perhaps have kept such visitors more at a distance.*

* * * * * * * *

In the spring of the year 1772 I embarked for India on board

* Mr. Duff, afterwards Sir James Duff, and British Consul at Cadiz, was the son of William Duff of Crombie by Elizabeth Dalrymple, half-sister of Anne Countess of Balcarres, and brother of the Lady Dumfries mentioned *supra*, tom. ii. p. 318.—His attachment to Mr. Robert Lindsay descended to his son, the present Colonel Lindsay of Balcarres, who spent many months in his society when a lieutenant in the Guards at Cadiz in 1811-1812.—" On the day after our arrival," says Colonel Lindsay, " a large party of the officers were taken bodily to be presented to Sir James. He was a tall, thin, elderly gentleman, about seventy, with the appearance of having been very handsome in early life—black eyes, still brilliant, although not with love, but sparkling with fire and animation, and loyalty to the cause in which we were all embarked.

" During a residence of forty years and upwards in Spain, he had contracted much of the habits and character of the Spaniard, grafted upon a naturally poetic and enthusiastic temperament; he was chivalrous and generous to a fault, believed the Spaniards to be like himself and equally to be trusted, hated the French, and loved his own countrymen,—and, like my grandfather, considered and treated all women as ladies, and ladies as princesses. Such a character, as may well be supposed, was adored by the Spaniards, whose best qualities he only carried too far; his purse was ever open to the distressed, and his noble sentiments, if not sympathised with, at least were fully appreciated by them. They considered him a Spaniard, and he was known by the name of Don Diego. It was a singular proof of the estimation in which he was looked upon in Spain, that he borrowed money cheaper than the English Government could do, with all its credit; he thus supplied Lord Wellington and his army at a cheaper rate than they could get it elsewhere. This would have given Sir James a large fortune, but he was not of a character ever to make a fortune. A table of sixteen covers was laid every day at his house, where all strangers met in association—the captain of the English trader with the grandee of Spain, the general officer with the captain of a transport, the admiral with possibly a midshipman. Respect was shewn to rank, forms were duly attended to, and no liberties except what good breeding permitted were ever taken at his table. He sat till the clock struck a certain hour, and then all arose for coffee, and departed.

" Such was the character of this fine old gentleman—to whom we were all individually introduced. Being one of the youngest, I was one of the last presented to him, but, on being named, he looked at me, saying, ' Lindsay! what Lindsay, Sir?'—I replied, ' My father is Robert Lindsay,'—on which the old man, seizing me with both hands, exclaimed, ' Sir, I have more to say with you presently,'—he then bowed to the assembly, asked them all to dinner, and bid them good morning.

" So soon as they had left the room, he took me by the hand, and, after carefully examining all my features, he said, ' I loved your dear father as my son; he was a gallant boy—and you shall be my son whilst here.' He then took me to the best room in his large house, and, opening the door, said, ' This is your room so long as you stay at Cadiz—none other than yourself shall occupy it.' I remained at Cadiz, or the Isla, nearly a year, during which time I always went there when I could get leave, and generally took two and often three companions along with me, who were always welcome to his hospitable table."

the Prince of Wales East Indiaman, commanded by Captain Court, a peppery Welshman with only one arm,—the other he had lost in a duel with one of his passengers, the former voyage, respecting a young lady, to whom they were both attached. More than forty passengers accompanied me on board, and, while they were occupied in gazing at the masts and rigging, which to me were of little novelty, I stepped up to the captain, and asked him to desire the carpenter to chalk my name on my berth, and I thus secured the best situation on board allotted for the writers, my experience at Cadiz already turning to good account. The passengers, upon coming down and seeing my name in large letters, proposed drawing lots; but, in such cases, possession is more than nine points of the law, and I kept my berth during the voyage. At that early period the navigation of the eastern seas was not so well understood as at present,—the ships were not then coppered, and were of course bad sailers; the voyage was therefore seldom performed in less than six months. So long a passage is rendered pleasant or the reverse according to the society on board. Ladies we had none; nor shall I enter into the nice question whether their company in so long a voyage is conducive to the general happiness or not—much may be said on both sides; upon the whole, we were very happy. Our captain certainly did not give us the best of fare, or indulge us with costly viands; of this, however, we did not complain; but, when put on short allowance of water, under a tropical sun, finding that a numerous pack of fox-hounds had their usual allowance undiminished, we remonstrated in strong language,—to this he paid no attention; we then determined to lodge a complaint against him upon our landing, but, on approaching the shore, he thought it prudent to make an ample apology, and all was forgotten.—Upon our voyage we stopped a fortnight at the Cape of Good Hope. The town is beautiful, but affords little novelty to a stranger; the country, upon the whole, exhibits a sterile appearance, there being very little ground capable of cultivation in the vicinity, some few partial spots excepted between the mountains, such as the farm of Constantia and others, producing all that can be wished for both as to grain and fruit.

Our captain took a great stock of sheep from the Cape, of which the seamen expected to partake largely; but, finding

themselves disappointed, a trifling occurrence took place the following Sunday, which gave us a good laugh. During divine service on deck, the hundredth psalm was given out by the clerk, when, instead of the words,

"And for his sheep he doth us take,"

a stentorian voice sung out,

"And from us our Cape sheep did take!"

The captain looked foolish, but they had abundance of mutton next day for dinner.

From the day we left the Cape until we struck soundings off the sand-heads of Bengal, nothing interesting occurred, excepting that more than once we fell in with the Rockingham, Hamilton, bound to China; my brother William was a midshipman on board; we were often so close as distinctly to see each other with the telescope. He was afterwards lost, poor fellow! homeward bound, at St. Helena; in sculling a shipmate on shore, his foot slipped, and he fell overboard, at too great a distance to receive assistance from the ship. William was a sweet-tempered pleasant lad, and, had he lived, he would have succeeded well, as he was an excellent seaman.—The pilot now took us in charge, conducting the ship over an intricate navigation, and in a few hours we came to anchor at Saugur Island, in the mouth of the Hoogly river, a branch of the Ganges, leading to Calcutta. Here, on taking leave of the officers, and descending from the ship, old Budworth, the chief mate, attended at the gangway and shook us by the hand, with the consoling speech, "Farewell, my lads! you will stow away better homeward bound;" and too truly was this verified, for, upon my embarking for Europe eighteen years afterwards, I well remembered Budworth's laconic observation, and, upon looking over the melancholy list, I could only trace the names of five of my fellow-passengers in existence.

In approaching the town of Calcutta nothing can be more beautiful or have a finer effect than the appearance of the banks, everywhere studded with country villas, covered with beautiful verdure, and resembling the best cultivated counties of England, —very different from what one would expect to find under a vertical sun. The continual succession of ships, from all nations,

passing up and down, enlivens the scene, and gives the most delightful prospect to a stranger after a long and tedious voyage. Fort William then comes into view, its stupendous outworks and bastions overhanging the river, and forming one of the most magnificent *coups d'œil* I ever witnessed; nor is the landscape at all impaired in viewing the town of Calcutta from the river, or on the side of the esplanade; the houses exhibit an uncommon degree of elegance, giving the town the appearance of a city of palaces, and impressing the stranger with a high idea of the opulence of the inhabitants. There is less attention paid to symmetry than in houses in Europe; each proprietor indulges his fancy in the style of architecture; but all agree in studying ventilation in that sultry climate, one house projecting, the other retiring, so as to give a free circulation of air; they are in general flat in the roof, with an easy access to the terrace, which affords one a refreshing walk in the cool of the evening.

CHAPTER II.

I LANDED in Calcutta in September, 1772, in perfect health; and although the weather then was extremely sultry, still I found little inconvenience from it, my early residence in Spain having accustomed me to such; and I continued to take exercise whilst my more delicate companions confined themselves to the house. My fellow-passengers in the civil line were now appointed to do duty in the different offices under government, and I was named as assistant to the Accomptant-General in the revenue department. I preferred this situation, as it afforded me immediate opportunity of becoming acquainted with all the subordinate branches in that line, in which I aspired, sooner or later, to be an active agent.

The study of the Persian language now occupied a considerable portion of my time,—not that I mean to infer that I was more studious than my contemporaries; it was not then the fashion to fatigue ourselves with hard labour; there were abundance of native scribes in all the offices to do the drudgery, and our task-masters were not strict. Under such circumstances it was not a matter of surprise if many of us were more idle than otherwise; I followed the tide, and a merrier set could not be found,—there was fortunately little or no dissipation amongst us.

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In the year 1774 Warren Hastings had been Governor-General of India more than five years; never had any one before occupied that station with a higher character. He was beloved and respected by natives as well as Europeans, and the Company's finances had never been in a more flourishing condition; we were at peace with every power, and there was not less than three millions of cash in the Company's treasury. Notwithstanding this, Mr. Hastings had evidently incurred the displeasure of the rulers at home, and three new members were sent out to overrule him, and compel him to leave India. Their names were General

Clavering (to succeed to the chair), Colonel Monson, and Philip Francis. Immediately upon their arrival disputes of a very serious nature commenced, Mr. Hastings being left in a minority in every debate.—As these pages are only meant to trace my own history while in India, I will not enter into a political digression as to the merits of these disputes. I had resided for nearly two years in Sir John Clavering's society; I was therefore marked as a party man, and passed over in the general promotion, when, had I been a man of address, and known how to have made the most of my political interest at home, the best appointments would have been at my service. But on these points I was then ignorant as a child, and allowed the golden opportunity to pass by.

In the beginning of the year 1776 the interior province of Bengal was managed by provincial councils consisting of five members [each], with secretary, accomptant, and assistants; one was stationed at Patna, another at Moorshedabad, and the third at Dacca; the revenue, the internal police, and civil judicature were all under their control in their subordinate branches. An appointment under either of these boards was considered as certain promotion, as it withdrew one from the enormous expenses young men are subject to in Calcutta. I therefore cheerfully accepted an offer made me by Mr. Broughton Rous, then appointed Revenue Chief of Dacca, to accompany him to that station as youngest assistant.

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In the autumn of this year I left Calcutta on my way to Dacca by water; we embarked at Balaghaut on the salt-water lake three miles to the eastward, and in a few hours found ourselves in the Sunderbunds, completely secluded from the world in a wilderness of wood and water. This navigation is part of the Delta of the Ganges, extending more than two hundred miles along the coast, through thick forests, inhabited only by tigers, alligators, and wild animals peculiar to a tropical climate; the human population is very scanty, the country being overflowed every spring-tide by salt water. It is a dreary waste of great extent, but beautiful in the extreme, the lofty trees growing down to the water's edge with little or no brush or underwood. The

innumerable rivers and creeks which intersect this country in every direction form a passage so intricate as to require the assistance of a pilot; its windings are like the mazes of a labyrinth, in which a stranger would find himself immediately bewildered. In twelve days I found myself domiciled at Dacca, and the situation, I found, in every respect suited my genius; the society was not numerous, but pleasant,—independent of the Company's servants there were several free merchants, who carried on a considerable trade; between both I passed my time most comfortably.

Dacca is a large straggling town, extending along the banks of a most beautiful river, a branch of the Ganges. In its outward appearance it is evidently upon the decline, the houses of the natives being mean and insignificant; but the ruins of bridges, decayed porticos, and columns, some of them of no mean architecture, shew that it has formerly been a place of note. Some centuries ago, it was, in fact, the residence of the viceroy, and the capital of the Bengal province, under the Grand Mogul; the seat of government was, after a lapse of time, transferred to Moorshedabad, and from that period Dacca began to decline; the only good houses now to be seen are those belonging to the English families. The actual population of the natives has by no means decreased, and manufactures and cultivation bear every appearance of prosperity.*

* "Dacca," adds Mr. Lindsay, "had nothing curious to boast of, or to attract the attention of a stranger, excepting a very remarkable piece of ordnance." It was thirty-six feet long, made of hammered iron, being an immense tube of fourteen bars, with rings driven over them, and beaten down to a smooth surface, so that its appearance was very good, although its proportions were faulty. "By its side lay a stone ball, which fitted its calibre; the strongest man in the place could with difficulty raise it to his knee,—had this ball been made of metal, it would have weighed four hundred pounds avoirdupois." The gun itself must have weighed 64,814 pounds, or about the weight of eleven thirty-two pounders.—"It must here be particularly remarked, that the natives are totally unacquainted with mechanics, and how they contrived to manufacture this unwieldy gun, and move it in and out of the forge during the operation, has hitherto baffled all calculation.

"The inhabitants explain the phenomenon in their own way,—it fell from heaven, they say; in honour of which event a lamp has been kept burning within it from time immemorial, and it was worshipped as a shrine, or the abode of an invisible deity, until the period it disappeared, which happened about the year 1780.—This magnificent gun unfortunately did not lie on *terra firma*, but on an island opposite the town of Dacca; the river had been gradually encroaching upon

Soon after my arrival the death of Colonel Monson gave Mr. Hastings once more the majority in council and controlling power. My patrons at Dacca, Mr. Rous and Mr. Holland, were thus left in the minority. Mr. John Shakespear, Mr. Matthew Day, and Mr. Hogarth, the other three gentlemen in council, belonged to the opposite party. I was the youngest man in the settlement, and endeavoured, as far as lay in my power, to keep clear of politics. The public business was transacted by a few able individuals, and the younger servants had full leisure to amuse themselves. When the periodical rains subsided, we encamped in tents upon the plains of Tongee, and enjoyed the sports of the field to the fullest extent. I was particularly fond of the wild-boar chase, a bold and manly amusement, in which both courage and dexterous horsemanship are required. Our weapon consisted only of a short, heavy spear, three feet in length, and well poised; the boar, being found and unkennelled by the spaniels, runs with great speed across the plain, is pursued on horseback, and the first rider who approaches throws his javelin; if he misses his aim, he is obliged to dismount and recover his weapon, and his place in the field is occupied by the next in succession, who wounds his enemy; a third rider transfixes him to the ground. Unless one is accustomed to ride, and well mounted, it becomes a dangerous amusement. I have seen many accidents happen from the ferocity of the boar. Both tigers and leopards are occasionally met with, but we are not fond of attacking them without fire-arms.

Upon one occasion, I was mounted upon a very unruly horse,

its banks, and my friend, John Cowe,[a] who possessed considerable mechanical abilities, had, in concert with me, formed a plan of building a vessel to transport it to Calcutta, but we were removed from the place before our intentions were accomplished, and the gentlemen of Dacca, with an unpardonable degree of apathy, allowed the current to undermine the banks, and the gun now lies at the bottom of the river, never to be recovered.—The natives say there is nothing extraordinary [in its disappearance], for it has only returned to heaven, from whence it came."

Mr. Hamilton thinks it was probably fabricated towards the end of the seventeenth century, when Dacca was the residence of Azim Ushaun, grandson of Aurungzebe. *Description of Hindostan*, tom. i. p. 185.

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[a] "At Dacca I made acquaintance with my venerable friend, John Cowe. He had served in the navy so far back as the memorable siege of the Havannah, was reduced, when a lieutenant, at the end of the American war, went out in the Company's military service, and here I found him in the command of a regiment of *Sebundees*, or native militia. He continued my steady friend for forty years, when he died, in the year 1818."

and was obliged, to my great mortification, to quit the field. In returning to the tents, accompanied by my servant, I fell in with a large boar, which I attacked, and was fortunate enough to kill. I had him carried to our encampment, and, with the assistance of the cook, cut off his head, and, with much dexterity, sewed it on his hind-quarters, by which means my boar became a *lusus naturæ* of a very unusual description, his fore-legs being much longer than the hind ones. As such, I exhibited him to my companions when they returned from the chase; various, indeed, were the debates that ensued respecting the animal, until the trick was discovered. With these and such other amusements our time passed merrily on.—But, amidst all our sports, I never lost sight of the prospect of returning to my native country, and was anxious to be placed in some situation wherein I might derive some benefit from my own industry.*

* In a letter from Mr. Lindsay to his mother, dated Dacca, 5 March, 1776—after describing his position, duties, &c., and giving a minute description of his person, growth, and address, such as he knew would interest a mother's heart, he proceeds as follows:—" With regard to my abilities, you are a judge of them,—although, taking the run of mankind in general, I think, without flattering myself, I have my share, but not more; I never was born to make a shining figure in the world. I think I enjoy a full proportion of common sense, which, joined to the experience I have had of the world, has taught me to behave in a manner to gain the friendship of all my acquaintances,—as to enemies I have none; at least I flatter myself so.

" I am sometimes told that my ideas are confused,—I believe it is true; what is still harder, I have unfortunately got a difficulty of expressing those I possess,—in such a manner as to make it extremely disagreeable to myself, and which often makes me silent when I could wish to communicate them; this is owing, I believe, in a great measure to my having paid too little attention to English history and to my own language in general, by which I might in some degree have acquired what I am not naturally possessed of, I mean a fluency of speech, which I look upon as a very great accomplishment. I have unfortunately got into a bad school for improvement, having already acquired the indolence of an old Indian,—not that I permit it to interfere with my business, but in trifling away those hours which I might convert to my improvement. I have likewise got a very bad memory; from this I also find great inconveniency. The French, Portuguese, and Spanish I speak pretty fluently, from which I have found great benefit, especially among foreigners. The Persian language I have neglected too much—the Moorish (Hindostani) I talk as well as most of my contemporaries, which in the common course of business is much more useful than the Persian, which now is not of near so much consequence as formerly, from the influence of the country powers being much curtailed and the business carried on in our own language.

" Thus," he adds, " to the best of my judgment, have I given you as near a description of myself as is in my power,—if I have been rather partial, you must recollect most of us have a better opinion of ourselves and our own abilities than the world in general entertain of us; therefore you must make the proper allowances."

On the east side of the Brahmaputra river lies the province of Sylhet. It is of considerable extent, reaching from the east bank of that large river, and extending to the high range of mountains which separates our territories of Bengal from the dominions tributary to China; according to Major Rennell's account, the Chinese frontier is only distant three hundred miles from ours; the intermediate space is but thinly inhabited, and occupied by tribes of independent Tartars. During the Mogul government a considerable military force was kept up at Sylhet for its defence,—the troops were maintained on the feudal system, and had lands allotted to them under the hills for their military services.

The district yielded little or no revenue to government beyond a few elephants, spices, and wood; and they were often obliged to remit considerable sums for its defence against the predatory incursions of the mountaineers. The station itself was always considered as an honourable appointment, and as such was occupied by a near relation of the Nabob of Bengal.

This district had for some years fallen under the superintendence of the Dacca Council, and two years previous to my appointment my friend Mr. W. Holland, as one of the members of that Council, had been deputed to effect a settlement with the Sylhet landholders, with power to cess with revenue, or levy a rent from those lands held on military tenure. Such a transaction is seldom accomplished without much difficulty.

Mr. Holland, having finished his business in that troublesome settlement, returned to Dacca, and presented his rent-roll to the Council, amounting to no less than 25,000*l.* per annum; but said, at the same time, that they were a most turbulent people, and that it would require much trouble to realise it; the other members held the settlement in derision. My intimacy with Mr. Holland continued to increase; he was a man of high honour and principle, possessing a considerable fortune which he inherited from his father. In a confidential conversation with me, he regretted that his health did not permit him to return to Sylhet to complete the work he had so prosperously commenced. "I am sensible," said he, "it will prove an arduous undertaking, and none but a man possessed of a sound constitution, with great energy and determination, is fit for it." I thought for some time, and, turning quickly round, I said, "I know the man who will suit you ex-

actly."—"And where is he to be found?" said Mr. Holland. I answered, "I am the man!" Upon which my friend threw himself back in his chair, and, with a loud laugh, replied, "Lindsay! you are the most impudent fellow alive! Our establishment is more than twenty in number, eighteen of whom would jump at the appointment; and here are you, the youngest of the whole, aspiring to it yourself!"—"And can you blame me, my friend," said I, "for looking to the top of the tree?"—"By no means," said he, "but how can the thing be accomplished?"—"The thing is difficult, I allow, but, with such a friend as you, much may be effected. May I look for your support at a future day should I be proposed by the other members in Council?"—"You shall have it," said he. All I then asked was, that he should not retire until I saw a little daylight in the business, and that, in the mean while, our conversation should remain a secret; to this he willingly consented.

I had now taken my ground, having left a favourable impression on Mr. Holland, and I well knew the high opinion the other members of the Council had of his judgment; but to advance farther without carefully probing my way was dangerous.

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Among the numerous articles of commerce carried on in the interior of the Dacca district, salt is not the least considerable. It is manufactured by the agents of government on the sea-coast, and preserved as a monopoly for the benefit of the Company. At certain periods it is brought up in large boats to Dacca, and there exposed to public sale. My commercial education at Cadiz was now beginning to shew itself of use to me. In the mode of exposing the lots to sale I could perceive no small intrigue was carrying on, for I saw that the natives had not that free access to the public sale to which they were entitled, and that the lots fell, as they were put up, to the dependents of the members in Council, who by this means gained to themselves a considerable advantage.

A fair opportunity, I thought, now occurred of bettering myself without injury to the public; I therefore conversed with a wealthy native on the subject, who fully entered into my views, and proposed to advance me a large sum of money upon a mutual concern, provided I would appear as the ostensible person. I, in conse-

quence, appeared at the next sale, and became the purchaser of salt to the extent of 20,000*l.*; and the speculation turned out so well as fully to enable me to pay off all the debt I had contracted during my long residence in Calcutta, and to place a few thousand rupees in my pocket.—Nor was this the only advantage I gained by my well-timed energy. The system I had introduced was not altogether approved of by some of the members of the Council, as militating against certain rules they had laid down; and this, I have reason to think, soon after facilitated my removal far from Dacca. A happier man could not exist than I was at that period, clear of the world, with a lesson of experience.

My friend Mr. Holland soon after informed me that he had made up his mind not to return to Sylhet. I then for the first time went to my friend Mr. Rous, our resident, and laid my wishes before him as to succeeding Mr. Holland in his appointment. He answered coolly, that he would be happy to forward my views, but that he saw little prospect of my success, being the youngest member in the settlement. I owned the difficulty was great, but said, "Should my name be proposed in Council by the opposite party, I hope it may meet with your concurrence?"—To this he cheerfully consented.—Thus were two members gained; I had only to look for a third to obtain a majority, and I addressed myself to John Shakespear, who had at that time the lead in Council. I found that gentleman well inclined to serve me, and he promised his support, under the stipulation that I would provide for two of his dependents,—that I of course agreed to, and this same gentleman proposed my name next day in Council to succeed Mr. Holland, who resigned; this was unanimously agreed to, but it had the effect of creating much discontent among the junior servants of the settlement, who were all my seniors, none of whom had the least idea of my looking up to an appointment so far above my standing in the service, and [they] determined among themselves to counteract it, as will appear in the sequel.

I had now attained the summit of my ambition, and bade adieu to Dacca, where I had lived for upwards of two years with much comfort and satisfaction.—Proceeding down the river for twenty miles, we stopped at Feringee-bazar; at this place the Dacca river, which is a branch of the Ganges, joins the great Brahmaputra; when both united, they are known by the name of Megna,

and form one of the largest rivers in the world. This river I had now to ascend for many miles, but, as the periodical rains had set in, the whole country exhibited a most melancholy and desolate appearance, being involved in a general deluge. This sudden rise of water is not occasioned by the rains that fall in the adjoining country, but by the melting of the snow and ice early in the summer in the Himalaya and other lofty mountains in Tartary, in Assam, Thibet, &c., all of which furnish their tributary streams, and assist in overflowing the lower provinces of Bengal in their rapid course to the ocean; laying the whole country for three months of the year under water, and, similar to the Nile, fertilizing the land for the ensuing crops. I shall not therefore be disbelieved when I say that, in pointing my boat towards Sylhet, I had recourse to my compass, the same as at sea, and steered a straight course through a lake not less than one hundred miles in extent, occasionally passing through villages, built on artificial mounds,—but so scanty was the ground, that each house had a canoe attached to it. The inhabitants, of course, live in much misery during the rains.

In crossing this country I frequently passed through fields of wild rice, forming the most beautiful verdure, so thick as to exclude the appearance of water; the herbage giving way to the boat as it advanced, and again rising immediately behind it, formed a very novel scene; we were thus encompassed by a sea of green. One thing I found extremely unpleasant, which was, the myriads of insects which rose from the grass when disturbed, but were more particularly felt when we had candles. I mention these circumstances, as the low country I am now describing is to be under my control and management for the next twelve years of my life.

On the seventh day after my leaving Dacca, the lofty mountains behind Sylhet came into view; they appeared as a dark cloud at a great distance, intersected with perpendicular streaks of white, which, I afterwards found, were cataracts of considerable magnitude, seen at a distance of forty miles, in the rainy season. Soon after, the Soormah, or Sylhet river, came in sight, distant from Sylhet thirty miles. The country here improved, the banks of the river became higher, and everything assumed a more comfortable appearance. I was at this place met by the Omlah, or

officers belonging to the establishment, who hailed my arrival in a variety of boats dressed out for the occasion, and accompanied me to the house intended for my residence. On asking for the town, I found the whole consisted of an inconsiderable bazar, or market-place, the houses of the inhabitants being fantastically built and scattered upon the numerous hills and rising grounds, so buried in wood as to be scarcely discernible. The appearance was singular, but had every mark of comfort.

CHAPTER III.

I WAS now told that it was customary for the new resident to pay his respects to the shrine of the tutelar saint, Shaw Juloll. Pilgrims of the Islam faith flock to this shrine from every part of India, and I afterwards found that the fanatics attending the tomb were not a little dangerous. It was not my business to combat religious prejudices, and I therefore went in state, as others had done before me, left my shoes on the threshold, and deposited on the tomb five gold mohurs* as an offering.

Being thus purified, I returned to my dwelling, and received the homage of my subjects. One of the tenets, both of the Hindoo and Mahometan faith, is, never to present themselves to their superiors empty-handed; my table was in consequence soon covered with silver, none offering less than one rupee, others four or five. In return, the great man, whoever he is, gives the donor a few leaves of pawn and betel-nut.

The business of the different offices was at this time conducted by two of Mr. Holland's confidential agents, Gorhurry Sing and Permnarain Bose; they were both men of good character, and, as such, I confirmed them in their charges. The former continued with me during my stay in India, and, for thirty years after my return to England, he corresponded with me as his attached friend. Exclusive of the officers belonging to the revenue department, we had also a full establishment of black officers in the court of judicature, over which court it was one of my numerous duties to preside. In this arduous undertaking I was greatly assisted by several pundits, who always attended to explain the law, and were of much use when difficulties occurred. The criminal court continued as yet under the charge of the Nabob of Bengal, and remained so for some years, when a different arrangement took place. The population of the country I found almost equally divided between the Hindoo and Mahometan.

* A coin worth sixteen rupees in Bengal.

The former were a much more inoffensive race than the latter, whom upon many occasions I found troublesome.

I will now endeavour to give an account of the revenues of the country over which I presided, and which essentially differ from [those of] every other part of India. There was little silver or copper in circulation, and the circulating medium was carried on entirely in cowries, or small shells, such as are used in the African trade as ornaments for the women. This cowrie, or shell, is well known in every part of Bengal, and used in the purchase of the smaller articles of life by the lower ranks of society, and they answer all the purposes of commerce. How they became the only circulating medium of a country three hundred miles distant from the sea, is a question neither I nor any other person has been able fully to explain. The coast of Bengal, extending along the top of the bay for two hundred and fifty miles, viz. from Balasore to Chittagong, is an entire morass; neither stones nor shells are to be found in this extensive tract,—the soil consists entirely of mud; nor is the cowrie to be found either on the opposite coast of Malabar or Coromandel. They are in fact seen nowhere in any quantity but on the Maldive and Nicobar islands in the mouth of the bay of Bengal, not less than fifteen hundred miles distant from Sylhet, where I resided.

These low islands are but thinly inhabited, and furnish no commercial produce beyond cowries and cocoa-nuts, both of which are brought over to Chittagong, in the south-east corner of the bay of Bengal, from whence they are dispersed all over the country, and eventually find their way to Sylhet, as being the poorer country, and more suitable for the purchase of the smaller articles of traffic in lieu of copper currency. There is likewise, in the months of October and November, when the waters subside, a trade to a great extent carried on in the article of fish, which employs many thousands of the inhabitants, and certainly has the effect of drawing more cowries into the country than all the other branches of commerce united, and this may in a great measure account for the circulation.*

* It is impossible to describe the immense quantity of fish of every description left in the pools on the plain when the waters subside into their original channels, and which, being gathered by the inhabitants, are afterwards exposed to dry in the sun, and occasion a smell of the most noxious nature. The fish, being dried, are buried

I have now to describe the manner in which we received the rents from the country, and afterwards remitted them to Dacca. The actual collection amounted to 250,000 rupees. It is here natural to ask, how many cowries go to a rupee? I give you a distinct answer:—four cowries make one *gunda;* twenty gundas make one *pun;* sixteen puns make one *cawn*, and four cawns one *rupee.* Thus, when multiplied together, you will find that the rupee contains 5120 cowries; again, multiply these by eight, being the number of rupees in one pound sterling, and the produce is 40,960 cowries in one pound. You may imagine then how troublesome it was to manage this ponderous circulation, when received as the revenues of the country. It required, in fact, many large cellars or warehouses to contain them, and, when finally collected for the year, a large fleet of boats to transport them to Dacca.

This operation, in all its details, occasioned a loss of no less than ten per cent., exclusive of depredation on the passage down. Until my appointment to Sylhet, it had been the invariable practice to count over the whole balance in the treasury previous to embarkation; but I was determined to shorten the process, and receive the shells by weight. The black treasurer (who was a sagacious man) assured me it was impossible; with the high tone of authority, I told him "my orders must be obeyed,"—a low bow was the consequence—the measure was filled, and I felt proud at my wisdom. I was absent for a few minutes, when, returning, I found the cowries just weighed had become one-third heavier without apparent reason,—the old treasurer betraying at the same time a sarcastic smile—"What is the cause of this, Kazanchy?" —"Nothing, Sir, but a little sand, which will turn the scale at any time."—"You are right, my friend, but it is my turn next—we will now receive them by a given measure—to this there cannot possibly be an objection."—"Allow your humble slave to suggest"—"Suggest nothing! my will must be the law:"—the

for a certain time in the ground before they can be carried to market, where they meet a ready sale; but during this period the country is in a complete state of confusion, for the fish-gatherers are so unprincipled a set of people that they take advances from many, knowing that they can only deliver to one, and this occasions frays innumerable. The hill people have another mode of preparing the fish for their own consumption. They roast the fish gathered on the plains, and convey them to the mountains in great quantities, as a delicacy to their chieftains.

Kazanchy again bowed his head. The standard measure was accordingly made and filled with much judgment, neither too high nor too low; an order was now directed by the great man to pass into a law, fixing the diameter of the measure, when the old treasurer stumbling, as if by accident, across the apartment, and hitting the measure with his toe, the cowries subsided several inches, to his no small amusement. The old man's advice was at last resorted to,—that the cowries should in future be received in baskets, made to contain a certain given quantity, and five baskets in each hundred to be counted so as to form an average, and it was wonderful with what ease and nicety the business was conducted afterwards.—Of cowries I had, in my official capacity as resident, to receive from the Zemindars * annually to the amount of 25,000*l.*, and, as I have already said, it was the custom to send the whole of these cowries to Dacca, where they were exposed to public sale; but this practice, as will soon appear, was done away.

The settlement with the Zemindars, as effected by Mr. Holland, I found from experience both difficult and intricate. In many instances I was compelled to use military force, and it had nearly been the cause of a partial revolt under the hills; but I was unremitting in my activity and zeal in carrying through Mr. Holland's plans, especially as I found the country fully able to pay the amount with which it was taxed. The collection of the revenues occupied my whole attention the first nine months, it being my primary object, so as to entitle me to the favour and countenance of the gentlemen at Dacca. The Council at that settlement had lately undergone a very considerable change,—a new member, of needy fortune, had been introduced; he certainly had, from his rank, a prior claim to the appointment I then held, and he availed himself of it. An order of Council immediately passed for me to deliver over to him my charge without delay; but this I at once determined not to do without a struggle. When sitting one morning alone at breakfast, I received the following laconic note from my old friend, John Cowe:—"What I long expected has come to pass—these fellows have undermined you—wind up as fast as you can, and prepare for a march."

This was the first intimation I received, and most unpalatable

* Landholders.

news it was, and, I must candidly acknowledge, it fairly knocked me down; from the height of prosperity, in one moment, I was humbled to the dust. Considering myself secure in my appointment, I had borrowed large sums of money, which, in my flattering situation, were pressed upon me—I had launched out into various speculations in trade, which would have succeeded well had I continued in my situation; but, from the turbulent state of the country, my advances were infallibly lost in consequence of my removal!—I had not a friend to consult with, nor a British tongue to converse with. I shut myself up in my room for a couple of hours, and feeling myself bereft of the prospect of revisiting my native soil actually brought the tear into my eye—but this feeling was but momentary, to despond was not my character, and I calmly considered over the bearings of the case.—I sent for the account of my revenue collections; three months of the current rents were still due, viz. about 6000*l.*:—I at once saw the necessity of depriving the Dacca Council of every shadow of complaint against me in the way of my duty—the arrears were heavy, and I well knew that this was my weak side, of which my friends at Dacca would avail themselves—it was now my object to thwart them. I determined, therefore, on a bold step, and balanced the annual books of the district, leaving not one cowrie outstanding, thus risking for the deficiency my own little fortune. I well knew that, if I had interest enough to get the order rescinded, the arrears would soon be recovered.

I now ordered a couple of canoes to be well manned and armed, ostensibly for Dacca; in the course of two hours I set off, and pushed forward directly to Calcutta, nearly three hundred miles by the windings of the river,* travelling night and day until I reached my destination. I had previously prepared an humble remonstrance to the supreme board, stating the nature of my appointment, my indefatigable labour and exertions during the last nine months in a turbulent country, and that I had succeeded in realizing every farthing of the revenue with which the country was taxed, and, as a reward for my zeal, I complained that I had been unjustly and disgracefully removed by the Dacca board from my situation. I now made use of every private interest I could raise

* Major Rennell estimates the travelling distance at three hundred and twenty-five miles.

upon the occasion, and had to acknowledge the able influence of a fair lady, wife of Justice Hyde, who warmly interested herself in my behalf. The consequence was, that an express was sent to the Dacca Council to know (by return of post) the cause of the removal of Mr. Lindsay; in reply, they could assign no cause whatever, excepting my being junior in rank to many others. An order was then issued, appointing me resident and collector of Sylhet,—moreover, independent of Dacca, with instructions to correspond with the presidency direct. This was a signal victory in my favour, and an ample reward for my activity. I reembarked in my canoe, and returned to Sylhet with so much expedition that the inhabitants hardly knew I had been absent—travelling six hundred miles in an open boat, covered only by an awning. My rapid return had the happiest effect in recovering my balances, and restoring of order, which had been much disturbed during my absence.

CHAPTER IV.

HAVING gained this most important point, so far surpassing my most sanguine expectations, I contemplated with delight the wide field of commercial speculation opening before me; my pay as resident did not exceed 500*l.* per annum, so that fortune could only be acquired by my own industry. The lower part of the province, as I have already said, was miserable in the extreme, being only capable of bearing coarse rice. The districts contiguous to the hills were of a different description, with a proportion of high and low lands, producing sugar, cotton, and other valuable crops. The high country had also other resources, well deserving the attention of the enterprising merchant:—For example, the mountain produced wood of various kinds, adapted to boat and ship building, and also iron of a very superior quality and description, little known in this country; it is brought down from the hills in lumps of adhesive sand, and, being put into the forge, produces excellent malleable iron without ever undergoing the process of fusion, the hammer and fire discharging the dross and coarser particles at once, thus producing what is called virgin iron, superior to any made in Europe by charcoal. Silks of a coarse quality, called *moongadutties*, are also brought from the frontiers of China, for the Malay trade; and considerable quantities of copper in bars, and a small quantity of European goods, are carried up to barter for these commodities.—The adjoining mountain is also an inexhaustible source of the finest lime, and lower down the river there is abundance of fuel for burning it,—but, as this branch of commerce soon became a large source of emolument to me, and in fact became the foundation of my fortune, I shall presently enter into it with more detail.—The country under the mountains, where the ground undulates, but is not precipitous, furnishes abundance of elephants of the best description.—My Spanish education now came conspicuously into play.

But in order to set the various plans a-going, which were float-

ing before me, one thing was wanting—ready money. The fickle goddess, however, having now taken me by the hand, soon furnished me with the means of accomplishing my wishes, in a manner the most satisfactory and the most unexpected.

Mr. Croftes, the Accountant-General, wished to provide for a favourite black writer, who worked in his office; this man was a shrewd intelligent fellow, and it occurred to him that a considerable profit might be made from the cowries under good management, provided a favourable contract could be made with government. Mr. Croftes therefore delivered in to the supreme board, on behalf of his friend, an offer to purchase the whole of the cowries collected at Sylhet in the shape of revenue, at a certain given price, the money payable two years after delivery. A copy of this offer was sent me up officially by the secretary, desiring my opinion whether the offer was adequate, or the reverse.

I now felt myself under a considerable dilemma, as I saw I was on the point of becoming a cipher, dependent on a black man; for it was evident that the person holding this contract would have an unbounded influence in the country from the whole revenues centering in his hands. It became also a matter of the utmost delicacy my attempting to give in a counter proposal in my own name, more especially as the contract had never been publicly advertised; but, as the future value of my situation depended on the result, I determined upon making a fair attempt to turn Mr. Lopez to good account. With this view, I told the board, in my answer, that, having compared the offer made by Mr. Lopez with the actual sales made at Dacca for the last five years, I could not help reporting the price offered not unfavourable; at the same time, I considered it my duty to say that the proposed term of payment, suspended for two years, was quite unreasonable, and I concluded by saying, that if the board were satisfied with the price, and saw no impropriety in my holding the contract for five years, I would tender them payment in six months after the delivery. The Accountant-General had previously recommended the offer made by Mr. Lopez so strenuously, that my offer could not with propriety be refused, and the contract of course fell to me. My friend the Accountant-General never forgave me for having thus outwitted him in the transaction, and he carefully awaited the conclusion of the contract, when, to

prevent my interfering with his views a second time, the contract was advertised to be made by public sale at Calcutta at a distant day. But Mr. Lopez met with a second disappointment—a black man was also in attendance—to him the contract was knocked down.

I now had to address the board once more on the same subject, informing them that the native contractor was my own servant, but that, if any objection was found to my holding the contract a second time, I would most cheerfully resign it; in reply, I was informed by the secretary that they had no objection to me whatever. From this signal piece of good luck, and from the conspicuous advantage I derived from the great command of money to carry on my commercial pursuits, I have to date the origin of the fortune I acquired in the Company's service.

Exclusive of the larger branches of commerce already mentioned, there are minor articles bought to a considerable amount, such as coarse muslins, ivory, honey, gums, and drugs for the European market, and, in the fruit season, an inexhaustible quantity of the finest oranges, found growing spontaneously in the mountains.—But the only great staple and steady article of commerce is *chunam*, or lime. In no part of Bengal, or even Hindostan, is the rock found so perfectly pure, or so free of alloy, as in this province, therefore Calcutta is chiefly supplied from hence. This branch immediately attracted my attention, and I was led to investigate how far the trade could be improved or extended. I found it had been hitherto occupied by Armenians, Greeks, and low Europeans, but to a trifling extent only, while I had so greatly the advantage over them, from the command of the currency, that it was evident the trade might soon centre with me; and it accordingly did so.—And the trade became of essential use to me, by expending the cowries within the province, which in the course of six months became converted into cash from the sale of the lime, and enabled me to fulfil my contract, which otherwise would have been difficult.

The mountain from whence the lime is taken was not situated within our jurisdiction, but belonged to independent chieftains, inhabitants of the high range which separates our possessions from the Chinese frontier. My great object was to procure from these people a lease of the lime-rock, but they previously demanded an

interview with me, to consult on the subject. A meeting was accordingly fixed at a place called Pondua, situated close under the hills, forming one of the most stupendous amphitheatres in the world. The mountain appears to rise abruptly from the watery plain, and is covered with the most beautiful foliage and fruit-trees of every description peculiar to a tropical climate, which seem to grow spontaneously from the crevices of the lime-rock. A more romantic or more beautiful situation could not be found than the one then before me. The magnificent mountain, full in view, appeared to be divided with large perpendicular stripes of white, which, upon a nearer inspection, proved to be cataracts of no small magnitude; and the river, in which the boats anchored, was so pure that the trout and other fishes were seen playing about in every direction; above all, the air was delightful when contrasted with the close and pestilential atmosphere of the putrid plain below, so that I felt as if transplanted into one of the regions of Paradise. But the appearance of the inhabitants of this garden of Eden did not enable me to follow out the theory I could have wished to establish; it certainly deserved a different style of inhabitants from those wild-looking demons then dancing on the banks before me.

In order to pay due attention to the great man, they had come down from every part of the mountain, accompanied by their retainers, dressed in the garb of war, and, when thus accoutred, their appearance is most unquestionably martial, and by no means unlike our native Highlanders when dressed in the Gaelic costume. Many hundreds of this description were now before me. But my new friends, on this occasion, breathed nothing but peace and friendship; though still it was evident, from their complexion and the war-yell that occasionally escaped their lips, as well as the mode in which they handled their weapons, that their temperament was not dissimilar to that of other mountaineers; and the opinion I thus hastily formed I found corroborated in the sequel.

After a residenee of twelve years in their vicinity, and having had much business to transact with them, I can with safety describe the Cusseah, or native Tartar of these mountains,—a fair man in his dealings, and, provided you treat him honourably, he will act with perfect reciprocity towards you; but beware of shewing him the smallest appearance of indignity, for he is jealous in

the extreme, cruel and vindictive in his resentments. This I experienced in my future dealings with them, as will hereafter appear; my present interview terminated most harmoniously.

We had a most sumptuous entertainment on the turf. Our viands, to be sure, were neither of the most costly or delicate nature; nor were the decorations of the table such as would suit the dandies of the present day. The repast consisted entirely of six or eight large hogs, barbecued whole, or rather roasted in an oven, according to the Otaheite fashion,—a hole being dug in the ground, lined with plantain-leaves, and filled with hot stones—the hog placed therein—more hot stones laid on at the top, and the whole covered over with turf. The chiefs acted as carvers, their dirks being the only instrument used, and the large leaves of the plantain served for plates. The entertainment was universally admired, and abundance of fermented liquor closed the festivities of the day, it having been previously agreed that no business should be discussed till the following morning.

We accordingly then met; and the arrangement between us terminated to our mutual satisfaction, a large portion of the mountain, where the quarries are worked, being allotted to me, including the most favourable situation for access to my boats, so as to afford me the fullest command of water-carriage.

After the business of the day was closed, several of the chiefs proposed to accompany me up the river and shew me the quarries, but told me to prepare for a service of danger, and such as I was little accustomed to. Half a dozen canoes were manned on the occasion, each carrying six stout men, furnished with paddles for the smooth water, and long poles to push the boat over the rapids. For a few miles we got on well with the paddles; by degrees we got into the broken water, when the first rapid came full in view; the poles were then resorted to, and we got through it without much difficulty. A couple of miles further brought us to the second, which was infinitely more rapid than the former; the people were obliged to push the boat under the banks, and pull it up with ropes. At the entrance to the third rapid, the noise was tremendous, and the voices of the people were no longer discernible, but, as they betrayed no fear, I determined to persevere. As the water had become more shallow, the people jumped out, and nearly by main force lifted the canoe over the stones.

We now approached the *chunam* or lime-rock, washed by the rapid stream—a magnificent cataract was seen rolling over the adjoining precipice—the scenery altogether was truly sublime. The mountain was composed of the purest alabaster lime, and appeared, in quantity, equal to the supply of the whole world. When the canoes were loaded at the bottom of the hill, they appeared to descend the rapids with the rapidity of lightning; indeed it is often attended with danger, and even loss of life, when bringing down the stones.

On my passage down the river with my new friends, I landed at a projecting point above Pondua, and, admiring the beauty of the situation, expressed my anxious wish to be permitted to build a small cottage, and surround it with a wall to protect it from the depredations of the animals of the forest; to this they cheerfully consented. I gave immediate orders to build my proposed villa, which became a beautiful retreat, and never failed to restore me when exhausted by the noxious vapours occasioned by the inundation. But in this building I had a more important object to gain than my Tartar friends were aware of; the garden-wall was constructed with unusual strength, so as to serve in the hour of danger as an excellent blockhouse or place of defence, until reinforcements could be furnished from Sylhet, distant about twenty-five miles.

During the few days of my residence at Pondua I had the uncommon gratification of witnessing a caravan arrive from the interior of the mountain, bringing on their shoulders the produce of their hills, consisting of the coarsest silks from the confines of China, fruits of various kinds—but the great staple was iron, of excellent quality, as already described. In descending the mountain, the scene had much of stage effect, the tribes descending from rock to rock as represented in Oscar and Malvina. In the present instance the only descent was by steps cut out in the precipice. The burthens were carried by the women in baskets supported by a belt across the forehead, the men walking by their side, protecting them with their arms. The elderly women in general were ugly in the extreme, and of masculine appearance; their mouths and teeth are as black as ink from the inordinate use of the betel-leaf mixed with lime. On the other hand, the young girls are both fair and handsome, not being allowed the use of betel-nut

until after their marriage. In appearance they resemble very much the Malay. The strength of their arms and limbs, from constant muscular exercise in ascending and descending these mountains, loaded with heavy burthens, far exceeds our idea. I asked one of the girls to allow me to lift her burthen of iron,—from its weight I could not accomplish it. This, I need not say, occasioned a laugh in the line of march to my prejudice.

I now took leave of my Cusseah friends and returned to Sylhet, having established the groundwork of the lime trade upon a firm and permanent footing, so as to ensure success. I appointed British agents at Calcutta and elsewhere, so as to relieve me of the laborious part of the duty. Fleets of boats now covered the rivers, and the trade increased so rapidly as to keep five or six hundred men in constant employ.

I now resumed the same monotonous life I had hitherto followed at Sylhet, the duties of chief magistrate and forms of court engrossing much of my time. Let it be recollected that for the last three years I had nearly lived the life of a hermit, without any society whatever. The few Europeans in the place were of the lowest description, with whom I could not associate; but my mind was of an active turn, and I found out various devices to furnish myself with occupation and pleasure in the hours of relaxation. Several ingenious workmen, both in wood, iron, ivory, and silver, attached themselves to my service, and afforded me a source of much amusement. We became also in great repute as elegant boat-builders; in this department we particularly excelled, and it had the effect of leading me to the building ships of burthen, which I will mention in the sequel.—But a circumstance soon occurred to give me additional occupation. Our military strength did not in general exceed one hundred effective men, being a detachment of brigade sepoys, commanded by an officer; the men were chiefly natives of the higher provinces, but the climate of the hills, and particularly the water, was so pernicious to their health that whole detachments were successively destroyed; the party was in consequence withdrawn. Owing to this untoward circumstance, I proposed to the board to undertake the defence of the province myself, at an expense far inferior to the former, with native troops formed into a militia corps. This was readily agreed to; the command remained with me, and this arrangement con-

tinued during my residence in the country. My corps I increased or reduced as occasion required. I accompanied them myself in every service of difficulty, and my business of course was well done.

I hitherto had no medical assistance nearer than one hundred and fifty miles, but necessity is the mother of invention. Buchan's Domestic Medicine and a box of simples for several years rendered me independent; I was even under the necessity of sometimes trying my hand with the knife, and more than once, when the barber's nerves failed him, succeeded in extracting barbed arrows from intricate places. A few successful operations raised my character so high, as to compel me to apply for a medical gentleman to relieve me from the constant applications I received as a descendant of Esculapius. A gentleman was in consequence sent up, who proved a comfort to me in future.

Occasional excursions into the interior country were my chief amusement, and an opportunity soon occurred, of which I availed myself. The Jointah Rajah, of the Cusseah tribe, was my nearest frontier neighbour; he was by far the most powerful and the most civilised of the whole, holding large possessions, both on the mountain and the plain, about fifty miles distant. When a younger man, he had been misled by the false idea of his own power, and he had in consequence been the aggressor by entering the British territories in a hostile manner; a regiment of sepoys drove him back and convinced him of his insignificance, and of the wisdom of remaining perfectly quiet in time to come; and he was now endeavouring to convince me of his perfect attachment to our government.

The Rajah proposed my giving him an interview in his own country, to partake of a *chasse* he had prepared for me; and, after arranging the preliminaries of meeting, the day was fixed. By mutual agreement, we were to be accompanied by few attendants. It was during the season of the rains, the whole country being completely overflowed, and having the appearance of an extensive lake. I embarked on board a beautiful yacht of my own building, well manned, and armed with eighteen swivel-guns; and arrived at the place of rendezvous at the appointed hour, when, to my surprise, I saw advancing towards me a fleet of boats not fewer than fifty in number, with streamers flying, and

fantastically dressed. As this was contrary to our agreement, I was not well pleased at the display, but betrayed no kind of alarm. With a fine breeze, all sail set, I steered through the middle of the fleet, and with my speaking trumpet hailed the Rajah, and invited him into my boat.

He came accordingly, accompanied by his officers, and no sooner was he seated in the cabin than I could perceive his astonishment in finding himself enveloped in smoke in consequence of a royal salute from my Lilliputian artillery, which were well served upon the occasion; but he instantly recovered himself, and talked on indifferent subjects. I found him a handsome young man, with a good address. After examining the yacht and guns with attention, and particularly admiring the sailing of the boat, he requested me to accompany him to his barge to partake of the *shekar*, or hunting-party, previously prepared for our amusement. This proved of so uncommon a nature, and so seldom witnessed by Europeans, that it is worthy of description.

We rowed for some miles towards a rising ground, on which we landed; and were then carried on men's shoulders (their regal mode of conveyance) to a temporary stage erected for the occasion.

On surveying the arena around us, I found that the enclosure was not less than thirty acres, surrounded by a stockade, and lined on the outside by the vassals of the Rajah. They had previously driven the wild animals of the country to this place, being the highest ground in the plain, and encircled them. The sight was whimsically wild and magnificent; the concourse of people was immense, the whole population, both of the mountain and plain, having turned out on the occasion. The first thing that struck my observation, upon entering the arena, was the singularity of the dresses worn by the different tribes of Cusseahs, or native Tartars, all dressed and armed agreeable to the custom of the country or mountain from whence they came. The inhabitants of the plain were also fancifully dressed; their garb, in many instances, was a mixture of both, their arms, in general, being those of the mountain, viz., a large shield over the right shoulder, protecting nearly the whole of the body, the mountain sword, a quiver suspended over the left shoulder, full of arrows, and a large bamboo bow.

The place into which we were introduced was a species of open balcony; on either side of my chair were placed those of the Rajah, his prime minister, commander-in-chief, and officers of state, who all appeared to be native Cusseahs, or Tartars, dressed and armed in the hill costume. The Rajah himself affected the dress of a man more civilised, and wore the Mogul dress and arms. Upon my entering this apartment he embraced me, and, our *hookah-burdars* being in attendance, we took our seats, each with his hookah in his mouth. Each man now prepared his arms for the magnificent *chasse* about to begin.

Upon looking around me with attention, I found that there were not fewer than two hundred of the largest buffaloes enclosed,—some hundreds of the large elk deer, a great variety of deer of a smaller description, and wild hogs innumerable. These animals were now galloping around us in quick succession, when the Rajah, turning politely towards me, asked me to begin the *shekar* by taking the first shot. I was a bad marksman, and afraid to betray my want of skill in so public a manner; at first I declined the offer,—the Rajah insisted; I therefore raised my well-loaded rifle to my shoulder, and, taking a good aim, to my own astonishment dropped a large buffalo dead upon the spot. There was immediately a general shout of admiration. I, on my part, put the pipe into my mouth, throwing out volumes of smoke with perfect indifference, as if the event was a matter of course. But no power could get the Rajah to exhibit, from the apprehension of not being equally successful before his own people.

On my left hand sat his *luskhar* or prime minister; his quiver, I observed, only contained two arrows. "How comes it, my friend," said I, "that you come into the field with so few arrows in your quiver?" With a sarcastic smile, he replied, "If a man cannot do his business with two arrows, he is unfit for his trade." At that moment he let fly a shaft, and a deer dropped dead,—he immediately had recourse to his pipe, and smoked profusely.

The loud and hollow sound of the *nagarra*, or war-drum, and the discordant tones of the conch-shell announced a new arrival. The folding doors of the arena were thrown open, and ten male elephants with their riders were marshalled before us. If it is expected that I am to describe the gorgeous trappings and costly harness of these animals, or the sumptuous dress of the riders,

disappointment must follow; my savage friends were little accustomed to stage effect or luxuries of any kind. The noble animal had not even a pad on his back; a rope round his body was his only harness; the rider was dressed nearly in the garb of nature, and the hook with which he guides the animal was his only weapon.

A motion from the Rajah's hand was the signal to advance. The buffaloes at this unexpected attack naturally turned their heads towards the elephants, and appeared as if drawn up in order of battle. The scene now became interesting in the extreme. The elephants continued to advance with a slow and majestic step, also in line, when, in an instant, the captain of the buffalo herd rushed forward with singular rapidity, and charged the elephants in the centre. Their line was immediately broken; they turned round and fled in all directions, many of them throwing their drivers, and breaking down the stockades—one solitary elephant excepted. This magnificent animal had been trained for the Rajah's own use, and accustomed to the sport. The buffalo, in returning from his pursuit, attentively surveyed him as he stood at a distance, alone in the arena. He seemed for a few minutes uncertain whether to attack him or rejoin his herd. None who do not possess the talents of a Zoffany can describe the conflict that now took place. The elephant, the most unwieldy of the two, stood on the defensive, and his position was remarkable. In order to defend his proboscis, he threw it over his head—his fore-leg advanced ready for a start—his tail in a horizontal line from his body—his eager eye steadily fixed on his antagonist. The buffalo, who had hitherto been tearing the ground with his feet, now rushed forward with velocity—the elephant, advancing with rapid strides at the same moment, received the buffalo upon his tusks, and threw him into the air with the same facility an English bull would toss a dog—then drove his tusks through the body of the buffalo, and in that position carried him as easily as a baby, and laid him at the Rajah's feet.

The elephants that were routed were brought back to the charge, and some of them behaved well; but we had much more reason to be pleased with the courage of the male buffaloes, who attacked in succession. I consider them the fiercest animal in the world, for there is nothing they will not attack.—I continued with the

Rajah for three days, until the air became putrid with the dead carcases; I then bid him adieu, and returned to Sylhet.

Upon studying the dispositions of the Cusseahs with more attention, I found, as I have already stated, that they were not altogether to be depended upon; they were jealous of each other in the extreme, and a supposed indignity was seldom forgiven; it was therefore found expedient to treat them with perfect politeness, but with more reserve. In my blockhouse at Pondua I had now fixed a permanent establishment of a black officer and twelve men; and fortunate was it I had taken this precaution. The Cusseah, though honest and open in his dealings, is extremely jealous of his honour, and apt to take umbrage upon trivial occasions where no offence is intended; and an affront to any one individual is resented by the community at large. I had therefore carefully to study their disposition, and sometimes to wink at an occasional burst of passion on their part, or apologise for the like behaviour which frequently occurred from the petulance of my own people,—even serious disputes were thus occasionally compromised without stating the case in a formal manner to government; but an affray of a more alarming nature soon occurred, which was not terminated without serious difficulty.

On a certain occasion, when returning to Sylhet, I gave directions to my black officer in charge to permit none of the inhabitants of the plain to soil the beautiful walks or grounds around my dwelling. It unfortunately happened that a hill chief, from a distant mountain, came down a few days afterwards, and, thinking it a favourable situation, he was found by the officer in the very act of offending, and, being laid hold of, he was ordered to throw the noxious deposit into the river. The Cusseah told him that he was a total stranger, and that the offence should not be repeated, but that he neither would nor could act as directed, as it was against the laws of his religion. Upon this, the officer gave him a few heavy blows with his cane, and compelled him to obey. In a few emphatic words he said, "This day you have prevailed—it is my turn next." He immediately clad himself in the garb of despair, (which is a couple of yards of white cotton, with a hole for the head in the middle, the hair thrown loose,) and in this manner he sallied out to the Pondua bazar. Towards the evening the shrill war-whoop was heard in every direction, as the Cusseahs

retired to the mountains; not a man was seen below for several weeks; at last they descended in considerable force; the offended chieftain singled out the officer who had insulted him,—they fought and both fell.

I had previous warning of what was to pass, and reinforced my small garrison; but the enormities committed by the Cusseahs against the defenceless inhabitants of the plain became very serious. I was compelled, in consequence, to stop all communication and passage of provisions; to retaliate was impossible, for you might as well attack the inhabitants of the moon as those of the mountain above; they shewed much barbarity in their resentment, many instances happening of their killing and scalping their prisoners, not exactly in the manner practised in North America, but by cutting from the crown of the skull the size of half a crown, with skin and hair attached to it, which is preserved as a trophy. This desultory kind of warfare had lasted some time, when amity was happily restored; but I had no longer the same inducement to visit my favourite haunts on the hill.

The Chumtullah, or freebooters inhabiting a wide extent of country under the hills, thirty miles from Sylhet, were yet even a more numerous and more troublesome people. Upon one occasion, returning from Dacca, they attacked my boat in the river, and wounded several of my men with arrows; in consequence of this, I sent an express to Sylhet, desiring them to send down what men they could spare. Sixty accordingly came, and I entered their country during the night.

Most fortunately, I did not take the direct road, but a circuitous one, almost impassable; for an ambuscade had been laid during the day. I found the people infinitely stronger than I expected, and that my force was not adequate to theirs. Towards evening, when I was meditating a retreat out of the country, a large body of men appeared advancing in regular order on the plain. I now saw the full extent of my danger, but was determined to meet it with a good face, and boldly marched up to them. When upon the point of firing upon my supposed enemy, I had the satisfaction of seeing a white flag displayed, demanding a parley. The chief came forward, and told me they were friends, and ready to assist us in our undertaking,—that he had seen us from the distant hills, and had come to our support. Being thus reinforced, the state of

affairs became totally altered; I took up a convenient position in the country for some days, and remained until they gave me ample security for their behaviour in future.

This operated as a serious lesson to me to be more prudent, for at no period of my life was I in such danger as on that occasion.

The collection of the revenues was now reduced to so regular a system as to give me no trouble whatever; but the interior police and the civil court of justice required unremitting attention. As in other uncivilised countries, the natives were litigious in the extreme, and they were not without their lawyers to render their simple story as complicated as possible. The *hud shekest*, or infraction of boundaries, formed at least nine-tenths of the causes before the court. The boundaries of the land under cultivation were well defined, but in the wild regions, covered with trees and brushwood, there is no landmark or mode of ascertaining to whom such lands belong. Nor does the party injured ever complain when his opponent first begins to clear the jungle, but watches the progress as an unconcerned spectator, until the whole is cleared—then loudly complains of being forcibly dispossessed of his property. In such cases the decision often leant to the side of the industrious man, particularly on the high ground, such improvements being always attended with much expense.

I had myself taken much pains to infuse into the Zemindars, or proprietors of the high grounds, a spirit of industry, of which their soil was well deserving. The population was abundant, and fully equal to make the whole a garden, but I was met on every side with apathy and indifference. Although they had every advantage of soil, they did not grow a grain of wheat in the whole province. I assured them that that crop would double the value of their lands,—they promised that, if I would furnish them with seed, they would sow it, and pay every attention to its cultivation. I accordingly imported fifty measures of grain at the time of their annual meeting, and distributed to each Zemindar an equal proportion, promising at the same time a high price for the produce next year. During the currency of the season I made frequent inquiries, and the invariable answer was, "that the crop promised well;" but when the revolving year came round, it appeared that

not one man out of the whole had put the seed into the ground. They had argued the case among themselves, and voted it an infringement that ought to be resisted, and my wheat was baked into cakes.

The oppression of the Mahometan government was not yet forgot, and it must be many years before these people can fully understand the nature of a free constitution, where every man benefits by his own industry.

I had, at very considerable expense, introduced the culture of indigo and the silkworm, and presented to the presidency very fair samples of both; but I was obliged to abandon the undertaking from the heavy inundations the country is subject to from being in the vicinity of the mountains, and which occasionally swept all before them.

The growth of coffee also occupied my attention. I brought a great number of plants from a distant province, where it was cultivated. Being on the point of leaving Sylhet for a few months, I gave the plants in charge to my native gardener, with strict injunctions to defend them. Upon my return, being anxious to see the progress they had made, I found that they had completely changed their character; some were larger than before, others smaller. Upon further examination, the gardener acknowledged that the goats had broke in and destroyed most of the plants, and in consequence he had gone to the woods, and furnished himself with an equal number of plants of the same description. I fortunately still preserved a few of the old stock, which were carefully planted out with those newly acquired, and in due time they both produced the identical coffee—and thus established the curious fact, that the coffee-plant was the indigenous or natural growth of the high ground of this country. But I left it to my successor to prosecute the cultivation or not as he thought proper, my other avocations fully occupying my time.

Having, in the foregoing page, mentioned my being much occupied in the court of justice, I will here relate an incident that happened to me, which for the moment gave me uneasiness. Trial by water and by fire were occasionally resorted to, when a difficulty in decision occurred to the judge. One day, two men were brought to me, in my official capacity, the one accusing the other of having stolen a piece of money from his girdle. The accused

person solemnly asserted his innocence, called God to be his witness, and demanded the ordeal, or trial by water. The plaintiff cried out, "Agreed! agreed! water! water!" The surrounding multitude looked to me, and I ordered, with magisterial solemnity, that the will of God be obeyed. The Cutchery, or court of justice, stood on the banks of a beautiful pond. In a few minutes both plaintiff and defendant plunged into the water and disappeared. The supposed thief instantly floated to the surface, and acknowledged his guilt, but the accuser was not to be seen, and for some minutes I was under much alarm, having countenanced the frolic,—so offered a sum of money to any person who would dive to the bottom and bring him up; this was effected just in time to restore life, which was nearly gone. He had clung tenaciously to the weeds, and was determined to die upon the spot rather than abandon his claim.

My next alarm was still more ridiculous. In walking to the court I was accosted by a mendicant priest in these words, "If you are a gentleman you will give me money; if you are a *decoit* (or robber) I have nothing to expect." I gave him a blow with the palm of my hand for so insolent a speech, when he fell prostrate on the ground, as if dead. I went on without paying him the smallest attention, and in four or five hours, returning the same way, found him still lying in the same position; my attendants first lifted a leg, then an arm, and reported him dead! I certainly felt an unpleasant sensation, but, stooping immediately to the ground, I picked up a straw, and, tickling his nostrils, the air resounded with his sneeze! to the no small astonishment of the bystanders. The mendicant had a good whipping in consequence.

CHAPTER V.

To return to my commercial operations. I have already mentioned that elephants formed a very considerable branch of trade in these sequestered regions. They are found in considerable numbers, under the same range, where the hills are not so precipitous, at Chittagong, Tipperah, and Sylhet; each of these places furnishes annually a considerable number for the use of our armies, but these stations united could not supply the number required, had not the elephant flock an easy communication with the adjacent country of Aracan, Pegu, and Siam; these countries produce elephants to any extent, which migrate to us occasionally, and supply our walk when it proves deficient. This observation will be fully understood when I state, that, in the twelve years I resided under these mountains, at least five hundred elephants were caught annually, by an equal proportion from each station. Most fortunately for the population of the country, they delight in the sequestered range of the mountain; did they prefer the plain, whole kingdoms would be laid waste. As it may prove interesting to my family, I will endeavour to describe, in as few words as I can, the method we adopted in catching, training, and taming these wonderful animals. I think I may with safety affirm that few people have caught so many, or are more conversant with their natural history than myself. I speak from the experience of twelve years, during which period I caught from one hundred and fifty to two hundred annually. During the Mogul government, Sylhet was always considered the chief station, and upon my arrival here I found the very important remains of the old establishment, viz., six *coonkies*, or decoy females, completely trained to the business; without their powerful assistance nothing can be done. There were also still remaining many experienced old men, regularly brought up to the profession. I therefore started under every advantage.

Early in October, when the periodical rains subside, we sent out to the hills frequented by the elephants eight or ten *panjallies*,

or tracksmen, to make observations and reconnoitre the forest. They had often to travel fifteen days' journey ere they reached the place of destination. Their business was to ascertain as nearly as possible the number and quality of the herd ; this requires considerable experience, and, as the jungle, or thicket, is too thick to allow them a full view of the herd, it can only be learnt by examining the marks of their feet in the mud, the quantity of dung, the broken branches, the underwood trodden down, and the remains of the bamboo, which is their favourite fodder. When the panjallies are satisfied that the numbers will justify the expense to be incurred, they send back two of their number to give intelligence.

Two bands of people have in the mean time been victualled and prepared for service under distinct leaders, the one body to join the panjallies in the forest, the other to prepare the *keddah*, or enclosure at the bottom of the hill. The detachment destined to the forest take the field first; from one hundred and fifty to two hundred men are generally required for this purpose. When they arrive upon the spot, the leader of this little band parades his troops, and, marching at their head, drops a man every two hundred yards, thus forming a line of circumvallation round the herd. At night each man lights a fire at his post, and furnishes himself with a dozen joints of the large bamboo, one of which he occasionally throws into the fire, and, the air it contains being rarefied by the heat, it explodes with a report as loud as a musket. The elephants, being thus intimidated, confine themselves to the centre of the wide circle, which certainly does not contain less than a hundred acres. After a few days' pause, the number and description of the herd being now completely ascertained, preparations are made to return towards the plain.

The party on the plain below have, during this interval, been completely occupied in forming the *keddah* or enclosure, which is prepared at the mouth of a ravine or entry into the hills. Attention is paid that the keddah be well supplied with a stream of water, and the greatest care is taken not to injure the brush-wood or turn up the soil at the entrance, as this would alarm.

When this enclosure is reported complete, the circle upon the mountain is opened on the side of the plain, and the people

advance by slow marches, encircling the herd each successive night, until they reach the vicinity of the low country. The circle is now open for the last time; the leading elephant, with a slow but cautious step, feeding and walking alternately, and finding no obstacle in the way, gradually enters the enclosure,—the people behind now rapidly rush forward, driving the elephants before them with a quick pace, until they all enter. After walking round the enclosure, finding themselves entrapped, they rush back to the place through which they entered, but this they find strongly barricaded. The whole enclosure is now lined on the outside with people; fire and musquetry are also used when violence is resorted to; and it frequently occurs that a successful charge is made, the animals break through the enclosure, and the whole escape.

We then, for the first time, have an opportunity of examining the herd minutely.—In the keddah to which I now allude, we found seventy-two in number, including the old and superannuated, the young and middle-aged, and the cub just dropped. This at once accounts for these sagacious animals allowing themselves to be caught in so simple a manner, I may say without a struggle,—for, during the period of fifteen days' march towards the plain, at the rate of ten miles each day, they allowed themselves to be encircled each successive night, without ever attempting to force the cordon; this seeming indifference can only be attributed to the uncommon affection and attention the females shew to their young; for, rather than abandon her offspring in their distress, she resigns herself to voluntary slavery. In order to corroborate this theory, I will mention a fact of which I had ocular proof when standing before the keddah we now talk of. In the hurry of stopping up the gap at which the elephants entered, two of the females had wandered from the flock; their young had entered with the rest of the herd; for several days they continued to bellow and walk round the enclosure, and at last forced their way in by breaking down the stockade. Nor is the mother's attention confined solely to the sucking cub, for, upon this and other similar occasions, I have seen three or four young ones, the brood of successive years, following their mother, alike claiming her protection, and clinging to her in difficulty.

I found from experience that the numbers of full-grown males

thus taken are by no means in proportion to the females of the same age; the reason is, that the captain of the herd allows none to remain but such as pay obsequious obedience to his will. He has himself fought his way to this despotic preeminence by many a hard-fought battle, as his numerous scars testify, and woe be to him that dares shew attention to any of the females in his presence. Few chuse to be members of the society on such terms, and the males thus expelled are found wandering on the plain in solitude; they are of the very best description, and are afterwards caught with the assistance of the tame elephants. They are called *goondahs*, and, their character as warriors being thus established, they fetch a double price to the common sort.

But to return to the keddah:—the elephants, having been enclosed eight days, and everything bearing the appearance of vegetable being at last consumed, begin sorely to feel the effects of hunger, and are glad to approach the side of the enclosure to pick up small quantities of grass, thrown to them by the guards. After being still more reduced by famine, each wild elephant is surrounded in the enclosure by half a dozen decoy females; large ropes are passed round its body, and it is lugged out of the keddah by force. In this operation great assistance is given by the tame ones, who assist in passing the ropes, and even beat the wild animal when refractory. He is now drawn to the bottom of a large tree, and there picketed with strong ropes.—The mode of training is as simple as that of catching:—they are led to the water each day by the decoy elephants; the wild animal is in the centre, and a decoy on each side, so that he can do no harm. For a few weeks his keeper is cautious in approaching his trunk, but he soon makes him more familiar by giving him salt tied up in a leaf, which he is very fond of. It is in the water the elephant is first mounted; the driver leaps from the back of the tame elephant upon his; at first, he is highly displeased, but, with coaxing, throwing the water over him, and scratching his back, he soon becomes reconciled, and in less than two months he learns to obey his keeper, and becomes tractable. In the course of the year he is well fed, and prepared for a distant market.

I fortunately had several confidential native servants, on whose integrity I could implicitly rely,—one, in particular, of the name of Manoo, a Hindoo. To his care I frequently entrusted from

fifty to sixty elephants, giving him the wide range of Hindostan for his market. In those days, when the country princes were in full power, there were constant demands for them, either in the war department or parade. The average price at a distant station was from 40*l.* to 50*l.*; when sold singly, their price varies as much as from a Highland pony to the first Newmarket racer. The natives have beauties and blemishes in their opinion of them, of which we know but little. They have their lucky and unlucky marks. An elephant born with the left tooth only is reckoned sacred,—with black spots in the mouth unlucky and not saleable; the *mukna*, or elephant born without teeth, is thought the best. No animal differs so much as the elephant in his paces,—some of them are smooth and pleasant, others are only fit for heavy burthens; when well trained for a gentleman, he is a most valuable conveyance, as one may cross the roughest country on his back at the rate of six miles an hour. He is particularly useful in shooting, as you may traverse a forest abounding with fierce animals with impunity, bringing down a tiger or buffalo in your walk without danger. In the sports of the field I am surprised he is so little used; this is likely owing to the expense attending it, for a male elephant must in general be attended by a female, to manage him when refractory.

Had Providence, in bestowing upon these animals such strength and sagacity, far beyond other quadrupeds, given them courage in the same proportion, the power of man would hardly control them; fortunately they are the most timid animals in the world,—when found in a herd, they confine themselves to the desert and avoid the haunts of man; the barking of a spaniel would drive them into their retreat, were they a hundred in number. After they are rendered domestic they acquire confidence in their driver and are gradually brought to face their enemy, but it requires length of time before they will oppose either tiger, buffalo, or rhinoceros in the open field. Upon no occasion do they use their proboscis as an offensive or defensive weapon; it is only used to convey their food to the mouth, and in the moment of danger they throw it over their head, or put it to either side, as best calculated to screen it from danger.

In the keddah I have described, I saw a female with her proboscis nearly cut through, the pipe which conveys water to the

mouth completely destroyed. I was curious to know what device she would fall upon to supply this defect, and waited the period when she went to drink. She then dropped the trunk into the water about two feet, and, with her fore foot, closed the wound, by carefully bending the proboscis, so as to restore the suction of the injured tube,—and thus quenched her thirst; no human ingenuity could have suggested a better resource.

Another trifling occurrence happened at this keddah, which deserves notice, as shewing the memory of these animals. After the elephants were safely enclosed, we were making preparations to extract them, when one of the drivers called out, "Jaun Piaree, as I am alive!"—He was asked what he meant, and replied, "That is my elephant I lost twelve years ago." He was laughed at by his comrades, but he persisted, leaped into the enclosure, and, running up to the animal, desired her to kneel down; she did so, and he rode her out of the enclosure in triumph.

I had, among others, several superannuated elephants, who proved highly useful to me in carrying and removing wood, when we commenced ship-building. One day I had occasion to launch a mast into the river, but, the ground being a quagmire, it could not be effected by my people; we therefore allowed the elephant to suggest the means. He launched half of it into the stream easily, but the ground did not allow him to advance further. After considering for some time what was to be done, seeing a few yards of rope tied to the end of the mast, he extended his trunk and got hold of it, and drew the mast to the shore. He then put the point of his toe to the extremity, and, giving it a violent kick, threw the mast into the stream.

One day I was dining in a large company at Dacca. The conversation turned upon elephants. I was asked what food they chiefly lived upon when ranging the forest. I said, the hill bamboo; and when that was not to be had, branches of particular trees were broken off by them, to effect which they would frequently mount up with their fore-feet, and even pull the tree down when it was of moderate size. Upon this there was a general laugh. This nettled me. Turning to Mr. Pottinger (for such was the name of our landlord)—"Will you have the goodness to order out your elephant, and put the driver for half an hour under my orders?" This was accordingly done, and the

party, full twenty in number, descended to the green to quiz the traveller.

I selected a tree which I knew the animal was fond of, and desired the keeper to conduct him to the bottom, and allow him to break off and eat one of the lower branches. Having done this, I directed the driver to make him mount up with his fore-feet; the man, who was an inhabitant of the low country, sat on the animal's neck with his mouth open, not the least comprehending my meaning. Another long laugh from my convivial friends. "Gentlemen," said I, "the elephant has more sense than any of you."—I then ordered the driver to spur him in the neck with his hook; he did so, and the elephant raised his foot against the tree. "Strike harder," I cried; he raised his other foot. "Harder still!"—he was now standing nearly perpendicular. "Now coax him—now prick him gently!"—the animal now understood him perfectly; he got the tree into motion, his body acting as a lever, working away until the roots were distinctly heard cracking; he then threw his whole weight upon it, and came quietly down with it to the ground. The laugh was now on my side.—The fact is, the inhabitants of Calcutta and the towns bordering on the coast are as little acquainted with the customs of the interior as they are in England.

It has been erroneously related by travellers that elephants shed their teeth occasionally,—this they never do; the teeth can only be got when the animal dies. My favourite elephant died at Sylhet; I brought his tusks home with me; they weigh fully eighty pounds avoirdupois each, and are eight feet in length,—the largest, I suppose, in Great Britain. They have more than once done their duty in corroborating some of the foregoing stories.

I have often heard my countrymen impeach the honesty of the lower ranks of the natives of India. In order to counteract this impression, I take this opportunity of relating a fact which can hardly be instanced in more civilised society. I never had from government a contract by which I could dispose of my numerous elephants to advantage; I therefore sent off annually from Sylhet from one hundred and fifty to two hundred, divided into four distinct flocks, or caravans. They were put under charge of the common *peon*, or menial of the lowest description, with directions

to sell them wherever a market could be found, at Delhi, Seringapatam, Hydrabad, or Poonah. These people were often absent eighteen months.—On one occasion, my servant Manoo (already mentioned), after a twelvemonth's absence, returned all covered with dust, and in appearance most miserable; he unfolded his girdle, and produced a scrap of paper of small dimensions, which proved to be a banker's bill amounting to three or four thousand pounds,—his own pay was thirty shillings sterling per month. I had no security whatever but my experience of his integrity—he might have gone off with the money if he pleased. But I never felt or shewed the smallest distrust, and they always returned with bills to the full amount. When I left India, Manoo was still absent on one of these excursions, but he delivered to my agents as faithful an account of the produce, as he would have done to myself. Can stronger proofs of honesty be given than what I have now related? I certainly was most fortunate in all my menial servants, having seldom or never changed them during a residence of eighteen years. But I must acknowledge I give the preference to the Hindoo rather than the Mahometan.

CHAPTER VI.

About the year 1780 I had a speculation in hand of very considerable magnitude, but, it being in some measure connected with the political state of the country, I must premise a few words on that subject.

In the year 1778 my brothers James and John arrived at Madras from Europe, in the 73rd regiment, commanded by Lord MacLeod. The former was soon afterwards sent round to Calcutta, in command of the body-guard to General Sir Eyre Coote, the commander-in-chief. He was anxious to see the interior of the country, and proposed to visit me at Sylhet; but a circumstance soon occurred to prevent this desirable meeting, and to separate me for ever from a brother who was most deservedly beloved by all who knew him.*

The French had just sent out a powerful reinforcement to their fleet in India, under the command of Admiral Souffrein, the most able officer in their navy. Hyder Ali, by far the most active native prince in India, had at the same time made a rapid incursion into the Carnatic, intercepted and cut to pieces the left wing of our army under General Baillie, and conducted the officers prisoners to Seringapatam. My brother John and General Sir David Baird were of the number, and were confined in the same prison, and in chains, for three years and a half, until the conclusion of the war. Upon receipt of this distressing intelligence, General Coote embarked with his staff from Calcutta,

* "During the time I have been in Bengal," writes Captain Lindsay, 29 Oct. 1780—"Bob and I have not been able to meet, though we should undoubtedly have contrived it, had there been any probability of my being ordered away so soon; indeed I had proposed, a few days before we had any thoughts of moving so suddenly, to set out immediately to his part of the country to pay him a visit.

"I had a thousand civilities and marks of attention shewn to me whilst I was at Calcutta, on his account; and people who could not have the smallest interest in saying so to me, spoke of him in a manner which sufficiently shewed how much he was both esteemed and respected by those who knew him there."

See also the preceding volume, p. 349.

accompanied by my brother James, and soon after fought the memorable battle of Porto Novo, upon which the fate of India very much depended. All the great powers of these regions looked forward with the greatest interest to the issue of this action, as our weakness at that period was well known; and were prepared by a simultaneous movement to crush us in every quarter, had the result proved unfortunate. Fortunately, General Sir Eyre Coote proved victorious, and drove Hyder Ali out of the Carnatic.

The French fleet had, in the interval, been more successful by sea, and completely destroyed our trade in the bay of Bengal; the consequence was, that the greatest scarcity of provisions, nearly approaching to famine, prevailed over the Coromandel coast,—to obviate which, our government held out the most liberal encouragement to any person who would engage to deliver a certain quantity of grain at Madras. With more zeal than prudence, I tendered an offer to land at that place, within the period of eight months, in ships of my own building, five thousand tons of rice. The offer was immediately accepted, and to work I went.*

* The following letter to Sir Robert Murray Keith gives a summary of Mr. Lindsay's career up to the moment at which we are now arrived in these 'Anecdotes,'—and concludes with a more detailed account of the state of public affairs than that given in the text:—

"Dear Sir, "Sylhet, June 29, 1782.

"Fourteen or fifteen years having now elapsed since I took leave of you in Parliament Street, I believe and hope I am the least known to you of any of the family of Balcarres. This, perhaps, is my own fault, for although I never have had an opportunity of renewing our acquaintance by a personal interview, a letter from time to time might have been the means of my retaining a place in your remembrance. With all my brothers and sisters, excepting Anne and Margaret, I am equally unfortunate, being almost unknown to any of them.

"In 1771, after returning from Spain, I was appointed a writer upon the Bengal establishment; and in the beginning of 1772 embarked for the East Indies. My mother, with whom I correspond regularly, in acquainting you with the situation of her sons, has not, I dare say, omitted mentioning my name. For the first five years of my residence in Bengal, as is the case with most young men in this part of the world, I outran my finances. From Calcutta I was appointed an assistant under the provincial council of Dacca, and in 1778 was deputed as resident and collector of Sylhet, a small province at the most eastern extremity of Bengal, at the bottom of a high chain of mountains, which separates it from the kingdom of Assam and the countries bordering upon China, with which we have no communication, the intermediate space being inhabited by a savage race of people. In every other part of Bengal the revenues are collected in specie, but the inhabitants of Sylhet pay the rents of their lands in cowries, or shells, somewhat resembling what we call a *bucky* in Scotland; these are transported for sale to other parts of the country, and, when converted into a more portable coin, remitted to the Presidency. From whence these cowries come is a question often asked by our

The mountains of Sylhet produced wood and iron in abundance; we had also canoe-builders and muslin-weavers—and they were taught to build ships and make canvas. But the difficulties

modern Indian philosophers, but this I have never been able to solve. Sylhet is several hundred miles from the sea—a constant exportation, no visible importation, yet the quantity does not appear to diminish. It is a phenomenon not easily accounted for, and remains a secret in the womb of futurity.

"The Sylhet year is likewise different from that of Bengal, or the Mahometan one, nor can the inhabitants or any of the learned men inform me from what era it commences. It begins in the month of September, and we are now far advanced into 1192.

"From so poor a country the advantages of my station cannot be expected to be great, but as it is a frontier province, and of some consequence from its supplying our armies with elephants, my establishment and salary are upon a liberal footing. I have the pleasure to acquaint you that I am now very independent of the world. The fortune I possess, of 10,000*l.* to 15,000*l.* sterling, has neither been got by making or undoing of Nabobs, but acquired through my own industry—by a free and open trade, in which I have been and continue successful; so much so that in four or five years more I flatter myself it will be in my power to retire and enjoy 'otium cum dignitate' at home.

"I dare say you have heard of the fate of my brother John; he was one of the few who survived the unfortunate tragedy upon the coast; and though wounded, he escaped with his life, and is still a prisoner in Hyder's country. James is with the army under General Coote. If not cut off, I am pretty certain he will be an honour to his profession; he is reckoned clever, a good engineer, and is often consulted by his superiors.

"After having thus acquainted you with the situation of my own private concerns, I wish it were in my power to give you as favourable an account of those of the public. With the repeated disasters that have befallen us hitherto you are already well informed. Our affairs in the Carnatic still wear the most disagreeable appearance; excepting a few distant provinces, strong from their situation, and hardly worth Hyder's attention, nothing remains to us but Madras. The old General, notwithstanding age and infirmity hourly threaten his dissolution, still keeps the field with his small though well-disciplined army, without any dread of Hyder's numerous forces; but his operations are and have been very circumscribed, for want of bullocks and cattle to carry provisions. In his present situation he cannot possibly march fifty miles from Madras. If the enemy is disposed to fight, he has the choice of the ground and time of action. If we are defeated, which is by no means improbable, the contest is at an end. But as to *our* giving *him* a signal overthrow, it is impossible without a large body of cavalry, which we have not got.

"Our hopes have hitherto been kept up by the supposed strength of our fleet; but by no means does it now appear to be equal in strength to that of the French. In the last engagement, which happened off the island of Ceylon, the number of ships and weight of metal were nearly equal; but our crews were so much reduced by sickness and scorbutic disorders, that there were hardly men sufficient to navigate the ships, without making any captures. The French had every advantage; several of our ships were dismasted, and otherwise disabled.

"Luckily, some weeks before, we had taken Trincomalee from the Dutch. Had not this been the case, our whole squadron must have gone to Bombay to refit, and left the French in possession of Madras roads. If their fleet is reinforced so strongly as to oblige ours to keep in port, Madras must fall, and the army surrender themselves prisoners of war; for they will immediately depend on the supplies thrown in from Bengal, and if these are interrupted a famine must ensue.

"The French fleet some time before landed about two thousand five hundred men at Porto Novo, a Danish settlement; it was expected they would immediately have joined Hyder, but, instead of this, they sat down before Cuddalore, a small garrison about thirty miles from Madras, which they took and hoisted French colours upon the ramparts. This has been the cause of much jealousy between the French and Hyder. The former were for retaining all acquisitions in the name of the Grand Monarque; while Hyder claims them as his right, as they were only called in as allies, which may be the means of occasioning a rupture between them.

"The Lively packet, by which this goes, has been detained three months, in order

I had to encounter in building, launching, and equipping a fleet of twenty ships, so far from the sea, were beyond belief, and let no mortal attempt so wild a speculation again. The principal difficulty I had to contend with was the short space allowed me by the climate. The periodical rains rise to a certain height, and then as rapidly subside, leaving the bed of the river dry for nearly six months of the year, so that I had no more than four months to build and launch the vessels. I had a British ship-builder, a block-maker, a canvas and rope maker, to conduct the different departments, but it required the utmost exertion to get the ships despatched in time, before they were effectually closed in for the year.

to carry home accounts of our having negotiated a peace with the Mahrattas. By the last advices from Bombay we learnt that all preliminaries were settled, but I am afraid they were too sanguine in their expectations. The only thing that can induce them to enter into terms of accommodation during our present situation is the fear of Hyder becoming too powerful, and of his turning his victorious arms against them. It is by no means the interest of the Mahrattas to allow him to take Madras, and I think ere it falls they will conclude a treaty.

"If there is a cessation of hostilities in that quarter, our army at Bombay, under the command of General Goddard, would immediately enter Hyder's country, and would oblige him to leave the coast. This is the only chance we have of driving him away; and he is using every method in his power to prevent a peace between us and them taking place.

"In Bengal, our situation is not much better than upon the Carnatic. Our finances are totally exhausted, and our credit strained to its utmost pitch, to supply our settlements. What is still worse, instead of taking example from the fate of the unfortunate inhabitants of Madras, corruption never arrived at so great a pitch at any one period before. The public money, which ought to be appropriated towards payment of arrears due to our different armies, is dissipated and squandered in the most unaccountable manner. The expense of the civil list and pay of lawyers is iniquitous beyond measure; *they* are accumulating wealth and enjoying every luxury of the East, while those to whom we are indebted for protection are starving in the field, deprived of the common necessaries of life. This is a disagreeable picture, but it is too true.

"A reformation has been long talked of, but they will set about it too late; when the fountain-head is corrupted, it is in vain to cleanse the inferior streams. The natives of Oude, and the Vizier of Ashruf ul Dowla's dominions, have lately exhibited strong marks of disaffection, and several disturbances of a most serious nature have with difficulty been quelled. Luckily for us, there is not at this period a man of genius in Hindostan, or any black prince possessed of funds sufficient to enable him to take the field. The only general of any consequence was Nizeff Cawn, Commander-in-Chief of the King's troops. This man raised himself by his own abilities, and the King was in fact his state prisoner. From him we had much to fear,—he had a well-disciplined army under his command, and a properly appointed train of artillery. But death prevented the great plans he had in view from taking place.

"The number of European troops at present in Bengal do not exceed five hundred men at most, and these dispersed over the country; and black troops, when opposed to Europeans, I am afraid are not to be depended on.

"When at leisure, it will be a great satisfaction for me to hear from you, and I hope you will believe me always,

"Dear Sir, your obliged cousin,

"And obedient humble servant,

"ROBERT LINDSAY."

Most fortunately, my health never failed me throughout the Herculean struggle, which eventually terminated better than I expected. My ships reached the salt water in safety and in time, and were loaded on the part of government. At this time a gentleman high in office, and even more speculative than myself, had long coveted my contract, and more than once hinted at my giving him a share of the concern; that I declined, but, finding the business too difficult to manage at a distance from my abode, I proposed to transfer the whole concern to him at prime cost. Most fortunately for me he closed with my offer, and thus relieved me from a sea of trouble.

In undertaking a concern of such magnitude, and fraught with the most serious difficulties, my prudence may certainly be called in question. In my own defence, I must fully acknowledge it was rash, but the idea originated upon the most disinterested principles of patriotism. A famine was raging on the coast, and we had no ships to carry down provisions, excepting such as were built on the spur of the moment, by people as zealous as myself, in situations similar to my own; and such exertions were assuredly of the highest importance to the government under which we lived, and had the good effect of proving the resources of the interior upon emergency. Much credit was also due to the ingenuity of the inhabitants, and their readiness to assist in forwarding our views, when public disaster called for more than common exertion. Upon this occasion the inhabitants of Sylhet proved themselves conspicuously deserving of every commendation on my part, and entitled to my own personal gratitude.

In conducting these ships to the sea, near to that country already mentioned, called the Sunderbunds, there is a wide and uninhabited range of land, abounding with tigers, buffaloes, and every wild animal of the forest. Upon coming to anchor with the flood-tide, I went on shore to take a walk, and soon after espied a large herd of cattle at a great distance on the plain. A fisherman passing by at that moment in his canoe, I asked him what they were? He said they were wild buffaloes pasturing. I observed animals of a smaller description among them, and asked what they were? He answered that they were different kinds of deer, who cling to the buffalo for protection from the tigers, which are here very numerous. I asked him if the buffaloes were par-

ticularly fierce to those who approach them? In reply he said, "Be very cautious how you wound the buffalo, but you may take what liberties you please with the deer." Upon this, I went again on board, and armed myself and servants with ball ammunition. Many of them shot well, and I was much inclined for some good venison. I put on a green silk gown, not to appear conspicuous.

As we advanced towards the numerous herd it appeared to be a service of no small danger. I took a long shot at a reindeer without effect, the buffaloes tearing the earth with their hoofs, and staring at us wildly. We had previously agreed, that, should any of them run at us, we should all immediately fire, and bring them up, but for this we had no occasion. We continued to advance within fifty yards, and, in less than half an hour, we dropped more than twenty of the largest red-deer. We then gave a general shout, when the buffaloes retired. One hundred men were sent to us from the fleet, but our whole force could not carry on board more than ten deer; the vultures and other birds of prey fell heir to the rest, and I was not a little pleased to find myself and party safe on board after the dangerous amusement of the day.

After leaving my ships in a safe situation, I pushed down to Calcutta, to make the necessary arrangements as to delivering them over, as well as the favourable contract I had from government,—but this proved a more difficult operation than I was aware of. Difficulties and objections of a serious nature occurred, but, as I had fortunately introduced into our mutual agreement a clause referring all points of misunderstanding to the arbitration of a mutual friend, he, with a liberal hand, settled everything to our mutual satisfaction. By this arrangement I certainly lost at least 3000*l.*; but the gentleman who purchased the concern had a sad prospect before him, as all the ships were of course built of green wood, to answer a temporary emergency, and could not last long. Under such circumstances I was fortunate in closing the concern.

A couple of months' residence at Calcutta enabled me to retrace my journey to Sylhet. In returning through the Sunderbunds a circumstance occurred which had nearly put an end to my worldly career. For the sake of expedition, I had embarked on board a

fast-going express-boat. In the middle of the night, when passing through a rapid river with an ebb-tide, by a rush of the people to one side the boat was almost filled with water, and nearly upset. I jumped up, demanding what was the matter, and was answered that a tiger had leapt on board, and carried away the *gulleah* or bowman. I said it was impossible, for we were at that moment going seven knots an hour, and impelled forward with a very rapid tide; the lantern was produced, and the most convincing proof appeared of the truth of their assertion. The tiger, in his exertion to get on board, had left much of his hair in the gun-wale, and in the morning we discovered one of his claws in the seam of the deck. But the bowman was gone. The claw remained in my possession for many years.

Immediately after this accident happened I dropped anchor, and in the morning rowed to a wood-boat, also at anchor in the stream; the man told us the same tiger had attempted to board him the night before, but, having boarding nettings fixed up, he was easily beaten off.

Tigers are in no part of the world more numerous than at Sylhet, but as their natural food of sheep, goats, and deer is abundant, I hardly knew an instance of their attacking a human creature, nor do the inhabitants hold them in terror; but in the country I have described their character is totally changed in consequence of starvation. The deer in these regions are innumerable, but, the whole country being thrown some inches under water every spring-tide, though it operates in favour of the forest-trees, the underwood is completely destroyed, so that the tiger, finding no shelter to enable him to pounce on his prey, is famished in the midst of plenty; he is therefore compelled to take to the water for food, and thus becomes in a manner amphibious.

I returned to Sylhet with the same rapidity I usually practised, and I am sorry to say the reader will find me again actively employed in building a ship, double the size of any I had hitherto constructed. She was a beautiful vessel, called the Augusta, four hundred tons burthen, pierced for eighteen guns. She was the phenomenon of the mountains, and the Cusseahs came from great distances to see her—to them, no doubt, a wonderful sight—the first, and without doubt the last, of the same magnitude ever built in that part of the world. We had now gained experience in

the science of building, and, instead of looking forward to a regular launch, as happened the former year, we dug a large dock, and therein laid the keel, trusting to the periodical rains to float her off the ensuing year. I have since that period puzzled many a nautical man with my story of building a ship of four hundred tons burthen, three hundred miles from the sea, at least fifty miles from water to float her—and all perfectly true; the periodical rains cleared up the mystery.

I was in some measure led into this wild speculation a second time by an amateur of science, who drew beautifully. The plan originated with his genius; he proposed to take an equal share of the concern, and I could not do less than call the ship after his daughter, Augusta. The laborious part entirely remained with me; when money was required he cheerfully paid his proportion, but, in the sequel, I had to contend with many difficulties, from which I could only be extricated by my own bodily activity and sound constitution, which happily never forsook me. I accompanied the vessel through a most intricate and hitherto unexplored navigation to the vicinity of the sea. On the passage down the ship frequently grounded, but, being furnished with good anchor boats, we hove her off without difficulty. My troubles I thought now at an end, having anchored at a place called Luckypore, near to the confluence of the Ganges and Brahmaputra, two of the largest rivers in the world. Captain Thomas, who was named to the command of the ship, here joined me, and I had the satisfaction to find in him a man fully deserving the most implicit confidence. This was a point of most essential importance to me upon the present occasion.

Next morning he and I embarked in a good sailing boat, and crossed and recrossed this great river, at this place full twenty miles broad, and, after sounding the channel with every attention, nowhere could we find more than fourteen feet water, the Augusta, with her water and stores, drawing full seventeen! I leave you, my friends, to judge in what an awkward situation I was placed,—my ship and cargo, value at the least 40,000*l.*, hermetically sealed up in fresh water, without the prospect of ever reaching the ocean. The ridicule I had to encounter for a few hours vexed me—but the question now was, how to get out of the scrape. Two row-boats well manned were now ordered; Captain Thomas embarked

in the one, and I took charge of the other. Our object was to abandon the large rivers as impracticable, and to search for a passage to sea through the narrow channels, or creeks, with which this wide delta abounds; and we succeeded in finding deeper water in the river called Harringotta, a smaller branch of the Ganges.

Here my partner, Mr. R., joined me, and assisted me in preparing instructions to Captain Thomas respecting the voyage now before him. The ship was destined to the Straits of Malacca, with a valuable cargo of opium, and eventually to stop at Macao in China; and I proposed to my partner to insert a clause authorizing Captain Thomas to dispose of the ship also, provided a favourable opportunity occurred.

It was now the beginning of December, and the most favourable season for getting clear of this dismal and dangerous navigation, the water as smooth as a millpond,—and well it so happened, for we had still to cross a bar of ten leagues extent, on which there was not more than six inches more water than the vessel drew; but, as I had previously sounded, and the wind was fair, I recommended the captain to hoist every sail he could set, and thus we forced the ship through black mud till the captain pronounced us in perfect safety. He then candidly informed me that he never expected to save the ship, but my good fortune prevailed on this occasion, and still more so in the sequel.

For nearly twelve months we had no intelligence whatever, but a letter from Canton soon afterwards conveyed to me the pleasing intelligence that Captain Thomas had made a successful voyage, and that the concern was completely wound up by his disposing of the Augusta to the Portuguese at a fair price.—And thus closed my shipping speculations.

I find I have still one aquatic adventure more to mention, in which a friend happened to have a concern. There chanced, at the close of the shipping concern, to be an overgrown lime-boat, or lighter, lying in the Sylhet river. A certain Captain Taylor, evidently not a little mad, had long petitioned me for employment without effect. At last, he urged me to put a deck on the lime-boat, and proposed to run her down before the wind to Madras. This I agreed to, upon the condition that the vessel, on her arrival, should be sold as fire-wood. Captain Taylor made out his voyage most successfully, but, instead of breaking her up, as proposed, he

changed the name of the "Golumpus" to "Prince William," bestowed abundance of yellow ochre on her sides, and advertised her in the public papers, "For Bengal direct; for freight and passage apply to Captain Taylor." My friend John Carstairs had just arrived from England, and, reading the advertisement, the only question he asked was, "Who is your owner?" Taylor answered, "The Hon. Robert Lindsay;" and Carstairs embarked next day with a fair wind.

It blew a gentle breeze, not more than three knots, when the ship broached to. All was soon put to rights, but, this having occurred again more than once—"What is the meaning of this, Captain Taylor?" asked my friend. The captain coolly replied, "How can it be otherwise, Sir? the vessel has no keel, Sir! her bottom is as flat as a pancake, and she is no better than a dung-barge!"—Carstairs, after studying the features of the man, remained silent, trusting to Providence for the result. Most fortunately the weather continued fine and the wind favourable,—the smallest reverse would have sent them all to the bottom.

I must conclude the history of my ships by quoting a paragraph from one of the last letters I received from my mother in Bengal:—"I understand, my dear Robert, that you are a great ship-builder—your talents in this line I do not dispute—but I have one favour to ask of you, which is, that you will not come home in one of your own building,"—and I implicitly followed her advice.

I must now return to my domestic occurrences of Sylhet.—In 1781, and the preceding year, there had never been such bountiful crops of rice, insomuch that the granaries could not contain it, and the value of the commodity was so extremely depreciated, that it would not pay the expense of carrying it to market. I was therefore under the necessity of stating to government the total inability of the farmers to pay their rents, especially as, in this poor district, they had not the same resource as elsewhere, rice being our only source of revenue. A suspension of rent was in consequence allowed. No sooner was this indulgence granted, than one of those dreadful inundations took place to which the country is subject, which in a few weeks involved the whole country in general calamity. The river, from being very low, rose thirty

feet perpendicular, overflowing its banks and sweeping everything before it; a more dreadful scene could not be imagined, nor could relief be given to the numerous objects who were seen perishing in the torrent,—the cattle and wild animals of every description were seen indiscriminately floating down the stream; the granaries upon the banks, filled with the late superabundant harvest, were all swept into the flood,—and thus, from a general plenty, we were in the course of ten days reduced to a state of famine. All was gone, excepting a few partial stores on the high grounds.

The first thing I did was to despatch express-boats in every direction to bring back the grain we had sent from the province some time before, now finding its way to distant markets; in this we succeeded, and part was brought back, but we had a dreadful prospect before us; the greater part of the last year's crop was destroyed, and, what was worse, the rice lately planted was so completely laid under water that it could offer no hope of relief.

My own case was embarrassing, for I had now to give the supreme board an account directly opposite to that I had lately furnished. Government, however, immediately assisted us, but, at the same time, my story appeared so very improbable, that they sent up a confidential person to report to them, from ocular demonstration, the actual state of the country. From the scarcity that prevailed, this gentleman never reached me, but his report of the desolation and misery he saw in the lower country fully corroborated my previous statements, and government, in consequence, gave much assistance; but, I am sorry to say, near one-third of the population died.

I must here mention one instance of the industry of the people at this juncture. They sent up and brought rice-plants from the seed-beds on the high grounds, but, their low lands being under water, they were obliged to plant them in a manner not altogether new, but seldom practised, and to which I was frequently an eye-witness. The work was carried on in canoes; in one end of the boat were deposited the rice-plants, on the other side a heap of well-tempered tenacious clay; the boatman, holding two or three rice-plants in his left hand, attached to each a lump of clay, and dropped it into the water; it thus became anchored in eighteen inches of water. Many hundred acres of ground were thus culti-

vated, and this furnished in due time a considerable resource, so as to save many of the inhabitants from famine. In the situation so described, provided the flood during the periodical rains rises gradually, the plant will grow to the height of twelve or fourteen feet, always keeping its head above water; but, if rapidly overflowed and depressed under water even for one night only, it never recovers.

Upon going to Dacca a few months afterwards, I saw many instances of men and women diving from their canoes to tear up from the bottom roots of grass and other vegetables as a miserable food for their famished cattle. Nor were the sufferings of the unfortunate natives yet ended; when the new crop was nearly ready for use, no persuasion could prevent them from satisfying their craving appetites, the frequent consequence of which was immediate death, or diseases which occasioned dropsy and dysentery, which destroyed many.

CHAPTER VII.

DURING my residence in India, when our affairs were less prosperous than at present, the country was more or less convulsed by occasional commotions. I speak of the period when Mr. Hastings visited Benares in the year 1782, and the temporary revolt of Rajah Cheit Sing and Vizier Ali. By a well-constructed plan they had nearly succeeded in taking Mr. Hastings and his body-guard prisoners; had this been effected, the whole of India would have been in arms and open revolt, being justly disaffected; as it was, there was considerable agitation in many of the provinces of Bengal, and it was partially felt even at Dacca and Sylhet.

At this last place the Mussulmen had become uncommonly violent. The period of the *Moharum*, or annual festival of the Islam faith, was approaching, when a deputation from the Hindoo inhabitants came privately to inform me that they had certain intelligence that the Mahometans meditated an assault upon our government on that day, and that it would likely commence by an attack on the Hindoo temples in the town. I told them that I could not believe it, as they had hitherto shewn no indication of riot.

My military force, at that time, being a good deal scattered in the province, not more than forty or fifty men could be mustered fit for duty; and I desired my *Jemautdar*, or black officer, to have all in readiness in case of a fray. Nothing occurred during the day of festival until five in the evening, when the Hindoo inhabitants rushed into my house in numbers, covered with marks of violence they had received from the Mahometans. I went into my room for a few minutes, dressed my pistols, and gave them to my favourite black servant, desiring him to keep near me, and, if he saw me in danger, to put them into my hand. I carried a light horseman's sword under my arm. There was no time for delay, as the town was on fire in different directions. With my small force I marched to the place where the crowd was collected,

and found, to my surprise, that the numbers were much more considerable than I expected. As I advanced, they retired to a strong position upon a hill, and there took post. I followed them to the top and drew up my sepoys on a table-ground directly opposite to them, where they stood with shouldered arms.

I then went forward, with my black officer, to hold a parley on the spot.

I found their leader a priest of considerable rank, at the head of three hundred men. He was insolent in his manner; I was perfectly calm. I told him that I presented myself before him in the capacity of head-magistrate—that I was informed a fray had happened, which I would investigate next day, and render justice where due—that my object at that moment was to compel him to lay down his arms and retire peaceably. He immediately drew his sword, and, exclaiming with a loud voice, "This is the day to kill or to die; the reign of the English is at an end!" aimed a heavy blow at my head; this I was fortunate enough to parry, but he struck so hard that my sword was broken, and little more than the hilt remained in my hand. My black servant at the same moment thrust a pistol into my hand, which I instantly fired, and the priest fell,—and so close were we in contact that his clothes were set on fire.

My sepoys in the rear, seeing my dangerous situation, discharged a platoon while I stood in front, from which I miraculously escaped. My black officer and I rushed back into the ranks in time to prevent their giving way; we then charged with bayonets, and drove the armed multitude over the hill. At that moment there lay an old man wounded at my feet, and a sepoy was on the point of transfixing him with the bayonet, when I diverted the point with my foot, and saved the poor man. I mention this circumstance, as it is connected with a story hereafter.

I had now time to look about me and survey the mischief that had been done in so short a time. The high priest and his two brothers were lying dead on the ground, and many of his dependents were wounded; on my side, one sepoy was killed, and six wounded. Most fortunately my people did not give way,—if they had, every European in the place would have fallen. I now asked for my assistant, Mr. ——, who I supposed had been killed; he

soon appeared, and candidly informed me that the scene was too much for his nerves, and that he had retired during the combat.

My next duty was to convey the wounded men home, and dress their wounds; having no medical assistance, my situation for the night was not a little alarming; my rope-maker, of the name of Job Hinton, was an able hand with the needle, and he was busily employed in sewing up the wounded men lying in my hall. I was ignorant at that moment as to the extent of the revolt in the town, and demanded the immediate attendance of the principal Mahometan inhabitants as hostages during the night; and I had them all in the house, when a person of the name of Beck and several other Europeans came running into my room for protection, assuring me that the people were assembling in force, and coming to burn my house,—but it proved a false alarm; the people were marching in solemn procession to bury their dead by torchlight. I now thought it my duty to send out a military force, and let it be known that no honours could be allowed to those who had thus rebelled against the existing government. A petition was presented next day in humble terms by the relatives of the high-priest and others who had fallen, when no objection was made to their private interment.

This event was of too serious a nature not to be reported to government; they immediately ordered a reinforcement of troops, supposing me under temporary difficulty; but the tumult soon subsided, and the order was countermanded.

In order to shew the troublesome people I had to deal with, I shall mention the following anecdote. An inhabitant of the village of Sylhet, by trade a silversmith and of some note, requested a private interview. He told me that one of the Cusseah chiefs had lately come down from the mountains, and lodged next him in the town,—that, from circumstances which had appeared, he was afraid a conspiracy of an alarming nature was carrying on, of which I was not aware,—and produced a letter he had picked up, addressed to my commandant of sepoys; the language, he said, he did not fully understand, but advised me to send for the Cusseah interpreter. I accordingly did so. The man, upon reading the paper, started and hastily shut the door; the letter was addressed as described—to my commandant of sepoys. This

person was possessed of my full confidence, and I was not a little alarmed and mortified to find that he was in correspondence with the hill chief to betray and put me to death. The letter contained the following words:—"I perfectly understand your last communication, and will act accordingly. On Monday morning, two hours before break of day, I will surround the house of your chief, and take him and his whole establishment prisoners. You, and your sepoys who are in my interest, must be on the watch, and shall be amply rewarded."

This was indeed enough to startle me. I retired to my room, and dressed my pistols—I then sent my European servant for Reim Khan, my commandant, and told him that I had ever considered him as a trusty man and faithful servant, but I had some information against him, which made me alter my opinion. "You are now under arrest, and"—turning to my servant—"there is a brace of pistols—watch this man during the night, and if any resistance is offered, or a rescue attempted, shoot him through the head." The commandant then delivered up his sword, and I retired.

To the informer in the adjoining room I held a different language. "My friend," said I, "I am infinitely obliged to you for your information on this occasion, as you have probably saved me and the settlement from the greatest calamity,—and, be assured, you shall be amply rewarded when the conspiracy is fully traced; the commandant is now under confinement, and the proofs must soon appear. At the same time it is necessary to preserve the appearance of justice. It is my duty, as chief magistrate, to place you also under custody. I must also send to your house for your trunks containing your papers, and have them examined in open *durbar*."* The man appeared in much agitation, and asked if such were the reward of his services? I promised him full justice in due time. In a few hours his papers were before me and inspected, when a scene of villany appeared which proved him an offender of no common standing. I found that the letter he had produced, and also the seal attached to it, were forgeries; and various attempts were found among the papers till they had reached perfection,—and even the government official seals were done with the utmost nicety. He was of course consigned over to

* Court.

the regular courts for trial, and my commandant received public honours, to prove my approbation of his past services.

I had never hitherto been in the practice of riding out in the country with attendants of any kind; I preserved the same plan, knowing that, if I had betrayed any fear, there would be no end to alarms; but an incident occurred soon after, to shew that fanatical zeal had been roused to resent the death of the high priest, which made me more cautious in future.

My friend Robert Hamilton (a captain in the army, son of a gentleman of the same name, formerly laird of Kilbrackmont) came to pay me a visit. We were sitting together at dinner, which had just come in, when my servant informed me that a *fakeer*, or mendicant priest, wished to speak with me on urgent business. Although the hour was unseasonable, I desired him to be admitted. I was sitting at the top of the table, Hamilton at the bottom, next the door,—the priest entered and stood immediately behind him. He began his story by informing me that he had been robbed on entering the province, and, being plundered of all he possessed, he looked to me for redress. There was an irritation in his manner and a wildness in his eye, and his right hand rested in the *cummerbund*, or cloth which encircled his body. His appearance alarmed me; therefore, without changing my voice or manner, I said, "Hamilton! slip behind that man and knock him down,"—he hesitated—"Obey my orders!"—Hamilton was a strong man, and, rising up, with a blow from behind laid the priest prostrate, but, in the act of falling, he aimed a blow at Hamilton with his poniard, which he had held concealed, and, finding he had missed his aim, immediately buried the steel in his own breast. The priest fainted from loss of blood:—when, having recovered from his swoon, I asked him what his motive was for this atrocious act, his answer was that of a madman, "That he was a messenger from God, sent to put to death the unbelievers." My suspicions were thus fully verified, and, had I not acted as I did, I must have fallen a sacrifice.

The poor creature lingered some weeks and then died, but never altered his statement. Instances, such as I have described, frequently occurred to me, owing to the annual assemblage of fanatics at the shrine of the tutelary saint.

Before I quit the subject of the foregoing affray, I must return

to the death of the high-priest, and the old man lying wounded at my feet upon the top of the hill, it being connected with the following singular occurrence. In my domestic circle, long after my return to this country, I had more than once told the story relative to the death of the high-priest. I was listened to with interest, but was evidently allowed the latitude of a traveller,—when, more than twenty years afterwards, my veracity was fully confirmed in the presence of my whole family. In taking my usual morning's ride along the coast, I passed the door of our clergyman, my worthy friend, Mr. Small. There I perceived a man standing, dressed in full Eastern costume, with turban, mustachios, trowsers, girdle, and sandals. To his evident astonishment, I accosted him in his own language,—"Where were you born?"—"In Calcutta."—"*Toot baut*—it is a lie," said I; "your accent betrays you; you must belong to a different part of the country."—"You are right, Sir," he replied, "but how could I expect to be cross-questioned in a foreign land?" With a salaam to the ground, he asked my name and where I lived. I pointed to the house on the hill, and desired him to call upon me next morning.

He came accordingly, and my numerous family were all present at our conversation in the Hindostani language. I first asked his name.—"Seyd-ullah," he answered.—"How came you to tell me a lie, the first question I ever asked you?"—"You took me by surprise, Sir, by addressing me in my own language. The fact is, I was born at a place called Sylhet, in the kingdom of Bengal, and came here as servant to Mr. Small's son, who was purser of the ship. A gentleman of your name," he continued, "was well known in that country, and in London I endeavoured to find him out, but in vain,—nowhere could I trace him."—"Suppose," said I, looking him full in the face, "that I am the man?"—He started back with horror in his countenance—"What! did you kill the Pier Zada?" (the son of the high-priest)—"Yes," I replied, "I did; he attacked me sword in hand, and fell a victim to his own rashness." Seyd-ullah immediately recovered his composure. When I asked him what was the opinion of the people on that subject, he answered, "Some approved your conduct, others disapproved;" and, putting his hand on his breast, with a slight inclination, said, "I was but a boy."—"Where were you during the fray, Seyd-ullah?" said I. "On the top of the hill,

near the houses;" and, with a harsher tone, he added, "you killed my father also."—"Was he an old man, Seyd-ullah?"—"Yes."—"Your father was not killed in action; I saved his life myself,—am I right or wrong?" He said, "You are right; he was severely wounded, and died in consequence some months afterwards."

Seyd-ullah confirmed, in broken English, my former details on the subject. He would not allow that his father was actually the slave of the high-priest, but styled him his salt-eater, or dependent. He said that the Pier Zada and his two brothers fell in the affray, with several others of their adherents, but would give no account how the disturbances originated, further than that the country was at that moment in a convulsed state. He afterwards, at the desire of the ladies, entered into a minute detail of the history of his country, stating in every instance things as he wished them to appear, not as they actually were. He was asked what was his particular talent? to which he replied, that he had been long famed for dressing the best curry in the world, and that he always carried about with him part of the ingredients. He was desired to return next day, when the other materials should be provided.

The following morning the family governess appeared as usual at breakfast; her manners were embarrassed, and she evidently wished to communicate something of importance. "I am sensible," said she, "that no attention should be paid to dreams, but," bursting into tears, "when a scene is represented in such dreadful colours as it occurred to me last night, I should be more than culpable if I did not do everything in my power to avert the calamity with which the whole family is threatened. I dreamt, Mrs. Lindsay, that a black man came from the extremity of the East, and poisoned Mr. Lindsay and his whole family; and I beg and entreat, as you value your lives and happiness, that the curry may not be put on the table, or the consequences may be dreadful!"

In spite of this good lady's advice, Seyd-ullah attended at the proper hour, and prepared a curry to suit my palate, when, just before dinner, an audience was demanded by Mrs. Lawson, the old housekeeper, in the next room, when, with much agitation, she said, "You know, Madam, I am not apt to be troublesome about

trifles, but I think it my duty to mention that I narrowly watched the dressing of this curry, and not in one single instance could I trace the man tasting the dish himself. I told him he surely had not put in sufficient salt, but no—no—he knows too well what he is about; therefore pray, Ma'am, prevent Mr. Lindsay from eating this curry."—The same remonstrance was reechoed by my whole family,—never was a dish better dressed, and never did I make a more hearty dinner.

I was well aware of Seyd-ullah's reasons for not tasting the curry. The fowls of which it was composed were killed by the cook,—had he drawn the blood, and said the usual prayer, he would have had no scruples. And thus finishes the story of Seyd-ullah and the Pier Zada.

CHAPTER VIII.

But to return to my narrative. I have already stated that, at an early period, I had incurred the displeasure of many of my seniors in the service at Dacca, by stepping so neatly into the appointment I held at Sylhet, nor had they forgot the advantage I had thus gained over them. Several of these gentlemen had now attained high situations in the board of revenue, and occasionally, in their official capacity, thundered out unpleasant orders to me. In one of these they announced, in very laconic terms, that they had thought it advisable to give the province over which I presided, in farm, to a certain black man, who was privately under the immediate patronage of one of the gentlemen alluded to; to this native I was directed to deliver up the collection of the revenue. They did not even condescend to assign any reason for that transaction, although my instalments had been regular. This by no means gave me the same uneasiness it did on a former occasion, for I knew well there was not a black man in the country equal to the task.

All I had to do then was to temporise. The black arrived and was received by me with apparent kindness; I even assisted him in making large remittances to Calcutta,—and, in consequence, he stated to the board the great use I had been to him in putting him in full possession of the province. This was a great object to me, for I knew well the turbulent people would break out as usual during my absence. My health now required a little relaxation from my unremitting exertions, and I determined upon a visit to Benares and the upper provinces with my friend Robert Hamilton.

We left Sylhet during the rains, and travelled in elegant boats up the Ganges. As the route is as well known as that from London to Dover, a description of the country would be superfluous,—particularly as it was entirely overflowed.

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A few miles below Patna I fell in with a boat belonging to an old Dacca acquaintance, Mr. David B——. Without any ceremony I went on board, but had not that immediate access to the cabin I expected. After some time my friend made his appearance, but there was a hesitation in his manner which shewed that my visit was not altogether well timed. As the door of his cabin was half open, I had a glance of the interior—"Hollo, David," said I, "what is this you are about? you have got carpenters at work,—you know I am an amateur and will cheerfully lend you a lift—as I am alive, you are in the musical line!"

David was evidently discomposed at my blunt manner, but, recovering himself, "The truth is," he replied, "I have been in this state, lying *perdu* upon the waters for some months, trying to arrange a plan I have long had in contemplation, and which, I flatter myself, will soon bring my name into celebrity; but, Lindsay, as we have been long acquainted, I will, upon a promise of secrecy, give you an outline of my plan. Those bungling rascals, for I can call them by no other name, by their defective shorthand writing, mutilate and destroy the effect of Mr. Pitt's and Mr. Fox's best speeches in Parliament, so that one can hardly trace the original meaning; now, my friend, my object is," (lowering his voice to a whisper,) "to place this same instrument in the house, and play the speech off with the same volubility as it is spoken, and not one syllable will be lost!"—He took me accordingly into the stern cabin, and shewed me the progress of his work; but, as the machine was still in embryo, I cannot enter into the particulars of its construction. I observed that it was furnished with keys and types, but I have not yet learnt that my friend David has succeeded in gaining the laurels of which he was so sanguine.

I remember, at an earlier period of our acquaintance, the world had nearly sustained an irreparable loss by his attempting to walk over a small branch of the Ganges—on water-shoes. This failed, from a trifling defect in the construction. I bade adieu to David, and proceeded towards Patna.—I had almost forgot to bestow on my scientific friend that tribute of gratitude so justly due from me. On leaving his boat he made me a present of some Caledonian newspapers. On examining them at my leisure, I found an advertisement from the agents of the York-Buildings Com-

pany, stating that certain estates belonging to them were on sale; and as an encouragement to intending purchasers, the money might remain in the hands of the buyer for a term of years. It immediately struck me that, upon such favourable terms, I or any man might become a landed proprietor; I therefore, without a moment's delay, despatched a letter to my mother, vesting her with full authority to purchase. This she accomplished with equal promptitude, purchasing, at that happy moment, the estate of Leuchars for 31,000*l.*, which most assuredly is now worth double the amount, or more. In quoting this circumstance, I discharge my duty to David B——.

We passed some weeks most pleasantly at Patna. It is a beautiful country, in a high state of cultivation; the people are industrious and happy, with every appearance of comfort. The husbandmen are there employed in two distinct branches of farming, which greatly attracted my notice,—I mean, the cultivation of opium, and rose-water. Sugar, indigo, and other valuable plants, are also an endless source of wealth, so as to constitute this and the adjoining districts by far the richest I had seen in India.

From hence we proceeded to Benares, the seat of Hindoo learning,—and, as the British government of India has never interfered, but rather protected the votaries in all religious rites, this great seminary was never in a more flourishing condition than at the period I visited the place. We fortunately arrived on the day of the great Gentoo* festival, particularly sacred to the deity who presides over the flood, and whose attribute is to administer happiness to mankind by distributing to them, in due season, such portions of the divine fluid as he knows will best suit the wants of the people and fertilise the soil. It was during an eclipse of the sun, and at twelve o'clock, when it was most obscured; more than half a million of souls, from all parts of Hindostan, were standing up to the middle in the water, offering up their prayers to the great God of the universe in his different attributes. Men, women, and children were here promiscuously intermixed. The whole female population were in the water, and, sailing in my boat, gliding up with an easy sail, I could with my glass, from behind the Venetian blinds, distinctly discern

* Hindoo.

their features and complexions, which are certainly much fairer than they are generally reported to be.

The town of Benares itself is only remarkable for the Hindoo temples and elegant minarets which everywhere attract the eye; the streets are narrow and uncomfortable, but it is without doubt a place of great wealth.

I meant upon this occasion to have gone higher up the river, and indulged myself by visiting the higher provinces of Hindostan, but my curiosity was checked by receiving an express from the board of revenue, ordering me back to Sylhet with all possible despatch, as Gunga-govind, the black man who farmed the district, had in every respect failed in his engagements. This intelligence was not unexpected; I therefore retraced my steps, and arrived at Sylhet in the course of the month. The errors committed during my absence were soon rectified, and my active occupations were resumed as formerly.

During my absence a novel event had happened in our infant settlement,—my assistant, W—— H——, had taken to himself a wife, the first European lady who had appeared at Sylhet. The superior charms of this fair one had long been the favourite topic of his conversation, and her miniature, suspended at his neck, portrayed a most lovely young creature. Her appearance, most assuredly, made me betray symptoms of disappointment, as she was directly the reverse of her picture. The connection originated in an early school acquaintance, succeeded by a long correspondence, which was nourished into Platonic love of the most sentimental kind, and, when they met in India, it terminated in grievous disappointment on both sides; and to such an alarming height did their warfare arise, that I thought it my duty to interfere, in order to secure to the fair lady the respect due to her sex; but in doing so I only betrayed my own ignorance of mankind, and brought upon my shoulders, as may well be supposed, the resentment of both man and wife. This connection, however, soon drove the poor devil to his bottle, to which he soon after fell a victim.

The society being now more enlarged, several Europeans having joined us, I gladly joined with them in such amusements as the country afforded. The forenoon was invariably devoted to business, and in the evening we adjourned for a few hours to a garden

on the top of a hill, to which I had for a series of years paid particular attention. It was on one side covered with a thick grove of orange-trees which I had planted, and which, from the rapid vegetation of the country, had become a wood; on the opposite side of the hill a clump of fir-trees had made considerable progress,—they were the only trees of that description I ever saw in India, had been brought to me, when young, from the Thibet mountains, and soon became a great ornament to the country. If Europeans were allowed to colonise, the high grounds of this and the adjoining provinces would soon become the most beautiful country in the world, from their industry and the fertility of the soil; but this is not allowed by our legislature, who do not allow of British subjects settling beyond Calcutta, and for the best of reasons,—the second generation degenerates; and we should eventually lose our character for activity and intrepidity, which alone supports our name in India.

In the cold season we had shooting in perfection—peacocks, partridges, wild cocks and hens, and water-fowl in abundance; but it was dangerous to shoot on foot, from the multiplicity of tigers and leopards that infested the woods. One day, while shooting with my Highland servant, John MacKay, he suddenly exclaimed, in his own broad accent, "Gude G—, Sir! what ca' ye that?" pointing at the same time to a huge animal in the path before him.—"That, John, is a royal tiger!"—"Shall I tak a whack at him, Sir?"—"No, John; 'let be for let be' is the surest plan."

Another day, having marked a peacock into a large tamarind-tree, I took aim and was about to draw the trigger, when I observed a leopard rapidly descending from one of the branches, on which he had been basking. I of course made a speedy retreat. There is seldom any danger to be apprehended when you can fix the eye of these cowardly animals; they leap upon you when off your guard, not when discovered, and their blow is generally fatal.

In this country tigers of all kinds were extremely numerous, and there was a liberal reward from government for catching them. We caught from fifty to sixty annually, which afforded us much amusement. When a bullock is carried off by a tiger, the farmer gives information to the office; the *panjalla*, or tracksman,

traces him by his footsteps to his den; the drums are beat, the nets are collected, and the haunt is surrounded with the net to prevent his escape. A temporary stage is erected for the chief and his attendants. Elephants are ordered out to beat down the brushwood; they soon succeed in rousing the tiger, and the gentlemen have an opportunity of shooting the animal in perfect safety. Upon one of these occasions we successively shot four tigers; the crowd, supposing them all killed, jumped into the enclosure, when a fifth tiger sprung out from under a bush, and killed a man. This mode of catching is seldom practised, as it is oppressive to the inhabitants, occupying their time for several days. Another method, more simple and equally effectual, is resorted to.

Large traps, constructed of wood and turf, of an enormous size, not less than thirty-six feet long, with four doors successively opening from each other, are built in such places as the tigers frequent. The bait is a living bullock in the centre. The tiger may enter on either side; on treading on a spring, the two counter doors drop, and he is secured, while the bullock remains in perfect safety.

A tube or cylinder, of about twelve feet long and eighteen inches' calibre—(made of mats and fortified with rope or ground rattans, and secured at the further end by two sticks run across it)—is now introduced; and the tiger, being previously teased in the trap and abundantly anxious to escape, seeing this ray of daylight conveyed into his prison through the tube, gathers himself together, and darts into it, in hopes of finding a passage at the opposite extremity, but is stopped by the cross-bars. A man stands by to drive in two other bars across the end by which he entered.

No mouse was ever more inoffensive than this powerful animal now finds himself; the whole space he has to move in is only eighteen inches' calibre, which barely allows him to move, and I have repeatedly taken him by the whiskers with impunity.

But his troubles are not at an end. He is now lifted upon a cart and conveyed to the town. The place chosen for his public *début* was generally an old mosque surrounded by a high wall, enclosing full half an acre of ground. In this enclosure a buffalo awaited his arrival, and stages were erected for spectators to see

the sport. It signifies but little whether the buffalo is in his wild or domestic state; they have in either case the same antipathy to the tiger, and attack him wherever they meet. In the present instance the buffalo was in his tame state, brought from his daily occupation in the field, and submissive to his driver.

But the moment the tiger entered, his character changed; he foamed at the mouth with rage, and with fury attacked his opponent. The tiger put himself on the defensive, threw himself on his back, biting and tearing the limbs of his antagonist, but the buffalo soon overpowered him and threw him in the air, tossing him from horn to horn with wonderful dexterity, until he was dead.

The leopard shews much more play when thrown into the enclosure with the buffalo; in an instant he is on the top of his back, and makes him completely furious; he then jumps from limb to limb, wounding him in every direction—but whenever the buffalo can hit him a fair blow, he is done for.

We sometimes, though not often, fell in with a rhinoceros. He is of a morose, sulky disposition, and shuns the other beasts of the forest. During the rains, one of a very large size lost his way and took refuge in a thicket within a few miles of the town. The drums, as usual, beat to arms, and the whole population turned out. The situation was favourable,—three small hillocks close to each other, covered with brushwood, and surrounded with water.

But to rouse him from his den was a business of no small difficulty. Finding himself surrounded, he lay close. We fired into the thicket and threw fireworks, without effect. At last we got a very long rope, and tied a log of wood to the middle of it; we then passed the ends to the two opposite hillocks, holding the weight suspended over the place where the rhinoceros lay, and, at a signal given, we dropped it directly upon the animal's back. On this, he made a furious charge on our centre, but we received him with a shower of iron balls, which compelled him to retrograde. We continued to fire at him, with no effect whatever, owing to the toughness of his coat of mail. I ordered one of my servants to aim at him between the folds under the neck, in a horizontal direction from the lower ground; upon which he at last fell. I had then an opportunity of examining his body, and

found that (except the last) he had not sustained any injury from the many balls fired at him. And I was not a little pleased to extricate myself from the crowd; for the inhabitants from the adjoining villages, with a savage enthusiasm, had besmeared themselves with his blood, and were dancing around him with frantic wildness. Every part of the carcase possessed, in their opinion, charms for one disease or another, and was carried off piecemeal. It was with much difficulty that I secured the head and horn, which I brought home with me, and have now in my possession. I had also the curiosity to secure a collop, with which I made a very tolerable steak. Upon the first view we had of him, when charging us on the hill, he had all the appearance of a hog of enormous size. I never knew an instance of his coming in contact with the elephant or buffalo, but, from the powerful weapon on his nose, I think he would prove a formidable antagonist.

I must mention another animal, a native of these hills, the gayaul, nowhere described in Buffon's natural history. He is about the size of a large English ox, but stouter in the body, and well made. He partakes of the cow and buffalo, but is evidently of a separate class. Attempts were frequently made to send them to Calcutta, but they always died when brought to the low country. Their milk was yellow as saffron, and in considerable quantity. They are domesticated in the Chittagong and Tipperah hills, where I have seen them in considerable numbers.*

On visiting the country where the greater part of my elephants were caught, I fell in with a small tribe of hill-people, living more in the style of the brute creation than any I had ever met with. They are well known by the name of Cookies, and have their habitations on spreading trees, to defend them from beasts of prey. They live on wild honey and the fruits of the forest, and have but little connection with the people of the low country. I procured one of their children, whom I endeavoured to educate, but found his capacity very inferior; he was fonder of the society of a tame monkey than any other companion, nor did he, during the course of one year, acquire a single word of the language of

* See, for a full description of this animal—(the Bos Gavæus)—communicated by Mr. Colebrooke, tom. viii. pp. 511 sqq., of the 'Asiatic Researches.'

the country. At last, he made his escape into the woods, and I never saw him again.*

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The year 1787 had now commenced, and I began to feel the effects of the laborious and active life I had led during eighteen years' residence in India. Upon balancing my accounts for the two preceding years, I found that my affairs had been more prosperous than I imagined. I therefore prepared, with a glad heart, to return home. . . . . I embarked for England in January, 1789, on board the Britannia, Captain Cumming, and arrived there after a tedious voyage of six months. I found many of my friends in London in as good health as when I left them, particularly my excellent brother and best friend, Colin, then General Lindsay, who accompanied me to Scotland, having travelled the same road with me twenty years before, on my way to Spain. . . . . The subsequent years of my life have been devoted to the education of my children and improvement of my estate, in both of which I have been most ably assisted by my best and faithful friend, my wife. It is now near thirty-five years since we were happily united, and during this long period I have enjoyed in her society, and that of our numerous family, as much comfort and happiness as this world can afford. To her, with perfect gratitude and affection, I consign the care of the foregoing pages for the perusal of my family—thus fulfilling my father's advice in transmitting to my children this trifling memorial of myself.

In consequence of my sight being much impaired by a cataract in my eyes, I write with difficulty; I have therefore dictated this sketch to my three daughters, Anne, Elizabeth, and Cecilia.

ROBERT LINDSAY.

Balcarres, February 26, 1821.

* An interesting account of the "Kookies or Lunctas," by John MacRae, Esq., will be found in the 'Asiatic Researches,' tom. vii. pp. 183 sqq.—Their living habitually in trees has been ascertained to be a mistake, occasioned by their practice, on expeditions of war, of marching by night only, and lying concealed during the day in their hammocks, "which they fasten among the branches of the loftiest trees, so that they cannot be perceived by any person passing underneath." *Edit.*

TWO NARRATIVES

OF

THE PROCEEDINGS OF THE BRITISH ARMY

UNDER

GENERAL SIR HECTOR MONRO AND COLONEL BAILLIE,

AND OF

The Battle of Conjeveram,

SEPTEMBER 10, 1780,

IN WHICH THE DIVISION UNDER COLONEL BAILLIE WAS EITHER CUT TO PIECES OR TAKEN PRISONERS;

BY THE

HON. JAMES AND JOHN LINDSAY,

73rd Highlanders.

INTRODUCTION BY THE EDITOR.

Of the following narratives, that of Captain James Lindsay is extracted from a 'Journal of the Invasion of the Carnatic by Hyder Ali Khan, in the year 1780,'—sent by him to his brother, Lord Balcarres, in 1782, the year before he fell in storming the redoubts at Cuddalore, in the twenty-fifth year of his age.

The other, by Lieutenant John Lindsay, (who had only attained the age of nineteen when he fell into the hands of Hyder Ali,) forms the introduction to his diary of the cruel imprisonment in Seringapatam, to which the defeat of Baillie's army subjected the survivors for nearly four years.

They are not both, however, strictly speaking, personal narratives, that of Captain Lindsay being merely preliminary to his account of the proceedings of the army under General Sir Eyre Coote, whom he accompanied to Madras on the news of Baillie's fate reaching Calcutta,—a circumstance I feel it necessary to remark, lest the expressions he occasionally makes use of,* as an enthusiastic, sympathising brother of that British army in general, and of that regiment in particular, which had then, in his absence, so nobly distinguished itself, should lead the reader to suppose he had been actually an actor in the scenes he describes. The communication of some friend, however, fortunate in that advantage, can alone account for the minuteness and precision of detail which characterise his narrative. Who this friend was I do not know, —with his brother John, Captain Lindsay had no communication whatever, from the hour of that brother's capture to that of his own untimely death at Cuddalore.

It will easily be understood, therefore, how unwilling I have been—illustrating each other as these narratives do, and throwing such light on the perplexed accounts of the movements of the

* I allude to his use of the personal pronouns, *we*, *us*, *our*, &c.

armies previous to and during the battle of Conjeveram—to omit either of them, or to sacrifice their character of distinct, independent testimony to the facility of perusal which might have been obtained by harmonising them into one unbroken stream of story. To approximate to this, however, as much as possible, I have numbered the corresponding sections alike in both, so as to facilitate comparative perusal, section by section,—which I confidently recommend to the reader, as likely, in my opinion, to conduce most to his ultimate gratification.

Under this impression, and with the view of bringing at once under the reader's eye such additional particulars as the works of Colonel Wilks, Mr. Mill, &c., supply me with, I have added a few notes to Captain Lindsay's narrative, which are referred to likewise in that of his younger brother, at the corresponding points of interest.

COMMENCEMENT

OF THE

HON. JOHN LINDSAY'S NARRATIVE.

In the year 1777, being at that time a second lieutenant in the Royal Regiment of Artillery, I was instructed to recruit with all despatch for a new regiment, which the Right Hon. Lord MacLeod had received orders to raise for the service of government. . . I served with this regiment in various parts of Great Britain until the year 1779, when the Hon. East India Company, finding themselves unable to maintain their possessions in the East without the aid of government, petitioned his Majesty that their settlements might be strengthened by a speedy reinforcement. Accordingly, Lord MacLeod's regiment, which I had the honour, and also, I may say, the misfortune to belong to, was embarked for this service. . . The regiment, after a long and tedious voyage, (having, on their passage, reduced some of the French settlements on the coast of Africa,) arrived at Madras in December, 1779, and landed near one thousand men, whose appearance, as they were clothed in the Highland uniform, struck the inhabitants with astonishment.

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HON. JAMES LINDSAY'S NARRATIVE.

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I. The government of Madras at this period (the arrival of the 73rd) was lulled into the most fatal and supine security, and affected to treat the reports of Hyder's hostile intentions as without foundation, he being too wise a prince to attempt to cope with so superior a force; with these impressions the army had, some time before this, been broken up and distributed in the different garrisons throughout their extensive country, it being considered an unjustifiable expense keeping them together. At this period the governor of Madras sent an embassy to Hyder, the real purport of which being never published to the world, it told much to the disadvantage of the governor. Hyder treated the ambassador [Mr. Gray] with the most pointed contempt, and after the first interview ordered him immediately to return; and it is a well-known fact that after this transaction he immediately began to collect his troops together. Reports therefore on all sides prevailed that Hyder was upon the point of entering the country, and Colonel Lang, who commanded Vellore, a garrison on the frontiers of his country, received the most certain intelligence that he had actually marched with his army from his capital. This officer transmitted his information to Madras,* but the governor and council treated it in the lightest manner, and informed him that "he saw danger at too great a distance."

In the month of May, Hyder marched from Seringapatam to Colore, giving out that he was only gone to perform certain ceremonies at his father's tomb, who was buried there, but, in reality, the place was more convenient for collecting his numerous army.

* Received 19th June. *Mill.*

In June, finding all his preparations completed, he reviewed his troops, and found that they consisted of forty-five thousand cavalry, thirty battalions of sepoys, seventy pieces of cannon, with an immense quantity of military stores of every kind, together with about fifty thousand colleries and polygars. The French had, some time before this, sent him three hundred Europeans; and Lally (a famous partisan, who had a body of troops of his own, consisting of four hundred Europeans and some good sepoys, in his own pay) entered into his service, and, it is supposed, was his principal adviser in prevailing [on] him to [invade] the Carnatic at this time.*

He now moved towards the pass of Changama, and encamped upon his side of it, and sent ten thousand polygars to clear away the pass and make a road sufficient to enable his artillery and stores to pass through. In the beginning of [July] he entered the Carnatic, and, knowing that the seaport town of Porto Novo, situated one hundred and fifty miles from the pass, was one of the richest places in the country, he detached two thousand of his best horse, † under his second son, Kurreem Saib, who with the utmost celerity penetrated through the country and plundered the place before the inhabitants could receive the smallest warning of their approach. Information of this transaction was sent to Madras, which the government, however, paid no attention to. In the mean time Hyder (after reducing the forts of Changama and Polore) advanced within fifteen miles of Arcot, the capital of the Carnatic. His numerous cavalry had by this time overrun the whole country almost to the walls of Madras, while the wretched inhabitants, who had before this been situated in plenty and ease, after being stripped of everything they possessed, were in vast numbers carried into slavery, those that escaped arriving at Madras, where they some time after experienced a worse fate by dying of hunger.

The government of Madras were now fully roused from their lethargy, and began seriously to think of collecting an army to

* Colonel Wilks estimates Hyder's force at 90,000,—Mr. Mill, at "not less than 100,000 strong." *Hist. of Mysoor*, tom. ii. p. 254.—*Hist. of British India*, tom. ii. p. 485.

† "Hyder had descended through the pass of Changama on the 20th of July, and from thence detached a select corps of *five thousand* horse, under his second son, Kurreem Saib," &c. *Wilks*, tom. ii. p. 266.

preserve their country; they attributed all their misfortunes to the conduct of the late governor,* who, some time before the invasion, had gone home with an immense fortune, leaving behind him an exhausted treasury—but declared in a minute of council before his departure that he had received the most satisfactory assurances of Hyder Ali's friendship to the English.

At this period there were not three thousand men collected together in any part of the country; the principal cantonment consisted of the 73rd regiment, the corps of artillery, and one battalion of sepoys, stationed at Poonamalee, fifteen miles from Madras; Colonel Braithwaite had likewise a considerable body of troops stationed at Pondicherry, and Colonel Baillie commanded another body of about equal force in the Guntoor Circar; these two detachments had some time before this received orders to march to the Presidency. On the 20th of July the Poonamalee detachment marched to St. Thomas's Mount, in order to accelerate the junction of the other two bodies; on the 29th Colonel Braithwaite joined, having fortunately met with no molestation from the enemy in his route; Baillie was now making rapid advances towards Madras, and another detachment, consisting of two regiments of cavalry and twelve companies of grenadier sepoys, were upon the march from the southern countries. The most sanguine hopes were therefore entertained that the [two latter] junctions would be happily effected.

II. Affairs were in this situation when intelligence arrived that Hyder had opened batteries against Arcot. Mahomed Ali being apprehensive for the fate of his capital, importuned General Monro to march with the troops that were then collected at the Mount, observing that Hyder would raise the siege upon hearing that the army had moved. This scheme being approved of, Lord MacLeod was ordered to take the command, and march towards the enemy. His lordship, in answer, said that he could not insure success with so small a body of troops,† observing likewise that Baillie was now within two days of Madras, and that they ought not to move from their present situation until the junction of the

* Sir Thomas Rumbold.

† It amounted to 1500 Europeans, 4200 sepoys, with an artillery of 42 field-pieces, five cohorns, and four battering cannon. *Memoirs of the late War in Asia, &c.*

whole was effected, as it might be attended with great danger if it were to be attempted nearer the enemy. This advice being disapproved, Sir Hector Monro arrived in camp on the [2nd of] August, and took the command.

Intelligence now arrived that Baillie was within one day's march of the army, and General Monro sent him orders to alter his route, and to proceed to Conjeveram, and that he would join him there.*

III. August the [26th], the army marched from the Mount, the right wing commanded by Lord MacLeod, the left by Colonel Braithwaite,—the whole consisting of about eighteen hundred Europeans, five thousand sepoys, and thirty-four field-pieces ;† the number of carriage bullocks and supply of provisions were but small, but the troops were given to understand that the garrison of Arcot would supply them with everything. The enemy's horse kept hovering about us in straggling parties, and not a village was to be seen in the country that was not in flames.

August the [29th], we arrived within sight of Conjeveram, and upon a nearer approach a large body of horse moved out of the town, and made an appearance of attacking the advanced guard, who immediately formed and gave them a smart fire, upon which they retreated into the town and set fire to it, as they went out at the other side. The army pursued their march, and encamped on a very strong situation two miles on the other side of the town, so as to be able to cover it from the enemy.

* —" No local experience was necessary to demonstrate that the order which Lord MacLeod received to assemble the army at Conjeveram, an open town forty miles in advance, through a country everywhere occupied by the enemy, was contrary to the ordinary suggestions of military prudence, as risking, without an adequate object, the safety of all its detachments and equipments; and in a judicious letter, almost prophetic of the fate of Baillie, this officer recommended the vicinity of Madras as the only safe point of junction, until the army should be in sufficient force, by the union of its detachments, to meet the enemy in the field. The commander-in-chief was of a different opinion; he pledged himself to form the junction at the place originally proposed, and accordingly assumed the command of the army, a majority in the council being secured by the appointment of an additional member, a measure against which the minority protested as unlawful." *Wilks*, tom. ii. p. 266-7.

† " The army consisted of the King's 73rd regiment, one battalion of the Company's European troops, with the grenadiers of another, five battalions of sepoys, a company of marksmen, two troops of cavalry, and a large train of artillery,—amounting, officers included, to 5209.—(184 European infantry, 294 artillery, 3434 sepoys, 32 field-pieces, four heavy cannon, and five mortars.)" *Mill*, tom. ii. p. 490.

Every one was now greatly disappointed at Baillie's not having arrived, and the provisions of the army were nearly exhausted. The general, therefore, sent a battalion of sepoys into Conjeveram to look for grain, and large quantities were discovered buried under ground in the different streets of the town. The large pagoda was therefore pitched upon as a proper place to deposit a quantity of grain sufficient to serve as a magazine upon emergencies. The sick of the army, who by this time were become considerable, were likewise sent into it.*

These operations took up some days, during which time the weather became so uncommonly rainy for that season of the year, that Baillie found it impossible to cross two small rivers, which were rendered impassable from the torrents of rain from the mountains; he was therefore under the necessity of remaining upon their banks until the waters should abate.†

Hyder, during this period, had been intent upon the motions of our two armies, and, finding them in such a critical situation, immediately raised the siege of Arcot, with a view of cutting off the

* "Sir H. Monro marched from St. Thomas's Mount with eight days' provision for his own corps only, with the view of raising the siege of Arcot, distant seven ordinary marches. On his arrival at Conjeveram, as the remaining four days' stock for his own corps would furnish little more than two for the army which he expected to unite at that place, he applied to the Mahometan *gentleman* deputed to provide for all his wants by Mahomed Ally, a name for ever associated with recollections of disgust at his own character, and of indignation and contempt for those who could still continue to trust him. This deputed nondescript gravely assured Sir H. Monro 'that he was ordered by Mahomed Ally to attend him, but had no powers given him to procure either provisions or intelligence,' and the general was left on the fourth day of the campaign to live by the contingencies of the day, and continued fixed to the spot, gradually collecting from this large but ruined town a small supply of food, which he deposited within the walls of the Hindoo temple, a place capable of being rendered in two days defensible against a *coup-de-main*." *Wilks.*

† "On the 25th August Colonel Baillie arrived on the bank of the river Cortelaur, then nearly dry, but liable to be swollen by the mountain rains, and committed the great military fault of encamping on the northern instead of the southern bank;—the floods descended on the night of the 25th, and prevented his crossing until the 4th" (Mr. Mill says the 3rd) "of September. On the first of that month, perceiving by the usual indications that the river would not soon fall, he proposed, in a letter to the government, to descend to its mouth and be ferried over to Ennore, thirteen miles to the north of Madras, as the most expeditious though the most circuitous route; but to this letter he appears to have received no reply. He crossed the river on the 4th of September, with a corps consisting of 207 Europeans, 2606 sepoys, 6 six-pounders, and 4 three-pounder guns." *Wilks*, tom. ii. p. 268.

communication between them. He at that time detached his eldest son, Tippoo Saib, with a large body of cavalry and infantry, and ten field-pieces,* to attack Colonel Baillie, who by this time had crossed the two rivers that had so long impeded his arrival, and was advanced within eighteen miles of Conjeveram; he had encamped his small army in a strong situation, his right flank strengthened by a wood, and his left by a large tank.

IV. On September the 6th, just as Baillie was going to strike his camp, he observed a large body of troops moving down in a column in his front, beating the English grenadier march, and clothed in scarlet,—which made him at first conclude that it was General Monro's army, but, upon their nearer approach, he found out his mistake; they still kept advancing, and at the distance of two hundred yards he opened his ten guns upon their column, which in a few rounds entirely broke their order, and they made a precipitate retreat into the wood upon the right. Their cavalry, which had concealed themselves in the rear of the column, immediately upon the infantry being broke, made a rapid charge upon the line, and were repulsed with considerable loss. In this interval the enemy's guns had filed off towards the left, and, upon the repulse of the cavalry, now opened upon the line, and did considerable execution, as the army was drawn up upon the open plain; but, after a hot cannonade of six hours, the superiority of Baillie's fire slackened the enemy's, and they even abandoned some of their guns, but Baillie's army was so small that he durst not make any detachment from the line to take them, as the enemy's cavalry still kept hovering around, ready to take advantage of the least appearance of disorder or irregularity.

In this situation the night approached, and Baillie expected a continuation of the action in the morning; but the enemy drew off their guns in the night, and fell back five miles nearer to Conjeveram. The enemy suffered severely in the action; at the same time, Baillie had not much reason to boast of his victory, having near one hundred and fifty men killed and wounded, and his ammunition nearly exhausted.†

* "30,000 cavalry, 8000 foot, and 12 pieces of cannon." *War in Asia; Life of Sir D. Baird.*—"A select corps of 5000 infantry, 6000 horse, 12 light and 6 heavy guns, with a large body of irregulars." *Wilks.*

† "The action is described, in a short note from Colonel Baillie, to have lasted

General Monro, having heard the cannonade, immediately struck his camp, and, after sending all his tents and baggage into the pagoda, marched towards Baillie; he had not proceeded above three miles when he observed Hyder's whole army drawn up on the plain, and seemingly determined to dispute our further progress. Monro did not choose to put it to a trial, but immediately halted and drew up his army in a strong situation facing Hyder's, leaving Baillie to his own single exertions.*

The army lay in this situation for three days, without their tents, exposed to the burning rays of the sun in the hottest season, and with the appearance of being effectually intimidated. Hyder, during this time, detached more troops to the assistance of his son; and on the 8th, at night, the General received a letter from Baillie with the accounts of the engagement, and that he was in such distress for troops and ammunition that he found it impossible to proceed to Conjeveram, and therefore requested him to come to his assistance.

V. Monro's situation was now truly alarming; he was apprehensive, if he marched with his whole army to Baillie's assistance, that Hyder would attack the pagoda in his absence, and, as his total dependence for the present as well as the future subsistence of the army [rested] upon the safety of that magazine, the loss of it would fully answer Hyder's purpose, as they would be obliged to return to Madras. After fully deliberating upon this dangerous

from eleven to two; 'near 100 Europeans and sepoys were killed and wounded by the guns of the enemy, who never came near enough for musketry.' MS. Journal." *Wilks*, tom. p. 269.

* "During this day, (September 6th,) Hyder, who had occupied an encampment strengthened with redoubts, about six miles to the westward of Sir H. Monro, made a demonstration of turning his right, with the view of covering the operation against Baillie, and this movement induced a change of position in the English army, which now fronted the north, or the road by which Colonel Baillie was expected. The hostile armies remained during that day in order of battle opposite to each other, at the distance of about two miles, without an effort on either part. About noon a heavy firing was heard, which, from a change of wind, soon became inaudible. It was evident that Baillie was attacked, and equally plain that Hyder had interposed his whole army to prevent the junction. Either the detachment was expected to fight its way through the troops allotted for its destruction, and afterwards through the united force of the enemy, or it was necessary to make an effort for its relief. But the pagoda at Conjeveram, which contained the provisions, the heavy guns, and most of the baggage of the army, had not been made capable (in Sir H. Monro's opinion) of maintaining itself for one day. The army lay on its arms without an effort during the 6th, 7th, and 8th." *Wilks*, tom. ii. p. 270.

situation, he called a council of the field officers of the army, and it was determined to send the grenadiers of the army, consisting of ten companies of sepoys and four of Europeans,* to his assistance, with a supply of ammunition and doolies † for the wounded. The command of this body was given to Lieutenant-Colonel Fletcher, who received express orders from the General to attempt nothing against the enemy upon the road; and likewise that Baillie, after giving the troops a few hours' rest, should immediately move towards Conjeveram, and Monro promised to meet him half way.

VI. The detachment moved out of camp on the 8th, at nine o'clock, and a battalion of sepoys was desired to keep up a smart fire upon the enemy's outposts, in order to divert their attention from Fletcher. The detachment had proceeded without being discovered about four miles, when it was discovered that a large body of horse were encamped in a wood upon their right, and that they were all asleep. Although Fletcher could with the greatest ease have surprised them, he however stuck to his orders and proceeded; the flanking parties in a few minutes awakened them, and they in the greatest confusion mounted their horses, leaving many things behind them. After proceeding eight miles further, a small guard in our front came suddenly upon a considerable party of horse that were asleep in the road, every one of whom were bayoneted and their horses taken, without the smallest disturbance. It being now near break of day, our *hurkaras* ‡ plainly pointed out to Fletcher Tippoo Saib's camp at the distance of half a mile, and who appeared to be perfectly off their guard. This was an opportunity that seldom offers itself in the events of a whole war, and Fletcher showed himself sufficiently anxious to take advantage of it; but, reflecting that, although there appeared a certainty of brilliant success, he would of course be answerable if any unforeseen accident should happen to the party, he was therefore, with the utmost regret, obliged to continue his march.

VII. When the day began to break, Baillie's camp appeared at

* The flank companies of the 73rd, two other companies of European grenadiers, one company of sepoy marksmen, and ten companies of sepoy grenadiers. *Mill.*—Altogether about 1000 men. *Life of Sir D. Baird.*—One thousand and seven men, the flower of the army. *Wilks.*—Twelve hundred men. *War in Asia.*

† Litters. ‡ Spies.

the distance of two miles, and several parties of the enemy, that had been posted around, were surprised by our advanced guard. As the party approached, it was found that Baillie had cut the bank of the tank, and had overflowed a large space of the country in his rear, in order to strengthen his post; we were under the necessity of wading through this body of water, and, at seven o'clock, the party joined Baillie,* having marched twenty miles, which, with the fatigue that the troops had continually undergone for six days before, rendered General Monro's orders (of marching immediately) impracticable. Baillie therefore gave the army to understand that they would not march until eight in the evening.

The different parties of the enemy, that had kept continually hovering around the camp, disappeared during the day, and information was received that Tippoo was considerably strengthened, and meant to attack the army upon the march.

VIII. At eight o'clock the troops were ready to march, and their order was laid down in the following manner:—Baillie's party, that engaged the enemy on the 6th, were stationed chiefly in the centre, and Fletcher's corps of grenadiers composed the right and left flanks of the army; the ten field-pieces were distributed throughout the line; the baggage (which, with a vast number of followers and a large supply of cattle for the army, was very numerous) was stationed upon the left flank, and guarded by a battalion of sepoys; and a battalion and two guns composed the rear-guard, and a company of marksmen the advanced. The whole army consisted of seven hundred Europeans and two thousand sepoys,† and at eight at night moved towards Conjeveram.‡

* "Contrary to all reasonable calculation, Colonel Fletcher, by changing his route during the march, and thus deceiving his own guides, who were all in Hyder's pay, passed unperceived by the numerous troops interposed, and joined Colonel Baillie at Perambaucum early in the morning of the 9th." *Wilks*, tom. ii. p. 271.

† "The arrival of this reinforcement increased the strength to 3720 men, allowing a deduction of 100 for the casualties of the 6th.—[This number is taken from Sir H. Monro's official statement, and of course from the last returns.]"—A MS. journal quoted by Colonel Wilks makes the strength about 3500. *Hist. Mysoor*, tom. ii. p. 271.

‡ "Hyder was full of indignation at the strange negligence by which the detachment had been permitted to pass, without observation, across a country covered with his light troops. The French officers in his service deemed it to be a profound and skilful manœuvre, by which Hyder's army was to be entangled between

The enemy's cavalry and irregulars now made their appearance, and continually rocketed the line, although the flanking parties did their utmost to keep them off; however, the road being excellent and the moon very bright, the army kept marching on at a very brisk rate, and, after proceeding about six miles, the line moved into a large avenue of trees,* it being the direct road to Conjeveram.

The situation being strong, the enemy's horse collected themselves into one body, and resolved to make a push before the whole got into the avenue; they accordingly made a smart charge upon the rear-guard, who received them very steadily, and after a smart discharge of musketry and grape they retreated, but, having received a reinforcement, they immediately returned and threw themselves between the line and the rear-guard, expecting to cut off their communication. The situation being now become dangerous, they halted, and sent for assistance to Baillie, who had during this interval been advancing on, and found that he had unexpectedly entangled himself in Tippoo's encampment, who had by this time drawn up his army upon the left of the avenue, and now opened his guns upon the line. The followers of the army, who were stationed upon the left flank, being frightened at the execution the enemy's fire made amongst them, at this time broke through the line in attempting to escape to the other flank,—and in an instant threw the whole into the utmost confusion; fortunately it was so dark that the enemy could not perceive their irregularity, which they might have taken the utmost advantage of. Baillie, having by this time received information of the danger the rear-

two powerful bodies by a joint operation on the night of the 9th, and strongly urged him to move from the dangerous position which he occupied. Hyder, forming a more correct estimate of the actual operation, maintained his ground, but yielded so far to the suggestions of his advisers as to make dispositions, and even prepare the roads, for each column to retire to the westward, in the event of their conjectures being verified. Both armies continued immoveable on the 9th, and, towards the close of the day, Hyder, having ascertained from his spies that the English army were not preparing to march, sent off immediately after dark, in the direction of Baillie, the great body of his infantry and guns, remaining himself on the ground, ready to move at a moment's warning, with a few light guns and the whole of the cavalry, if his camp should be attacked, and with the same means to harass and impede the march, if a movement should be made in the direction of Baillie. At four o'clock, finding the same torpor still to prevail in the English camp, he silently followed his infantry." *Wilks*, tom. ii. pp. 271-2.

* "Of banyan-trees, with a jungle on each side." *Life of Sir D. Baird.*

guard was in, came to the right about, and arrived in time to extricate them out of their dangerous situation.

After these different movements had been performed, the line moved on towards Conjeveram, still keeping in the avenue, and the principal body of the enemy upon the left flank. Having marched in this situation upwards of five miles, the night being extremely dark, they opened some random guns upon the line, with a view of drawing Baillie's fire and to ascertain the ground the troops were marching over; their expectations were answered, for the line halted and commenced a brisk cannonade, which was returned with equal alacrity from them, and did considerable execution, especially amongst the camp-followers.

Baillie, having received information that the enemy might be successfully attacked upon their flank, detached ten companies for that purpose, but they returned without doing anything, having perceived that a deep watercourse lay between them.* The can-

* "About ten o'clock three guns were fired by the rear-guard, which induced Colonel Baillie to believe that they were attacked. He therefore ordered the line to turn to the right about, and to form in the rear, with their front towards Perambaucum. The enemy kept up an incessant fire, though with little effect; and, as they did not discover an inclination to advance, the English commander gave orders for the troops to face to the right, and to march into the avenue through which they had passed a few minutes before. The whole line being now formed in this avenue, a general halt took place; and Captain Rumley, with five companies of sepoy grenadiers, was detached to storm two guns that had now opened with great execution on our left. There is not a doubt but this party would have accomplished the service on which they were sent, had not a watercourse, which happened at that time to be unfordable, obliged them to return to the line. A degree of disorder, arising from this and the other movements just mentioned, was perhaps the reason why Colonel Baillie came to the unfortunate resolution of halting all night." *War in Asia, &c.*, pp. 7, 8.

This first unsuccessful attempt of Captain Rumley is, it will be observed, unnoticed by Captain Lindsay's brother, Mr. John Lindsay.

"The intelligence, however, of Captain Rumley's march, which was immediately communicated to the enemy, threw their camp into alarm; their guns were heard drawing off towards the English front, and their noise and irregular firing resembled those of an army under a sudden and dangerous attack. A strong conviction of the necessity of preserving every portion of the little army with which the mighty host of the enemy was to be withstood, suggested, in all probability, both to Colonel Baillie and to the General, a caution which otherwise they would not have observed. For what other reason Colonel Baillie forbore to try the effect of an attack during the apparent confusion of the enemy, or for what reason, unless a hope of being supported by the General with an attack on the opposite side, he did not, when the firing ceased, endeavour to proceed, but remained in his position till morning, it is not easy to divine." *Mill*, tom. ii. p. 492-3.

nonade had now lasted near an hour, when the enemy's fire suddenly ceased, and a perfect silence took place on both sides.

IX. Baillie, having found that he had suffered considerably, determined to halt until daybreak, for the following reasons:—The troops were extremely fatigued, his numerous train of baggage and camp-followers were in the utmost consternation, and he had a very large supply of provisions for the grand army, which he ran the greatest risk of losing, as he was unacquainted with the position of the enemy, and likewise with the nature of the ground that he was to march over; these reasons determined him to wait until the day broke, that he might see his enemy and take his steps accordingly.*

Tippoo Saib, on his part, finding that Baillie had halted, immediately drew off his guns, and drew them up in front of a wood upon the left, in so strong a situation that they were almost equal to regular batteries; the long avenue terminated at this place, and he knew that Baillie must move into the large plain in his front, it being the direct road to Conjeveram.

X. In this situation the day appeared and the army moved on, without the smallest appearance of any part of the enemy in sight; at half-past six they arrived at the termination of the avenue, and the troops wheeled up by subdivision, and struck into the plain. The enemy allowed nearly half of the army to advance in this manner, and then they all of a sudden opened their guns, at the distance of three hundred yards, with grape and round, doing very great execution. The line notwithstanding marched on for some time without returning a shot, but Baillie found that the enemy's fire continued with such unslackening severity that he determined to halt and storm their guns. He accordingly formed the line upon the plain, and commenced a severe cannonade with the enemy, and having, after some minutes, gained a considerable superiority in his fire, he ordered ten companies of grenadier sepoys to the storm; they accordingly advanced, but with such irregular rapidity that they entirely broke their ranks, even killing one another by their own fire as they advanced. The troops of the enemy, however, that were stationed about their guns, being

* "Colonel Baillie's words, explanatory of his decision, addressed to Captain Baird, were—'that he was determined to halt till daylight, that he might have an opportunity of seeing about him.'" *Life of Sir D. Baird*, tom. i. p. 21.

still more frightened than the grenadier sepoys, no sooner saw that they were advancing than they gave a straggling fire, and fled with precipitation, abandoning seven guns with their tumbrils, which were accordingly taken possession of.

The line during this time were still more warmly employed; for, immediately upon the ten companies being detached, the enemy's cavalry (which composed a body of nearly ten thousand, and who, during the course of the morning, had been concealed by a wood upon the right flank), thinking this a favourable time to make an impression, moved out of their concealed situation, and came down upon the head of the line at a full gallop. They for two hundred yards advanced with such boldness and expedition as gave them every appearance of succeeding in their attempt, but, at the distance of forty yards, they received so smart a fire of musketry and grape as instantly checked them, and they reined up; but their numbers, pressing upon one another, prevented them from retreating back to their former situation; the whole body of them therefore galloped along the line, receiving their fire as they passed, doing very great execution. After they had cleared themselves, they unexpectedly fell upon the rear-guard, and would have cut them off if a reinforcement had not arrived timely to their assistance; being repulsed here likewise, as their last resource they made a feint of penetrating between the line and the party that had taken their guns, in the expectation that, on this appearance of the danger they were in, they would retreat back to the main body. That party had now been in possession of the guns half an hour, without forming their broken order; when they observed this manœuvre of the horse, they instantly abandoned the guns without spiking them, and attempted to regain the line in the same confused manner that they had left it; the enemy's cavalry, therefore, instantly charged in amongst them, so that the greatest part of them were cut to pieces, and the horse immediately galloped up to their guns, which, being taken possession of, their fire from that quarter became as hot as ever.*

* The above account, and that of Mr. John Lindsay, differ from that given by the author of 'Memoirs of the late War in Asia:'—"The guns were abandoned by the enemy while our sepoys were yet at the distance of two hundred yards. But as our little detachment were advancing to seize and spike them, a sudden

XI. Baillie now secured his troops in a deep watercourse in his rear, and continued an unceasing fire from his guns for near an hour,* and they at length obliged the enemy once more to abandon them; but, as the army had sustained a very considerable loss, he did not chuse to make a second detachment from his line, as the enemy's horse still kept hovering at a distance, ready to take advantage of the least deviation from the strictest regularity. Colonel Baillie, as he had received assurances of support from General Monro, resolved to remain in his present situation, that he might by his arrival render his victory more complete.

XII. The army had now remained near an hour without either receiving or firing a shot, and every instant expecting the arrival of the grand army, when intelligence arrived that Monro was advancing towards us out of the village in our front; this was most welcome news to an army that was almost overpowered with the fatigue they had undergone,—and, a few minutes afterwards, a number of guns dragged by bullocks, and infantry clothed in scarlet, were seen moving out of the village; but, to the surprise of all, they were preceded by a large body of cavalry that in a few seconds covered the whole plain, and plainly demonstrated that it was Hyder Ali's whole army that had thus been able to give Monro the slip. It is impossible to describe the feelings of Baillie's devoted army, when they found that, instead of reaping a complete victory, they were surrounded upon all sides, and all possibility of safety at an end if Monro did not soon arrive. In a few minutes they were entirely surrounded, and Tippoo's abandoned guns were again taken possession of, and—besides fifty others of Hyder's—immediately opened upon Baillie's little army, which still kept up a brisk fire from their ten field-pieces, although it was evident that a few minutes must determine their fate.

XIII. The enemy had now surrounded them in a complete circle with their guns and cavalry, keeping up a most tremendous fire from all quarters, which, from their nearness and numbers, did more execution amongst their own troops than Baillie's. At

cry among the sepoys of 'Horse! horse!' threw them into confusion, and they retreated with precipitation. It was the main body of Hyder," &c.—p. 8.

* "At this juncture Baillie formed his force, consisting of little more than 3000 men, in line, upon the bank of an old *nullah*, or watercourse, and opened his guns upon the enemy." *Life of Sir D. Baird.*

this period the severe fire from the enemy blew up two tumbrils with a great explosion, and the sepoys, who had all the day before supported themselves with the utmost steadiness and regularity, gave way.* The enemy's horse, thinking that all further opposition was now at an end, immediately rushed forward to the centre, when Baillie, with the Europeans that still remained, presented a steady and regular front to the enemy, who imme-

* After the explosion of the tumbrils . . " the cannonade had by this time done considerable execution, the enemy's guns drawing nearer and nearer till almost every shot told. The pressure on the rear appeared to be most serious, and Colonel Fletcher caused a company of European grenadiers to move to its support. The whole of the troops had been previously ordered to lie down in their ranks, and, as the grenadiers rose to obey the order, the sepoys rose also, and crowded to the rear.

" In Hyder's stable-horse was an officer named Biccajee Sindia, commanding a *dusta*, (or 1000 cavalry,) who had been placed in command of a large division of troops to the Northward of the English army under Sir H. Monro, to watch its movements, on the night on which Colonel Fletcher had marched without molestation to join Baillie,—and Hyder had personally and publicly reprobated this misconduct with his usual coarseness and contumely. Biccajee Sindia, stung by this public disgrace, resolved to wipe off the opprobrium or die in the attempt. On observing the crowding of the sepoys, which has been stated, without waiting for orders, he made a desperate charge at the head of his *dusta*. Himself, fifteen of his family, and a large portion of his corps fell; but the example, supposed to be the result of an order, was instantly followed by the rest of the cavalry. The European companies of the British corps still preserved their order, but the residue of the sepoys, not destroyed in the charge, became mixed in irretrievable confusion with the carts and other baggage, and either stripped for flight, or kept up a straggling fire without an object, the strange but ordinary effect of panic.[a] Colonel Baillie," &c. *Wilks*, tom. ii. p. 276-7.

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[a] Though many of the sepoys escaped by flight, many also fell into Hyder's hands, and were confined, like the British prisoners, at Seringapatam. "They were kept," says Colonel Wilks, " at hard labour, and these faithful creatures, whenever they had an opportunity, sacrificed a portion of their own scanty pittance to mend the fare of their European fellow-soldiers. A more cruel treatment was considered due, and was unfeelingly inflicted on those native officers who could league with strangers against their countrymen, and among them many sustained the severest trials with a fortitude which has never been surpassed in the history of any country. By an inexplicable caprice, the most respectable of these were, for a considerable time, confined at Seringapatam, in the same prison with the European officers; and the *good commandant*, *Seyed Ibrahim*, the theme of their prison songs and the object of their veneration, continued, till removed for further torture, to animate the despondent, to restrain the rash, and to give an example to all of cheerful resignation and ardent attachment. When removed from the prison, he mildly bespoke attention to his family, if his fellow-prisoners should ever return, and some years elapsed after their release before accumulated sufferings brought him to the grave. On the extinction of the dynasty of Hyder, a mausoleum was erected over his remains, and endowed by Lord Clive, on behalf of the East India Company, with a view to perpetuate the remembrance of his virtues and the benefit of his example." *Wilks*, tom. ii. p. 523-4.

diately stopped short, afraid to advance.* Baillie, on his part, finding all hopes of safety at an end, and desirous of preserving the lives of the brave men that still remained, put his handkerchief upon his sword and demanded quarter, which the enemy refused; every one therefore determined to sell his life as dearly as possible, and the whole prepared to deliver their fire, when the commandant of the cavalry advanced from amongst the rest, and declared that quarter should be granted if the troops would lay down their arms. Upon this assurance Baillie ordered the soldiers to ground. The horse, as soon as they saw this, immediately rushed forward, in hopes of being able to take advantage with impunity of their perfidious breach of faith; but the soldiers, struck with rage and despair, instantly resumed their arms, and poured in a severe fire amidst the multitudes that surrounded them,—the horse, who were drunk with the fumes of opium that they had taken to raise their courage, and enraged at the great

* . . . "Nothing ever exceeded the steadiness and determination with which this handful of men sustained the fury of their enemies. No effort could break their order,—while sepoys, as well as Europeans, repeatedly presented and recovered arms with as much coolness and regularity as if they had been exhibiting on a parade. Every attack of the enemy was repulsed with vast slaughter. Their courage began to abate, and even Hyder himself was perplexed. A movement executed by Colonel Baillie to the right, apparently with a view to attack the enemy's guns, increased the terrors of Hyder, and he consulted Lally on the propriety of a retreat; Lally replied, that, as the main army of the English was probably advancing upon his rear, no expedient remained but to break through the detachment. When the heroic bravery of this little band presented so fair a prospect of baffling the host of their assailants, two of their tumbrils blew up, which not only made a large opening in both lines, but at once deprived them of ammunition, and overturned and disabled their guns. Their fire was now in a great measure silenced, and their lines were no longer entire, yet so prodigious was the awe which they inspired, that the enemy durst not immediately close. From half after seven, when the tumbrils blew up, they remained exposed to the fire of the cannon and rockets, losing great numbers of officers and men, till nine o'clock, when Hyder, with his whole army, came round the right flank. The cavalry charged in separate columns, while bodies of infantry, interspersed between them, poured in volleys of musketry with dreadful effect. After the sepoys were almost all destroyed, Colonel Baillie, though severely wounded, rallied the Europeans who survived. Forming a square, and gaining a little eminence, without ammunition, and almost all wounded, the officers fighting with their swords, and the men with their bayonets, they resisted and repelled thirteen attacks, many of the men, when desperately wounded, disdaining to receive quarter, and raising themselves from the ground to receive the enemy on their bayonets. Though not more than four hundred men, they still desired to be led on, and to cut their way through the enemy. But Baillie, despairing now of being relieved by Munro," &c. *Mill*, tom. ii. p. 494.

loss they had sustained, immediately after receiving the fire rushed forward, and in a few seconds Baillie's little body of Europeans were cut to pieces.

Hyder Ali, enraged at having purchased his victory with the loss of more of his best troops than those that he had overcome, immediately gave orders that no quarter should be granted, and his troops, who were of themselves sufficiently desirous to gratify their cruelty, without a spur from their leader, obeyed his commands with alacrity. All the wounded men of the former actions were, to a man, put to death, and the miserable train of camp-followers shared the same fate; in fact, in a few minutes more, there would not have been a man remaining, if the French officers who served in his army, struck with grief at their wanton cruelty, had not beseeched Hyder to spare the lives of the few that might still remain; representing to him, likewise, that it would be politic to have a number of the English prisoners in his hands. Hyder, more struck by this last consideration than from the principles of humanity, immediately ordered his troops to cease from slaughter, which was instantly obeyed. Of a hundred officers that were in Baillie's army, thirty-six were killed upon the spot, and fifty-four wounded, numbers of whom in a few days died from want of assistance; the proportion of the privates killed and wounded was still greater.*

XIV. Hyder, being now apprehensive that Monro would come up and attack him, immediately moved off to his former situation, leaving numbers of the worst of the wounded upon the field of battle.†

* "Seven-eighths of the whole were put to the sword, and but for the humane interposition of the French commanders, Lally and Pimorin, who implored and insisted with the conqueror to shew mercy, the gallant remains of our little army must have fallen a sacrifice." *Memoirs of the late War in Asia*, p. 10.

"'Of eighty-six officers, thirty-six were killed or died of their wounds, thirty-four were wounded and taken, and sixteen were taken not wounded; the carnage among the soldiers being nearly in the same proportion.'" *MS. Journal quoted by Wilks*, tom. ii. p. 277.

"About two hundred Europeans were taken prisoners." *Mill.*

† On the night of the 9th ("in the evening" of which day Baillie was "instructed to move" with the detachment under Fletcher, which had joined him that morning) "the tents of the main army were struck, and the men lay on their arms. About twelve o'clock some cannon and musketry were heard; but they presently ceased and all was still. A little before daybreak a heavy firing of cannon and musketry was heard at a distance. It was soon perceived that the enemy's army

had moved; the general gave orders to march by the right in the direction of the firing. After proceeding about four miles, he ordered guns to be fired, as a signal of his approach; and, after a mile and a half, repeated the signal. A great smoke was suddenly perceived, and the firing ceased. Supposing that Baillie had repulsed the enemy, the general led the army back into the road, in hopes to meet him. After marching about two miles, he met a wounded sepoy, who had escaped from the fight, and told him that Colonel Baillie was entirely defeated. The general concluded that the safety of the army depended upon its returning to Conjeveram, where it arrived about six in the evening, and where the arrival of more wounded sepoys confirmed the report of the disaster." *Mill*, tom. ii. p. 491.

"Hyder" (after cutting Baillie's army to pieces) "withdrew to Damul, a place about six miles from the scene of action, and the next day returned to his camp, where he had left the tents standing and baggage unmoved when he marched to the attack of the unfortunate Baillie. He had acted, during the whole of these operations, under the greatest apprehension of the march of Monro upon his rear. And had not that general been deterred, through his total want of intelligence, and his deficiency in the means of subsistence, from marching to the support of Baillie,—had he fallen upon the rear of the enemy while the detachment was maintaining its heroic resistance in front, it is probable that the army of Hyder would have sustained a total defeat. On returning to Conjeveram, after intelligence of the fate of the detachment, the general found that the provisions, which he had been unwilling to expose, amounted to barely one day's rice for the troops. Concluding that he should be immediately surrounded by Hyder's cavalry, and cut off from all means of providing any further supply, he began, at three o'clock the next morning, to retreat to Chingleput, after throwing into a tank the heavy guns and stores which he could not remove. Hyder, informed of all the motions of the English army, sent a body of not less than six thousand horse, who harassed continually their flanks and rear, wounded some of the men, and cut off several vehicles of baggage. Through several difficulties they reached, about eleven at night, a river, within a mile and a half of Chingleput, so deep that the rear of the army passed only at nine o'clock on the following morning. At this place the general expected to find a stock of provisions, but, with all his endeavours, could hardly procure paddy [rice] for a day. Fortunately for Colonel Cosby, as he was about to make a forced march to Conjeveram, he met with one of the fugitive sepoys from Colonel Baillie's camp, upon whose intelligence he proceeded to Chingleput, and, though considerably harassed by the enemy on his march, joined the army in safety on the morning of the 12th. Leaving the sick and part of the baggage at Chingleput, the whole army, at six o'clock on the morning of the 13th, began their march for the Mount, at which they arrived on the afternoon of the following day. Nothing could exceed the consternation and alarm of the presidency, which now trembled even for Madras; and, destitute as it was, not only of provisions but supplies of every kind, if Hyder had followed the English with his usual impetuosity, and with his whole army assailed the place, it is hard to tell how nearly, if not completely, he might have involved the Carnatic interests of the nation in ruin." *Mill*, tom. ii. pp. 492-6.

HON. JOHN LINDSAY'S NARRATIVE.

I. . . . A FEW weeks after the return of Mr. Gray to the presidency it was rumoured that Hyder Ali was collecting a large force in the neighbourhood of Seringapatam ; and many intelligent natives declared that his intention was to invade the Carnatic. The Nabob of Arcot, Mahomed Ali, at a very early period acquainted the Madras government that they were shortly to be attacked, and called upon them to prepare their army for the defence of his dominions, as well as their own possessions.

The Nabob was so confident that his information was correct, that he ordered all his cavalry that were cantoned in the southern parts of his country to prepare to march to Madras. The Company's army, European and native, was at this period so completely dispersed throughout a coast of fifteen hundred miles of extent, that three thousand men could not have been collected to act in one body in less than a month.

Mr. Gray's hasty return from Mysore inspired the Court with no apprehensions, and Sir Thomas Rumbold, on quitting India at this period, congratulated his successor that he had left the government in such a flourishing situation within, and so strong in alliance without. . . . The rumours of Hyder's approach increased every day, but the government of Madras remained incredulous.

On the 7th of July the rumours of the invasion of the Carnatic were unhappily confirmed. Hyder Ali had received information that the open seaport town of Porto Novo was overflowing with riches and merchandise of all sorts, and, although three hundred miles from his capital, and in the centre of the Carnatic, with strong garrisons stationed in the interior and also within a few miles of it, he formed the daring resolution to commence the war with the plunder of that place. For this purpose he selected three thousand of his best cavalry, together with an equal number

of infantry, who were alternately to take the place of the horsemen.*

This force penetrated in four days from the passes that divided his country, and arrived at Porto Novo, no intelligence having been received of his approach. The consequence was, [that] the few troops that were in the town were cut to pieces, with the greatest part of the inhabitants; and the town itself, one of the richest in the East, was, in the space of a few days, completely pillaged. It was supposed that Hyder, independent of private plunder, obtained a greater booty in this place than he afterwards acquired in the plunder of Arcot, the capital. . .

In this dreadful posture of affairs, without any army capable of facing the enemy, and the garrison ill provided with provisions and warlike stores, it was supposed that nothing could resist the torrent; and had Hyder proceeded direct for Madras, the British power in India would not have been in existence one year afterwards; but, as he had little cause to think the British government had been so unprovided, he satisfied himself by laying siege to Arcot and plundering the country with his horse; and, in the short space of one month, he sent off a million of cattle and five hundred thousand inhabitants, to enrich by cultivation the barren parts of the Mysore empire.

In the space of three weeks a small force of three thousand men was collected in the neighbourhood of Madras, under the command of Lord MacLeod, and infinite pains were taken with this small force to cover the country, and collect a sufficient quantity of cattle for the field-train to be ready to act, when an army could be collected. The enterprise of Hyder had been so hardy and well-conducted, that it was generally imagined he would destroy the army in detail, in their attempt to join; but the alluring prospect of speedily reducing Arcot, by which he calculated on raising the fame of his arms, detained him irresistibly at that place. . .

II. It appeared about this time that, from a state of the utmost despondency, a degree of confidence and contempt of the enemy had usurped the place of former sentiments. The plunder of the Carnatic, and fears for the safety of Arcot, became every hour [more] intolerable, particularly with the Nabob, who trembled for

* *Vide* Note †, p. 233.

the fate of his capital. Sir Hector Monro commanded the army, and had ever been esteemed a brave man. He was required to march towards Arcot,—it was opposed by Lord MacLeod, on the plea that the force was inadequate,* and that the two reinforcements were at hand. The plea was admitted, but it was observed that the movement of the army would alarm Hyder, and that Baillie, who was now only twenty miles from Madras, should march in a parallel line and join higher up the country.† The danger of this measure, in the face of an active enemy, was not sufficiently considered, and Sir Hector Monro left Madras, and directed his march towards Arcot, which is but eighty miles from Madras. [III.] The numerous bodies of the enemy's cavalry, hovering on the flanks and rear of the army, rendered the utmost circumspection expedient, as the loss of baggage or provisions in a country so completely in the power of the enemy would have proved fatal.

Severe and heavy rains at this period set in, and Baillie was compelled to continue his parallel line with Sir Hector Monro, being prevented by the unusual overflowing of a small river [from] crossing and joining the army; this circumstance began to create considerable anxiety, the more so as, approaching [Conjeveram], fifty miles from Madras, we observed the whole of Hyder's army, commanded by himself in person, drawn up and offering us battle. It appeared that he had obtained perfect information of the position of the two armies, and the difficulties that had prevented Colonel Baillie from crossing the said river; and finding Arcot a more difficult undertaking than he had imagined, he had raised the siege, with a view of resuming it should he prove successful in his projected attack on either or both of the British armies.

With this view, he detached his son, Tippoo Saib, with twenty thousand choice troops, to attack Colonel Baillie as soon as he crossed the river. It now became necessary to receive any intelligence regarding the position or spot where Colonel Baillie was; and the imprudence of not joining at Madras began to unfold itself. Immense quantities of grain having been found in Conjeveram, a depôt was formed in the pagoda, which [it] became an object of infinite importance to secure.

Hyder's army remained in camp within a mile of us, and his

* *Vide* Note †, p. 234. † *Vide* Note *, p. 235.

flanks he had taken care to secure with strong intrenchments. A battle seemed to be inevitable on the first movements of either, and the result (considering the vast disparity of numbers) pressed upon the minds of all with great anxiety.

IV. On the 6th of September a long, heavy, and uninterrupted cannonade of six hours was heard, and we concluded that Baillie had been attacked; this consideration became the more alarming, as no diminution of Hyder's camp or force had been observed; towards evening it finished, and we remained in profound ignorance as to the result.* On the [8th], in the evening, an *hurkara* (or spy) from Baillie found means to elude the enemy, and arrived in the camp with a short note; its contents were as follows:—"Dear General,—On the 5th I crossed the river, and on the 6th I commenced my march to join; in the morning I was attacked by a formidable army, consisting of horse, infantry, and guns, commanded by Tippoo Saib, and after a severe action I entirely defeated him; he is now near me—I cannot come on. I am in want of everything, and expect you with anxiety."

V. The receipt of this letter threw General Monro into the greatest anxiety and dilemma; the whole present and future subsistence of his army seemed to depend upon the preservation of his depôt of grain at Conjeveram, while, at the same time, the preservation of Baillie, and indeed himself, depended on a junction: thus unpleasantly situated, he determined to maintain his position, and, even from his small army, to send Baillie a reinforcement of troops and ammunition.—Perhaps it was the wisest plan he could have adopted in such a complicated difficulty. Had he marched himself, he must have lost his magazine and probably his whole army. As it turned out, the destruction of Baillie was his preservation.—A body of fifteen hundred select men, composed of the flank companies of the whole army,† were, with infinite secrecy, collected and placed under the command of a gallant and experienced officer, Colonel Fletcher. Of this unfortunate body, I commanded the grenadiers of the 71st regiment,‡ and my friend Captain (now General Sir David) Baird the light infantry.

Colonel Fletcher received positive orders to attempt no enterprise on the road that he could avoid, and to confine his object to

* *Vide* Note *, p. 238. † *Vide* Note *, p. 239.
‡ The 73rd was afterwards so ranked.

a junction with Baillie, who was eighteen miles * distant at a village called [Perambaucum].

VI. The troops marched out of the rear of the camp, unobserved by the enemy, and, at the distance of about five miles from the camp, came suddenly on a body of two or three hundred horse, who were encamped upon the road. The horsemen were fast asleep; the whole or greatest part of them were bayoneted by the division, who did not fire a single shot on the occasion.

We had proceeded about twelve miles on the direct line to Baillie, when our guides pointed out to us Tippoo's camp on our left, with fires in various parts of it. His whole army seemed to be in a profound sleep, and, had Fletcher chosen to have deviated from his orders, there can be no doubt but he would have destroyed the whole army, and, had Tippoo been prepared to expect us, our fate would have been equally certain.

VII. At daybreak we were gratified with a view of Baillie's camp, who turned out immediately to receive us with transports of joy, as they expected another action with Tippoo every hour, and were in fact in want of what we brought, troops and ammunition.† The confidence that this small reinforcement inspired is inconceivable, and a fresh attack upon Tippoo was looked for with ardour.

VIII. The troops, having rested a very few hours, at [eight] at night, on the 9th of September, commenced their march in order to force a junction with Sir Hector Monro, who, it was understood, would keep a vigilant eye over Hyder's motions, and act accordingly. We were soon surrounded by numerous bodies of horse, irregular infantry, and rocket-men, who never ceased in their exertions, by keeping up an irregular fire, to retard the progress of the army, which moved on with much caution, having a convoy of sheep and cattle for the army. It appeared that Tippoo had been reinforced in numbers and in guns, as he opened twelve upon the line as it approached an avenue that leads towards Conjeveram; but the army moving on with infinite coolness induced him to withdraw them to a strong position on our left, and he opened a heavy fire on the line while in the avenue, which the darkness prevented from being very effectual.

We were now within nine miles of Conjeveram, and had lost

* Fifteen miles. *War in Asia.—Mill.—Wilks.*

† *Vide* Note †, p. 240.

about one hundred men in the progress of our tedious and harassing march; and, as it was very dark, much of the convoy had been lost.

IX. In this position, the uncertainty of the position of the enemy, the amount of their force, fear for the remainder of his convoy, and the fatigue of his troops, induced Colonel Baillie to defer the continuance of his march until daylight.* On finding that the army had halted, Tippoo Saib drew off his guns and placed them, covered by his infantry, within two hundred yards of the road the army was necessarily to pass on their way to Conjeveram. He did not neglect advertising Hyder Ali of the position of the army, and urged his support.

X. On the 10th of September, as soon as the day broke, Baillie continued his march. The enemy having entirely disappeared, the troops filed off from the avenue into the open plain, and had now approached within seven miles of Conjeveram, when Tippoo's battery on the left commenced a heavy and well-directed fire on the line with grape and round shot, which, in a few minutes, did very considerable execution. It became impracticable to continue our march exposed to such a fire, and the line was immediately formed. The whole of Hyder's cavalry at this moment sallied from a wood, where they had lain in ambush, on our right, and, to the amount of ten thousand, made a furious and formidable charge on the advanced column.

The line was at this time formed on an elevated spot, and the enemy was permitted to approach at full gallop within ten yards; the army being now compelled to shew a front to the cavalry, the fire from the enemy's battery continued with great execution. A heavy and severe fire now opened from the advance of the British line, supported by six pieces of cannon loaded with grape, whose effect on the enemy's column was instantaneous and tremendous; this formidable body instantly halted, and the numerous wounded horses, wanting their riders, appeared to throw the whole into confusion. Many of the head chiefs fell in attempting to lead on the horse, who were now in evident confusion, but who, being impelled by those in the rear, could not even retreat; they were therefore necessitated to file off by the left, and consequently received the heavy and severe fire of the whole line.

* *Vide* Note, p. 243.

It was afterwards discovered that Tippoo led on this formidable charge in person, and that twelve hundred of his choice horse were killed in this single charge. The cavalry, being now clear of the line, fell in with the rear-guard, consisting of a battalion of sepoys and four guns, and, had they not immediately taken up a strong position, they would have been destroyed.

Being pressed extremely hard, Captain Powell, who commanded the rear, sent to Baillie requiring an immediate reinforcement. I was detached from the line, with my single company of grenadiers and two of sepoys. With this small reinforcement I joined the rear-guard, which enabled us to repulse the enemy, and, while receiving my orders from Captain Powell, a cannon-shot from the enemy's batteries killed him on the spot, and the command of the whole devolved upon me.

Baillie, having repulsed this formidable attack, determined to storm the enemy's guns, which continued to fire with unabated violence. For this service he selected ten companies of sepoy grenadiers, which he placed under the command of Captain Rumley, an officer of acknowledged gallantry; it was suggested to him that he would do well to place at the head of this body a company of European grenadiers, but he replied he could not spare them from the main body. This force advanced against the enemy with infinite firmness and under a heavy fire.

Captain Rumley divided his small force, and attacked them in front and flank at the same time. The enemy, finding they continued to advance, fell into confusion and fled, abandoning their guns, which were immediately taken possession of,—the defeat the horse had experienced seemed to have dispirited them. The enemy's cavalry, seeing their guns in our possession, abandoned the rear-guard, and made a desperate attempt to recover them. The troops under Rumley had not recovered their perfect order when this body charged them in the flank, and, after a considerable resistance, threw them into confusion. They attempted to make their retreat to the line, having abandoned the guns without spiking them. The enemy's cavalry pursued them with vigour to the line, and, out of eight hundred men, six hundred were cut to pieces.*

XI. The enemy in a short time resumed their guns, and re-

* *Vide* Note, p. 244.

commenced their fire upon the line; while a smart but irregular fire of musketry from their infantry, who now approached the line in various directions, was kept up, and became extremely galling, particularly as it was justly deemed hazardous to detach any more troops from the main body, as the cavalry, from their late success, appeared to be fully resolved to attack the line, who at this time became once more exposed to the heavy and severe fire of the enemy's battery, which appeared to be fully as well served as our own artillery. The bulk of the enemy's cavalry, having at this period collected on our right flank, charged with the most determined bravery, and a large part of our little army was obliged to change its position, and to shew a front on this occasion. This body was again repulsed, although several of the chiefs were actually killed in the act of cutting down the soldiers in their ranks.

The action had now continued from daylight until ten, and the loss of the army, in the various charges and from the enemy's guns, did not amount to less than fifteen hundred men, while that of the enemy exceeded five thousand. It was at this period suggested to Colonel Baillie that, as the army was only seven miles from Sir Hector Monro, he might reasonably expect that he would come to his assistance, and that, instead of remaining in the open plain, exposed to the severe fire of the enemy's guns and repeated charges of the horse, with the annoying fire of their irregular infantry, it would be most advisable to make a fresh attack with the whole army on the battery, and, as the ground was favourable for defence, it would be an excellent post for the army until the arrival of Sir Hector Monro.

It appeared, however, that Baillie was so confident of immediate relief, that he determined to remain in the plain; but, in order to shelter the army from the severity of the enemy's fire, he formed his infantry under the cover of an old ravine,* while a heavy cannonade was kept up from the artillery of both [armies], which ended in the enemy abandoning their guns,—but the cavalry remained on the flanks, ready to attack any detachment that might be sent to take possession of them.

The rear-guard, during the attacks of the line, having taken

* *Vide* Note, p. 245.

up a position of great strength, although entirely separated from the main body, had repulsed every attack that had been made.

XII. At this period a cloud of dust in our front convinced us that the long-looked-for aid of Monro was at length approaching, and from a village in our front we observed several columns of infantry, clothed in scarlet, advancing rapidly, beating the British grenadiers' march.

A shout of joy was spread throughout the line, but a moment afterwards a very different sensation pervaded the breast of every one, on discovering that it was the advance of Hyder's army. It afterwards appeared that Hyder, having received information from Tippoo of the position of Baillie, [had] left his camp standing, guarded by . . . thousand polygars and irregulars, and, with the whole of his choice infantry, horse, and artillery, marched out from the rear of his camp, and, by taking a considerable circuit, eluded the vigilance of the British general, who did not discover his error until four hours after Hyder marched to the assistance of his son.

In a very few minutes the plain was covered with this formidable army, which, from the information afterwards obtained from some French officers of intelligence in the enemy's army, consisted of twenty-five battalions of sepoys, seventy-five pieces of cannon, twenty-five thousand cavalry, besides innumerable bodies of polygars, peons, and rocket-men.

XIII. A fresh body of artillerymen immediately resumed their fire from Tippoo's battery, and the bulk of Hyder's army surrounded Colonel Baillie's small body of troops, while the field-train of the line kept up a severe and brisk fire on the enemy, which, from their numbers, did infinite execution. The rear-guard at this period remained quite unnoticed by the enemy, and, from their position, ignorant of the fresh body of the enemy that had attacked the line. Had their position been known to me, I am of opinion that, by marching to the adjoining wood, which was of a great thickness, and extended for twenty miles to the sea-coast, the greater part would have escaped.

The fire of the enemy at this period became so overpowering and heavy, that the greater part of our artillerymen were killed while serving the guns; and an unfortunate shot having struck one of the tumbrils, three of them blew up successively, and many

men were killed by the explosion. The enemy now advanced in every direction, and the sepoys, who had until now manifested the greatest bravery during the whole action, began to shew evident signs of terror, and, as many of the officers at this time had been either killed or wounded, it became no longer practicable to maintain any discipline. The consequence was, that, on the tumbrils exploding, the whole of the native troops threw down their arms, and took off their uniforms in order to disguise themselves; and many escaped in the tumultuous bands of the enemy by this means.*

With our guns now in possession of the enemy—our sepoys utterly dispersed, Colonel Baillie rallied the remains of his army, now reduced to between five and six hundred Europeans, and, seeing that all idea of succour was at an end, he resolved to make every exertion to save this handful of men from the fury of the enemy's cavalry, who seemed to be elated with their success, while exasperated at their loss.†

For this purpose, although already surrounded, he advanced some distance in front of the soldiers, and, affixing a handkerchief on his sword, he demanded quarter for the remains of his army. One of the principal chiefs stepped forward, and assured him that, if the troops laid down their arms, their lives (which he swore upon his sword) should be saved.

Baillie instantly ordered the troops to ground their arms, which was scarcely done when the whole of Hyder's cavalry rushed forward, and Colonel Baillie himself, after receiving another wound in the hand, was taken prisoner. The troops, exasperated and driven to despair by this infamous breach of faith, immediately resumed their arms, and a heavy and destructive fire was delivered, which brought down vast numbers of the enemy, while those that escaped the effect of it rushed forward and commenced the most dreadful slaughter on this handful of men,—and Hyder issued orders that no quarter should be shewn, which was most implicitly obeyed by his cavalry.

After the destruction of the line, the rear-guard still remained, and were now doomed to experience a similar fate; but, from the slow manner the enemy approached, it appeared they considered

* *Vide* Note, p. 246. † *Vide* Note, p. 247.

all further resistance at an end. Being totally ignorant of the destruction of the main body, a most determined resistance was made, and a very great loss was sustained by the enemy on this occasion. And this small force had the exclusive honour to think that they were the only troops in the field that did not offer to capitulate, and were the last in the field that were sacrificed.

The fury of the enemy was, if possible, still greater on this occasion. Three-fourths, at least, of the whole were killed on the spot, and those whose lives were spared were most dreadfully wounded.*

XIV. I shall now conclude this general detail of the origin and events of Hyder's war to the period of Baillie's destruction, by observing that Sir Hector Monro, hearing of the fatal catastrophe of his army on the 10th of September, having got the start of Hyder's victorious army by a few hours, immediately retreated towards Madras; and he was solely indebted for his safety to the extraordinary vigilance he manifested in his retreat.†

* *Vide* Note *, p. 248. † *Vide* Note †, p. 248.

JOURNAL

OF AN

IMPRISONMENT IN SERINGAPATAM,

DURING THE YEARS

1781, 1782, 1783, AND PART OF 1780 AND 1784.

BY

THE HON. JOHN LINDSAY,

73rd Highlanders.

ADVERTISEMENT BY THE EDITOR.

A DISCREPANCY in dates—the consequence probably of the restraint under which such records of daily misery were necessarily kept—may occasionally be observed between the following 'Journal' and the similar one of a brother sufferer, published above half a century ago, and frequently cited by me at the foot of the succeeding pages. I have pointed out the most material of these variations, but, except in two instances, hereafter accounted for, I have in no wise altered the arrangement of the work.

The episode it illustrates is one of the most interesting in our national history, as exhibiting the heroism of British officers and privates under circumstances of unexampled trial and suffering, —while the kindness of the French officers in Hyder's army is no less deserving of notice and praise. Deep moral lessons are unconsciously conveyed in every page of this Journal,—the eye may be moistened, the heart saddened, but I am sure the reader will rise up a wiser and a better man from its perusal.

I have appended illustrative notes throughout, supplying many affecting incidents in addition to those recorded by my uncle, and which I earnestly commend to the attention of the reader.

JOURNAL,

&c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

THIS Journal is an account of myself, and of the various circumstances that befel me, from the time that I was taken prisoner by Hyder Ali on the 10th of September, 1780, until my release from prison, and my arrival at Madras on the 17th April, 1784.

On the morning of the 10th of September, little did I expect that the events of that day would have been productive of the miserable years that followed it, or that I was doomed to suffer such hardships, in consequence of having done, and doing, my duty to my country to the best of my ability, as the worst of malefactors only experience for their crimes.

After my company had delivered their fire amongst the multitude of the enemy that were around us, the horse immediately rushed in, and, the ranks being now irretrievably broken, every one threw down his arms, and used every means to preserve his life; whilst, all around us, no object presented itself but the enemy, with drawn sabres, cutting and hacking the miserable wretches that were at their mercy.

As my company was (from their being lately sent to the assistance of the rear-guard) the last body of troops that were in the field, they were nearly all cut to pieces; the greatest part of the soldiers and officers of the line came running down towards me, and the enemy's horse galloping after them; they were driven to a hollow piece of ground, which had been the means of sheltering my company pretty well during the action; there were therefore five or six hundred people in this place, crowded together, which the horse surrounded, who, by the length of their weapons, could plunge them into the middle of the crowd.

Our situation was now become beyond all description dreadful, from the screams of the wounded and dying people on the side of the hollow, and from the vast numbers that were smothered in the middle of it, owing to the extraordinary pressure.

In this situation I was so unfortunate as to be near the centre, and in a few minutes I should have suffered the same fate as a number of others, if at that time I had not called out to two men of my company who were near the edge, and, though they were both desperately wounded, yet by great exertions they dragged me out of the dreadful pressure.

Then, reflecting that the superior appearance of my dress might be fatal to me, I recollected that I had in my pocket two hundred pagodas, being the subsistence of my troop, and which, it immediately struck me, would be the means of preserving my life.

I therefore looked around me to observe the different countenances of the horsemen, and, thinking that I had distinguished one whose look was less ferocious than the rest, I pulled out my bag of pagodas, and beckoned him to approach me, which he instantly did, put up his sword, and dismounted. I immediately delivered him the bag; he seemed much surprised and pleased at the magnitude of its contents, which gave me the most sanguine expectations. After he had put it up, he demanded my accoutrements, which I instantly took off and presented to him; I now thought he would have gone no farther, but (one after the other) he stripped me of everything except my breeches and one half of my shirt,—having torn off the other to tie up my other shirts in a bundle. Though much concerned at being thus stripped naked after the part I had acted towards him, I however made no doubt but that he would grant me his protection, especially when I saw him mount his horse; which he, however, had no sooner done, than he drew his sabre, and, after giving me two or three wounds, instantly rode off, leaving me stung with rage, and laying the blame upon myself for having called him towards me. After some minutes, what with the loss of blood and the intense heat of the sun, I fainted away, fully convinced that I was expiring, and pleased to think my last moments were so gentle.

I do not know how long I remained in this situation, but I was roused from it by a dreadful pain in my left shoulder-blade. I now found that I was nearly driven into the centre again, and

that a dead man was lying upon me, and a pike that had passed through his body had penetrated into my shoulder, and caused me the severe pain.

In this manner I lay for some minutes, when John Kelman, of my company, called out, upon observing me, that I was dead; upon which I answered, "Not yet, but near about it." At this moment he observed three French hussars, and desired me to go to them; I answered him that I was so weak I could not walk, and, besides that, I was so jammed in the crowd that I could not move myself; upon which, being a very strong man, he reached out his hand towards me, and, my head being the only part he could touch, he dragged me out by the hair, and carried me to the French, when I once more fainted; however, one of them put some arrack into my mouth, which soon revived me, and I told them in French I was an officer, and requested that they would protect me, which they assured me in the strongest manner they would do. They accordingly drew their swords to keep off the horse, who were every moment endeavouring to cut me down. At this time my preserver, John Kelman, was by some accident separated from me, and I afterwards found he was cut to pieces.

The hussars now carried me to their commander, Lally, who was at some distance with his corps. He immediately came up to me, and expressed his concern at my situation, ordered my wounds to be bound up, and placed me upon one of his elephants, and they told me that, as Hyder every moment expected General Monro to arrive on the field of battle, he was going to fall back to his old camp.

Though extremely feeble, I could not help considering myself exceedingly fortunate at having got into such humane hands, and the thought of the treatment I might afterwards undergo was entirely absorbed in thankfulness at the danger I had escaped. From the top of the elephant, the first thing that I cast my eyes upon was six wounded men of my company, with ropes about their necks, and beat on in the most inhuman manner by a Moorman * who was leading them.

* The epithets *Moor* or *Moorman*, and *Gentoo* or *Gentile*—adopted, I believe, from the Portuguese, and respectively applied to the Mahometans and the native Hindoos of India by all the old English travellers—have only fallen into disuse within the last half-century, since (and probably in consequence of) their rejection

I at this moment had a distinct view of Hyder's army, his infantry, marching in the most regular manner to English music, in the centre, and his cavalry on the flanks. Hyder Ali himself was riding at the head of one of his battalions, upon a small dun horse, and dressed in a blue silk jacket and a red turban. He came riding up to Lally, with whom he conversed in the most familiar manner, and appeared vastly pleased, bursting out into fits of laughter. In this manner I arrived in the camp, after a march of ten miles, and was extremely weak and fatigued; but Leroy, one of the French hussars who had saved me from being cut down by Hyder's horse, gave me some soup and a shirt and long drawers, which I had great want of, as my skin was in one entire blister with the scorching heat of the sun.

As this was now the sixth night I had passed without sleep, notwithstanding the great pain I was in, I did not awake until morning, when I found that four officers, severely wounded, had been brought in during the night, and in the morning I found two of them lying dead by my side.

On the 11th, in the morning, some of the French officers came

by Sir William Jones. In the present instance, no doubt, the change has been an improvement, but I cannot suppress a sigh in reflecting on the licence which has followed another much more important innovation to which that accomplished man lent his authority—I mean, that of altering the orthography of Oriental names already naturalised and dear to us in our own mother English—names which surely might be left in quiet enjoyment of the prescription to which the acquiescence of many generations, and the sanction of some of our noblest British classics, fairly entitle them.—If the orthography of Tamerlane, Saladin, and Cairo satisfied the historical judgment of Gibbon, (and few, I suppose, would even now advise the alteration of those names, in a new edition of the 'Decline and Fall,' into Timoor-Leng, Salah-ed-deen, and El Kahira,) still less reason can there be for applying the principle to fiction, or for disguising the familiar friends of our childhood, Haroun Al-raschid, Zobeide, the Vizier Giaffar, Mesrour, and Aladdin, in the uncouth, repulsive orthographical garb which disfigures more than one recent edition of the 'Arabian Nights,' in other respects most valuable.—And what is more provoking still, no two innovators in this new field pursue the same system.

Let it be considered to what the principle, if carried out to its full extent, (for, if imperative in the one hemisphere, it can be no less so in the other,) will necessarily lead us. Adopting the most rational of the prevailing theories, that of spelling names according to the national orthography, we must henceforward write Roma for Rome, Venezia for Venice, Wien for Vienna, Muskwa for Moscow, Kiobenhavn for Copenhagen; the Danube must be lost in the Danau, the Vistula in the Weichsel,—and even the laws of rhyme and rhythm will scarcely, I fear, protect the Montagues and Capulets from the fate of the (twice-murdered) Barmecides.

and told me that Hyder had sent them orders to deliver up to him all their prisoners. They expressed their grief at it, but declared that Hyder would inflict con[dign?] punishment upon them if they did not instantly comply.

At this instant the guards came in, and, in a thundering manner, drove us before them, like a flock of sheep, and loading us with blows because our wounds prevented us from walking fast. In this manner we were conducted before Hyder, who, after looking at us all, and taking down our names, desired us now to go to our quarters, and to eat, drink, sleep, and be happy. This speech gave us all great comfort, and we were taken out of his presence. When I came out, a figure, covered all over with blood, came limping up to me and called me by my name, which from the voice I soon discovered was my old friend David Baird; this was a most welcome meeting to both of us.

His fortune had not been quite so good as mine, for he had been, like me, stripped—worse wounded—and had lain all the day and the following night on the field of battle, every horseman thinking him so badly wounded that they would not be at the trouble of conducting him into the camp; he had, however, made a shift to come in of himself, and now declared that the only pain he felt at that time was violent hunger.* I informed him of Hyder's speech to us, which much pleased him.

I then perceived some men of my company at a distance, and, forgetting that I was a prisoner, I went towards them, being desirous of speaking with them, but I had not gone more than two or three steps before the guard saw me, and a shower of blows which I received all over me soon made me recollect that I was not my own master.

We were now conducted to a tent, where about twenty wounded officers had been brought before us, and presented a sight that would have struck any other enemy with pity, except the one whose hands we had fallen into; few of them had less than six wounds; every moment they were bringing in more from the field of battle, but great numbers, both of officers and soldiers, being stripped and severely wounded, were left to perish on the scene of action.

* See the 'Life of General Sir David Baird, Bart.,' tom. i. pp. 28 sqq.

Towards the evening Colonel Baillie and fifty-eight officers were collected together at this tent, and some infamous provisions were flung upon a large cloth upon the ground, and we were desired to eat that or want. Two French surgeons were then permitted to come and dress our wounds, who, as soon as they saw our numbers, declared that it was impossible for them to dress so many without some assistance; accordingly, after tying up the wounds of about twenty of the worst, they went away, and said that they would apply to Hyder for more assistance.

On the 12th, in the morning, it was discovered that three officers had died during the night, and vast numbers were delirious. Colonel Baillie, who was badly wounded himself, now requested that they would send for the surgeons and some provisions, but all the answer he received was, that the army was just going to march twelve miles nearer Arcot, and that when we came to the ground we should obtain everything we wanted.

A few minutes afterwards the grand Nagar beat (which is a great drum mounted upon a camel), as a signal for the army to begin their march. A strong guard came and informed us that there were conveyances for twenty of the worst of us, but that all the rest were to walk. It was in vain for us to attempt to reason with them that we were unable to walk; abuse and blows were all we gained by it. Numbers at length threw themselves upon the ground, and declared that they could not move a step further, and, by every kind of abuse, endeavoured to provoke the guard to put them to death.

In this manner we arrived at the new encampment late in the evening, and it was found that four more officers had died upon the road. Three tents were now pitched upon a low sandy ground, barely sufficient to contain thirty of our number; but the guard declared that Hyder would grant us no more. In the evening we had some of the same kind of provisions as the day before spread out before us, and on the morning of the 13th the stench of our wounds infected the air around us.

Hyder [now] for the first time inquired after his prisoners, and being informed of our dreadful situation, at the earnest entreaty of the French officers, he permitted some of them to come and give us assistance. He now sent us some surgeons, but not sufficient, and likewise ordered every officer a piece of cloth to

cover himself, and Colonel Baillie one thousand rupees to distribute as he thought proper, and which, being divided among both officers and soldiers, gave every one five.

The French officers, who were all very badly off for money and clothes themselves, subscribed, however, together four hundred pagodas, which they gave to Colonel Baillie upon his bond, and which was a most providential supply, and enabled us to buy what things were absolutely necessary for our existence; but still our evils were now becoming hourly more insupportable,—the wounds of every one were full of dirt and sand, as we had nothing to rest our bodies upon but the bare ground, and the market-people, who were permitted to come and sell things to us at a most exorbitant price, found the air so offensive that they would come no longer. Several died in this miserable state, and a very few days would have been fatal to us all if Hyder had not resolved to send away his prisoners to his own country.

On the morning of the 16th * the guards came and informed Baillie that all the prisoners were to be sent away except himself and officers next in rank to him. Of these, Colonel Baillie kept myself and my friend Baird, and, as a very great indulgence, we were permitted to go and see the men of our companies to bid them farewell. They had been still worse treated, if possible, than ourselves, and, thinking that we might have sufficient influence to get their situation altered for the better, they determined, when an opportunity offered, to complain to us. But when they saw that we were in as deplorable a situation as themselves, they burst into tears, and only hoped that the day would come that would give them ample revenge for our sufferings. After having been with them a few minutes, and advising them to keep up their spirits and look for better days, we were obliged to leave them, and were separated from the rest of our brother officers, and carried to another part of the camp.

* The *fourteenth*. (Narrative, &c, by an officer of Colonel Baillie's detachment, printed in 'Memoirs of the War in Asia from 1780 to 1784, 8vo., 1789,' p. 22.) —According to this account, "Colonel Baillie, the Captains Baird, Rumley, Lucas, Menteith, and Wragg, with Lieutenants Lindsay and Frazer, were ordered to remain in the enemy's camp. The officers not wounded, who amounted to the number of twenty-three, were sent to Bangalore; and those wounded, of whom there were twenty-seven, to Arnee. The wounded privates were in like manner sent to Arnee, and those not wounded to Bangalore."

My wounds had not yet been dressed since I received them, as the surgeons had always been occupied with those that were worse wounded than myself, but the change of provisions and extraordinary heat of the sun, and the complicated hardships that I had undergone, threw me into a violent fever. We were now put into a tent, the first shelter I had been under since I was taken. I thought myself particularly fortunate, at this time, in meeting one of my old servants, who likewise, on his part, expressed his joy; and told me he had not tasted victuals for two days. As I was extremely ill, I gave him all my treasure, amounting to fifteen rupees, to take care of for me, and desired him to go to the bazar, and buy something for himself and me. He promised to return immediately, but the treacherous villain, as soon as he had got my all, left me, and I never saw him afterwards. Baird, likewise, had been plundered of his wealth in much the same manner, but Baillie was so generous as to give us, out of what little he had remaining, a pagoda each.

On the morning of the 18th we were informed that Hyder was going to besiege Arcot, and that he meant to carry us along with him; and, not many minutes afterwards, eight palanquins were brought to us for our conveyance. This behaviour, so different from the former, surprised us extremely, and we were given to understand that our situation would now be in every respect altered for the better; but we soon found out that this outward magnificence was a political trick of Hyder's, for, while we marched along with his army in this manner, escorted by a large body of horse, our pittance of provisions was so small, and so bad of its kind, that it was barely sufficient for our existence.

On the 19th, on the line of march, my old housekeeper, Mootoo, came up to me, and appeared to be extremely concerned at seeing me so very ill, and said that he was determined to stay with me,—at which I was very happy, but took care to keep my remaining pagoda in my own possession.

On the 20th Hyder's army came in sight of Arcot, which began to fire at his advanced parties, and shot from the fort wounded one of our guard; upon which the principal body of the army moved off, and took possession of Walajanagar, a town near two miles distant from Arcot, and our guard conducted us there likewise. An old tent was pitched in one of the streets, and we were put

into it, but we found it so extremely hot, that we beseeched them to put us into one of the houses on either side, which, however, they refused to do. We were now surrounded on all sides by strong guards, and a proclamation was sent round that any stranger who should be seen near our guards would have his nose and ears cut off.

As Kistnarow, the Behauder's * prime minister, used frequently to come and see us, we determined to pay our court by every kind of submission; he was continually asking us questions about the strength of the English army and the customs of our country, all of which we answered with a servility of manner which the misery of our situation alone could excuse.

Finding now that there was no chance of any more surgeons being allowed to come near us, we were obliged to trust to nature for our cure. The violent fever that I had had now for a long time turned into a severe flux, and I found that, from having no method of cleaning myself, and the want of clothes, I was covered with vermin, and, as my circumstances would not admit of my purchasing a comb, my servant Mootoo shaved my head with a piece of glass bottle.

As the health of us all was still very indifferent, we came to a resolution of requesting that they would permit us to write into Vellore, which was sixteen miles distant, for a surgeon. Colonel Baillie made this application to Kistnarow, who asked if we were sure that a surgeon would come out to us upon such a request? and, upon his being answered in the affirmative, he said, "If you can have interest enough to procure a surgeon, the same power will enable you to desire the commanding officer to deliver up the fort to my master, and I desire that you will accordingly write to that purpose;" and, upon our refusing to comply with this demand, he said "that we could not expect that any favour would be granted us."

On the 27th Hyder sent for us to his *durbar*,† and Captain Rumley, who spoke the Moorish and Persian languages extremely

* The title of Behauder, implying Hero, was granted to Hyder by the puppet Rajah of Mysore in 1759,—the period when his fortunes were beginning to unfold. He "was always more gratified by the single appellation of Behauder than by any other title." See Colonel Wilks's Hist., &c., tom. i. p. 372.

† Court.

well, had a long conversation with Hyder, and told him the severe treatment we had met with. He seemed to be very sorry for it, and, after we had been some time with him, he desired us, as he did on a former occasion, to "go home, and to eat, drink, sleep, and be happy,"—and Kistnarow, who was displeased with what we had said to Hyder, ordered that we should get no victuals that day.

On the 28th they, to our great joy, brought into our tent eight baskets of liquor, with a letter from a French correspondent of Baillie's in Pondicherry, desiring that he would sign a receipt for the liquor, that he might know if we got it; therefore, upon pen and ink being brought, Baillie signed the receipt. Some time after, Kistnarow came and asked, "if we liked wine?" and upon our answering that we did, he ordered the guard to take the baskets away, saying that he would take care of it for us, but we never saw the wine afterwards.

This behaviour, joined with our former treatment, made us almost desperate, and we determined to treat him ever afterwards with the most pointed contempt. Accordingly, the next time he came, instead of getting up and saluting him in the servile manner we had hitherto done, we sat still upon the ground, without taking the least notice of him. He therefore soon went away, seemingly much displeased; we amused ourselves with the idea of treating him with the most mortifying contempt, and some days elapsed before we saw anything more of him.

On the 22nd of October a fresh guard came, and desired Baird, myself, and two others,* to prepare immediately to go to Seringapatam. I represented to them my weak situation to undertake so long a journey, but we had just time to bid adieu to Baillie and the rest, when we were shoved out of the tent, and on the outside I met Kistnarow, and again repeated to him the impossibility of my performing the journey; but he flew into a violent passion, shook a cane over my head, and said, "better people than us were kept all their lives in iron cages."

We were now delivered over to a guard of matchlock peons, who received strict orders to keep a good look-out that we did not run away. The palanquins that we formerly had were brought again to us, but without any carpet or bedding, which made them a most

* Captains Menteith and Wragg.

painful conveyance. In the evening we halted at Timery, a small fort, ten miles distant from Arcot, where my complaints soon began to be much worse, being without the smallest assistance.

On the 23rd we continued our march, and arrived at Arnee in the evening. At this place all the worst of the wounded prisoners of Baillie's army were kept, and we strongly begged of the Kellidar* to allow us to go and see them, which favour we could not obtain. My disorder had now become so violent, and had rendered me so feeble, that I could not stand, and my own money, as well as Baird's, had long been expended, so that, being unable to purchase any medicines, and the provisions which they served out to us being extremely bad for my disorder, I had in consequence not tasted anything since I left Arcot.

On the 24th we arrived at Polore, which is a fort, after a severe march of twenty miles, and my complaint now became so violent and painful as almost to deprive me of speech, and the violent fatigue I had undergone, without sustenance, began to affect my senses. The nearer we approached Hyder's country the less kindness we had shewn us, and the cattle of the village were here driven out of their shelter, and we were substituted in their place.

The time of the day our guards chose to march contributed likewise greatly to our miseries, for they never started till the sun had risen, and the heat of it, from being without any refreshment, was truly insupportable.

On the 27th we arrived, after a very long march, at Shangernagore,† a fort near the pass of the Carnatic into the Mysore country, and the bullocks, as usual, were driven out to make way for us. This last march completely overpowered me, and violent spasms and a strong hiccough seized me. It was evident that I was now in the last stage of my disorder, and Baird and the rest of my companions did all in their power to force me to take a little rice to sustain me, but without effect.

At this time a sepoy of our guard came up to me, and, after standing by me for some minutes, told me that he would prepare me some medicine if I would take it. I told him that I would thankfully take anything that he would give me, but that I had

* Commander of the fort.

† Chandgherry,—the capital of the ancient Hindoo kingdom of Narsinga.

no money to pay him for it. He said that he did not want any money from a prisoner, and then went away. In a few minutes he came back, and brought with him three green pomegranates and a large bowl of sour milk, and after mixing the fruit with his hands in the milk, having previously mashed them into a ball upon a stone, he desired me to drink it. In any other situation I would certainly have refused to take such a medicine, but, as it was, I took it and with great loathing drank it off, it having a most dreadful taste. He then desired me to endeavour to sleep, which I did, and in a few hours afterwards I awaked much better, my fever having abated, and my flux was not near so severe; and, for the first time since I left Arcot, I eat a little boiled rice.

The next morning the sepoy came to see me, and was much rejoiced at seeing me so much better. I told him that I owed him my life, and that, although I was poor here, I had plenty of money in my own country, and that I would reward him for it if ever I returned. He then told me that he was not very rich himself, as his pay was only a pagoda and a half a month,—and, at the same time, drew out his little purse and offered me a rupee. This generous behaviour, so different from what I had hitherto experienced, drew tears from my eyes, and I thanked him for his generosity, but would not take his money.

On the morning of the 28th we continued our journey, and crossed the pass through the mountains, and arrived at a large camp of Hyder's that was stationed there for the purpose of sending provisions to his army in the Carnatic. I was still very ill, and, upon the commandant coming to see us, I asked him to permit us to stay a couple of days in his camp to refresh ourselves, for that I should die before I got to Seringapatam, if I did not get some rest. He answered me in a rage, that "I might die and be damned—that he had received the Nabob's orders to send me to his capital, and that, if I died on the road, he would tie a rope round my neck and drag me there." After this answer I abandoned myself to my fate, and saw that I could gain nothing from their humanity.

I, however, from this time, regained my health every hour, and now felt no other pain than that arising from severe hunger, for our allowance was very scanty, and, although we always marched

early in the morning, our guard never gave us any provisions until they had eaten their own victuals and taken a sleep, so that it was generally ten at night before we had anything brought us to eat.

On the 30th we arrived at a fort called Pripatam, and the inhabitants of the country came flocking around us, as if we were a parcel of wild beasts, and our guards even took money from them for shewing us. Indeed, we were most miserable-looking creatures. I was with my shaved head and a dirty shirt and trowsers, which were those I had got from the French, and which I had now had on six weeks without washing. In this situation I presented a most ludicrous figure, but I was now too much accustomed to their treatment to be much concerned at their making themselves merry at our expense. We were at this place put into a house for the first time, and, in rummaging the room, we found a large pot of fine milk, which we immediately made free with, and made a most excellent meal of it with rice; however, in the morning, an old scolding woman came and abused us in the severest manner for stealing her milk, and in a few minutes the whole village was collected about us, abusing us, and the commandant declared, if we were ever detected in thieving again, he would flog us all round.

On the 1st of November we arrived at a fort called Caurapatam,* and were lodged in the usual manner. I here had a narrow escape from the fury of an enraged Rajpoot, for, happening to approach his fireplace when he was dressing his victuals, and putting my foot within the circle in which all his cooking utensils were placed, he no sooner perceived it than he drew his sword and ran after me. Seeing my danger, I made off, and sheltered myself behind a tree, whilst some of the guard came and asked the Rajpoot what I had done,—who, with all the signs of loathing, said that I had come and polluted his victuals by putting my feet within his hallowed circle. I protested that I did not mean any harm, and said that I was unacquainted with their customs; and it was with great trouble I escaped a severe chastisement. As there was a pond of water near our lodging that day, I, for the first time, took my shirt off my back, and sent my man, Mootoo,

* Caverypatam, 109 miles east of Seringapatam.

to wash it, as it was as black as a coal, and, upon his bringing it back, I gave my trowsers to undergo the same ablution.

Nothing happened material to us from this to Hyder's capital, except my having very near sustained a relapse of my disorder, from my having one day, upon our halting in an orange-grove, plucked a quantity of the fruit, although they were quite green, and, being very hungry, I immediately eat them, which brought on a violent return of my complaint, which lasted several days and then went off, principally, I believe, owing to the poorness of my diet. My severe sickness, however, gained me one advantage, for my wounds were by this time quite healed, and without the smallest assistance of medicine.

CHAPTER II.

ON the 6th of November, after performing a long march, we came upon a large plain, and, at two miles' distance, we had a distinct view of Seringapatam. Our guard immediately gave a shout of joy, but we possessed very different feelings when we reflected that we were now come to a place of confinement, which we had no prospect of seeing soon at an end, and, from the treatment we had always experienced, we had no reason to think that it would be now altered for the better, as we were in the hands of an enemy who was always considered as one noted for cruelty, especially to the English. All these ideas gave us the most melancholy reflections.

As we approached the place we found that Seringapatam was situated upon an island of about eight miles in circumference, formed by the river Cavery, branching off into distinct rivers, and again meeting; on the opposite side of the river we observed our place of confinement, which was a fort, having exceedingly high walls, and of a very great length. The whole island, we could observe at the same time, was covered over with very large populous towns.

In any other situation than ours such a prospect would have been extremely agreeable. We were ferried over in boats to the other side, and another party of troops came and conducted us to the fort, whilst all the various warlike instruments were sounded, as the signal of rejoicing for the great success of the Behauder against the English, since he invaded their country. As we were the first prisoners of note that had been sent to his capital, thousands of people flocked round us in order to gratify their curiosity and make their remarks, and we were obliged to stand in a row that we might give them a more distinct view. In this manner we were conducted through various windings and turnings into the middle of the fort, and were brought up to the *durbar*, which was in front of the grand parade, where the

Kellidar and other great men of the place were waiting to receive us.

We were ordered to advance towards them, but only at a certain distance, and we were again obliged to stand in a row, in the heat of the sun, without daring to go to one side or the other to shelter ourselves from the great heat. During this time the Kellidar amused himself by sending one of his inferior people and asking us a number of ridiculous questions, all of which we were too much dispirited not to answer with the greatest submission. At length, after standing nearly six hours in the heat of the sun, word was brought to the Kellidar that our place of confinement was prepared, and we were conducted there by a strong guard.

The house was upon the right-hand side of the grand parade of the fort, and was in the shape of an oblong square, with high walls, from which projected inwards a single tiled roof in the form of a shed, and open on all sides; and in the four angles of the house were four small rooms, or rather dungeons, without windows or the smallest portion of light. In the centre of this building there was an open space of a few yards for the air to come in, and, on the outside, a very high wall built at the distance of ten yards, in order to make the place of our confinement more secure from the least possibility of escape.

After we were put into this place the Kellidar went away, and in the room of our former guard, another, consisting entirely of Moormen, was brought in, and guarded the door of the inside of the square, whilst two other strong guards of peons were stationed at the door of the outer square. The person who had the charge of the whole was a havildar* and a Moorman, that they said "they could depend upon." His name was Mobit Khan; his appearance was the most villanous that could be conceived, and we afterwards found that he was as bad as he looked.

He began by telling us he was our friend, and informed us that we were extremely fortunate at being put into this house, as it was the best jail in the place,—that Hyder had some time ago put some persons of great note into it, but he had been under the necessity of putting them to death some time before this, as they

* A petty officer.

had been found plotting to make their escape, and he therefore, as a friend, advised us to be upon our guard. All these circumstances gave us the most gloomy thoughts, and the dirty appearance of our jail contributed to augment them.

We had not received a morsel of victuals that day, and Mobit Khan informed us that we must wait until the next morning, as the Kellidar had important business to transact, but, upon his arrival, we should know what we were to be allowed,—accordingly the Kellidar came the next day, and delivered to each of us a gold fanam, of the value of five pence sterling, and told us that this was to be our daily allowance, and that, as we had servants of our own, they would be permitted to go to the bazar and lay out our money for us, as we thought proper. This mode we much approved of, but we told him the sum was so small that we could not possibly live upon it; he immediately stopped us by saying it was the pleasure of the Behauder his master, and that we need not ask for more, whether it was sufficient or not.

We then told him that we had no clothes, nor anything [to lie] upon but the cold ground, and begged with the greatest humility that he would assist us in that respect; he answered that he had no orders from the Behauder to that purpose, and therefore could not do it,—after which he went away.

Mobit Khan told us that we need not ask for any more things, as he was sure they would not be granted to us, and at the same time he told us that, as he was our firm friend, he advised us to place our money in his hands, and that, as he was better acquainted with the customs of the place than our servants could be, he would, to oblige us, undertake to lay out our daily pittance to the best advantage; this proposal we most thankfully accepted, but we very soon repented of what we had done, as he gave us just barely sufficient to support life, and never thought of buying us any clothes, though we were almost naked, and the evenings and mornings were extremely cold. We now began to suspect strongly that he defrauded us out of great part of our allowance, and we therefore told him that we would take our money and lay it out ourselves; upon this demand he flew into a violent passion, abused us in the grossest manner, and asked us if we dared to think that a Mussulman would deign to cheat such miserable wretches as us? Finding that it was a smaller evil to come to an

extremity with him than to be starved, we told him we would complain to the Kellidar the next time he came; he answered that, as we had entrusted our money to him, he should continue to lay it out for us.

In this manner several days elapsed before the Kellidar made his appearance; we made our complaint to him, at which he seemed much surprised, but Mobit Khan declared to him that it was entirely at our own request that he laid out our money for us,—that we had never asked for it back, or he would have given it up with the greatest pleasure, as he was even a large sum out of pocket by giving us all manner of good things. After this he appealed to the guard for the truth of what he said, to which they all declared that it was strictly true.

Upon this, the Kellidar abused us in the severest manner for attempting to hurt the reputation of Mobit Khan, and even threatened to chastise us in public if we did not behave better; but he, at the same time, desired that we should have the management of our own money. We now thought ourselves extremely fortunate in getting our little pittance back again at the expense only of abuse, to which we were now well accustomed; and we determined by the most rigid economy, if possible, to save as much as would purchase us some clothes; we, however, after this, found Mobit Khan a most tyrannical and cruel enemy, and, as we were in every respect entirely in his power, he rendered our lives much more miserable upon that account.

Our servants were permitted to go to the bazar, and purchase us such provisions as our circumstances would admit of, but, as it entirely depended upon the caprice of our commander at what time they were to go to market, it was often very late at night before he would permit them, so that we could seldom get any provisions but of the worst kind, and extremely dear; we were, however, enabled, in the course of a month, by almost starving ourselves, to purchase some clothes.

We remained in this manner until the 10th of December, at which time all the worst of the wounded prisoners of Baillie's army, who had been sent to Arnee, to the number of twenty-two, were put into our jail along with us. This was a most joyful meeting upon both sides, but they gave us a most dismal account of their sufferings since our separation in Hyder's camp; numbers

of them had died upon the road, from the cruelty of their guards, before they reached Arnee ; and there they were put into a most infamous prison, and upon so scanty an allowance of provisions and clothes that they must infallibly have died in a short time if a French officer in Hyder's camp had not, with great risk and danger, sent them a supply of money, which absolutely saved their lives.*

When they arrived amongst us they were much better off for clothes than we were, and, as they had still some money remaining, a general subscription was made among them to give us a portion, for we were in great want of such a supply. We told them the sum we were allowed, at which they seemed greatly surprised, as they had been promised a much larger allowance.

The next day the Kellidar came with a great number of attendants, and ordered us to stand up in a row before him, and, after counting us, he cautioned us against making any riot in the prison, and delivered to us, as usual, a fanam each. Mobit Khan then said to him, before us, " that, as we were a set of very turbulent people, it was necessary that his guard should be augmented in order to enable him to enforce his authority,"—at which the Kellidar said " that the present guard was sufficient, and that, upon the first complaint against us, we should all be put in irons."

We told him that it was neither our intention nor our disposition to behave ill, and requested him that, as our numbers were now greatly augmented, he would put us into a larger house ; but this he would not listen to, and immediately left us. As some parts of our prison were preferable to others, we divided it into different shares, and drew lots for the first choice, and I was so

* This was Captain Pimorin—" the humane, the godlike Captain Pimorin," as one of the Arnee prisoners describes him, " whose name it is impossible to mention without the liveliest emotions of gratitude, admiration, and love." He fell shortly afterwards at the siege of Arcot, honourably to himself, but " to their inexpressible regret," being thus deprived of " the hope of testifying, by some visible token, their gratitude and esteem."—Nothing could surpass the kindness of the French officers in Hyder's service throughout these painful transactions.

The Arnee prisoners found, on their arrival at Seringapatam, (which the published ' Journal ' dates the 23rd of December,) Captains Baird, Wragg, Menteith, —Lieutenants Lindsay, Massy, Chace, Turin,—and Ensigns Wilson and Stringer. The five last, being recovered of their wounds, had been sent off from Arnee to Seringapatam on the 1st of November.

unfortunate as to draw a berth in one of the dark rooms, which our increased numbers now obliged us to inhabit.

On the 20th the Kellidar came in a great hurry to our prison, with all his attendants, and, after calling us out of our berths, he sent in the guards to bring out everything belonging to us; all our bundles were accordingly displayed before him, and he found that we had amongst us six knives and forks and two razors, which he said were very improper things for prisoners to have amongst them, and they were accordingly given to Mobit Khan, with orders to let us have them in the course of the day, but always to put them under the charge of the guard during the night. The razors, he said, might be allowed us once a-week, but that two sepoys, with drawn swords, were to stand over us while we were shaving, in order, as they said, to prevent us cutting our throats. Six books were likewise found amongst us, viz., the first volume of Smollett's History of England, the third of Pope, the half of Johnson's Dictionary, a prayer-book, and Mrs. Glass upon the Art of Cookery; these were seized in the same manner, but with particular injunctions to the guard to deliver them out at sunrise and to take them back at sunset, from the supposition that, with the assistance of books, in the night, Europeans could do a great deal of mischief when left to themselves.

Our increase of numbers made us fall upon various methods of exercising our geniuses in making little nick-nacks and necessary articles, in order to make our situation as comfortable as possible, so that, our ingenuity being every day called into fresh exertions, and assisted by one another, every one in a short time was provided with a cot to sleep upon, a table, and a stool. For my part, I was a very bad carpenter, and was accordingly assisted in that branch by one of my companions, but I was become an exceeding good tailor, and had now three shirts and three pair of trowsers of my own making, and I therefore made the clothes of those that helped me in other respects.*

* "List of articles fabricated by the English officers, prisoners with Hyder Ali Khan and Tippoo Saib Behauder, in Seringapatam." (From 'Memoirs,' &c., p. 123.)

Hats, of leather.
Caps, of coarse dungeree.
Stocks, of coarse dungeree.
Neckcloths, of ditto.
Banyan

These little occupations enabled us to pass our time more agreeably than we otherwise could have done, but still our situation was very miserable, and our tyrannical master, Mobit Khan, was never satisfied but when he was abusing us in the grossest manner, as he knew we were entirely in his power; and this rendered us more unhappy, as he now seemed to have acquired a permanent command over us.

On the 28th our prison was put into a most extraordinary uproar from one of our servants having brought a fowl from the bazar to his master, who pulled its neck in presence of some of the guard, which they no sooner observed but they gave him some severe blows, and, after abusing us all in the severest manner for killing an animal without having a fakeer previously to pray over it, they went and made their complaint to the Kellidar, who being informed of the extent of our crime, the offender was taken out to be punished:—With great entreaties he was forgiven, but we were given to understand that, if we ever killed any animal in our prison without its having undergone the usual ceremony, we should all be punished.

As our servants had for some time past been allowed greater liberty to speak to the people at the bazar than formerly, a letter was slipped into one of their hands by a black man, who desired them to give it to us without its being seen by the guard. It was

Banyan shirts, of coarse dungeree.
Jackets, ditto.
Waistcoats, ditto.
Trowsers, ditto.
Socks, ditto.
Buttons of thread.
Tables of bamboo, and covered with a mat.
Stools of ditto.
Cots of bamboo, by the means of an old knife, converted into a saw; the cot lashed with coir rope, made from the cocoa-nut.
Bird-cages of bamboo.
Trunks of ditto, 1100 pieces in one trunk.
Rat-traps of ditto.
Squirrel-traps of ditto.
Forks of ditto.
Backgammon tables of ditto.
Dice, sawn with an old knife; the ivory acquired by stealth in the bazar.
Chess-boards, of paper and cloth.
Cards, two folds of paper and one of cloth, pasted together with thick conjee, and polished with the jaw-bone of a sheep.
Ink, of lamp-black, with a little gum-water. One chatty was placed over the head of another, to collect the smoke of the taper or wick of a lamp, which was swept off every day.
Pens of fowl-quills.
Paints, brought in by stealth,—indigo, red wool, and turmerick."

from the private men, who were, to the number of three hundred, confined in a large house at some distance from us. They informed us that they had been treated in the cruellest manner before their arrival at Seringapatam, and that near a hundred of their number had died upon the road, but that since their arrival their usage had been better, and their allowance of provisions had been enlarged, which good treatment, they said, they could only account for from the design of the Kellidar to entice them into the Behauder's service, which they declared they would undergo every severity rather than comply with. This was the first time that we had heard from them, and we were extremely glad that their situation was so much better than we had supposed.*

January 1*st* [1781].—As we had, some time past, been determined to keep the new year as comfortably as our circumstances would permit, we had, ever since the arrival of the Arnee prisoners, been at great trouble and expense in fattening a bullock, which one of the gentlemen had purchased in the Carnatic, and which had been preserved to make a good feast for us upon this day,—and it had been for a long time the most agreeable subject of our conversation, the excellent dishes that he would produce. We therefore told Mobit Khan in the evening that we wanted to kill him, and requested that he would bring the fakeer to perform the usual ceremony; but, instead of complying with our desire, he abused us in the most shameful manner, saying that we were a parcel of thieves, and that we had stolen the bullock out of some of the Nabob's villages upon the road. It was in vain that we protested that we had purchased him in the Carnatic; he did not choose to believe us, but immediately sent to the Cutcherry† and made his complaint to the Kellidar, who, upon the reputation of Mobit Khan, ordered the bullock to be taken away from us, and by this means our long-expected feast was disappointed.‡

* It was afterwards discovered that these gallant fellows "picked out the soundest and most wholesome parts of their provisions, and got them secretly put into the officers' mess. Whether it was from this circumstance, or from mere strength of constitution, the officers outlived the confinement, although subjected in every other respect to the same privations as the men, of whom, out of one hundred and eleven, only thirty survived, and few were ever afterwards fit for service." Stewart's *Sketches of the Highlanders*, tom. ii. p. 150.

† Court of justice.

‡ "In most of the prisons it was the custom to celebrate particular days, when

We were now exasperated beyond measure, that our lives should be embittered so much more by the tyrannical disposition of this villain, who now seemed to have acquired a permanent reign over us; but we determined at some future time to try what an unanimous outcry and complaint would do, in order to get rid of him.

January 10*th.*—As Baird's wound, and [that of] another of the prisoners, began to break out afresh and give them great pain, the Kellidar, upon repeated application, at length permitted the French surgeon of the place to come once a-day to the prison, and attend them and such others as were sick; this was a point that we had been long endeavouring to gain, not only for his medical assistance, but we expected that he would tell us the news, and likewise convey some letters to our friends, who would by the same channel supply us with money.

We were, however, greatly disappointed in both these respects, as he was completely ignorant of his own profession, and without any medicines; and Mobit Khan, or some other of the guard, took care always to be present during the whole of the time that he was permitted to remain with us.

March 10*th.*—As the weather, ever since the beginning of the year, had been extremely hot, we were now, upon repeated entreaties, permitted to remain in the outer square during the course of the day; this was a great point gained, as it not only gave us more room, but, as the grand parade was just before us, it was

the funds admitted, with the luxury of plaintain fritters, a draught of sherbet, and a convivial song.[a] On one occasion the old Scotch ballad, 'My wife has ta'en the gee," was admirably sung, and loudly encored. The 'haute police' had a particular cognizance of all that was said and sung during these orgies; and it was reported to the Kellidar that the prisoners 'had said and sung, throughout the night, of nothing but *ghee*' (clarified butter); this incident occurred but a short time previously to their release, and the Kellidar, certain that discoveries had been made regarding his malversations in that article of garrison store, determined to conciliate their secresy by causing an abundant supply of this unaccustomed luxury to be thenceforth placed within the reach of their farthing purchases." *Wilks*, tom. ii. p. 524.

[a] For instance:—

"June 4 [1781]. In honour of his Majesty's birthday, we had for dinner fowl, cutlets, and a flour pudding, and drank his health in a chatty of sherbet."

"June 4 [1782]. In honour of his Majesty's birthday, we have celebrated it with a pilaw, and drank his health in sherbet."

"June 4 [1783]. In honour of his Majesty's birthday, we had for dinner two quarters of stewed mutton, with a bread pudding; and drank his health in pure water." *Memoirs*, &c.

some amusement to us, who had now been so long confined, to observe the many different objects that presented themselves to our view. The greatest part of the houses and choultries* around us, we found, were full of multitudes of inhabitants of the Carnatic, all of whom Hyder had made embrace the Mahometan religion; about three thousand of these unwilling proselytes, most of them being young men, were formed into different battalions, and were now exercised mornings and evenings upon the parade, under the instructions of two or three Frenchmen, who seemed, however, not to be very well fitted for that office.

On another part of the parade there was about an equal number of women and girls, under the same description, confined together in a large square house, and who, we were informed, were reserved to be married to the boys when they were grown up.

The sepoys likewise informed us that the Behauder had driven the greatest part of the inhabitants of the Carnatic into the inner parts of his own country, in order to cultivate those districts which lay waste from the want of people; these circumstances we had, until now, been totally unacquainted with, and experience soon shewed us that Hyder was paying as much attention to the improvement of his country, from the ruins of the Carnatic, as he did to the improvement of the discipline of his army; indeed, when we first arrived at Seringapatam, we had always flattered ourselves with hopes that the superior force of the English army would soon compel Hyder to ask for peace, but, as we now plainly saw, large quantities of various sorts of stores were continually going from this place, and, while we saw that the enemy's country was in a flourishing state, we well knew that the Carnatic was desolate, and unable to supply the wants of our army.—When we reflected upon these circumstances, we could not help having the most desponding thoughts, that our deliverance was still at a great distance.

* Resting-places for travellers.

CHAPTER III.

May 10*th*.—WE had now passed near a month without any extraordinary occurrence happening to us different from our usual treatment, and we began to think that the extent of our bad usage would go no further lengths, when we were this day, upon being called out as usual in the morning to be counted, greatly astonished to see a number of blacksmiths come into our prison with loads of irons on their backs, which they then threw upon the ground, and immediately went out. This circumstance alarmed us in the cruellest manner, and we began to interrogate our guard for what purpose they were meant, which they refused to answer; we therefore recalled to our minds our past conduct, to find out if any part of it could give them a sufficient pretext for so severe a punishment as we were now apprehensive was going to take place,—but we could not, in the smallest degree, charge ourselves with having acted contrary to the conduct that our situation, as prisoners to such an enemy, required. We remained in this situation until the afternoon, when the Kellidar and all the officers of the garrison, accompanied with a strong guard, came and desired us to be put in irons.

Captain Lucas, who spoke the language of the country extremely well, was, upon this important occasion, deputed by us all to interpret for the whole, and he asked the Kellidar "what crime we had been guilty of to deserve such infamous treatment? for that we had always behaved in the most submissive manner, and that, ever since our captivity, we had experienced nothing but insults, not only from the Behauder's principal officers, but even from his common sepoys,—yet we could not imagine that he would go to such a length as to load a number of officers (whose only crime was having served their country) with the disgraceful burden of irons."

This speech, being for the first time delivered with firmness, was with difficulty permitted by the Kellidar's attendants, who

were going to chastise Captain Lucas for his presumption,—who, notwithstanding, was not in the least intimidated, but asked the Kellidar, with a tone of dignity, "if it was by his approbation that a man like him, whose hairs were grey, and who had received thirteen different wounds, which rendered him a cripple for life, should either meet with unmerited insult, or, after all his hardships, be shamefully put into irons?"

The Kellidar, who seemed to be a little ashamed of the transaction, answered, for the first time, with mildness, that we did not know the nature of the Behauder's orders or government,—that, high as his situation was, his master would in a moment reduce him to nothing, if he even deviated in the smallest degree from the instructions he received, whether they were to treat us with benefits, or overwhelm us with misery; and he finished by saying that "whatever he did was by the order of the Nabob, his master."

After this he left us, and, with a tone of authority, desired the guard to do their duty.

Mobit Khan now assumed the command, and, with his usual abuse, directed us to come forward and let the blacksmiths rivet the irons upon our legs. We had, for some time past, entertained the most melancholy thoughts, but now, seeing that it was in vain to complain or remonstrate, we submitted to our fate, like men who had long been familiarised with misfortune, and, as we had hitherto kept up our spirits, we determined not to cast them down at this fresh instance of barbarity, but to look forward for more happy days.

By ten at night we were all in irons.*—The next day we found

* Except Captain Baird, who was not put in irons till the 10th of November following.

"When they were about," says his biographer, "to put the irons upon Captain Baird, who was completely disabled in his right leg, in which the wound was still open, and whence the ball had just then been extracted, his friend Captain Lucas, who spoke the language perfectly, sprang forward, and represented in very strong terms to the Myar the barbarity of fettering him while in such a dreadful state, and assured him that death would be the inevitable termination of Captain Baird's sufferings if the intention were persisted in.

"The Myar replied that the Circar had sent as many pairs of irons as there were prisoners, and they must be put on. Captain Lucas then offered to wear two sets himself, in order to save his friend. This noble act of generosity moved the compassion even of the Myar, who said he would send to the Kellidar to open the book

that, in order to make our imprisonment more secure, our guard was augmented throughout the different parts of our jail. The rigour of our treatment was now, in every respect, become more severe, and many little articles, that we were permitted before this to purchase out of our allowance, were prohibited. The French surgeon, who had been ordered to attend us, was now taken away, and we were informed by the Kellidar that, if ever we were detected in carrying on any correspondence with any of the other prisoners of the fort, we should have our noses and ears cut off; this, however, we rather chose to risk incurring than to deprive ourselves of any opportunity of hearing the news of our army; and whenever we heard of any fresh prisoners being confined in the other parts of the fort, we left no means unattempted to establish a correspondence.*

Although the news we acquired from that channel was frequently more calculated to distress our spirits than to raise them, we even used to bribe the sepoys of the guard to inform us if our

of fate. He did so, and, when the messenger returned, he said the book had been opened, and Captain Baird's fate was good; and the irons were in consequence not put on at that time. Could they really have looked into the volume of futurity, Baird would undoubtedly have been the last man to be spared." *Life, &c.*, tom. i. p. 44.

"Each pair of irons was from eight to nine pounds weight. This was the commencement of a deliberate system, as afterwards more fully appeared, for cutting us off." *Journal, 'Memoirs,' &c.*, p. 47.

Captain Lucas (with Ensign MacAulay) had arrived on the 29th of January. He subsequently died in prison.

* "Our servants, and those who attended the soldiers, met together every day in order to receive their daily allowance of rice. Hence we had an opportunity of corresponding with our fellow-captives in the different prisons, by means of a rice cake, or hopper, and a cheroot, or sagar,[a] which is some leaves of tobacco rolled up in the form of a tube, so as to be smoked without the aid of a pipe, or any other instrument. One would ask another if he would eat a bit of hopper. The person who offered this refreshment took care to give that part of the cake which contained the letter. In like manner one would ask another for a sagar, and the other, understanding the meaning of the request, would give him what he wanted, if any intelligence was to be communicated,—if not, he would perhaps say that he had none. In this manner we had an opportunity of exchanging sentiments, of condoling with one another, and of contributing what little was in our power to the relief of those who were in the greatest want or distress. The consolation we felt in this intercourse of sympathetic affection induced us even to encounter the danger of death; for this most assuredly would have been our lot if our correspondence had been discovered." *Journal in 'Memoirs of the War,' &c.*, p. 49.

[a] Cigar.

army was successful, and they, finding our anxiety upon that head, used to frame accounts out of their own heads, either for or against us, according to the magnitude of the sum we gave them, —so that one day our army was victorious and peace was nearly concluded—some days afterwards they would declare that the Behauder had completed his conquest of the Carnatic, and that crowds of prisoners would soon arrive at Seringapatam. This eagerness for news made our lives, if possible, more miserable than they otherwise would have been.

May 17th.—I this day made a most agreeable discovery in my berth, for, as I was fixing a rope from a part near the roof, I pulled out a tile, and upon looking through this hole was agreeably surprised to find that that part of the prison looked into the principal street of the town, and the vast concourse of people that presented themselves to the sight, and the various objects that were continually passing backwards and forwards, was an agreeable amusement to feast the eyes with. I therefore took care to place the tile so as to move it to one side when I wanted to look, and to keep it shut at other times, that the guard might not take notice of it.

We had now, for some days past, been engaged in purchasing leather to make a kind of spatterdashes for our ankles, in order to make the irons lie a little easier upon our legs, and, with this assistance, we were enabled to walk a little without much pain; but as the link, from ring to ring, was not above eight inches in length, our step was so much confined that a very little exertion in walking fatigued us, so that we could not take the daily exercise as usual.* We were obliged to fall upon other means to amuse ourselves, and with the assistance of cards, made of coarse paper and cloth, and backgammon-tables, which we made of

* The effects of this constraint were visible in the gait of many of these unfortunate gentlemen for some time after their release. "Though our irons," says one of them, "were knocked off, it was a long time before we recovered the use of our limbs and learned to walk with perfect freedom. Never was the inveterate power of habit more forcibly displayed than on this occasion. We could never get the idea of our being in fetters out of our heads. No effort of our minds, no act of volition, could, for several days, overcome the habit of making the short and constrained steps to which we had so long been accustomed. Our crippled manner of walking was a subject of laughter to ourselves as well as to others." *Memoirs, &c.*, p. 201.

stripes of bamboo, (which two articles we, in time, arrived at great perfection in,) we amused our tedious hours. Our prison was now swarming with innumerable quantities of large rats, and we laid wagers who would kill the greatest number in twenty-four hours, so that the exertions of a number of us that were occupied with a desire of extirpating those vermin were so successful that, in a few hours, we often destroyed upwards of a hundred; and as the sepoys have not the aversion to that animal that Europeans have, they took them to make curries of.

May 10*th*.—Colonel Baillie, and two other officers that had been kept with Hyder in the camp, arrived here this day, and were put into a house opposite to us, and, as their servants went to the bazar as ours did, they sent us a note, informing us that, after the taking of Arcot, they had been confined in a dark house in the inner fort, and that, upon our army, under General Coote, moving from Madras, Hyder immediately took the field, and, after previously putting them in irons, sent them off to Seringapatam. This information gave us great satisfaction, as we once more began to flatter ourselves that our army would soon gain a decided superiority over the enemy.*

May 25*th*.—We were this day greatly surprised, upon our looking out upon the grand parade, to see a number of white men, clothed in the Mahometan dress, exercising the black people after the

* For May, *March* should apparently be read, as it was on the 8th of that month, according to the published Journal, that Colonel Baillie arrived at Seringapatam.—" 8 March. Arrived Lieut.-Colonel Baillie, Captain Rumley, and Lieutenant Frazer,—the two first of these gentlemen in irons, as they also had been during their journey from Arcot to this place, which is upwards of two hundred and forty miles: they were lodged in a veranda, an open gallery, opposite to our prison, at the distance of about two hundred yards.

" Arrived at the same time Mr. Skardon, resident at Pondicherry, Mr. Brunton, late an ensign in the Company's service, and a Mr. MacNeal, mate of a country ship,—the two last sent amongst the soldiers, and Mr. Skardon to our prison, with the daily allowance of six cash, one sear of rice, half a sear of doll, and a little ghee: this allowance was poor indeed, but, as we were on every occasion ready with our small pittance to assist our brother sufferers, we made a monthly subscription in order to put him on a level with us." *Memoirs, &c.*, p. 46.—" It is one of the most remarkable and beautiful features of this dreadful captivity," observes Sir David Baird's biographer, " that every man during its continuation seemed more anxious for his fellow-sufferers than for himself; and that every opportunity was seized by the whole party to ameliorate the condition of those who were at times even worse off than themselves."

English discipline. Upon our inquiring of the sepoys of our guard what they were, they informed us that they were some of our private soldiers, who, being tired at the length of their confinement, had entered into the Behauder's service and turned Mussulmen. This account gave us the greatest grief, and we could not help believing it to be true when we saw them plainly before our eyes. We therefore made no scruple to condemn them as a parcel of villains that had abandoned their country, and who deserved death if they were ever caught; a few days, however, after this, we received a letter from the soldiers' prison, informing us that the Kellidar had selected from amongst them all the young men, and asked them to enter into the Behauder's service, which they refused,—upon which he, with the assistance of a strong guard, dragged them out by force from their companions, and that they were unacquainted with what was become of them since, or for what purpose they were separated from them.

This account made us alter our sentiments of these unfortunate men, especially as we could plainly see them, whenever they came upon the parade, making signs to us, as if they were desirous of explaining their situation;* we therefore waited, in the greatest suspense, until we could gain an opportunity of learning from themselves whether their situation was voluntary or forced. After waiting some days we began to despair of being able to gain the information we wished, when Colonel Baillie, who had been as much surprised at this extraordinary event as ourselves, at length received a letter from them, which he afterwards sent to us; it was as follows:†—

* "The first day that Captain Baird saw, from the window of his prison, these Highlanders on the parade, in the square, in their capacity of sergeants, his distress and horror at beholding men of his own company voluntarily, as he thought, doing duty in Tippoo's service, are not to be told. He was observed by some of the poor fellows peeping through the grate of his dungeon, and, overcome by the sight of their much-loved officer, they rushed from the ranks and called out to him, 'Captain Baird, rely upon us, this is not *our* fault,' and wept bitterly. Captain Baird's feelings may be more easily conceived than described, when his guards forced him from the grating, in order to prevent his committing the inexpiable crime of replying to his gallant countrymen and comrades." *Life, &c.*, tom. i. p. 53.

† A copy of this letter, but signed "John Maxwell Dempster" only, is given in the published Journal, as received 28th October,—and another from Ensign Clarke, received 11th November.

"Sir,

"Your servant casting a sign to us some time ago, gives us reason to think that you would be desirous to know something of our unheard-of unfortunate situation, not to be equalled in the history or account of any nation. On Wednesday last * the Brahmin came to our prison and, after calling the men in, he selected the underwritten † from the rest, smiths being prepared to knock off their irons, without giving us the smallest idea of what was to ensue; he then conducted us to the Nabob's, when they informed us upon what account we were released, and in a very flattering manner requested us to take service.

"All their promises and tenders were refused with disdain by fourteen of us;‡ then they changed their tone, and menaced us in the severest manner, and the Jemmat Major threatened to take our lives. We were conducted from thence to a large square, the repository or seminary of the boys you see every night at exercise. Upon our arrival there, how great was our astonishment to find two English lads amongst these boys, who had been circumcised about three months before our arrival—one of whom [is] a Mr. Clarke, who was an ensign in the second battalion, second regiment, and a private of the same. They informed us immediately that we were that night to be circumcised; they had scarcely finished telling us, when the guard came in, accompanied by a barber.

"You, Sir, will surely conceive what our situation was, dragged to what every Christian in the universe utterly abhors, and surrounded by enemies, whose very soul is ten times blacker than their visage. After some resistance on the part of every one, we were at last obliged to sit down, and suffer ourselves to be shaved, after which we remained in the cruellest uncertainty for three or four hours, when our ill-favoured guard brought us a dose of majum § each, and obliged us to eat it; it worked differently upon us,—some were insensible, others were not. A little after sunset the surgeon came, and with him thirty or forty Caffres,‖ who seized us and held us fast, till the operation was performed; we remained under cure for two months upon six cash per day, with mutton, rice, &c.

"On the 30th ¶ we were conducted to the Cutcherry, and there questioned if we would teach these boys the English discipline, for which we should receive one fanam per day, with provisions, clothes, &c., which we hope, in our present situation, you will not construe into any disaffection to our officers or country, it being all force and constraint, however actuated by a lively sorrow that you, in your present distressful situation, should be a witness to the same, that were so lately under your command, whose indulgence and paternal care, particularly on the day of action, was second to that of none; and we humbly make bold to assure you that every man in this and the other

* "On Wednesday, the 19th of September," &c. *Copy in the published Journal.*

† "He selected sixteen from the rest." *Ibid.*

‡ "By fourteen of us," not in published copy.

§ A stupifying drug.

‖ Literally, infidels—*Kafirs;* the term applied to the Hindoos by the Mahometans, and from them adopted by the English prisoners.

¶ October. Published copy.

prisons are at any time ready to lay down their lives and rescue you from the smallest harm; our fondness was the cause of our running this hazard,—and most heartily and sincerely wishing to see you shortly released, and in a situation of releasing us unfortunate victims from the chains of this barbarian,

"JOHN COWAN,	CAPT. BAIRD'S Company.
"JOHN MACKENMORE,	
"ALEXANDER ROSS,	
"JAMES SINCLAIR,	
"ROBERT MACKENZIE,	
"CORPORAL ANDERSON,	CAPT. LINDSAY'S Company.
"DONALD STUART,	

"And fifteen other men of the Company's soldiers."

This account of their miserable situation made us very unhappy, as we never before this had the smallest idea that they would go to such lengths as to force the prisoners into their service; and the thoughts of every day seeing these men, that had been formerly under our command, exercising our enemies before our face, was the most mortifying sight that could have presented itself to us.

July 10th.—The same Brahmin that had taken out the unfortunate soldiers from the other prison came this day to ours, and desired us to turn out of our berths, which we accordingly did, but with the most alarming apprehensions that our fate was going to be the same as that of the privates; we, however, determined to undergo every extremity rather than comply, or be separated from one another. However, the Brahmin sat down on a carpet by the guard, and called us towards him, and told us it was the Behauder's orders to ask us if we were willing to enter into his service, which if we would comply with, he would even give us more pay, and a greater command, than we had enjoyed in our own country's service. Captain Lucas told him, in answer, that "we were obliged to the Nabob for his offer, but that we were all officers and gentlemen, and that neither the most alluring offers nor the severest torments would ever induce any of us to abandon our religion and country."

The Brahmin, having received this answer, asked us no further questions, but immediately went away, at which we were as much overjoyed as we would have been had we heard that peace was concluded; we were, however, under great apprehensions, for some days afterwards, that he would pay us another visit upon the same subject, but, as he did not, our fears for the present were

silenced upon this head; but when we considered that we were equally liable at all times, from the same caprice or resentment of Hyder, to be dragged by force from our jail like our unfortunate soldiers, the thoughts that such an event might sooner or later take place made our lives extremely miserable.

In other respects we had by this time accommodated our ideas to the situation we were in, and, although the smallness of our allowance was hardly sufficient to procure us the common necessaries of life, yet we all acknowledged that, had our circumstances enabled us to indulge our appetites, it would have been very prejudicial to our health in such a confined situation as we were in, without fresh air or the means of taking any exercise; indeed, the manner of our treatment, and the mode of our living, were now become so regular and familiar to us, that one week's occurrences being mentioned, independent of the more extraordinary events that from time to time befel us, was the occupation of the whole year:—

Monday.—Mobit Khan comes into the yard at six in the morning, with half of the guard, and, after abusing us all for some minutes, he desires us to turn out immediately to be mustered, which we do—grumbling very much, when we are getting up, at being obliged twice a-day to stand for half an hour in a row, to be counted like so many head of cattle.

Mobit Khan, upon whom we have for some time past bestowed the name of Bruin, says that we are a parcel of mutinous rascals, that the Behauder is too good to us, and that our backsides are grown fat from the excess of his country and having nothing to do. The rivets of our irons are now examined to see if they are fast, after which the knives and forks are delivered out to us. The milkman comes to the door of the prison—he takes advantage of us, and sells it very dear; those that eat rice for their breakfast buy a small quantity each from him—tell him that he mixes water with it—he says that we lie—appeals to Bruin, who declares that it is as good milk as ever was tasted. The baker likewise makes his appearance; he has not many customers, but those who have delicate stomachs, and look more to the quality than to the quantity, buy some of the bread.

Our boys are now desired to prepare to go to the bazar with the guard—we give them particular instructions to pick up all the

news they can.—Play at cards, or catch rats and mice, during the forenoon—the servants come back; my man, Mootoo, tells me there are no news to-day, and that everything is dear in the bazar—am obliged to dine to-day upon rice and ghee—suspect that Mootoo has cheated me of some of my rice—am resolved to match him—am obliged to eat very moderately at present, as my shirts are worn out, and I am saving money to buy a piece of cloth; it will be more than six weeks before I shall be able to buy others.

Tuesday.—Get up in the morning at the usual time—go through the usual ceremonies—look out at my peep-hole—see a vast number of Brahmin girls going down to the river to wash—four or five hundred horse pass by, guarding a multitude of the Carnatic inhabitants—a Moorman of high family, celebrating his marriage, passes by in great state, and his wife in a covered palanquin—two old Moorwomen under the house scolding—a crowd of people around them, to whom they are telling their story—shut my tile for fear they should look up and observe me.—To-day have curry and rice for my dinner,—and plenty of it, as C——, my messmate, has got the gripes and cannot eat his allowance.

Wednesday.—Finish a pack of cards to-day; the workmanship is much admired—B—— likewise finishes a backgammon-table—sell my cards for a fanam.—Have the itch for some time past, owing to the bad water—the dog eats up half a fanam's worth of brimstone and butter—threaten to kill him if ever I catch him in my berth—D——, to whom he belongs, says I dare not hold an argument on that point. A very disagreeable day—a very unwholesome smell in the prison from the quantity of stagnated water and rubbish; the rain comes through the roof of the house, and wets everything.

Thursday.—To-day have some stewed mutton and bread for my dinner—it is very good, and not near enough of it, as it is a very expensive dinner.—Sheikh Hussein, upon the guard, tells me that our army has beat the Behauder, and that peace was making; another sepoy, in the afternoon, tells us that the Behauder had destroyed our army, and was besieging Madras.—A great number of people at exercise upon the parade; the Europeans make signs to us, for which we observe a Moorman beating them—look towards Colonel Baillie's prison; make signs to one another—

wrestle in play with Baird; his foot catches in the chains of my irons, and throws him down and scratches his face—Bruin is going to thrash me for fighting—says that I am the property of the Behauder—that I must neither lame myself nor any of my companions.

Friday.—Am much surprised to-day at hearing a salute of twenty-one guns—am told by Bruin that our army was totally destroyed, and that the prisoners would arrive in a few days—am very melancholy at the news—find out that the reason of the rejoicing was that Hyder had nearly been killed by a shot from the rampart at Trichinopoly, and that it was for his narrow escape. —A large palace building at the end of our prison, as a present from Hyder to Tippoo Saib for his gallant behaviour against the English.—The Kellidar comes to our prison to-day, to know if any of us are blacksmiths or carpenters, and that he would give us great pay if we would work for him—am much hurt at the question. —Lose my dinner to-day from a rice-pudding that I sent to be boiled; the pot burnt the bottom of the bag, and it all ran out.—Standing upon my bed to look out of my peep-hole, it tumbled down—am obliged to sleep upon the ground until I mend it.—Am in a very bad humour to-day.

Saturday.—Have curry and rice for my dinner to-day.—The sepoys tell us that our king's son is arrived at Madras with a quantity of wooden houses, and that numbers of men were landing out of their bellies. They say he is determined to take this place, and make the Behauder carry his palanquin for his usage to us.—My turn to-day to buy oil for a light for the prison at night,—a severe expense.—Mootoo brings me a letter to-day from a sergeant of my company—he likewise sends me a duck and a handkerchief, —send a note to him and thank him for his present, but desire him to send no more, as I am determined to live upon my own allowance.

Sunday.—The washerman brings our clean clothes, for which we pay him a fanam per month each, which is a very great deduction out of our allowance.—My leather spatterdashes are worn out with the rubbing of my chains—it costs me half a fanam to buy others.—Am tormented every day by a parcel of gentlemen coming to the end of my berth to talk politics and smoke sheroots—advise them rather to think of mending the holes in their old shirts like

me, than trouble themselves about settling the balance of power in India and in Europe, as it will not get them out of prison the sooner—they are much offended, and tell me I deserve to be a prisoner all my life for my want of curiosity.—To-day have six eggs for my dinner—find five of them rotten—am going to throw them away, but T——, who has a voracious appetite, and never enough to satisfy it, takes and eats them, saying that I am too nice for a prisoner upon a fanam per day.*

* This perhaps is the fittest occasion for a reference to the estimates of prison expenses in Seringapatam, printed as an Appendix to this Journal.

CHAPTER IV.

October 10*th.*—WE were this day in great spirits upon finding that our present guard was to be relieved, and another placed in its room. Mobit Khan had, some days previous to this, insulted one of the gentlemen, and we had, contrary to our usual conduct, surrounded him, and, after abusing him in our turn, we declared that we would take his life; he was extremely frightened, and, after he had disengaged himself, declared that he would have our noses and ears cut off for our behaviour. He accordingly went in a great rage to the Kellidar, and told him we had beat him, and that we intended to take the fort; the Kellidar made his appearance, and, though we were all extremely frightened, we told him that there could not be a set of quieter prisoners than we were, but that we had been so long insulted by this villain that we would rather lose our lives than endure it any longer, and therefore desired that he would send us another commander.

The Kellidar abused us severely, and said that he would order us to be chained to the ground; we, however, heard no more of the business until this day, when a guard of Rajpoots came and relieved the one that was over us,—and we hissed and abused Mobit Khan out of the prison. We soon found that we had made a most happy change, and, though the Rajpoots were extremely passionate, and apt to do violent things while their rage lasted, yet they never failed, when they were cool, to be sorry for their conduct, and even ask us to forgive them; so that in every respect we found them better men than the Moormen, and better acquainted with the customs of Europeans.

November 6*th.*—This day there is great rejoicing; the parade is enclosed, and various spectacles, of men wrestling, dancing girls, and wild beasts fighting, are displayed before the front of the Rajah's palace, who is permitted by Hyder to shew himself once a-year to the people from a balcony, as they still hold the ancient Gentoo government in great veneration, and Hyder finds

it politic to call himself the Rajah's prime minister and general. All the rest of the year he is kept a prisoner in his palace, and Hyder, out of the revenues of the country, allows him one lack of rupees a year, for the support of his family.

November 15*th.*—We were this day much concerned to find that three hundred of the privates that were in the other prison were taken out and sent to another fort called Chitteldroog, in a distant part of Hyder's country; we were told that the reason of it was the number of Carnatic prisoners, and the new Mussulmen that were in the fort, they were afraid, would rise and, with the assistance of the different European prisoners, overpower the fort; the feasibility of this had often struck us, and a set of men in our situation, once put in action, and rendered desperate from the certainty of death if we miscarried, they would have found a very formidable enemy.

January 1*st*, 1782.—This day ushered in a new year, and, though we had been prisoners upwards of sixteen months, our prospect of deliverance from our miserable situation seemed to be farther distant from our view than ever, as our hopes had been so often disappointed. Most of us had now got swellings in our legs from the weight of our irons and the confined state of our limbs.

February 5*th.*—The present Kellidar of Seringapatam is appointed collector of the Nabob's revenues, and another arrives from the camp to relieve him; his name is Sidy Behy,—he was originally a Nair,* but, being taken prisoner when a boy, Hyder made him a Mussulman, since when he has been one of his greatest favourites; he this day came to our prison to muster us, and behaved in a much kinder manner than the other ever did.

March 9*th.*—This day we received the accounts from an European prisoner, that Sirdar Khan, Hyder's nephew, who commanded his army before Tillicherry, was entirely defeated, and himself taken prisoner; the sepoys at the same time informed us that the Nabob was making peace, and that it would soon be concluded.

March 20*th.*—We had for some time past made the remark that, whenever our hopes were in any measure raised by some good intelligence, it was generally followed by some alarming oc-

* The Nairs, pure Sudras by origin, form the military caste of Malabar, next in rank after the Brahmins.

currence, which dashed our expectations to the ground,—and we this day had this observation completely verified, upon seeing, early in the morning, a very strong guard come into our prison, followed by twenty-two officers in as deplorable a condition as dirt and wounds could reduce men to; and, to crown our misfortunes, they informed us that they belonged to the army of Colonel Braithwaite, who, having advanced too far from the capital of Tanjore country, in order to protect the inhabitants while they were collecting grain, Tippoo Saib, who lay with his army upon the red hills of Pondicherry, made two astonishing rapid marches, and attacked their camp before the spies could give them the smallest intelligence of their approach; they, however, for the space of two days sustained their repeated attacks, though with an army vastly inferior, but having during that time lost above half of their numbers, and seeing no hope of relief for those that remained, they were under the necessity of asking for quarter, which Tippoo immediately granted, and treated them with the greatest humanity while they remained with him, but upon being sent to Hyder they were treated in the cruellest manner. They told us, likewise, that, as now there was no army remaining to keep the field in the southern countries, it was generally supposed that all the garrisons in the course of a month must fall into the hands of the enemy, and, to complete our misfortunes, the French fleet at this time had arrived upon the coast with a body of troops for the assistance of Hyder, who was now fully bent upon the extirpation of the English out of the Carnatic.

To a set of men like us, who had been two years prisoners, and who knew that our deliverance totally depended upon the success of our arms, nothing could have been more dreadful than the news of these complicated misfortunes,—but we now felt evils of another nature, which came more immediately home to us and absorbed all other thoughts.

Our prison, that was before too small, we now found beyond measure intolerable; and although we were now permitted to occupy the outer square, yet the increase of our numbers, and the bad quality of the air, caused almost every one in our jail to be taken ill; and, to complete our misfortunes, the monsoon season set in in a much severer manner than usual, and, what with the quantity of rain that overflowed our prison, the badness of the

water that we were obliged to make use of, and our want of clothes to shelter us from the inclemencies of the weather, a kind of disorder, like the jail-distemper, had crept in amongst us. Myself and four others were attacked more severely than the rest, with violent bloody fluxes, and, as we were in a very dangerous situation, we made repeated applications for the European surgeon to be permitted to come and assist us, which the Kellidar told us he could not allow, but, if we chose, he would send us some black doctors.

I positively refused to put myself under their charge, and said I would rather let my disorder take its course; but the other four, who were rather worse than me, said that they would put themselves under their directions. The surgeons therefore came, and, without giving them any previous medicines in order to remove the cause of their complaint, they administered large quantities of opium, which immediately stopped their flux, and the consequence of it was that they all died in twenty-four hours of mortifications in the bowels.

The guards made some pariahs, of the lowest race of men, come into the prison, who dragged them out and threw them into the bed of the river, to be devoured by jackals. From what I had seen, I determined to keep to my resolution, although my disorder gained ground. In the course of the month, three others died of the same disorder, and the monsoon finished without the effects of it proving fatal to any more.*

[About *November*].—We had for some time past entertained

* The deaths of Lieutenant Lind, on the 14th April, and of Captain Lucas, Mr. Hope (eldest son of Sir John Hope), and of Ensign Maconochie, on the 5th, 7th, and 9th of July, are mentioned in the published Journal.—"Captain Lucas's death," says the writer, "was bitterly lamented by the whole prison. He was distinguished by good natural talents as well as acquired accomplishments. In his manners he was unassuming, amiable, and engaging; and the cheerfulness and vivacity of his temper, which were expressed in lively songs and facetious sallies, scattered frequent rays of mirth on our gloomy mansion." P. 69.

"Captain Baird himself," says his biographer, "was at this period suffering dreadfully from dysentery, and he has often described the torture, when, under the blessing of Providence, he was recovering, that he experienced from hunger, which the scanty prison allowance did not afford the means of allaying, even with the coarsest food. He used frequently to declare, that the inclination he felt to snatch a portion of their food from others was almost unconquerable, and that, if the least morsel was left by any of them, he swallowed it with the greatest eagerness and delight." *Life*, tom. i. p. 48.

the hopes that Hyder would be contented with the men he had already forced to embrace the Mahometan religion, as he had not molested any of the prisoners for a considerable time upon that head; we were, however, greatly deceived, as we this day observed upon the parade near a hundred men in the Moorish dress, which was so great an augmentation to their numbers that we too justly suspected that he had made a number more become the unwilling proselytes of his religion; and we were the more persuaded of it, as they were continually making the most earnest signs to us.

It was some days before we could convey a letter to them, which upon accomplishing, we by the same opportunity received two from them, the contents of which filled us with grief and astonishment, and are as follows:*—

"Gentlemen,

"We were yesterday agreeably surprised to receive a letter from you, which has been our constant wish since we came here, and are extremely obliged to you for the trouble you must have been at in forwarding it to us, having made many attempts ourselves but never could succeed. We are particularly thankful for the concern you feel upon our account, and the promises you make us of representing our situation to those in whose power it will be to rescue us from our miserable situation. You have requested us to relate to you the particulars of our ill fortune, and also to answer some questions which you have put down, both of which we will readily comply with as far as lies in our power, and are sorry we cannot give you so satisfactory an account as you probably expect.

"Being surrounded † by the grand army in January last, and left in Vellore, we cannot speak from our own knowledge, but the news we send is what we got from Ensign Byrne, who came up to Vellore in June with one company of sepoys, three guns, and a number of polygars, with provisions for the garrison, and we, being anxious to join the army, left Vellore to go back with them; but we had not quitted the place eighteen hours when Tippoo's whole force appeared and came down upon us; we fought them for some time, when the polygars fled and were cut to pieces by the horse:—in this situation, deserted by them, most of the sepoys killed, and our ammunition expended, we hoisted a white handkerchief for quarter, which they granted immediately,

* These letters are inserted, evidently erroneously, under the date of March 9, in Mr. Lindsay's Journal. For their reception on the 18th November, my authority is the Journal published in the 'Memoirs of the late War.'—The subsequent passage, too, respecting Colonel Baillie's death, having been inadvertently referred to 1781, is here restored to its proper place.

† "Wounded." Copy in *Memoirs*, &c.

and we were made prisoners by a French officer, and Ensign Byrne by a black commander.

"While we remained in Tippoo Saib's camp we were very well used, but when we arrived at the father's we had every reason to repent the exchange, receiving only a measure of rice and a pice per day; we remained with him only five days, the last of which we were sent for by Hyder's Duan, Kistnarow, who ordered Mr. Byrne only in irons, but both of us to be put with a parcel of small boys. Next morning we were marched for Seringapatam, and after five days' march we were overtaken by Ensign Byrne and Lieutenant Cruitzer, of the cavalry, who, with a troop belonging to the grand guard, were cut off near Arnee, [which] is probably what has been represented to you as a regiment of cavalry, there having been no other accident of the kind.

"We were much surprised to find that we were bound for different places, but we never guessed their horrid intentions with regard to us until our arrival at Seringapatam, when, instead of being put amongst you, we were marched with the boys into a large square building, a mile from the fort, where we found nine Europeans, and were almost rendered speechless when they told us that they were all made Mussulmen against their inclinations, and that it was most probable we should share the same fate.

"We now found ourselves in a miserable situation, as different parties from the guard that was over us were coming every hour of the day, sometimes making us great promises if we would consent to embrace their religion, and at others, with drawn swords, chaubacs,* and ropes ready to tie us, and the barbers in the rear, ready to shave our heads; this method they continued for seven or eight days, but, finding their threats and promises both ineffectual, they took another method to make us consent, by separating us from one another, and not allowing anybody to speak to us.

"But, finding that this method had as little effect as the other, the Jemautdar took compassion on us, and wrote to Hyder in our behalf; during the time they were waiting for an answer, we imagined they had dropped their infamous intentions, and daily expected to be sent to you; it, however, proved to be but a dream, which was effectually broken, on the 17th, by the appearance of ten or twelve stout fellows with chaubacs, as many Caffres with ropes to tie us, &c. They made no ceremony, but seized, tied us, and cut off our hair, and then walked away like villains that had been trained up to the business, and left us to lament our hard fate.

"In three days † the same villains made their appearance, seized and again tied us as before, and stood over us while they obliged us to eat a stuff that nearly deprived us of our senses,—in the same evening they accomplished their vile design. During the time we were with them we would take nothing but rice from them, nor would we permit them to take off our irons, which they offered to do, lest they should imagine that we were contented with our situation.

"We now receive a fanam a-day, and are obliged to drill a number of boys sent from the Carnatic for the same intentions, and kept in these squares,—thank God! what they know will never harm the Company.

"The French, although driven effectually off the coast, have unfortunately

* Whips. † "Sept. 1. The same villains," &c. *Copy in published Journal.*

fallen in with two or three transports bound for the fleet, out of which, together with the crew of the Hannibal, taken off the Cape, they collected about five hundred men and officers, all of whom they scandalously delivered over to Hyder; he has since picked out from amongst them fifty-one young men and boys, who are now in the fort and all of them Mussulmen,—among them are five midshipmen. It is not, however, we hope, to be doubted but that the French will suffer greatly in the eyes of Europe for such unchristian-like behaviour.*

"Wishing you all a speedy releasement, we remain,

"Gentlemen,

"Your unfortunate brother officers and friends,

"JAMES SPEEDIMAN } Lieutenants of
and } Artillery."†
"RD. RUTLEDGE,

"Gentlemen,

"The 30th of June the French sent all the prisoners ashore at Cuddalore, and scandalously delivered them into the hands of Hyder, and he marched us to Chillimbrum; the 12th of August, after suffering the most cruel hardships, we were marched to Bangalore, and on the 22nd of October they picked out fifty-one of the smallest of the men and officers, and sent us to Seringapatam, and on the 7th of November they, by force, shaved our heads, and on the 10th they made us Mussulmen. Since we have been here they have given us nothing to sleep upon but old mats.

"On the 7th the town-major came to us, just before they shaved us, and told us that we never should be released, but kept here, and be considered as the Nabob's sons,—which makes us very unhappy, thinking that we shall never see our native country any more; but, when you are exchanged, we hope you will make known our case to our fellow-subjects.

"Mr. Austin would be glad to hear from you, if it is agreeable to you.—We have here, amongst the sufferers, Masters Lesage, Austin, and Drake, midshipmen of the Hannibal, of fifty guns,—the Chaser of eighteen guns, none of her officers here,—the Brother, transport, Mr. Wilkinson, midshipman,—the Resolution, transport, Mr. Heidiman, master's mate,—Company's ships, the Yarmouth and Fortitude, none of their officers here.—The number of men here are forty-four, of the above ships, and the rest are officers."

These two letters once more rendered our minds completely miserable, and we could only lament the hard fate of these unfortunate men without being able to mitigate their sufferings; indeed, we all of us now expected that in a very short time our

* This paragraph does not appear in the printed Journal.

† "Captain Rutledge, a very spirited and intelligent youth, was, by the latest accounts, in the command of a rossalla, or battalion, and in high favour." *Memoirs of the War, &c.*, p. 236.

fate would be the same, and all our miseries we considered as trifling when compared with the thoughts of being obliged to embrace the Mahometan religion, as it was a moral certainty that, if that event should take place, we should never be permitted to return to our own country.

November 29th.—This day* Colonel Baillie died in irons in his prison. He had been long ill, and had for many months been soliciting the Kellidar to allow a surgeon to give him some assistance; but he declared that, as he had no orders from the Nabob to that purpose, he durst not send him one,—so that, if the Nabob had ordered him to be put to death, it would not have been so cruel as this infamous mode of treatment.

* According to the published Journal, Colonel Baillie died on the *thirteenth* of November.—He "possessed great vigour both of body and mind, being of a middle stature, well and firmly made, and animated on all occasions with calm and steady resolution. . . As his merit and rank had rendered him an object of terror to the conqueror before he fell into his hands, so he became an object of barbarous resentment afterwards, and was treated accordingly with unusual and marked severity. In the enemy's camp he was separated from his fellow-prisoners, the Captains Rumley and Frazer, and thrown into irons even on his journey to Seringapatam from Arcot. On his arrival, on his way to the capital of Hyder, at Bangalore, five guns were fired in order to assemble the people to insult his misfortunes. And during the whole course of his illness he received not the least comfort or assistance from the advice of any physician." P. 75.

CHAPTER V.

January, 1783.—NOTWITHSTANDING that we had been so long prisoners, and our hopes of release had been so often frustrated, we began this year with better spirits than the last, as we received information that our arms were still successful on the Malabar coast, and that our army was now advancing into the inland country; whilst the Nairs and polygars that occupy the mountains and jungles near Seringapatam, thinking this a favourable opportunity to regain their former independence, whilst Hyder's force was employed against the English, moved out of their stronghold, destroyed the open country, and committed as many acts of barbarity as Hyder's army had done in the Carnatic. The garrison of Seringapatam was now thrown into the greatest consternation, and, as there were very few of the Nabob's regular troops in the place, the Kellidar sent two of the battalions against them of the Carnatic prisoners which had been embodied, and part of the new Mussulmen attached to them; these, with some regular sepoys, were attacked by the polygars, and totally cut to pieces, together with the unfortunate Europeans, who had expected that they would have been able, by the assistance of these very people, who were in part fighting the English cause, to have made their escape.

We, to our great satisfaction, were informed that Mobit Khan was amongst those that suffered upon this occasion.—The place was now thrown into the greatest consternation, as they were informed the polygars were advancing on; but their fears were soon silenced, and consequently our hopes crushed, when they were informed that the indefatigable Tippoo Saib had, even in the middle of the monsoon, left the Carnatic with a strong army, assisted by a body of French, and was in full pursuit of our army, which was now retreating before him back to the Malabar coast; there was now nothing but rejoicings, and they all said that in a very few days Tippoo would oblige them to capitulate in the same manner he had done Colonel Braithwaite's the year before.

February 5th.—We this day observed an unusual commotion in the fort, and the inhabitants and sepoys crowding towards the durbar, as if something very extraordinary was going forward, whilst at the same time the looks of our guards exhibited astonishment; this appearance was so uncommon, that we endeavoured all in our power to get the guard to explain the reason of it, but without effect, as they said it was as much as their life was worth if they told us, but that we should soon know; we were obliged, therefore, to wait with the greatest impatience until we should be able to gain the information we wanted.

The next day, a sepoy, upon our promising secresy, told us that information had arrived of the death of the Behauder, and that the Kellidar and all the great people were in the greatest consternation; this news gave us the greatest joy, but we were afraid to indulge it, as we often before this had reports of the same nature, but not so strong as this; however, in the afternoon, we were pretty certain of the truth of it.

A body of troops arrived from Tippoo Saib's army upon the Malabar coast, and, upon entering the fort, proclaimed the death of Hyder Ali,—this body of men Tippoo Saib had immediately sent off, upon hearing of the death of his father, under one of his favourite officers, well knowing that it was of the greatest consequence for him to get possession of the capital before the minds of the people had recovered from their first alarm; he had reduced the English army upon the Malabar coast to the last extremity, but he was under the necessity of abandoning the pursuit, and set off with the greatest expedition to the Carnatic, as he well knew, until he had gained the command of the grand army, his situation was very precarious.

The Rajpoot, who had now been so long over us, and whom we had always found kind to us, was now sent away, and a guard, principally of Moormen, was substituted in the place of our former one.

We were now happy beyond measure at this great event, and concluded that, now the new Nabob was come to the government of a large country which the length of the war had thrown into confusion, and when it was likewise natural to expect that, from the nature of the government, even his own inhabitants would take this opportunity of again establishing the old Rajah's family—he

would immediately conclude a peace with the English; and, at all events, even if this did not soon take place, we were convinced that Tippoo Saib, who had during the course of the war, upon many occasions, established as great a reputation for the humanity of his behaviour to the prisoners as he had endeared himself by his bravery to his own troops, would certainly treat us in a more humane manner than we had for a long time experienced, and would make the severity of our imprisonment much lighter to us than his father had done; the hopes that an order would come to this purpose gave us great satisfaction.

February 20th.—We were this day informed that Tippoo Saib had been universally proclaimed Hyder's successor at the grand army, and that not the smallest disturbance had taken place (as was expected) during his absence; we were likewise told that Tippoo had publicly declared that he was determined to prosecute the war against the English.

February 25th.—A new Kellidar arrived this day from the camp, with orders from the Nabob to supersede the old one and put him in prison, which was immediately done; we were much concerned at the transaction, as he had always behaved to us in the kindest manner, and often lamented that the severity of his orders obliged him, against his inclination, to be harsh. The new Kellidar we found quite the reverse, and Tippoo's greatest favourite, although he had been originally in the low capacity of his cook.

March 4th.—Certain intelligence was now received that the English army, upon the departure of Tippoo, had again moved out from the post they had occupied, and, being reinforced with more troops, they had taken the greatest part of the Malabar coast; and that Hyat Saib, the Kellidar of Bednore, being afraid of Tippoo's resentment, who had been always his enemy, had delivered Bednore, and all the other strongholds, into the hands of the English, who, having now no more enemies upon the coast, were advancing towards Seringapatam, and the polygars, who had some time before retreated back to their strongholds, had again moved out, and were plundering the open country. All these informations made the people (who are very superstitious) conclude that the new Nabob's power, as it had begun so unfortunately, would be but of short duration.

However, intelligence now arrived that Tippoo was collecting the greatest part of his army in the Carnatic together, and, being stung with rage at the loss of so valuable a part of his country, denounced vengeance against the English army on the Malabar coast.

March 10*th.*—I had, about a month before this, found that my disorder was gaining upon me so fast that I could with difficulty stand from my extreme weakness, and had made repeated attempts to be taken out of my irons, but without effect.—I, however, fell upon another experiment, and, with great perseverance, adopted so economical a method of living that, in the course of some weeks, I saved ten fanams out of my daily allowance, which I offered the commandant of our guard, provided he had interest sufficient to get me taken out of irons,—which he accomplished for the sum I had promised him.

I, however, enjoyed my good fortune but a few days, as the Kellidar, upon seeing me out of chains, abused the guard, and ordered them to confine me immediately, although he was told that I was taken out by the approbation of the last Kellidar, as I was extremely ill. This releasement was rather of hurt to me, as I was so unfortunate as to have a heavier pair of irons put upon me than my former ones. This circumstance made us change our ideas of the alteration that we expected to experience for the better in our treatment.

April 15*th.*—Tippoo Saib, with a very strong army, had now arrived within six miles of this place, and with a very considerable body of French troops. Tippoo, to shew an example to his army, would not come into the capital, though he was so near it, and had now been absent more than three years; and after receiving what guns, stores, &c., he could procure, he pursued his route to Bednore, and even publicly declared that in six weeks he would be master of the place; and the sepoys upon our guard told us that he was determined never to allow any of the principal prisoners that he took in his own country to return, but that we, who were taken in the Carnatic, would be released upon the event of a peace.

April 17*th.*—This day Lieutenant Sampson, who had commanded a regiment in Colonel Braithwaite's army in the Tanjore country, was taken out of our prison, although he was very ill,

and, together with the two officers that remained in the prison that Colonel Baillie had died in, was sent to the fort of Mysore, ten miles distant from this place. We endeavoured to get the reason of this, but were told by the sepoys that it was [by] the orders of the Nabob.*

This same day Colonel Braithwaite, who had always remained prisoner in Hyder's camp, arrived here, and he was confined with another officer in a large dark house, in part of which the Nabob always kept his wild beasts.†

* On February the 26th, according to the published Journal. The other two officers were Captain Rumley and Lieutenant Frazer.—"Poor Sampson was exceedingly ill of an ague at the time he left us. We made up a small sum of forty gold fanams for him. Strange are the conjectures concerning the fate of these three gentlemen." *Published Journal. Memoirs, &c.*, p. 111.

—"Although the behaviour of all the English officers in this unfortunate affair" (Colonel Braithwaite's defeat) "was highly creditable to the national character, one coincidence is too remarkable to be overlooked. Lieutenant Sampson, who commanded the little corps of cavalry with Colonel Braithwaite, had so peculiarly distinguished himself as to cause his name to be united by the enemy with that of his chief; and to this day the Mysoreans, in narrating the campaign of Tanjore, continue thus to associate the name of this gallant young man, *Braithwaite Sampson*, as if it were one name." *Wilks*, tom. ii. p. 362.

† He arrived on the 25th of January, according to the published Journal, in company with Ensign Holmes, but "not in irons.—Arrived at the same time Captain Leach; he is confined in a different prison, with the daily allowance of six cash and one sear of rice."—I extract a few subsequent entries from this journal, to shew the generous interest the prisoners always took in alleviating the sufferings of their brethren in affliction. . . "March 1. Received a letter from Colonel Braithwaite; he and Ensign Holmes are allowed one fanam per day each. Colonel B. having represented to us their miserable situation, we raised by public subscription seventy gold fanams, and have desired the Colonel to convey, if possible, part of the above sum to Captain Leach, who, we understand, is starving on six cash per day: this unfortunate man was taken at Puddelotah, thirty miles from Trichinopoly, and is now confined along with two sergeants and three subadars. . . March 14. Sent Colonel Braithwaite thirty-four fanams, which we raised with the utmost difficulty. . . March 25. Received a letter from Colonel Braithwaite, wherein he informs us that he has only received sixty fanams. A Verduvalla, who was over the colonel at this time, attended our prison, on account of his indisposition; consequently we thought this a favourable opportunity to remit the money, and accordingly intrusted him; but found, to our sorrow, that he kept forty fanams and two letters.—April 1. Colonel B. having pointed out a channel of corresponding with Tanjore, and wishing to have fifty fanams transmitted to him for that purpose, we have raised that sum by subscription and sent it him, together with a list of our names, in order that they may be forwarded to our friends. . . May 16. The whole of us have subscribed half a fanam each per month to Captain Leach, which puts him on a level with us, as we understand he is in a most wretched situation. . . Oct. 22. We have made four shirts and four trowsers for Captain Leach, and have sent them by the washerman, together with twenty-four fanams. The fanams

June 5th.—We had now for some time waited with the greatest anxiety to know what would be the fate of Bednore, and we had been kept in continual suspense by the reports, one day of its being taken, and another day that the Nabob had been obliged to raise the siege; but on this day our expectations were once more frustrated, upon our hearing a salute from the capital of the place and the greatest rejoicings at Seringapatam at this event; the sanguine hopes that we had for some months entertained, that the great success of our arms would soon produce a peace, were now fallen to the ground.

We were all once more sunk into the deepest despair from our complicated misfortunes, and we now began to feel the misery of our situation in a more severe manner than ever; for Tippoo, as if he had only waited for this last event to shew himself in his natural colours, ordered that our allowance, which was even hardly sufficient to procure us the common necessaries of life, should be now considerably decreased; and our servants, who had always been permitted to go to the bazar to lay out our money, were now prevented from going, and we were obliged to give our little pittance to the guard to lay out for us, who defrauded us of nearly one half of it.

These were cruel hardships for a set of men to experience who had now been three years lying in a jail. I had always been so fortunate as to keep up my spirits until now, but my disorder, which had been preying upon my constitution for near two years, had now reduced me to a skeleton, and, deprived of all medical assistance, I had no hopes of preserving my life but by a speedy deliverance, which now seemed at a greater distance than ever.

are put or worked into the buttons of the shirt, which we have contrived to deceive the washerman. . . 18th Nov. The colonel's and Ensign Holmes's allowance reduced to nine dubs and two cash each per day, and Captain Leach and the sergeant are raised to ten cash each. The colonel daily sends Captain Leach a six-cash breakfast."

A touching memorandum occurs in this journal, under the date of Nov. 15. "Colonel Braithwaite passed our prison on his return from the Kellidar. He was well dressed, and under charge of one havildar and twelve sepoys, with fixed bayonets. Several of us were so rejoiced at seeing him, that they forgot their situation, and called out to him by name through holes they had bored through the wall of the prison. The colonel was astonished, and some of the prisoners disapproved of this conduct of their companions. But their emotions were so lively that they could not be restrained."

June 20th.—This day General Mathews, who had commanded the army upon the Malabar coast, was brought in a prisoner to Seringapatam,* escorted by a large body of horse; he passed our prison in a palanquin, in his regimentals, and had all his baggage and servants with him, in as high a style as if he was still his own master. This sight gave us great satisfaction, as we had imagined that Tippoo would have made his treatment much severer. He was now put into a large house in a retired part of the fort, with everything that he had brought with him; but, a few days after his arrival, the Kellidar went to his prison and took away from him all his baggage, money, servants, and even stripped him of the clothes he had upon his back, after which he had some old ones given to him; he was then put into irons, and a measure of bad rice was delivered to him for his daily subsistence.

These transactions, which we were told by some of the guards, made us extremely anxious to hear from him the particulars of his misfortunes, and, by the assistance of a bribe given to one of our guard, we sent a line to him, and he answered it as follows:—

"Gentlemen,

"I have just had the pleasure of receiving your note, which I have long been anxious for.

"I was Brigadier-General upon the Malabar coast, which I conquered in a very short space of time; but, having weakened my army by garrisoning the great number of forts that were taken, and not having received the smallest support from the Bombay presidency, I was obliged with the remainder to shut myself up in the garrison of Bednore; and from the want of intelligence, Tippoo appeared in front of the place before I could make the necessary preparations. It is an old fort, with a bad wall and no ditch. I, however, held out for three weeks, and I then made a capitulation with him, to be sent with my garrison to Bombay upon our parole; however, he has shamefully broke it.

"I am extremely concerned at your miserable situation; had I known it before, I never would have been a prisoner. In my present circumstances, I must entreat no further correspondence.

"Tippoo has now gone to the sea-side to besiege Mangalore, which is a good fort; it has an excellent garrison, and, I hope, will be able to hold out.—Should anything happen to affect my life, I request that you will let my

* General Mathews, according to the published Journal, arrived on the 27th of May, and on the 20th of June the letter was received from him of which Mr. Lindsay gives a copy—very different, however, from the printed one, for which see *Memoirs*, &c., p. 115.

executors know that the Company owe me forty thousand rupees, which I advanced for the use of the army on the Malabar coast.

"I am yours truly,

"[RICHARD] MATHEWS.

"P.S. The principal officers of my army were picked out from the rest, and sent to a fort called Kavel Drook."

July 4th.—Our minds were now for a considerable time totally engrossed about the fate of Mangalore, and, from the various accounts of the sepoys, we had reason to think that Tippoo had found it a more difficult undertaking than he had expected; but this place was now thrown into the greatest confusion by the ravages of another English army that had penetrated into his country from the quarter of Trichinopoly, and, as there was no enemy of any consequence to resist them, they had reduced most of the southern part of the Nabob's country; and the inhabitants of this place were even apprehensive that they would make an attempt here, as Tippoo was so intently occupied with Mangalore, —this idea even made the sepoys upon our guard change their conduct towards us, and, while this supposition lasted, they were extremely kind to us.

September 6th.—Ever since the capture of General Mathews and his army we had entertained the most desponding thoughts, as Tippoo had now every reason to expect that he soon would regain the entire possession of his country upon the Malabar coast, and then be able to return with redoubled vigour to renew the war in the Carnatic; but some people at the garrison, who had always paid us some attention when they could do it unseen, had a few days before this been informing our servants that our deliverance was now near at hand, and the Nabob would soon receive an unexpected blow.

This information even from our friends gave us but little satisfaction, as we had so often been deceived before; we had long ceased paying any attention to the reports of the Nabob, but we now began to think that some extraordinary event had taken place, as we perceived from the door of our jail vast multitudes of people running about with their swords drawn, and a number of prisoners, whilst at the same time the looks of our guard exhibited terror and confusion. We remained in the greatest suspense until the next Monday, when we were told in confidence

by one of the guard who had shewn himself our friend that a deep conspiracy had been formed by most of the principal Gentoos of the fort, to seize the present opportunity of the few regular troops that were in the garrison, to surprise the place and restore the old Gentoo government. To accomplish this great event the conspirators had prepared a large body of polygars, that inhabit the neighbouring hills, to be in readiness to march to the capital with the greatest expedition; and while one part of the conspirators were putting the principal Mahometans of the place to death, and seizing the Nabob's family, another was to let loose the numerous body of prisoners that were confined in the various jails, upon whose support the severities of their confinement, and the uncommon hardships they had undergone, naturally caused them to put the greatest reliance.

The conspirators had now for the space of a month been preparing this bold undertaking with the utmost secrecy, and not the least apprehension was entertained of its failing, as everything was prepared, and at twelve at night the surprise was to take place; but, a few hours before, one of the conspirators, either from the hopes of greater reward, or urged by his fears, went to the Kellidar and revealed to him the whole transaction, and, as the conspirators were then in consultation at one of their houses, he directed the Kellidar to the place, who, repairing thither with a strong guard, secured them all with ease, and then, ordering the whole garrison under arms, he placed a double guard upon the Rajah's palace, as well as over the different prisons, and in the morning, sensible of his weak condition and in order to strike terror into the place, he put eight of the principal conspirators to death,—which was done by dragging them at elephants' feet three times under the wall of the fort, and an equal number of times before the doors of the different prisons.*

The Kellidar, however, remained in the greatest consternation, although he had immediately despatched information to Tippoo; but, as the English army, that had moved out from the Trichinopoly district, had subdued the whole of the adjacent country, and were now proceeding without molestation, he was in the

* See Colonel Wilks's *Hist.*, tom. ii. pp. 496 sqq.—According to the published Journal, the prisoners first heard of this conspiracy being discovered on July 24, 1783.

greatest apprehension that the place would fall to them before he could gain a reinforcement from the Malabar coast, as it was more than double the distance.

September 20th.—Ever since the discovery of the conspiracy we had been treated in a much kinder manner than we had ever before experienced, and many little indulgences were granted us that we before had been strangers to,—all which kindnesses we justly attributed to the alarm which an English army being so near the capital excited:—this hope we had, with the most eager expectation, enjoyed from day to day, and really expected soon to be masters in the very place which we had reason to abhor; but salutes and rejoicings of every kind were diffused throughout the garrison upon the arrival of a large reinforcement of cavalry and infantry, which Tippoo had immediately despatched from the Malabar coast upon hearing of the late events; and the most positive orders from the Nabob were immediately put into execution, to put to death every person that was in the smallest degree suspected of having been engaged in the late conspiracy, and, likewise, to double the guard over the prisons,—so that we were not only daily spectators of the tortures that were inflicted upon numerous miserable wretches before the door of our prison, but experienced the hardest usage upon all occasions from our guard, and were defrauded out of so much of our daily pittance that it was scarcely sufficient to support existence.

My state of health was now become so very weak and languid from the long continuance of my disorder, that I had long viewed every event that had or was likely to befall us with indifference, from the thorough conviction that the blessings of freedom would not be experienced by me.

October 9th.—We had now been wishing for some time that we could hear again from Mathews, and had collected a trifle from each to convey to him, knowing the great reverse of treatment that had been inflicted upon him; but we were this day told by some of the guard, with the greatest coolness, that, as there had been such great disturbances in the place, the Nabob had declared that he could not be at perfect ease while so great an officer as Mathews was in it, and that he had some days before this had poison mixed with his provisions, and had died from the effects of it this morning.

This information was sufficient to alarm us. As we had always contrived to keep up a correspondence with the few private men that were kept in the fort, they sent us word that one of them, who, having learnt the Moorish language, had upon many occasions been sent for to act as an interpreter to the Kellidar, a day or two ago had received some writings from the general, written upon a tile, and, being ordered to explain the purport of it, informed the Kellidar that the general had the greatest reason to suspect that poison had been given to him in his rice, and desired to know if it was by the Nabob's orders that he was to be so cruelly deprived of his life.

The soldier, having interpreted this to the Kellidar, was abused in the grossest manner, and ordered to receive a flogging for misinterpreting the writing, and to be sent back to his prison.—This information, and what we had before heard, left the matter beyond a doubt, and excited in our breasts the utmost horror for the extraordinary fate of this unfortunate man, and the most dreadful apprehensions that ours would be similar.* These suspicions

* The author of the published Journal dates the first intimation of this murder on the 8th of *September*,—the day after the general's death, which he describes as follows:—"The general, when he learnt, from a combination of suspicious circumstances, as well as hints let fall from those that were occasionally about his person, that it was the Sultan's intention to cut him off by poison, refused to taste of the victuals that were sent to him at stated times from the Kellidar's. Some of the guards, and even the servants who carried the poisoned victuals, took compassion on the general, and gave him now and then a little of theirs. The havildar, who had the charge of the general, connived at these acts of humanity at first, and manifested symptoms of uneasiness and dissatisfaction with the part assigned to him in the scene going forward. But this officer, when it was found that General Mathews still protracted his miserable existence, was sent for by the Kellidar, who told him that the general's life, if much longer continued, must be paid for by the havildar's death. Upon this the havildar communicated his orders, with the threats that accompanied them, to his unfortunate prisoner, who now had no other alternative than that of perishing by famine or by poison. The anxious love of life maintained, for several days, a struggle with the importunate calls of furious hunger. These, however, prevailed in the issue of the contest. He eat of poisoned food, and he drank too, whether to quench the rage of inflamed thirst, or to drown the torments of his soul in utter insensibility, of the poisoned cup. Within six hours after this fatal repast, he was found dead. . . The manner in which these particulars were brought to light was this:—the death of the general being reported to the Kellidar, it was mentioned, on that occasion, that a brass bason was found in his prison, with some writing on it; which must have been done with a fork he had with him. This was brought to the Kellidar, and read and interpreted by an European who had engaged in the Sultan's service." *Memoirs*, &c., p. 125.

struck us with more force, as Tippoo Saib, during his father's lifetime, had on various occasions taken considerable pains to express his regret at the hardships of our fate, with hints that he had done everything in his power with his father to alleviate our sufferings.

The real meaning of this speech being so clearly explained by the late event, we could not help acknowledging what many persons in Hyder's service had at various times told us,—that we were in a perfect error regarding the characters of the father and the son; that Hyder Ali was a brave generous man, often cruel from necessity, but never from choice; and that, with regard to us, he had given the most positive orders that we should be treated with all respect and kindness, but guarded in such a manner as would totally preclude us from carrying on any correspondence with his enemies, who were numerous and active in their hostilities to his government.

The idea of releasing officers on their parole, or attaching them by kindness, never entered into the compass of his understanding; and, as he had risen from the station of a common horseman, by the effect of generosity and bravery, to the distinguished station of general of the Mysore army, and afterwards, by treachery and murder, had usurped the Mysore government, he could only hope to maintain his power by a vigilant and severe administration.

As a soldier he was respected throughout Hindostan, and in his army he was as much beloved as he was feared by all his officers, many of whom he had raised from the lowest stations from his personal knowledge of their individual merits; this sentiment inspired his whole army with emulation and zeal in his service, well knowing that his punishments were as tremendous to them that merited his displeasure as his bounty was magnificent to those who served him well.

The character of Tippoo Saib was not generally known in Hyder's army, but those who pretended to know anything of him said he was the best Mussulman in the whole army,—little, at that time, did we understand the full extent of that sentiment.

Hyder, although illiterate himself, had entrusted the education of his son to some learned fakeers about his Court,—a set of men who, while they possessed little [real] learning, by every species of mortification and self-denial had acquired the reputation of true

Mussulmen, yet were little capable of superintending the education of a prince who was to assume the government of a great empire. Under the care of these fakeers and the eye of his father, Tippoo became an expert soldier, and in the management of the horse, the bow, the lance, or the musket, shone preeminent,—he was also an excellent scholar, and, even though inured to war from his infancy, reputed a good poet; but he was privately known to be cruel, and his education had implanted in his mind, as a grand and predominant sentiment, the most furious and determined zeal and devotion to the Mahometan religion.

He was a bigot and a fanatic of the cruellest caste; he had art, however, to conceal his sentiments during the life of his father, and he was respected in the army as an excellent and indefatigable soldier, and an attentive observer of the duties of his religion. His accession to the command took place without any [of the] commotions or intrigues usual in Indian armies, and he had the wisdom to let most of Hyder's experienced generals continue in their stations, although it afterwards appeared that he had marked many of them for death or disgrace, as he was known to have said that he would purge his army of the blackguard half-kind of Mussulmen that his father had encouraged, and new-model it by employing none but the most bigoted Mussulmen. He was resolved to establish his empire over all Hindostan by the united terrors of the Koran and the sword.

These sentiments were, very soon after the death of his father, discovered by his conduct, and we were frequently told by our guards that we were to be made happy by being received into the bowels of the true believers. The death of Hyder seemed to be but a prelude to farther misfortunes; the circumstance of the murder of General Mathews opened our eyes, and from that hour there were several of us that thought our own fate was not far distant.

CHAPTER VI.

December 1*st.*—A CONSIDERABLE part of our guard was this day relieved, and a Moorman of rank and dignified manners took the command. One of the former guard, who had been extremely civil to us, at taking leave, desired us to be extremely cautious, and to avoid all correspondence with any of the other prisoners, and, if we had any papers or articles of value in our possession, to destroy or bury them under ground; we all felt that his advice was dictated by the sincerest feelings of friendship, and that in future it behoved us to be very circumspect in our conduct; indeed, the manners of this friendly man convinced us that he thought our situation very deplorable.

A general destruction of all loose papers, and everything that could tend to create suspicion of our corresponding with other prisoners, now took place, and in the evening our new commander, in ordering us to be turned out to be mustered, desired the guard to search throughout the prison to discover if we had any concealed papers, and, not finding any, he advised us to be cautious that we did not carry on any correspondence with any prisoners out of our prison.

A few days after this event one of the sepoys on the guard informed one of the prisoners that, as he had formerly been in the English service, and had experienced the best of treatment, he would reveal to him a secret respecting the officers of Mathews' army that had been sent to Kavel Drook. He said that these prisoners, consisting of sixteen captains, a major, and the commissary-general of the army, had, immediately on their arrival at that place, been put in irons, and that their allowance of provisions was the same as ours,—that their treatment in other respects had been harder, and that, the day before this, he had belonged to a guard that had been sent from another garrison to relieve the one that was over these prisoners,—that, on the second day of the new guard's being there, the commandant of it put himself in the

evening at the head of most of the troops in the place, and repaired to the prison, attended by some persons who held in their hands bowls of green liquid,—the prisoners were ordered to advance two by two, and the commander informed them that it was the Nabob's orders that they should drink the liquor contained in these bowls,—the prisoners seemed to be astonished and refused to comply with the orders, and requested leave to consult with one another, which was allowed,—the result was, that, although they had committed no crime against Tippoo Sultan, they nevertheless feared that it was his intention to take their lives, and declared that they would not take the drink.

The commandant informed them at once that the drink offered to them was poison,—that it was the Nabob's orders,—that it was, he assured them, a pleasant, easy death, but that, if they persisted in refusing it, they were to be seized and tied, and thrown alive down the precipice of Kavel Drook mountain; he declared that he was strictly to perform his orders, again recommended the drink, and allowed them an hour to determine. When the time had expired, they advanced to the commandant, and informed him they were ready to drink the poison, but they did not doubt but that the day would arrive when Tippoo Sultan would meet the just reward of his inhuman cruelty exercised so wantonly on a set of innocent men. They then drank the poison, which operated with violence upon some—but, in the space of one hour, the bodies of all were extended lifeless before the commandant; and as there was no further occasion for so great a force in Kavel Drook, he (our informant), with some others, had been sent to reinforce the guard over us.

He then took from his waist two papers, which, he said, he had taken from one of the officers when he lay dead, and which appeared to have been written by Captain Richardson, an officer on the Bombay establishment, and one of the unfortunate sufferers on this occasion.

In a few days this account was privately confirmed to us by the friendly sepoy, and from various other quarters, with little deviation from the original report.* It would be difficult to describe the

* See the published Journal, 'Memoirs,' &c., pp. 156, 159, 182.—"Two sepoys, who are at present attached to our guard, have given us the melancholy accounts of our brother-sufferers at Kavel Drook. They say that the Kellidar of Kavel

sensation it left on our minds, [unless it be] considered that many of us had been prisoners between three and four years, and that, miserable and cruel as our treatment had been, we cheered our spirits with the hope that our sufferings would one day be at an end, and that we should again be restored to liberty and our friends. The information we now had received threw from henceforth a gloom upon the countenance of every one, and the miserable uncertainty as to the period our lives might be spared, with the conviction that, sooner or later, we should be put to death in the same cruel manner, made many of us wish for a speedy termination of our miseries.

We now learnt that Tippoo, after the capture of Mathews in Bednore, had once more reduced nearly the whole of the Malabar coast, excepting the two important forts on the sea-coast, Onore and Bangalore, both of which he had invested.

The siege of Mangalore he conducted in person, and as the flower of his army was employed on this occasion, and the place had now been besieged seven weeks, it created much surprise at Seringapatam that it still held out; and as a formidable English army, commanded by Colonel Fullerton, had now reduced the whole of the Coimbatore country, and was actually advancing towards Seringapatam, Tippoo had no alternative but either to raise the siege of Mangalore or to push it with redoubled vigour.

The very powerful army he had before the place induced him to think the reduction of the garrison would immediately take place, and he felt his pride and honour as a general interested on the occasion. We now learnt from very good authority that the

Drook received orders from the Behauder to despatch the whole of them by poison; that the Kellidar made no secret, but explained his orders, and observed that, unless they were instantly put into execution, his own life would pay for his disobedience. The first he called positively refused to taste the poison. The Kellidar instantly ordered several Caffres to seize and tie him up to a tamarind-tree. After being most severely flogged, he at last consented to drink the finishing draught. Many others were flogged and inhumanly treated on account of their opposition. The sepoys observed that the scenes of distress, after the poison began to operate, were beyond description,—some being perfectly insensible, others thrown into violent convulsions, and others employing the few moments they had to live in committing themselves to God, and in embracing and taking a last farewell of their companions and friends. Immediately after the whole were despatched the armourers knocked off their irons, and their bodies were then thrown into a wood as a prey for tigers."

place was defended by a very strong garrison, and commanded by a very gallant and able officer, Major Campbell, who declared that, as long as one day's provision remained in the garrison, or a round of ammunition, he would not surrender the place to a person who had so infamously broken his capitulation with Mathews, and afterwards in cool blood murdered him.*

Many of the guard, while they revealed to us these particulars, informed us that Tippoo only waited for the reduction of Mangalore to turn his arms against the English in other quarters, and that it was his determination to wrest the whole of our possessions from us; they could not, however, refrain from expressing their astonishment and admiration at the noble defence of Mangalore, and said that Tippoo had actually lost the good opinion of his army in various assaults. They further declared that Tippoo during the siege had given repeated orders to put the remainder of his prisoners to death, and had again countermanded them, as it appeared the tide of success was now turning against him; and in the unparalleled defence of Mangalore he was taught to reflect that the issue of the war might turn out more disastrous to him than he imagined.

We were informed also at this period that commissioners had actually arrived in the Sultan's camp with proposals for peace, which his bad success at Mangalore rendered it probable he would listen to.

This information was, however, so mixed with hardship and ill-usage, that we could place but little confidence in what we heard, and it was the general opinion that the Sultan would either order us to be put to death from resentment at his bad success, or from some other cause, not to be accounted for in any other manner than the natural cruelty of his disposition and his abhorrence of Christians.

We were informed at this time † that Captains Rumley, Sampson, and Frazer had been put to death by order from Tippoo, in the fort of Mysore; and they even informed us that Captain Rumley, after the other two had drunk the poison, stepped forward

* For the memorable defence of Mangalore, see the 'Memoirs of the War in Asia,' pp. 440 sqq.; and for that of Onore, under the gallant Captain Torriano, Forbes's 'Oriental Memoirs,' tom. iv. pp. 111 sqq.

† 3 October, 1783. Journal, in 'Memoirs,' &c., p. 155.

to the guard, wrested the sword of the commander from him, and killed him and two of his attendants on the spot, and was by the remainder immediately cut to pieces. We could not account for his having particularised these three unfortunate men at this period, but it recalled to our remembrance that, some months before, they had been sent to this retired place, and [we supposed] that their murder had at that time been resolved upon.

We now concluded that our fate would be similar to that of our unfortunate brother-officers, and many began to view the event with gloomy indifference, while others, feeling the utmost indignation at such unparalleled barbarity, determined to sell their lives in the same manner the gallant Rumley had done.

At this period some of the officers having hinted that they had formed a plan to escape out of the prison, and from thence to scale the walls of the fort, in the hopes of gaining the neighbouring hills, a general alarm for the consequence pervaded the prison, and, the general opinion being taken on the occasion, it was declared that the endeavour of any to escape would be considered dastardly and infamous, as it would involve the whole in certain death; and that, if it was our fate to perish by the orders of this unprincipled barbarian, we would commit no action that could give him cause to justify such villany to the world.*

I am, however, of opinion, that no individual of our jail ever had any serious idea of looking to his own safety at the expense of his unfortunate comrades; and it must be confessed that, although the cruel treatment we had experienced, and the extraordinary length of our confinement, had soured the temper of many, and despair was depicted on every countenance, a general sentiment of friendship and regard was felt for one another throughout the prison. Our guard had for some time past been strictly enjoined to carry on no conversation with us, and they did their duty with gloomy severity.

[*December* 22*nd.*]—In the afternoon two Brahmins, accompanied

* The published Journal gives a different account:—" March 2, 1784. In consequence of yesterday's information, relative to our being sent to Kavel Drook, the whole of us have seriously and unanimously determined to avail ourselves of the first opportunity to make our escape, by murdering the whole of our guards, and selling every drop of blood as dear as possible; being thoroughly convinced that, if we submit tamely, we shall, on our arrival at Kavel Drook, be despatched in the same manner as General Mathews' officers." P. 184.

by a Moorman of rank, came to the door of our prison, and, calling out my name and two other officers', desired us to come forward; and then the Brahmins said they had orders to take us out of prison and to conduct us to the governor. I immediately declared that, having been confined in this dungeon upwards of three years and a half in heavy chains, and with my body reduced to a perfect skeleton by long sickness, I was resolved not to separate myself from my fellow-prisoners, and that, if I was to suffer death, it should be on the same spot where I had experienced so much misery.

They declared that there was no intention of using me ill, and that, in accompanying them, I should be made happy by great and important news. I resolutely refused to leave the prison, on which the Moorman, who had remained silent, said with a smile, "You have all suffered enough, and I come to impart joy to you all; the merciful Nabob, my master, Tippoo Sultan, has restored peace to the world; the English nation and he are now friends; you are immediately to be taken out of irons, and to-morrow you are to leave Seringapatam and to march for your own country. I see, Sir," said he to me, "you are alarmed—you were sent for to receive a sum of money and a letter from your friends; you shall immediately receive both, after which I dare say you will no longer refuse leaving the prison." The letter and money were brought and delivered, and were from a friend with the army who took the earliest opportunity of administering to my necessities.

He stated that Tippoo Saib, not being able to reduce the fortress of Mangalore, having lost the flower of his army before that place, and finding that the English had reinforced themselves in other quarters, and were advancing into his country, had at last declared that he would listen to proposals of peace,—that commissioners had been sent to him, and, after many difficulties, peace had been concluded,—that each was to retain what they had before the war, and all prisoners to be released.

This letter instantly removed all doubts, and the sudden transition from misery to joy at so wonderful and unexpected an event was felt with the most heartfelt satisfaction throughout the prison, and even the guard seemed to partake in the general rejoicing.

The governor appeared after the information, accompanied by a number of blacksmiths, who in two or three hours emancipated the

limbs of every one from the cumbrous load of iron that had been our constant companions for so many years.*

* The following more detailed account of the circumstances of their release is given in the published Journal so often quoted :—

"March 22, 1784. Ten o'clock [A.]M.—Visited by the Myar and a Brahmin, who ordered Captains Baird, Menteith, and Lindsay's irons to be knocked off. These gentlemen were removed from our prison, under the charge of one havildar and two sepoys.

"Three o'clock P.M.—The havildar returns and acquaints us that the three gentlemen are at present with Colonel Braithwaite; that they were removed to him in consequence of peace; and that we should, in all probability, have our irons knocked off in the course of a day or two, and be sent to Madras. Little credit is given by us to this piece of information, having been so frequently disappointed before; and we are very uneasy, and very apprehensive that they intend very unfair means with Colonel Braithwaite, and indeed the whole of us, as reports have been current for many days that Tippoo Saib intends murdering the whole of the European prisoners.

"While we were in this gloomy state of mind, and ready to sink under the pressure of melancholy and black despair, behold within the walls of our dismal dungeon a Brahmin sent from Tippoo Sultan, with a formal intimation of the final conclusion of peace! and that our irons were to be knocked off the next day.—The emotions that sprung up in our breasts on receiving this intelligence were so strong and lively, and raised to such a point of elevation and excess, as almost bordered on pain! We gave vent to the ardour of our minds in the loudest as well as most irregular and extravagant expressions of congratulation. The whole prison resounded with the frantic voice of sudden as well as excessive joy and exultation. This tumult having in some degree subsided, though we were incapable of entire composure and rest, a proposal was made, and most readily embraced, to collect all the ready money in our possession, without the least regard to equal shares or proportions, and to celebrate the joyful news of our approaching deliverance with some plantain-fritters and sherbet,—the only articles of luxury we could then command, on account of our extreme poverty. By nine o'clock at night supper was announced, consisting of sixty dozen of plantains, and a large chatty of sherbet. Every one being seated on the ground, the repast was received with the utmost content and satisfaction. Friends and toasts were drank as long as our chatty stood out; and such was the agitation of our minds, that there was not one of us who felt the least inclination, or indeed who possessed the power, to compose himself for sleep.

"We now waited with the utmost impatience for the return of day, and were impressed with a strong desire that our irons might be knocked off immediately; but, to our great mortification, about seven in the morning there arrived only one armourer. Every one struggled to have his fetters knocked off first. Promises, threats, bustling, and jostling—every expedient that could be imagined was put in practice, in order to obtain that which would come unsought for in the course of a few minutes, or hours at furthest. The same men who had suffered the rigours of imprisonment and the menaces of a barbarous policy with invincible resolution and patience, as well as with mutual sympathy and complaisance, for years, were so transported at the near prospect of liberty, that the delay of a few moments seemed now to be more insupportable than even the tedious languor of our long, most alarming, and anxious confinement.

"Between two and three in the afternoon our irons were all knocked off, and

then we were conducted, under the charge of a guard, to the Kellidar. In crossing the parade to Hyder's palace, several European boys in the Mahomedan dress, who had been forcibly circumcised, came near to us, imploring our assistance in a most distressful manner. The only consolation we could give them was to assure them that, whenever we arrived at Madras, their melancholy situation should be faithfully and feelingly described to the governor in order to procure their enlargement.[a]

"We were now brought before the Kellidar, who was lodged in Hyder's palace, and sat in a veranda, surrounded by his guards. Our names being taken down, with our rank and other circumstances, we were conducted to Colonel Braithwaite's prison, where we found the Colonel, Captains Baird, Lindsay,[b] Menteith, and Ensign Holmes. Here we remained several hours, and were in a most friendly manner supplied by these gentlemen with money, which gave us an opportunity of rewarding those good men who had at different times been on our guard.

"Towards the close of the evening, after the soldiers and black prisoners were collected, we moved off from the fort to Soomner-Pettah, a village distant about two miles. On our arrival at the choultry of this place, we had an opportunity of conversing with our soldiers. Their marks of affection, respect, and joy, at meeting with their officers after so long a separation, were not less sincere than extravagant. —The sight of the country, the fair face of nature, in a rich and delicious climate, from which we had been so long excluded, excited in our minds the most various and pleasing emotions, and struck us all with the force of novelty. At the same time, it may not be thought unimportant to observe, that we had lost, in some degree, that intuitive discernment of the magnitude and relations of objects, which is the effect of experience, habit, and the association of ideas.—At Soomner-Pettah we were indulged with permission to walk about in the bazaar, and to bathe in the river, a most delicious as well as salutary refreshment. Every object and every recreation became now a source of exquisite satisfaction and delight; all that satiety and indifference to the bounty of nature, which arises from undisturbed possession, and perhaps still more from vicious habits, being effectually overcome and destroyed by the painful purification of months added to months, in a succession that threatened to terminate either in perpetual slavery or death," &c. &c.

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[a] "When Baird," says his biographer, "and his companions were conducted to the Kellidar, there was a considerable crowd gathered round the Cutcherry, or court-house, amongst whom were several of the poor lads who had been compelled to become Mussulmans, and to take service in Tippoo's army. The moment they saw Captain Baird, and comprehended the object of his being brought thither, they ran to him, and entreated on their knees that they might not be exempted from the general liberation, and left behind; and when the Kellidar, addressing Captain Baird, told him that, in consequence of the conclusion of peace, he was free! Captain Baird said, 'I hope that ALL the British are to be included?'—'All!' replied the Kellidar; 'not so much as a dog shall be left behind.'—'Then,' said Captain Baird, taking hold of one of the English boys in the Mussulman dress, 'I claim these;' upon which the Kellidar, treacherous to the last, made a sign to the guard, who instantly surrounded the boys and drove them away. They were seen no more."

[b] He had been promoted to a company during his imprisonment.

PRISON EXPENSES IN SERINGAPATAM.

*Expenses of fitting up a Prisoner newly arrived at Seringapatam.**

	F.	D.	C.
One piece of coarse cloth, which makes two shirts	4	5	0
Chintz for one jacket	2	0	0
Lining for ditto	1	0	0
Moorman's slippers	1	3	0
Leather and tape for galligaskins †	0	3	0
Beggarman's quilt, of old rags ‡	1	0	0
Mat to sleep on	0	3	0
Straw for pillows	0	1	0
Basket for clothes	0	5	0
An earthen chatty to eat off	0	0	2
One earthen bason, two goglets	0	3	0
A china or wooden spoon	0	2	0
Half-piece of dungeree, for pillow-cases, towels, &c.	1	6	3
A long drawer string	0	1	0
A wooden comb	0	0	2
Jaggary pot (molasses)	0	0	1
Broom	0	0	1
Lamp	0	0	0½
Tape to queue hair	0	1	0
	13	2	0½

Articles of Luxury, only to be obtained by the Opulent after a length of saving.

	F.	D.	C.
One common knife	1	0	0
One pen ditto	0	9	0
One comley, as a covering	4	6	0
Bamboos and ropes for a cot	1	2	0
Bamboos for a stool	0	8	0
Paper, per sheet	0	1	2
Reeds for pens, each	0	0	1
Sweetmeats, per stick	0	0	1
Six plantains	0	1	0
Six limes	0	1	0
Four oranges	0	1	0
Six guavas	0	1	0
Three mangoes	0	1	0
Eight cheroots	0	1	0
Tobacco in stalk (reed for smoking)	0	0	0½
Dressing a hubble-bubble per week, at three chillums § per day (three or four)	0	3	0
Keeping a pair of pigeons, per week	0	1	2
Paint, paper, paste, &c., for making a pack of cards	0	9	0
Ditto for making backgammon-table	0	2	0
Ivory for one pair of dice	0	5	0
Chess-board of paper, and men	0	8	3

* The prices are in fanams, dubs, and cash. The gold fanam was worth five pence sterling, and changed for eleven dubs and four cash.

† The galligaskins are made of leather, and worn under the irons to preserve the skin.

‡ A beggarman's quilt was a garment made of rags, collected from all hands, and of all colours, washed and sewed together. It was warm and comfortable, though an object of laughter.

§ Chillums are balls of tobacco and plantains, and certain spices.

NARRATIVE

OF

THE OCCUPATION AND DEFENCE

OF THE

ISLAND OF ST. LUCIE,

MDCCLXXIX.

BY

THE HON. COLIN LINDSAY,

46th Light Infantry.

ADVERTISEMENT BY THE EDITOR.

THE following narrative relates to an episode, long since forgotten, in the American War. I have retained it, as illustrating the style of warfare which prevailed during the last century, previously to the great break up of the ancient régime.

NARRATIVE,

&c. &c.

Almost six months had elapsed since it was known to the British army in America that a large detachment was to be sent to the West India Islands, under the command of Major-General Grant.

A war with the French was seen to be inevitable, and there could be no doubt that they envied our valuable possessions, and would attempt to snatch them from our hands, while our rebellious colonies were employing our force, and were assisted by their arms.

"Then let us," it was said, "by timely caution, frustrate their intentions, and have an army long before them on the spot; let us render it unnecessary to retake what now belongs to us, or by a vigorous attack revenge the bitter injuries we have received." These were the sentiments that universally pervaded the British army at this period. They felt that the interference of France in the contest between Great Britain and her American colonies was likely to render ineffectual all her efforts to recover them, and that the object of a three years' war would be at once destroyed by the perfidious and unprovoked aggression of that restless and ambitious nation. Nothing appeared to detain the expedition, when the commissioners* arrived at Philadelphia, with an order, as was generally understood at the time, for the immediate embarkation of the troops. But as in other national affairs, perhaps of greater consequence, they had been entrusted with discretionary powers, they exercised the same powers upon this occasion; and, by their authority, delayed the expedition from the

* The Earl of Carlisle, William Eden, Esq., and George Johnston, Esq.

time of their arrival, early in the month of June, until the 3rd of November, 1778.

Our patience was by this time severely tried by the accounts which had reached us. The French had transported a considerable force to the West Indies; they had already captured Dominica, and had probably proceeded to take an advantage of the defenceless state of our other islands.

The necessity of the measure became too urgent to admit of a dispute. Ten regiments were immediately named for this service,* and by drafts from other corps were completed to five thousand men; and though the answer to the commissioners' remonstrance was expected every hour, we sailed.

Our voyage was conducted by Commodore Hotham with such care and skill that, notwithstanding a violent storm, and other difficulties in the way, our fleet was safely conducted to Barbadoes on the 10th day of December, with the loss of only one sloop, containing the horses of the field-officers of the army. It was thought that she had lost us in a fog, and for some time we knew not what was become of her. At Barbadoes we joined Admiral Barrington, who now took upon him the command by sea.

Having stayed only one day at Barbadoes, on the 13th of December we came in sight of St. Lucie; by twelve at noon we got in with the shore, and in sailing along saw the French flags upon a number of mountains. We were also saluted with cannon-ball from three several batteries, which, excepting one, were at too great a distance to reach our ships. We passed a deep bay, with the village of Carenage at the bottom of it on our left, and at two o'clock the commodore's ship came to an anchor in a bay three miles farther up, surrounded by very high ground. The rest soon followed, and brought up near the shore, the water being remarkably deep.

The first division of troops was landed before five o'clock, and marched immediately. Our road was remarkably steep and narrow, being cut through thickets which no man could penetrate.

Having moved about two miles in single file, the light infantry fell in with a few of the enemy, and took one prisoner. The rest

* Namely, 4th, 5th, 15th, 27th, 28th, 35th, 40th, 46th, 49th, 55th.

fired and ran off. He said he was *pris, pas vaincu*—taken, not conquered; a distinction which our soldiers did not comprehend, and they imagined that the French rascal, as they called him, said *baisez mon cu*. He added, that there were many French upon the island to defend it, and vapoured considerably.

It was now dark, and we had drawn up on the side of a hill, where we halted for the night. Next morning, soon after break of day, we were joined by the rest of the army.

We saw the enemy on a much higher hill, and close to us. They began to fire some cannon, and sent eight or ten plunging shot near us. An hour after sunrise we proceeded, and they fired no more till we got near the top, which took both time and breath to accomplish.

The first object which the advanced guard then saw was a well-dressed man carrying in his hand a flag of truce, who scarcely had advanced when a volley of musketry came from the enemy, which wounded several of our men. This occasioned the death of the unfortunate man who bore the flag, who proved to be surgeon to the French hospital, and came out of it to capitulate for the sick. The soldier next him shot him through the head.

After this defence the enemy retired; and some prisoners informed us that all the force upon the island consisted of one hundred and eighty of the regiment of Martinico, and fifty or sixty of the inhabitants in arms. They observed that, with so small a force, they never could have thought of opposition, but that a few shots from their twenty-four pounders were necessary for the honour of France; and agreed with us in opinion that the volley of musketry did not contribute to the national honour, but alleged that it was fired by the inhabitants, who were ignorant of the customs of war.

It was obvious to every one of us that the enemy might have dearly sold us this acquisition of their post. To surround a body posted here would, for a length of time, have been impossible. It was inaccessible but by the narrow path, so rank and luxuriant was the vegetation which choked up the woods. But their behaviour was far more polite and acceptable to the strangers. They left us their magazine untouched and entire, their barracks, their hospital, their governor's hotel, and eight pieces of small cannon.

We gained the top and these acquisitions together; and, from the height we had ascended, expected to have found a widely extended prospect, with fertile valleys underneath, houses and inhabitants below their conquerors' feet. All this was magnificent in idea, and the disappointment was proportionate. A wilderness appeared on every side, and the hill on which the mighty conquerors stood was overtopped by mountains, which interrupted the view without the least appearance of an interjacent plain. A gloomy mist was settled on their tops, which the sun, notwithstanding his powerful influence in this part of the world, could never dissipate, so that deluges of rain poured down upon us every hour. Every step we took, even on the declivity, was treading in a marsh; and this continual increase of moisture, shielded from the air, was cherished by the earth, and there gave birth to myriads of disgusting reptiles, or, by the heat of the sun, was drawn forth in noxious exhalations.

The effects of this were visible, not upon us, thank God! but upon the great number of sick belonging to the small French garrison, in number about fourscore. The utmost humanity was shewn to them during our halt here, which lasted about two hours; and we now received the following orders:—

"General Orders, St. Lucie, Dec. 14, 1778.

"As a considerable body of troops will always be kept on this island, it is absolutely necessary to protect the inhabitants, their property, and their houses. It is expected that the commanding officers will exert themselves in keeping good order and military discipline. The general will look to them only, and it is therefore incumbent upon them to take proper notice of officers commanding companies who allow their men to straggle.

"The general is determined to punish, with the utmost rigour, all marauders, and will not trouble courts martial, but will order them to be executed upon the spot by the provost. This will be the most disagreeable part of his duty, and he will sign the order for their execution with the greatest reluctance; but the unfortunate marauder will not be the only person to suffer, for no promotion will be given in the corps to which he belongs. It is recommended to the commanding officers of corps not to bring any man to a court martial but for a capital crime, as no corporal punishment will be inflicted in consequence of the sentence of a general court martial."

"Brigade Orders, Dec. 13.

"Brigadier-General Medows is extremely sensible of the high honour conferred upon him by having the command of the flank corps. From the active gallantry of the light infantry, the determined bravery of the grenadiers, and

the confirmed discipline of the fifth regiment, every success is to be expected; and he sincerely hopes that the lustre of their actions in the field will not be tarnished by any irregularity in their behaviour out of it. The officers, of course, will instil this precept strongly into their men, and, at the same time, set them examples which they ought to follow. Marauding, drunkenness, and want of vigilance, lead not only to disgrace, but danger; on the contrary, while discipline and bravery go hand in hand, they deserve that fortune which they almost ensure. The troops are desired to remember that clemency should ever attend upon victory; that to be brave and cruel are almost incompatible; and the glorious character of a British soldier is, to conquer and to spare.

"Acting on these principles, they can never fail in doing honour to their king, their country, and themselves."

Before we moved, a person, having the appearance of a gentleman, came in. We understood that he was a man of consideration in the island, and that he expected the whole would capitulate the next day; but, in the mean time, we saw the French colours in three different places, and, as we now were moving down the hill, the troops expected a resistance. All the inhabitants had left their houses, except a few women and the priest. The women said that there were twenty companies to oppose us; the priest said there was not a soul; and so, indeed, it proved, when our corps under Brigadier-General Medows marched round a creek of the harbour, and took possession of a peninsula, which formed the right-hand side of it, called the Vigie, upon which, on a high hill, and on one beneath nearer to the sea, two of the flags were still displayed. General Grant remained with the brigades on the Morne Fortunée, for so the governor's hill was called, and everything seemed as it ought to be. The island we had taken, it is true, seemed totally uncultivated, and nearly in a state of nature; but, from its situation, it afforded an easy access to any of the French islands, as well as to our own,—the harbour, which we now surrounded, was a valuable acquisition, since it could contain our whole fleet, and, being fortified, would protect them against every attack by sea.

We now saw nothing to prevent the fleet from entering the harbour, as they were only two miles to leeward, and between the tropics the wind always blows nearly from east to west. We expected next morning to have our ships with every fit equipment

for the field, of which we were totally destitute, having been ordered to leave everything on board but arms and accoutrements and one day's provisions. Talking of these expectations, we chanced to cast our eyes towards the sea on that side where the island of Martinico appeared like a black cloud at a distance, and the height upon which the flag-staff was placed afforded us a commanding view of whatever floated in the ocean—when in half an hour a fleet appeared.

What they were, the distance and the hazy sky would not permit us to discern, and various were the conjectures on the occasion. From their numbers, for we already counted twenty-four, they could hardly have followed us from Barbadoes; and yet many were of that opinion, believing that the inhabitants—who, from the shortness of our stay, had not had time to bring down refreshments to us, and who knew that, from the length of our voyage, his Majesty's officers could have only salt provisions left—from their regard to us and the desire of gain, had followed us in sloops containing every luxury; for we had as yet no idea of the size of their ships.

Others began to repeat the various rumours they had heard at Barbadoes of the French West India fleet; some having said that it was very powerful, others that it consisted but of two ships of war. Some wags declared they thought it was D'Estaing, with his whole fleet of great ships of the line; that, at two morsels, he would swallow our little squadron,—and asked their friends if they had ever been at Paris; but there were many reasons why this appeared too ridiculous to be seriously supposed, and one of these was quite sufficient,—was he not blocked up in Boston harbour by the superior fleet of Byron?

Thus night came on, and we were left at liberty to repose our limbs upon our rocky hill, and to form new conjectures.

And now many soldiers, myself among the rest, were seized with a violent sickness and incessant vomiting, owing, as was afterwards believed, to the having eaten too freely of the green oranges which grew by the side of the roads along which we had marched; but I ascribed it at that time to the sugar-cane. Three of them had been given to me in the morning, and I then observed that they were at least twice as thick as those which grow upon Barbadoes. The sugar-cane is grateful to the taste, but I then

supposed it to be improper to be eaten in that state. I have since found that I was mistaken, as the negroes on the estates of the West India planters, when the canes are ripe, soon acquire a degree of health, strength, and appearance, very different from their dejected habits during the rest of their sad year, when the most wretched fare and treatment prolong their miserable existence.* The sickness ceased in a few hours, but left a languor for several days.

Violent as it had been, it could not interrupt our curiosity, which led us to the flagstaff by the dawn of day, when we were no longer at a loss to say what this fleet should be. A French newspaper had been found, giving an account of D'Estaing's arrival in the West Indies.

And now we could discern every ship, in number twenty-four, thirteen of which were of two decks,—the rest were sloops of war, or frigates; besides a multitude of sloops, which, from their numbers, more than fifty, our soldiers termed the Musquito fleet. This armament we now saw crowding every sail, and moving slowly on directly for our shore.

Our feelings are more easily imagined than described. The total destruction of our little navy and the transports appeared inevitable. What fate would then attend the army, without the means of life in this inhospitable climate? We had the utmost confidence in British seamanship and British spirit, but now they could be of no avail; and perhaps (nay, the event seemed certain) in three hours we should be the passive spectators of the most vigorous exertion of our gallant sailors, of the glory they would gain in the disproportioned shock, and of their infallible captivity.

They had now advanced so near that we could discern every man upon their crowded decks. Their largest ships had steered into a line two miles in length; their admirals had now displayed their several flags; and any of the three divisions, which their different stations marked, appeared a match sufficient for our fleet. Their fleet of sloops was guarded by the lesser ships, and kept aloof.

But a cape of land prevented us from seeing how our sailors were employed. The admiral had seen the enemy the night

* Written in January, 1779. (1793.)

before. His doubts of what or who they were were not of long duration, nor was there time, or indeed much necessity, for much deliberation. His signals were immediately hung out, and this expeditious mode by which the orders in our navy are expressed was on this occasion seconded with universal ardour. The ships of war were disentangled from the transports, and formed in line across the entrance of the bay; the transports were pushed farther back, that they might be of no encumbrance, and to guard as much as possible against their being shattered by the shot. The ships were cleared from stem to stern. Every cabin was knocked down. Everything which might be found to stand in the way was removed or thrown overboard; and every measure being taken which the occasion required or the time would permit, an officer of the 49th regiment, sent by General Grant, found it necessary to wake the admiral, who was gone to rest in a hammock in the midst of his ship's crew.

The admiral said to him, "Young man, I cannot write to the general at present, but tell him that I hope he is as much at ease on shore as I am on board." But in the fleet they had already begun to remove the provisions from on board; and, undismayed as Mr. Barrington appeared, it can hardly be supposed he could behold the enemy with the same indifference, now they had advanced so near.

They stood directly for the harbour's mouth, came within a quarter-shot of our peninsula, and seemed to consider our handful of troops as unworthy of their notice, till a battery upon a little rock, surrounded by the sea upon the left side of the harbour began the important day which was to decide, it seemed, at once, to whom the West Indian empire should belong.

To the insult of this single gun, which had been left there by the French, D'Estaing, whose ship sailed first, returned a reply in two broadsides, but could not strike the little rock, and, having changed his course, he was followed by the rest along the shore between us and our fleet, half-way to which he hardly had attained when he began his fire. He did not long continue it unanswered. Although we could not see our ships, we heard their warm cannonade, and saw their shot, which all, excepting a few, fell short.

Nor did the French admiral permit them long to fire at him,

but, after having given two broadsides, sheered off, and worked upon the wind. The same was done by every ship, forming in the whole the figure of a half-moon, some coming nearer, others not so far, some staying longer, others a shorter while than their admiral-in-chief.

In this sham battle all the damage or loss sustained scarcely deserves to be mentioned, being only three men; and yet their heavy guns sent every shot beyond our ships, without doing them any material injury.

By their retreat we now had time to breakfast and make remarks. Two days' provisions had been sent us round in boats before the French came on; and though we were without the means to dress our pork, this was not the first time we had eaten it raw, or sliced and broiled upon the end of a bayonet, with yams and plantains, of which we found abundance upon the post, affording to a hungry man no despicable meal; nor did we relish it the less from the behaviour of the French.

But they advanced again at four o'clock, and again our spirits sank within us. We had every reason to suppose that the meaning of their first manœuvre was to see the disposition of our fleet; and having now obtained the utmost information they could wish, that they were returning to the attack in that determined way which must have proved decisive. They did indeed return, but it was to make the self-same caracole as they had done before, and with an effect as insignificant.

The only difference this time was that, as they sailed past our hill, their admiral, whether he had now conceived a less idea of his own importance, or was inclined to think more favourably of us, did deign, with a prodigious elevation of his two-and-forty pounders, to send two shot across the summit of our hill, on which some twenty of our officers at that time stood, who did not fail, with a very low bow, to return the salute.

While they were thus employed, their fleet of sloops had steered their course towards the shore, and seemed inclined to come into a spacious bay which lay upon the right. Our glasses had already shewn us that they were filled with troops; that by the most moderate computation they must hold one hundred men each, which in the whole amounted to five thousand; and on board their ships we always understood, from the time of their appearing

before New York, that their force in land-troops amounted to nearly four thousand men.

After some appearance of hesitation, they passed the bay, turned round a point of land still farther to the right, and, passing between an island and the land, vanished from our sight.

That evening, as we expected, they landed every man.

Here then the army saw employment for themselves. The situation of the navy, it may now be understood, remained no longer the only object of our thoughts; besides, we had already seen that they were able to defend themselves against every enemy, however superior in numbers, by sea. It was our business to maintain the land.

But it was not till the morning after that every thought of a serious attack upon our ships was totally abandoned by the enemy. The night of the 15th they continued to cruize along the coast, still hovering near, as if prepared to seize upon their prey; and their third and last disposition bore a different face from either of the two before, as if at last they were convinced of their mistake.

The whole advanced at once, to all appearance with a view of running right a-head, to carry every obstacle before them. But they again changed their mind,—at least they changed their course; the mountain brought forth nothing, and all this fire did not this time produce so much as smoke.

They at last came to an anchor before the bay upon the right, and soon began to try experiments upon us, upon the Vigie, the very first of which, had it succeeded, must have driven us from our post. They attempted to bring ships of war to lie on both the sides of the peninsula, but at length discovered, by sounding several nights successively, that there was no depth of water in the bay. All they could do was to send in two little armed sloops from time to time, which discharged a few broadsides from four-pound guns.

Many fruitless attempts were made to send in the Lively frigate, which had been made their prize some time before, when cruizing in the British Channel. Having failed in this, they next directed her to make her way by entering at the harbour's mouth; but

this was likewise found to be impossible, as no ship can enter it without assistance from the shore to warp her in, according to the seaman's phrase. This, at present, she could scarcely expect; and the assistance she did receive from General Grant's side of the harbour quickly served to help her back again.

Their next attempt was to cut off the provisions from this post, by sending ships of force to cruize before the mouth of the harbour.

All the provisions for the army had now been landed on the beach, and most of those for the navy, as they kept on board only ten days' allowance for every man; but still they were to be carried on the men's shoulders to the top of Morne Fortunée, and a magazine was to be established there.

When the enemy came down before the wind no boat could shew its face; but this at night they seldom cared to do, so that we never lost a single boat.

But to proceed, and not to make my journal too minute. This account, or journal, or whatever it may be called, was not begun until the 23rd of December. Until this day we have remained without a tent, and wet both day and night incessantly.

And now I think it is brought down to the 16th of December; and yet from that day to this events of the most serious importance remain to be set down. The French send many of their vessels back to Martinico, and once and again with the utmost diligence returning, they land whomsoever they have brought.

The timid soldier, if now there be any such among our troops, has opportunity to add his apprehensions to the force and numbers of the enemy, of which our leaders have no means of information,—and various are the projects formed among ourselves. At first to march and to prevent their coming to the shore,—and when this was now too late, another scheme succeeded to it. Shall we, it was said, permit them, now they are on shore, to cut our communication off? Or, if our post is judged of use, what are the brigades about? Let only one of them descend, and, passing through the town, march on, strike down the only flag we have left to the inhabitants, and occupy a ridge of hills which form at the distance of two miles a right angle with our peninsula.—Such generals were there to be found among us. It is amusing to

recollect even the very absurdities that are uttered upon such an occasion.

And yet it cannot be denied that on the morning of the 16th the French came there, and took possession of those heights. A captain's picquet posted there from the brigades retired, and the white-coated gentlemen were now conspicuous in a line before a house which stood upon a spot which had been cleared. Elsewhere the woods concealed them wholly from our view, if we except the opening in a path through which, during two days, we saw them pass at intervals in files towards the house.

The pattern which we saw was such as served to give a high opinion of the enemy's appearance; but the whiteness of their clothes and lustre of their arms were much diminished after they had been next morning as completely drenched with rain as we were ourselves.

This morning it was no consolation to myself and other officers of the 55th flank companies to be informed that our transport and another which belonged to the regiment had dragged their anchors up, had driven to sea, and had been taken by the enemy. Then was not the time for us to be jocose, when everything we had was gone, and when we never felt our wants so great. Our joy in the evening must be confessed when we found that neither of the two was ours; but when we received the further information that both were the ships of the regiment, our joy gave place to our concern for this no small misfortune of our friends and brother-officers and the soldiers under their command. One of them was taken, the other made her escape, and next morning came safely back into the fleet.

This and the Ceres sloop of eighteen guns were the only prizes taken by the enemy, who still lay anchored where they were beyond our cannon's reach, increased in number now to eight-and-twenty sail. The sloops had come into the bay, and extended in a line quite to the water's edge. Many hours did not escape before fortune gave us a revenge. A sloop from Guadaloupe mistook our navy for that of the French, and running in at night became our prize with the soldiers and officers on board of her.

What could the intentions of the enemy be now? They were in possession of the village—they had pushed their picquets close

to ours; so near that our sentries and the French could almost shake each other by the hand* had they been so inclined. Byron was expected every hour. What if we should join our fleets? The time was critical. What could D'Estaing intend but an attack? for the command among the French remains the same by land as on the sea. But would he attack our post, or General Grant's, or Sir Henry Calder's near the shipping?

A deserter came in on the evening of the 17th, while we were eager after information.

Our general was then, according to his frequent custom, going round the post, taking his observations with respect to every spot, and conversing with the different officers in that lively and engaging manner which so much distinguishes his valuable character. But now he was the general, and, waving with his hand, he gave the deserter into his sergeant's charge, ordered them to follow him, and instantly retired.

We learned soon that he was a sergeant in the regiment of Martinico; that he had deserted because he was in debt; that he believed the French to be twelve thousand strong; and that their only talk was of an attack intended on our post of thirteen hundred men, now that we were completely disunited from the army by their means.

To this report of a deserter every one gave that degree of credit he thought fit. It might be so. Our disposition was already made; the nature of the ground was such as we could wish, and most minutely had it been attended to. The troops were but a handful it is true, but they were such as were not much addicted to giving way. Every one indulged such meditation as he chose, nor could it have been perceived from any alteration that an engagement was at hand.

The night, as usual, was extremely wet, and it continued to rain till seven in the morning, an hour and a half after the break of day. From that time we had been amused with a very unmilitary custom of the enemy, in popping off the pieces they

* A grenadier of the writer's company was tried by a court-martial, and sentenced to be punished, for taking a pinch of snuff from a French sentry, the orders having been to hold no communication with them. He was a very well-behaved man in general; and Major Harris pardoned him at his captain's request, but cautioned the battalion against French civility upon this occasion.

had loaded in the night, which some of us observed were considerably more in number, and nearer to the post we had advanced, than usual.

This post was beyond the neck upon two hills, between which five companies of the light infantry were divided, commanded by Captain Henry Downing of the 55th light company. On one of these there stood an old redoubt, built when the Duke of Montague possessed the island. It was a pentagon of solid masonry, but had no parapet, and, affording no cover for a defendant, was not occupied.

The general, with Major Harris, the commanding officer of our battalion of grenadiers, and Sir James Murray, who commanded the light infantry, had gone down to visit this post, and to repeat such orders as they should see necessary, when, from a grove of manchineal, extending in a line along the beach, the enemy at once rose up and advanced in line against these hills, equal in numbers to two of our battalions.

We lost no time in standing to our arms,—but from whom should we receive commands? The grenadiers called out, "Shall the light infantry be cut off? A moment more and they will be surrounded. Let us move down the hill." Had they but seen the danger which their three commanding officers were in, they could not, men nor officers, have been kept back.

But they soon appeared, for, having spoken everything they wished in case of an attack in force upon the post, they already were returning when the enemy appeared.

"The light infantry," said the general, "will take care of themselves; but as for you, stand fast." None of the officers to whom he spoke durst offer a reply to his judgment; but the poor light infantry! were they not now hemmed in? They keep smartly up their straggling fire indeed, but now it seems to cease. The enemy have given two heavy volleys. They are moving on again in numbers four times theirs. The light infantry are gone!

But, huzza! the French come to the right about and run. The light infantry, formed in a body, have charged through. The whole regiment of Martinico, which was clothed in blue, gave way and ran along the beach. A regiment clothed in white were still advancing. A smaller party falling in with them were killed or taken every man.

The affair stood thus when we observed the whole French army moving on slowly in solid columns to the attack. The light infantry, who had broken through, were already returning into the action ; and to no purpose did the grenadiers and the rest of their battalion call to them to return. At last they saw the danger they were in was greater than before,—and thanks to the thickness of the brush which favoured their escape !

Our cannon then began. The enemy were within musket-shot, as we discovered by the dropping of our men ; and our troops began their fire with the greatest silence and the least confusion possible.

Our hill was near the bottom covered with shrubs, from behind which a considerable body of the enemy kept up a constant fire. They had three ammusettes, from which they fired grape and leaden balls of a pound weight with great effect upon our line ; but these were soon silenced by our four three-pounders. The columns never fired a shot. They for a length of time seemed to pay no attention to our cannon-ball, which swept away whole ranks, but inclined their heads, now to the right, now to the left, as if to see which way they could most easily ascend the hill. One column gave way twice, and was twice rallied in our sight beneath our fire. They came to a halt at last, and there they stood or fell.

Our men dropped fast. Our ammunition could not last long, for we had but thirty rounds at first. Fresh columns still continued to advance. The enemy appeared to be determined. Orders were given that we should fire no more until the enemy came close, then to retire to the summit of the hill, to form in a line, to charge and drive them headlong back.

These orders were obeyed to admiration. The firing ceased from us, but the enemy did not advance. Our men sate down and bore the enemy's fire, reserving five rounds each. A reinforcement of French ammunition, from the magazine we had taken when we first landed, was brought across the harbour in the ferry-boat. Our fire began again. The enemy retired.

This action lasted about three hours, having begun at eight in the morning and ended at eleven. The grenadiers had but eighty-seven killed and wounded. The loss of the light infantry

in every way was sixty odd; that of the fifth regiment was eighteen. Few of the wounded were disabled.

From the spot on which we stood we scarcely could see a single Frenchman dead; but when we went down into the field we then indeed beheld a horrid scene. None of us had ever seen so many dead upon so small a spot.

Four hundred men at least lay there. The effects of the artillery are not to be described. The mangled portions of the human frame lay scattered round on every side. The dying were confounded with the dead, and added to the scene their piercing agony and groans, which even by the roughness of the British soldier's nature could not be resisted, nor beheld without concern. They now forgot they were their country's enemies; and we, the officers, who half an hour before could behold with joy a cannon-ball take effect, and sweep away a rank of men, were shocked at the various examples, now before our eyes, of the calamities to which mankind are liable in the events of war.

Many of our soldiers were employed in giving the assistance they required to these afflicted men; and next the burial of the dead became our care; but this our General was resolved the French should do themselves, and waited for a while before he sent a flag of truce.

He had been wounded in the arm, but continued to go round, to see whatever might be necessary; and, when the action ended, visited every wounded officer himself, praised their behaviour till they forgot their pain, and saw that the wounded soldiers had the proper assistance, at the very time he stood in need of it himself. He was much pleased with the reply of Lieutenant Gomm of the 46th grenadiers. This gentleman had been wounded in the eye, and in the heat of the action the General saying, "Sir, I hope you have not lost your eye,"—"I believe I have, Sir," he answered, "but with the other I shall see you victorious this day."

At four o'clock the flag went out, and by a mistake was fired upon, the light infantry bugle-horn having been employed to sound a parley, instead of a drum, which is the custom. Every apology was made for this by the party which received them, which a captain from the enemy brought down. Many compliments passed

between Captain Courtney* and him. The French spoke first. "You have shewn by the defence that you have made that you are Englishmen." And the reply to this was, "You have shewn in your attack that you are worthy of the name of French."—Some of their young officers spoke much about revenge; and the material message being given, the conference broke off, after they had said that they would fire three guns before hostilities commenced again. To this it was replied that we should be very happy to have the honour of another visit, and were at all times prepared for their reception.

They were inquisitive to know if they were actually our chasseurs which we had had in front, for the French chasseurs are never supposed to make any serious resistance; "But they retired," said they, "and they advanced—they broke, and they rallied; and when we no longer saw a single man, we received a heavy fire in every direction." It must be observed that the light infantry themselves say that they did not charge as we imagined when the enemy gave way. Probably this unexpected method of defence had struck the enemy with consternation. A novelty can never fail to have a great effect in action.

This circumstance alone may serve to prove the truth of an observation frequently made, "that any two persons giving an account of an engagement will often differ essentially even in material circumstances." Every battalion, however, can tell exactly what happens to themselves; and thus, by carefully collecting the component parts, the figure of the whole may be accurately ascertained.

Captain Downing's conduct was remarkable. He and his lieutenant, Mr. John Waring, and three men of the 55th light company, by names Rose, Duffy, and Hargrove, defended a narrow path against the French for a considerable time, till most of the five companies had made good their retreat. These officers and soldiers parried the bayonets of the French grenadiers for some time. Mr. Waring was at length run through the body; and Captain Downing would soon have shared the same fate, if a French officer had not advanced, and slightly touched his sword, which Captain Downing instantly surrendered. He and his three

* This accomplished young gentleman was one of the first who fell a sacrifice to the climate.

faithful soldiers were immediately escorted prisoners to the old redoubt, where they found Count D'Estaing. Captain Downing here experienced most extraordinary treatment. The coat he happened to have on was not exactly new, nor was the appearance of it probably the better for the soaking it had had for many days and nights. He wore no shoulder-knot, it being often the custom of our light-infantry officers to wear, instead of them, a sort of fringe called wings. In short they believed, or pretended to believe, that he was not an officer, and tied him back to back with one of his own men. This gentleman has often, with much good humour, described his feelings in this ludicrous situation, and the distress of the poor fellow, who certainly never expected to have experienced so close an intimacy with his captain.

This piece of insolence, in supposing that French customs must be those of all the world, is not unworthy of remark; but at the same time it would be easy to bring many arguments to shew that their method of marking the different ranks of their officers by a distinguishing badge is perfectly judicious, especially when we consider how much men are apt to be guided by externals.

Captain Downing was unbound before the French retired, their civility having apparently been improved by their adventures. He was carried to Martinico, and some time afterwards received a visit from Mons. de Latterette, the French officer who saved his life. He expressed great satisfaction, and added, with elegance of manners, that he was certain, whenever the fortune of war enabled him, he would do the same by a French officer.

Mr. Waring was run through the lungs. He was deemed to be the captain, an honour which had nearly cost him his life. Several messages had been sent from us by flags of truce, desiring that Captain Downing might be sent back and exchanged. This, at length, they thought they had complied with. Four French soldiers came to our post, carrying a bier, on which, to our great surprise, we found Mr. Waring. The motion brought on a fever, which had nearly destroyed him; but he recovered, to the great satisfaction of his brother officers, who had much regard for him. He informed us that nothing could exceed the good regulations of the French hospitals, but that the number of their wounded was by far too great to be accommodated in houses.

Among ourselves, the comparison occurred between this action and that of Bunker's-hill.

The attack in both affairs was made by troops who had never seen an enemy before. Both actions happened on peninsulas. Like young soldiers, both halted under the enemy's fire, and both severely suffered for it. But there was this difference:—

At Bunker's-hill a small body attacked an infinitely larger one, entrenched in works; and, moving on again after the first check, they gained their point, and put the enemy to flight. Here the numbers had attacked the few without a work, and were repulsed. The events were different, and the reader will draw his own conclusion.

On the 19th a flag came in the morning from the enemy; they were as anxious as ourselves to know the fate of Byron. Our Admiral had declared that the Pearl frigate had brought a letter from him, saying that he knew D'Estaing had sailed, and that he certainly should follow him on the 19th of November—a great relief to us, if we could give implicit credit to the report; but it seemed probable that this was framed to keep up our spirits, for where was the Pearl frigate to be found? At Barbadoes, it was said. But now the French affirmed that they had authentic accounts of his having actually sailed; that a violent hurricane had totally dispersed his fleet; that the Somerset was wrecked; and that almost all the rest of the ships were totally disabled.

Nor could we say if this were true or not. It was a mystery from first to last. How came it that D'Estaing escaped? and the grand question was, how Byron could know whither he had gone? Our danger was the same as ever. The provision was much reduced, and probably would have failed before this time, if General Grant, just before we sailed from New York, had not obtained, though with some difficulty, the addition of a fortnight's supply. Our stores were at Antigua, and the swiftest-sailing frigates were despatched to bring as much as they with safety could, as nothing but superiority in sailing could prevent their being taken by the enemy.

Had it not been for the victory the troops had gained, their spirits would have sunk; and they were now employed in throwing up a work, each company before itself, in case the enemy attacked again, which they gave out they certainly would do. The advan-

tage of such a measure had been conspicuous. Captain John West, of the 4th grenadiers, having been detached with his company to a hillock in our front and on our right flank, having contrived to find a couple of spades and a pickaxe, told his men that they would probably be attacked in the morning, and that if they wished to have *whole bones* they would work hard. He traced out the front, they completed the breastwork, and only one man of the company was wounded. General Medows now gave out an order that he expected the grenadiers would shew themselves as famous for making as for taking works, or defending a hill without works.

After the conference, the enemy sent down a party of four hundred men in answer to our flag, in order to inter their dead. A number of our men soon mixed among them, rather with a dangerous degree of familiarity, to which our officers soon took care to put a stop by ordering them away. They were above six hours employed, but did not complete their work; many of the bodies still remained exposed, and few of them were completely covered. A French soldier observed, that, as the wind always blew in that direction unto our post, the effluvia would be too noxious to be endured. This soon became apparent in this very hot climate, and we applied the only remedy by completing the interment.

In every other point of view their behaviour was remarkably polite. Their chief surgeon was sent in to offer General Medows his assistance. The General's horse strayed out; they sent him back. Captain West, in giving his assistance to a wounded man, had dropped a silver-hilted sword; their working party carried it away; it was brought back by the next flag, and no money was suffered to be given to the soldier in return. Their sentries often, when they saw our soldiers passing near, would point to their arms, shake their heads, and laugh, but never fired,—a very different style of war from that which we had been used to in America.

Their officers agreed with us most feelingly, that the climate was most villanous; that if we stayed much longer here, both armies would perish; and that the island was not worth the fighting for.

But we rather were inclined to alter our opinion, when Colonel Musgrave, the quartermaster-general, came over on the morning of the 20th.

This experienced and able officer had been here the day before

the landing of the French, by orders from General Grant, most probably with a view of bringing back a more minute account of the post than he could have by viewing it from the place where he stood. From him we learned that the fertility of the island was remarkable, that it was as large as Dominica, and better cultivated everywhere than the part we saw, and that it contained a considerable number of inhabitants. We learned further how the enemy had lately been employed. Thirty of their sloops had sailed the day after the action, carrying a considerable body of their troops. These they landed with some mortars below our shipping, with a view to seize upon some heights that surrounded the bay, and, by throwing shells among our crowded ships, to oblige them to quit a station which they had found so advantageous, or else to set fire to them.

But parties from the 35th and 40th regiments, detached by the vigilance of Sir Henry Calder, forced through the woods which grew upon the declivity, and gained the top. The enemy, finding that they were prevented, immediately returned to the place whence they came. It is extraordinary that Count D'Estaing's first attempt by land was not in this quarter.

According to their own accounts, they had lost fifteen hundred men in the late action, in killed or badly wounded. The disproportion between our loss and theirs will not appear extraordinary, when it is considered in the first place how much more numerous they were; secondly, that they were in solid columns, which the nature of the ground positively required in passing over the neck of land; and lastly, that the fire of our troops was concentrated upon them like the focus of a burning-glass.

There cannot be a doubt that our fire would have been much more destructive, but for a most extraordinary instance of neglect; namely, the badness of our flints. We have always had the same cause of complaint. The French flints are excellent, though their powder is bad. What can the reason be, that every effort shall be rendered in some measure vain, as well the labour of the soldier as the counsel of the chief? From what and how? From the badness of a pebble-stone! In the attack, the bayonet is always a remedy for this deficiency, but to find in a defence that one-third of your men are useless from this cause is indeed extraordinary; it is by no means impossible that the fact itself must

have escaped the scrutiny of government, for the remedy can be easily applied.*

But to proceed from this digression, or rather transgression, of a military murmur.

After the action we received the following orders:—

"*Copy of a letter from the Commander-in-Chief to Brigadier-General Medows.*

"Sir,

"I cannot express how much I feel myself obliged to you, and the troops under your command, for repulsing with so much spirit and bravery so great a body of the enemy. I own it was just what I expected from you and them; and I am sure under your command they will always behave as will do honour to you, themselves, their king, and the country which they serve; and I must beg of you to express my thanks to them in the strongest manner."

"Brigadier-General Medows has the highest satisfaction in communicating so flattering a letter from the Commander-in-Chief to the troops under his command, and begs leave to mark to the officers and men his admiration of their gallantry and good conduct in the affair of the 18th. He feels too much to be able to add more than that, at the head of such a corps, he must be pleased to live or proud to die."

We now observed the enemy employed in raising batteries on every little height, and were in daily expectation of a new attack. We saw multitudes employed in dragging guns and mortars; and the enemy gave out that, under cover of a bombardment and a heavy cannonade, they would again attack our hill.

"Brigade Orders, December 21.

"Whenever the picquet is attacked, the drums are to beat to arms, and the lines are immediately to be manned. As soon as our gallant and generous enemy are seen to advance in great numbers, the troops are to receive them with three huzzas, and then to be perfectly silent and obedient to their officers. Whilst they are cool by day and alert by night, they have nothing to fear. If the enemy want our arms, let them come and take them. During the attack, some of the drummers to assemble round the colours of the fifth regiment at the flag-staff, and beat the grenadiers' march."

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* It is now thirteen years since this was written, yet the flints are as bad as ever. On a review-day the captains buy flints at their own expense. It was a common saying among the soldiers in America, that a Yankee flint was as good as a glass of grog. The government flints will often fire five or six shots very well, but they are of a bad sort of flint, and are too thick. The black flint, such as is sold for gentlemen's fowling-pieces, or a trifle larger, is the proper flint for the soldier's musket; and the springs of the locks are probably too strong. (1793.)

On the 24th, towards break of day, a rebel sloop of war anchored near our ships. A boat from her came on board of Admiral Barrington, and, the person who commanded it beginning to speak French as he came up the side of the ship, the officer upon deck, seeing that they had mistaken our fleet for that of the French, took care not to undeceive the boat's crew till he got the whole on board. The sloop of war had come to an anchor, but at daybreak, discovering her mistake, she slipped her cable, and would have escaped, had not a battery on shore, at the very first shot, struck her between wind and water, which obliged her to surrender, lest she should sink.

This was the battery which had struck two of our ships when we were landing, and the same guns, under Lieutenant Garstin of the artillery, did material service when D'Estaing attacked our ships, for which the general and admiral had given him their thanks. The sloop which was now taken by his means was called the Bunker's-hill, had lately sailed from Boston, and reported that Byron had sailed on the 1st day of December; but we could hardly be convinced he had not sailed for England. This sloop was now named the Surprise, and the intelligence which she brought served to keep alive our hopes, and made us pass a more cheerful Christmas-day than otherwise we should have done.

Our belief was increased when on the 26th we saw the French sail out and form a line. They went almost out of sight, but soon returned to their former station.

By land we were astonished not to have a single battery opened upon our hill; but we judged that, the longer they delayed, the more formidable and numerous their artillery would be. We found the rainy season now somewhat beginning to abate, and saw, what would have been before a matter very hard to convince us of, that it was the greatest friend we had, for the only water on the post was supplied by the rain.

Good fortune had attended us throughout. We learned now that the sloop which carried the horses of the field officers of our little army had fallen in with the enemy six hours after she had separated from our fleet. Her commander, Mr. Thomas Middleton, was immediately carried on board Count D'Estaing's ship, where every argument was used to no purpose, persuasion, promises, and threats, to make him disclose our place of ren-

dezvous. He told that he had opened his instructions before he struck, and had instantly destroyed them; that no person in his sloop (the Betsy) knew this but himself; but that nothing should prevail upon him to make the discovery. As they were proceeding to put him in irons, he said, "Since they must know it, Antigua was our destination." Upon this Count D'Estaing immediately directed his course thither, sending off a ship to Martinico, with orders to collect all the troops which could be brought together, to embark them, and immediately to proceed with them to join him. Had Mr. Middleton informed him that Barbadoes was our place of rendezvous, or even if we had stayed there one day longer, there cannot be a doubt that our fleet and army must have fallen into the hands of the French, as the harbour of Barbadoes is an open road affording no protection for shipping. Had D'Estaing succeeded in his attempts upon this little army, the loss of every one of the leeward islands must have been the certain consequence.

This sea-manœuvre of D'Estaing appeared quite inconsistent with the labours he was forwarding on shore. We began to think it not impossible he might retreat; and on the 29th we found that we had not prophesied in vain.

At break of day the soldiers saw and soon called out that the Musquito fleet was gone. This was the name which they had given to the sloops. A prodigious fire appeared the evening before on Martinico. We had seen two days before that they were making preparations to retire, and now two companies were sent out to reconnoitre; but every enemy was gone. Byron was now expected every hour; could he but get between the enemy and Martinico, and Barrington slip out, and shut them up between their fleets! But no! the long-lost, long-wished-for Byron was not to be found.

It was no unpleasing task for us to go beyond our lines, to tread upon the ground which it was before so dangerous to approach,* and view the prodigious works they had thrown up at the very time we were entrenching against them.

This was their employment, instead of sailing off, availing

* Juvat ire et Dorica castra
Desertosque videre locos litusque relictum.
VIRGIL.

themselves of their superiority by sea, and landing the overplus of their land-force on our defenceless islands.

"General Orders, December 29.

"The capitulation is signed. The inhabitants are to take the oath of allegiance, and are therefore to be allowed to go where they please."

The same terms were granted here which the French had given upon Dominica, that is to say, the utmost liberty and protection which the constitutions of the different kingdoms will permit, and they will soon perceive which has the preference. The English laws were already in force, as may appear from

"Brigade Orders, January 3, 1779.

"The lines to be manned to-morrow morning at eight o'clock for the execution of John ——. The bravest troops, when they forget their discipline, and degenerate into a lawless banditti, are a curse upon the country which they come to serve. However, such a corps as the reserve can never be disgraced by such an individual."

Four inhabitants had come into the lines complaining that they had been robbed and maltreated the night before by a soldier whom they described. The troops were drawn out, and one by one, as each complainant had done, these people were brought from a small house upon the post, and each as they came near this man instantly singled him out as the person. He was a man of remarkably good character, brave, sober, obedient, and till then had been reckoned strictly honest; but though his absence from his company had not been perceived, and though he persisted to the last in denying the charge when tried by a general court-martial, yet he was executed by their sentence, upon this remarkable testimony. It was extraordinary to see how much the soldiers were affected at the sight of death in this shape, who so often had beheld it without concern.

What had we to think of now but Byron, or what the French were now employed about? A ship was sent to Martinico to treat about the prisoners of war upon a flag of truce, and was there detained for a considerable time. As for Byron, he was no longer expected.

But on the morning of the 6th of January, the moment that we thought of him the least, his fleet appeared. He soon got in, and

we then found that he had been straining every nerve. The very day we first saw D'Estaing from St. Lucie, and not before, he sailed to follow him. For after he had repaired his ships and masts, shattered by the storm which had driven him off from Boston-bay and let D'Estaing escape, he could not quit America till he was assured, by despatches sent to every port, that the French fleet was actually gone. After he was satisfied of this, and ready to depart, the wind was contrary for ten days, and would not suffer him to sail. He had long given us up for lost, but was determined that it should not be his fault.

And now that we can say Britannia rules the waves, long may her arms control her enemies by land!

SOME ACCOUNT

OF THE

ASSAULT ON GIBRALTAR

IN 1782;

In a Letter to the Earl of Balcarres.

BY

THE HON. COLIN LINDSAY,

73rd Highlanders.

ASSAULT ON GIBRALTAR,

&c. &c.

Gibraltar, Sept. 14, 1782.
Parole, King George and Victory.

I SIT down with no small satisfaction to inform you, that last night and this morning we have defeated the attack of France and Spain, and that their Armada, so long in preparing, is totally destroyed before the eyes of their whole combined fleet and army.

We have experienced various sensations during the last four-and-twenty hours, and I seize the very first moment of leisure to relate to you the events as they happened, in as plain and concise a manner as my imagination will allow in speaking of the grandest and most awful objects which perhaps were ever exhibited.

In my two last letters I gave you a full detail of their immense preparations; they had nearly forty thousand men before the place, and piles of ammunition, which, to appearance, could never be all expended, even by their innumerable and heavy ordnance; I also described, as they appeared to us across the bay, their long labours upon ten large ships, mounting nearly two hundred pieces of heavy cannon. On these, by our information from various quarters, they had tried numberless experiments, and had clearly demonstrated to their people that they were impenetrable to cannon-ball and shells, that it was impossible to burn them, and that they could not be sunk. The truth of these assertions we found to be incontestable for many hours. Such was the situation of our affairs on the 11th instant, when my last letter to you was sent. On the 12th a large fleet appeared in the Straits from the west, but, the morning being hazy, it was not till they approached very near that we discovered them to be the combined fleets of France and Spain, consisting of forty-four sail of the line, in-

cluding those that were here before, with three fifties and several frigates and fire-ships.*

It must not now be denied that their arrival, which was totally unexpected, had some effect upon the spirits of the garrison. The numerous assaults which the enemy would now be enabled to make, on every side at once, could not fail, as was almost generally thought, to divide and distract our very inferior numbers; consisting, on the 1st of September, of five thousand seven hundred and one men, including seventy-two Corsicans, to which must be added near eight hundred seamen. Or, if this should not be the mode of attack, still it appeared to many that their repeated efforts could not fail to wear down the garrison with fatigue, when no man could ever quit his alarm-post, or, if he did, could obtain rest in his tent, exposed on every quarter to the cannon of the enemy.

In short, a degree of uneasiness existed until the hour of action was at hand; and those who had beheld the Duc de Crillon's formidable force by land, and frequently had stood his cannonade and bombardment, from nearly two hundred guns and mortars, with firmness of mind, were startled at the addition of a force greater than had been ever brought against any place in the history of the world; and at inventions which, though new, promised to be of a most extraordinary nature, and had inspired the enemy with the most unbounded confidence.

But, on the memorable 13th of September, at eight in the morning (the anniversary of the day when General Wolfe fell and Quebec was won), they appeared in motion on the other side, and

* "Before the garrison had well discovered the force of their new visitors, an occurrence happened, which, though trifling in itself, I trust I shall be excused for inserting. When the van of the combined fleet had entered the bay, and the soldiers in town were attentively viewing the ships, alleging, amongst other reasons for their arrival, that the British fleet must undoubtedly be in pursuit, on a sudden a general huzza was given, and all, to a man, cried out, the British admiral was certainly in their rear, as a flag for a fleet was hoisted upon our signal-house pole. For some moments the flattering idea was indulged; but our hopes were soon damped by the sudden disappearance of the signal. We were afterwards informed by the guard at that post, that what our creative fancies had imagined to be a flag was nothing more than an *eagle*, which, after several evolutions, had perched a few minutes on the westernmost pole, and then flew away towards the east. Though less superstitious than the ancient Romans, many could not help fancying it a favourable omen to the garrison, and the event of the succeeding day justified the prognostication." Drinkwater's *Hist. of the late Siege*, &c., p. 282.

all ideas of doubt or apprehension instantly gave way to others of a very different nature. The wind was strong at North-west, and their vessels had been so stationed that it was now directly in their stern.

Our artillery and additional gunners instantly repaired to their alarm-posts, till it should be seen at what and how many points of the garrison the efforts were to be directed. We then saw, what we could not have believed, that these unwieldy-looking machines sailed and steered with as much quickness and precision as the lightest ships, so that before nine o'clock they were at their station. Their admiral, Don Buenaventura Moreno, did not bring up till his vessel had brushed the ground; they then all followed his example, and were anchored and moored almost instantaneously, without the least confusion; their right extending a little beyond the King's Bastion, their left nearly opposite to Waterport. Our batteries could not open upon them more than about ten minutes before they began their fire, seconded with all Monsieur de Crillon's artillery. The regiments remained undisturbed spectators on their respective parades to the South, except such officers as chose from curiosity to risk reprehension, and to be eye-witnesses of the gallantry of the artillery, or to animate by their presence, if necessary, the men of their respective corps employed on the batteries, or on duty in the ruins of the town.

But no man stood in need of encouragement; and yet it may be affirmed, that such a shower of shot and shells, in various directions, would have prevented any soldiers from doing their duty with effect, but such as had been in the daily habit of being exposed to danger for near two years.*

Yet, after many hours of this trying situation, their efforts

* "Our artillery allowed the enemy every reasonable advantage, in permitting them, without molestation, to chuse their distance; but as soon as the first ship dropped her anchors, which was about a quarter before ten o'clock, that instant our firing commenced. The enemy was completely moored in little more than ten minutes. The cannonade then became in a high degree tremendous. The showers of shot and shells which were directed from their land-batteries, the battering-ships, and, on the other hand, from the various works of the garrison, exhibited a scene, of which perhaps neither the pen nor the pencil can furnish a competent idea. It is sufficient to say that four hundred pieces of the heaviest artillery were playing at the same moment; an instance which has scarcely occurred in any siege since the invention of those wonderful engines of destruction." *Drinkwater*, p. 284.

still appeared to be unsuccessful; they had long found the range of the battering ships of war, but now, when it was near sunset, their fire, and that from the enemy by land, continued still incessant, unabating, and well directed; penetrating through the merlons of the old thin wall between the bastions, killing and wounding numbers there, and, most probably, shaking the foundations in places which we did not see.

Our well-directed fire appeared, even at that hour, to have no effect; our balls seemed to rebound into the sea, and even such shells from the thirteen-inch mortars as struck glanced off the shelving roofs, composed of logs, and did them not the least apparent injury; yet shells of this nature, when loaded, weigh above two hundred pounds upon the ground, and where they fall from their elevation, as that weight increases every instant of the fall, we might suppose the shock to be irresistible; accordingly, wherever they fall on our most solid fortifications, they never fail to make such havock as requires time and prodigious labour to repair. Of what sort of materials, it was then naturally asked, can these formidable engines be made, to possess a repelling and elastic power to so very wonderful a degree?

It occurred to many that our artillery-men must soon be exhausted with mere bodily fatigue; and now, that the wind had subsided to a breeze, and the sea was smooth, their whole train of gun and mortar boats and all their ships of war were every hour expected; they however never appeared, and the men declared that, had they but a short refreshment, they could stand to the guns for eight-and-forty hours, whatever might be apprehended. One hundred sailors now arrived to their assistance, and their refreshment was a draught of water from the fountain and such salt provisions as could be brought. After this short abatement, their fire was renewed with redoubled vigour, and red-hot shot continued to be wheeled from the furnaces, and were put into the guns with the same speed and dexterity as if they had been cold. A little before dark the enemy hoisted a chequered flag, which inspired some hopes that all might not be quite so well with them on board; some lucky shot, entering their embrasures, were heard to ring against their cannon, and several ten-inch shells, sent with a fortunate horizontal direction from our howitzers, were seen to enter in the same manner, and

some at last to stick in their sides, and afterwards explode; a considerable and increasing smoke was seen to issue from the vessel of their admiral, but was soon extinguished. To what purpose then was all our fire? It was directed against masses composed of cork, of wool stuffed hard, of the largest cables laid the one above the other, and of earth rammed in to fill up every chink. The very wood, it was said, was soaked in alum piece by piece, and, wherever it was exposed, was covered with strong plates of tin,—as to the effect of alum upon wood, we were entirely ignorant; but the other materials were such as every one knew could scarcely be made to catch the flames; and the same truth, it was feared, was but too applicable to the solid mass which they composed, six feet in thickness.

With these unflattering ideas in the mind of almost every person in the garrison, the night came on; the regiments and their officers retired to take repose, not knowing how soon they might be called upon to withstand the enemy's assault; and the Duc de Crillon had often publicly declared that one-half of his army should be sacrificed, were it necessary, in order that the other might obtain his point; and that, in such case, no quarter should be given to the garrison. The Marquis de Santa Cruz, from whose book all these operations have received almost implicit directions, strongly inculcates the same principle—that only the chief officers should be spared. Such declarations would have served our purpose well, and could not have failed, if the trial had been made, to have produced the most desperate resistance from every individual, when the principle of self-preservation was so intimately connected with their duty to their king and country; they were not lost for want of industry on the part of the officers in spreading them amongst the people.

It soon appeared, however, that ours was not a situation in which we could expect repose; and events, very different from what we expected, soon occurred to interrupt every disposition of that nature.

First, about eleven at night a boat was seen approaching to the shore, which, on its coming near, was discovered to be floating on its side, with twelve French soldiers and a Spanish officer upon it. The assistance they implored was sent to them, and they were received into the garrison. We learnt that the slaughter of

the enemy on board had been so great, that a reinforcement had been necessary; that they had been volunteers for that purpose, and had almost reached the vessel they were destined for, which was manned entirely by the French, when a shot from the garrison overset the boat, which had fourscore men on board; that they had floated above four hours in the water, between both the fires; that the tide had driven them in beneath our walls, where they every instant expected destruction; but being received in a different manner, and treated with great humanity, they seemed thankful for their preservation; and, on being asked, they shook their heads and said, "that, if we thought to destroy the battering-ships by our artillery or by fire, we might spare ourselves the trouble of making the attempt; that whatever numbers we might kill on board could be of no avail, for their whole army and their fleet would eagerly crowd to supply the places of the slain, well knowing that it could not require any great length of time to make a sufficient breach." Nor were these opinions given with an air of gasconade; they appeared nothing more than the creed with which the enemy were universally inspired.

But the hour was at hand when these their sanguine expectations were to be as universally disappointed; for the admiral's ship burst out in flames a little after twelve,* and the cannonade from all of them began to slacken, while ours increased. Another soon, and then a third, took fire, not in the same manner as the admiral's, but slowly, and with a progress hardly visible for nearly two hours, till the flames gradually insinuated, and, established to a certain pitch, then rapidly increased in fury.

Then were heard the shrieks of horror, of agony, and despair, rendered more striking from the perfect stillness of the night, the scene illuminated to a distance and at hand as bright as day, closed in the background with the rugged declivity of Gibraltar, towering to the sky, and projecting upon every side defiance to two haughty nations.

The dawn was now approaching fast, and, our twelve-gun boats being manned, Captain Curtis, of the navy, sallied forth with them, directing their fire against the approach of boats which might attempt to carry off the people from the ships; but nearly all of

* The fire previously kindled not having been sufficiently extinguished. *Ed.*

them had already retreated, and daylight increasing discovered only three boats just putting off from them, and several already at a distance. One of these three immediately was taken, one escaped, the third attempted to row off, but was struck by a ball from our boats, which wounded five men and pierced her sides.

But the attention of Captain Curtis was soon called to objects of a far more interesting nature to humanity, the entreating cries and gestures of the people that were still on board,—and every ship was now on fire but one; he listened only to the dictates of his feelings, and not to the suggestion that the gunpowder in the ships would soon catch fire. He was already in the midst of them, when one of them did actually blow up with a prodigious explosion, totally enveloping our boats, and involving the whole garrison in a state of prodigious anxiety and suspense on their account,—this was not without cause, for one of them immediately was sunk; the people in her were saved, though not unhurt. Captain Curtis's helmsman was killed; fortunately he himself received no injury, and still persevered in his design of saving the lives of the enemy. He sent his boats on board of every ship, and nearly four hundred were rescued from destruction. He even ransacked the holds of several, and removed the wounded. Some infatuated wretches were employed in drinking spirits, and in search of plunder, losing thereby the opportunity of being saved. Of these there were in number three, who afterwards appeared upon the decks, cured of their intoxication by the terrors of approaching death in the various choice of horrible appearances, whether by the flames, by drowning, or explosion of the powder. In vain they stretched their supplicating hands, falling on their knees, entreating our assistance, uttering the yells of despair, and at length of madness. No boat durst venture to approach them; the most positive orders had been given that no one should attempt it, and the boats had been hauled on shore. Captain Curtis had well nigh been destroyed a second time, another vessel having blown up the moment after he had taken out the prisoners, some of whom were up to the neck in water to relieve themselves from the scorching heat; and, strange to say, the enemy directed every mortar they could bring to bear upon our boats while they were thus laudably employed. On these three wretches then the eyes of thousands were engaged for nearly an hour, forming a thousand fruitless wishes for their pre-

servation, till two of them were seen at length to throw themselves reluctantly into the sea, and one remained the only victim. He retreated from the fire to various quarters of the vessel. He appeared repeatedly as if he was preparing some materials to float upon, and as often laid the enterprise aside. At length he was obliged to take refuge on the bow, still followed by the flames. He was at last compelled by them to quit his hold, which he contrived however to regain, after floundering in the water like a drowning man; he hardly was replaced when the wreck blew up, and he was seen no more. The other two were saved; one, though it appeared he could not swim, yet gained a piece of wood and paddled with his hands, assisted by the tide, till he gained the Spanish shore, none of our sentries offering to fire upon him. The other, by being a remarkably good swimmer, had well nigh lost his life; he at first depended too much upon himself, and, being soon hurried out of the reach of the floating materials, swam half way to Spain; he most likely would have gained his point, one deserter having swum into the garrison during the siege, the distance being about two miles, but the tide turned and hurried him back among the burning ships. Having fortunately gained a barrel, he was taken up by our boats after being above six hours in the water. His joy at being saved, and indeed that of all the prisoners, was next to being frantic.

When they were saved there then remained nothing to interrupt our attention to the vessels burning on the water, and the prodigious explosions which they formed; particularly one which contained their magazine. After it had burnt almost an hour, we felt everything near us tremble; there was a thunder from it which was dreadful; but the cloud which it formed was beyond all description, rolling its prodigious volumes one over another, mixed with fire, with earth, with smoke, and heavy bodies innumerable, on which the fancy formed various conjectures while they rose and fell, till, the whole arriving at its height in a gradual progress of near ten minutes, the top rolled downwards, forming the capital of a column of prodigious architecture, which a first-rate painter must have been eager, though perhaps unequal, to have imitated.* Thus perished seven of their vessels before twelve at

* Of all the painters who have since attempted the subject of Gibraltar, not one has in any degree succeeded in the point of time here alluded to. Patoun's four

noon, and two were burnt down, the enemy having themselves drowned the powder. One remained entire, and we flattered ourselves that we should possess her as a trophy; but, for reasons unknown, a boat was sent on board of her by the governor's command, with an officer of the navy on board of her, and she was set on fire, blazing out in a far more sudden manner than any of those which had been burnt by the red shot.

The governor took his place on the King's Bastion during almost the whole of the attack; the lieutenant-governor on the South Bastion.

Such is hitherto the event of the long and immense preparations against Gibraltar, towards which, we flatter ourselves, the eyes of all Europe have been turned for some time past; a glorious recompense to the garrison for three years of a situation irksome and disagreeable from many causes which shall now be nameless.*

In continuation.—October 2nd.

I can now add some particulars to what I have above related. The prisoners say they were sent on board five days before the attack,—some volunteers, but most in the ordinary tour of duty; that there were about five thousand men on board; that the ships mounted one hundred and fifty-eight new brass twenty-six pounders, and had several spare guns in each. Two-thirds of each crew were below, under the surface of the water, and relieved the decks alternately; they were there almost suffocated for want of air. They mention that several of our shells entered at the ports or embrasures, and killed and wounded between thirty and forty men each time. A frigate cruised behind as a hospital ship. They complain bitterly of their countrymen having left them to perish in the flames. By the way, most of them are Frenchmen; and they say the Spanish officers shoved them aside on that account.

pictures, in the possession of Alderman Boydell, and which also are engraved, are by far the best, and indeed are excellent, except the morning scene.

* "The enemy, in this action, had more than three hundred pieces of heavy ordnance in play; whilst the garrison had only eighty cannon, seven mortars, and nine howitzers in opposition. Upwards of eight thousand three hundred rounds (more than half of which were hot shot) and seven hundred and sixteen barrels of powder were expended by our artillery. What quantity of ammunition was used by the enemy could never be ascertained." *Drinkwater*, p. 293.

The antipathy between the two nations is infinite; the Spaniard hates from the bottom of his soul the Frenchman, who in his turn only does the other the honour to hold him in supreme contempt. They had, however, all intended to make a much longer stay in these vessels, having ten days' provisions on board. They had a priest on board of every ship, one of whom, according to the French reports, was so frightened a little before coming on that he let the Bon Dieu fall into the water, and that many attributed their failure to that piece of unintended sacrilege. Whether this was merely a French *jeu d'esprit* or not, it is certain that two of the priests remained in the exercise of their functions, and were made prisoners. Our balls, though they glanced off at first, yet they say at length so shook the fabric of the ships as to make way for the red-hot shot. A certain signal of lights which was fixed upon in case of the extremity of distress, being hoisted at midnight, occasioned the utmost consternation in the fleet; three boats were instantly ordered from every ship to carry off the people. The boat of the Terrible, a Spanish seventy-four, was one of those that were taken. They were all made to believe that we could not fire above one red shot in an hour from a gun, and that it was against the rules of war. Not one accident happened to any of our men in firing red-hot shot that day, and but one during the siege.*

* *Contents of the concluding chapter of Drinkwater's History of the Siege of Gibraltar.*

"The combined fleets remain in Gibraltar Bay, being determined to oppose the relief of the garrison—Captain Curtis visits the enemy's camp to establish a cartel—Enemy raise additional works—The combined fleets greatly distressed by a hurricane—A Spanish line-of-battle ship is driven under the walls of Gibraltar, and submits to the garrison—At this juncture the British fleet appear in the Straits, but the convoy unfortunately pass the rock to the Eastward—Letters received from the British ministry by the governor—The combined fleets, after making repairs, follow the British fleet, but avoid an action—Lord Howe conducts the convoy safe into the bay, sails to the Westward, and is followed by the combined fleets—Enemy's cannonade diminishes, and the fire from the garrison increases—Enemy establish a post under the rock near the Devil's Tower—Repeat their attacks from the gunboats—The Duke de Crillon acquaints General Elliott that the preliminaries of a GENERAL PEACE had been signed—Hostilities in consequence cease—The Emperor of Morocco sends a present of cattle with a letter to General Elliott, who soon afterwards receives from England official accounts of the peace—Interview between the Duke de Crillon and the governor—The governor views the Spanish batteries and lines at San Roque—The Duke returns the visit, in the garrison—Ceremony of investing the governor with the Order of the Bath—Sir George Augustus Elliott's speech to the garrison, upon communicating to them the THANKS of the King and Parliament for their DEFENCE OF GIBRALTAR." p. 302.

EXTRACTS

FROM

THE JOURNAL OF A RESIDENCE

AT THE

CAPE OF GOOD HOPE,

AND OF

A SHORT TOUR INTO THE INTERIOR.

BY

LADY ANNE BARNARD,

ADDRESSED TO HER SISTERS IN ENGLAND.

INTRODUCTION BY THE EDITOR.

THE following Journals are interesting as depicting the state of the Cape of Good Hope at the moment of its capture by the English towards the close of last century, and as suggesting the moral that sympathy and love are like the magician's salve, which reveals beauties and treasures where the merely selfish eye discerns nothing but briars and thorns,—there is no spot so barren, no character so commonplace, as not to brighten under such sunshine. This is a precious receipt for the economy of life,—and no one ever benefited more by it than Lady Anne, of whom I may truly say, in her own words descriptive of another,

> "Happy she lived, for happy is the mind
> That still through kindest medium views mankind."

RESIDENCE
AT THE
CAPE OF GOOD HOPE,
&c. &c.

We sailed into Table Bay at the hour of noon on Thursday the 4th of May, 1797.—And now, mine own good souls, *myne lieve moye goede vrowen,* let us *causer* of Caffres, Hottentots, men, women, unicorns, mountains, cameleopards, ostriches, flowers both wild and tame, bays both False and true—permitting me sometimes to regret, as I always must do, the bad use I have made of my earlier years, which, had they been improved as much as you two have improved your later ones, would have made my journal here more worthy of your reading.

It was no small mortification to me, when we cast anchor in the Bay, to find the view all around intercepted by so thick a fog, that I could only see the Trusty and Chichester within a hundred yards of us, but nothing farther. But in the afternoon the sun began to break through the clouds which had obscured him—the Table Mountain got rid of the white damask table-cloth which hung halfway down its sides—the Lion's Head, in form a gigantic dome such as fancy would form for the temple of Fame, appeared above the necklace of vapours which encircled its stupendous throat—the Lion's Rump and Devil's Hill cleared in a moment—the ships were dressed and manned—the Trusty saluted the Governor* as he departed, attended by two other boats; while the Table Mountain, Lion's Head, Devil's Hill, and mountains behind mountains, by the hollow thunder of their echoes informed us they knew who was come, and acquiesced in the salutation to the representative of their new Monarch.

Nothing could form a finer scene,—the outline of the country, bold, daring, but calm—the fine day which at once broke upon us

* The Earl of Macartney, whom Mr. Barnard had accompanied to the Cape as Colonial Secretary.

—the business we came on, to take possession of the conquered land before us—that land, as it appeared from the general face of it, so well able to have defended itself, had it been properly governed—its capital in view, by no means a collection of huts reared by peasants, but a respectable town, clean, correct in its regularity, and ill assorted only to the place it stood on from its lowness, giving it rather the look of an encampment—altogether, as I stood on the poop, I was pleased—pleased with the novelty and the feelings created by a scene unlike anything I had ever before been a party in. I wished you both beside me; I never can see anything I like without doing so.

I had scarce got my pencil and settled myself with my portfolio on my knee to take the best view I could of what was before me, when I heard, "Well, now, my dear good crater, Lady Anne! tell me how you think I look, and what I shall do, for S—— is not come yet!"

It was the S——'s own sweet self, sure it was! in a new riband mounted on an old bonnet, prepared to meet her husband, —having at my entreaty given up the idea of "supprising" him at his own lodgings. It is always dangerous to "supprise" a husband, when he supposes himself at six thousand miles' distance from his wife.

"Ah! there he is!" pointing to the parade at a little distance from the beach—"there he is, I dare say, drawn up to receive the Governor; else he would have been here for me!"

She then told me that she had desired the quartermaster's wife to let Mr. S—— know of her arrival, and to deliver "a bit of a letter" from her.—Ere long a sergeant arrived to conduct her to him, who, though he brought no letter, gave us so simple an account of the joy and wonder he expressed on hearing of his wife's being come, that we were all relieved on the poor woman's account, who had braved some dangers and a world of inconveniences to join a husband who we rather suspected did not wish for her company,—indeed he could not have wished for it, while he supposed it must have run him deeply in debt to pay for it. He knew not of David Scott's and Mr. Clements' generous subscriptions, nor could he foresee how unpolished affection could move the polished hearts of the Under Secretaries of State.

The S—— departed, shedding tears and blessings on us all, as

she was cheered.—"I may be very happy where I am going," said she, "but—I never shall forget the Sir Edward Hughes, nor the civilities and kindness I have there met with—though the gentleman tazed me a little to be sure, but, sweet craters, it was all in play!"

The evening was now come, and, having received the information we had sent for, viz. where we were temporarily to lodge, the boat set off from the ship, and in half an hour we rowed up to the quay, and landed at the Cape of Good Hope.

We had not long established ourselves before we found that great expectations had been formed from us. I was supposed to be a sort of binding cement, such, I presume, as the castles of antiquity were formerly made with, light, strong, and powerful, towards the associating together the scattered atoms of society,—and had they stopped there, they would have been right; but they hoped further—balls, card-parties, races, a theatre, an opera, and the introduction of many London amusements such as they supposed I must be a prompter of, and must tire without, having lived all my life in the midst of them.

They "knew but little of Calista" if they supposed I should reckon a small society improved by public amusements, or a place in its infancy as to riches, conveniences, taste, and luxury, mended by having amusements introduced that belong to a much farther advanced period. I had once, you know, meditated on having a little theatre in our own house, on the supposition that the place was much less than I found it, the parts to have been filled by officers, by ourselves, and the few English ladies who were here; but I found the size of the Cape too wide to render this a necessary resource to fill up time with gaiety and innocence, and too little to render a public theatre at all eligible. No—what I wished chiefly to effect was, if possible, to bring the nations together on terms of good will, and, by having public days pretty often at the Castle, to reconcile the Dutch to the sight of their masters by the attraction of fiddles and French horns. This however was not to be effected in a moment.

Here was the Governor arrived—a circumstance which Mynheer never believed would take place. Long talked of, without ever

appearing, they had fondly flattered themselves that the place would be ceded on a peace by the English, and that, foreseeing this, it was thought unnecessary to be at the expense of sending an establishment from home that was not to remain.

Sir James C——, on the capture of the place, being too eager to obtain it, or rather too eager to be himself the person to obtain it, had certainly made a capitulation unnecessarily (and, I fancy, in some respects improperly) beneficial to the Dutch. Everything was in our power, and we might have made the terms, I am told, ourselves, and ought not to have tied up our own hands by some of the articles from certain fair taxes necessary to make the place pay a part of the heavy expenses it was likely to cost us for securing its prosperity and safety. But, having obtained it, Sir James next longed for that influence in it which he thought would be best secured by obligations heaped on it,—the friend and protector of the Cape people, he was not simply the protector of their honest gains, but the protector of every imposition they could put on the troops, in order to buy popularity—(remember, I simply, like a parrot, repeat the things I have heard),—he was justified for this in his own opinion by knowing that a Governor was soon to arrive, and that, till he did, the indulgences he himself granted could only be esteemed temporary ones.

The price of everything soon rose to three times the original value. The burghers sent servants by daybreak to watch for the waggons that brought in provisions from the country; they bought up the articles at the old rate, and sold them again to the English at their own price. Whenever Sir James saw that an unpleasant new rule must be made, he proposed it upon the arrival of the new Governor. This, though at first productive of much gain to the Dutch, after a time produced inconveniences; while they were thus making money, they were not sure how far other speculations were to be ventured on; the Governor talked of did not come; business was carried on on no fixed basis; no one knew exactly what to hope or what to risk,—all would have been pleased (the Dutch, I mean) had Sir James remained, supposing an English Governor to remain here; but all would have been better pleased to have thrown off a yoke entirely, galling to their pride, however salutary to their interest.

Meantime, after having expected and expected, waited and

waited, the arrival of Lord Macartney put an end to all further doubt. To know the worst becomes even a sort of vile happiness after suspense, and the arrival of his Excellency in the bay, with all that consideration which attends his character and rank, gave them, I believe, that sort of cold bath which at once shocks the frame, braces the constitution, and gives a new spring to exertion.

According to the hopes and views of the different burghers here, they hastened to wait on Lord Macartney, or preferred remaining in the shade; those who were in the Jacobin interest secreted themselves in their own houses, and were sick, had the gout, or were under affliction. Many of the public men, too much noted to be left at liberty, went,—but, in their hearts, I believe, would have been glad to be excused.

I soon observed that, while Sir James stayed, Lord Macartney would endeavour to collect materials and digest his plans on the experience of his predecessor, without bringing forward any ideas of his own. He paid great deference to the opinions of Sir James in everything, and shewed himself to be completely a man of the world in all its best acceptances; while the other, vain and simple-hearted, permitted himself to be soothed and flattered out of the mortification he was ready to feel on being superseded in the government of a country his arms had captured,—but I was told that administration never permits the person who has conquered to govern afterwards, as it might establish a claim to do so; and of nothing is a minister so jealous as a right to expect what he might otherwise be disposed to confer.

The people of the Cape having had it notified to them that during a certain portion of time (which was an ample one) they might come from all quarters and take the oath of allegiance to King George III., the gates of the Castle were thrown open every morning, and I was surprised at the number I saw of well-fed, rosy-cheeked men, well powdered, and dressed in black, walking in in pairs and with their hats off—a regulation on entering the Castle on public occasions which in former days Dutch pride imposed. They were succeeded by the *boors* from the country—farmers and settlers,—who arrived from a great or greater distance; I thought that many of them seemed but ill affected to the errand they came on,—they shook hands with each other, but

they shook their heads too in a manner that said, "There is no help for it! We must swear, for they are the strongest."

The size of these sulky youths, all dressed in blue cloth jackets and trowsers, and very large flat hats, was enormous; most of them were six feet high and upwards, and stout in proportion,—I was told that at five or six hundred miles' distance they often reach seven feet. All came in their waggons, bringing a load of something to market at the same time. The Hottentot servant who crept behind each, carrying his master's umbrella, seemed to owe but little to Nature for beauty, constitution, or worldly gear; a piece of leather round their waist, and a sheep's skin round their shoulders, was all their dress,—sometimes a scarlet handkerchief was tied round the head, sometimes an old hat was ornamented with ostrich feathers, but the head was generally bare, and studded only with little black curls of the size of peas, through which no comb can pass. I cannot say that I think the Hottentots so uncommonly ugly or disgusting as they are reported to be; their features are small and not ill shaped, the expression of their eyes is sweet and inoffensive, their cheek-bones are certainly immense, and one misses the cheek altogether; but they are not uglier than the slaves from Mozambique, who have uncouth features but fine persons. I must try to catch a face of every different caste or nation here; the collection cannot be short of twenty.

And now a word of the polished part of society, and of the reference we stand in to each other.

The first opportunity I had of judging of the potentates of the Cape was at a ball given by Sir James C—— to his Excellency on our arrival. The Government House in the Gardens, which he had not then quitted, was lighted up with every lamp which could be had for love or money, and the walks, shaded with oaks on each side, where "every alley had his brother," were light as the day, each being terminated by a something complimentary, which the superseded General had left it to his aides-de-camp to contrive.

When we entered the ball-room we found it lined with two rows of ladies, all tolerably well dressed, and all "mad in white muslin." I had expected to find them handsomer; but here was no real beauty to be seen, no countenance, no manner, no graces, no charms, though plenty of good looks and the freshness of health,

with a vulgar smartness accompanying it, which spoke the torch of Prometheus which animated them to be made of mutton-tail. They danced without halting a moment, and in a sort of pit-a-pat tingling little step, which they have probably learnt from some beauty on her way to Bengal. Upon the whole, they were much such women as may be found in a country town at an assize ball a great way from the capital,—and, saying so, I do not think I disparage their appearance.

What they want most is shoulders and softness of manners,—the term, "a Dutch doll," was quite explained to me when I saw their make and recollected the dolls; but what is most exceptionable about them is their teeth and the size of their feet. A tradesman in London, hearing they were very large, sent a box of shoes on speculation which almost put the colony in a blaze, so angry were the fair ones—but day by day a pair were sent for by a slave in the dark, till at last the shoes vanished. Mrs. B—— tells this story of the immense size of the shoes whenever she can,—her foot is pretty, and her white satin slipper a handsome one—"Sure you do not think my *voot* so *fery* large, do you, *Sur?*"

At this ball, however, we all resolved to be pleased with everything, as honesty here would by no means have been the best policy.

I was surprised to see so small a portion of the military—no ensigns, lieutenants, or their wives; but I soon found out that it was the *ton* of the general officers to discountenance the subordinate ranks from mixing in society. Of Dutchmen there were still fewer; the young ones preferred smoking their pipes on the *stoop** to the late hours and hot rooms; the Fiscal (head officer of justice), the President of the Court, and two or three other men in public situations, appeared and vanished, being almost afraid of being seen there by each other,—they cannot divest themselves of the opinion that the English will be obliged to cede the place to the Dutch or to France on a peace, and live in awe of the Jacobin party here, who would be glad to report those now in power as partisans of the English Government, and by that means get themselves introduced into their places in case of a change.

The Fiscal and President, I am told, have taken their line

* A long brick platform with a stone seat at each end, in front of the Dutch houses at the Cape. *Ed.*

decidedly in favour of the English, and feel at present the benefit of it. The Fiscal is a man of an excellent character, and the pleasantest companion in Africa, talking English sufficiently well to be at no loss for words. The President of the Court of Justice pleased me less,—his manner is rather too obsequious, and his smile too ready.

A month or six weeks having carried away our friends, the number of our dinners was diminished, and our time so much more our own; that Lord Macartney whispered to Mr. Barnard that he might now look out amongst the small country-houses which Government had to bestow for that which would suit us best, and proposed to ride out a few mornings with Mr. Barnard to inspect all and bring me the report.

With the offer of such a boon, and the knowledge that there was a pretty little place called Paradise at the back of the Table Mountain, half-way up the hill, my husband recommended it to me to steal there next day early, that I might be prepared on the subject. I agreed—delighted to think how much more fortunate we were than our first parents, who found

> "the world before them, where to chuse
> Their place of rest,"

but—the gates of Paradise shut on them.

Early in the morning we set out under the pilotage of Mr. S——'s lately purchased coachman; but on reaching the bottom of the hill he shook his head—he could proceed no farther—pointing to us to walk up. We soon found his reason; the ravines or gullies made in the road by the torrents from the mountains being so deep, that when I jumped across, had my foot slipped I know not whether I might not have found myself in England. However charming Paradise might be, it appeared to us an impossible thing to think of the place; but we walked on to the house, having come so far to see it, between rows of aromatic bushes which scented the air with an odour potent and pleasant in the extreme.

I was enchanted with the flowers, and stopped to pluck up their roots. Barnard laughed at my ardour, saying, "Stop, stop, you will find plenty of time for this by and by."

At last we reached a small house where wood is kept for the use of Government, and, shadowed by the silver-trees which clothe the brow of the hill, turned round to admire the wide plain before us, bounded by the Hottentot hills and by a range of numberless mountains rising behind each other, the sea appearing to the right, and, after it made the circle of the continent, rolling into the little Bay of Memenburg before it proceeded on to the larger one of Simmons Town.

The world indeed seemed all before us, and mental vision might have painted the distant country fertile, but here there was not a trace of anything but sand and rock,—on turning round, tired of this cheerless prospect, a sequestered low road appeared, over which oaks met in cordial embrace. We pursued the path, which, suddenly turning, presented to us an old farm-house, charming in no point of architecture, but charming from the mountain which raised itself three thousand feet perpendicular above its head, with such a variety of spiral and Gothic forms, wooded and picturesque, as to be a complete contrast to the hill we had ascended or the plain over which we had gazed.

Before the house, which was raised a few steps from the court, there was a row of orange-trees loaded with fruit both ripe and green, which shadowed the windows. A garden, well stocked with fruit-trees of every description, was behind the house, through which a hasty stream of water descended from the mountain, and to the left there was a grove of fir-trees, whose long stems, agitated by the slightest breeze of wind, knocked their heads together like angry bullocks in a most ludicrous manner.

"Anne, what do you say to this?" said Barnard, in a tone of admiration.—"Say!" replied I, "that I am vexed to own that I like it of all things."—"And if you do, why should we not have it?"—"Because," said I, "the world's end is not so distant as this spot from the busy haunts of men."—"It is very charming, however," said he, with a sigh which put in for future consideration. —And, in fact, the result was, that, after visiting all the other places offered us by Lord Macartney, Paradise was finally determined on by Mr. Barnard. A new road to wind up the hill was to be made by him at his own expense—the house was to be put into habitable repair at that of Government; and as to painting, plastering, and furnishing, that was to be left to my taste and to

our purse. I was afterwards told that the acquisition of this little place, and the offence it gave to the military to have a blue coat favoured and a general officer refused, gave birth to a poem entitled 'Paradise Gained,'—had it been good I suppose I should have had it from some one, but it was only ill-natured.*

In one person's society was to be found everlasting entertainment, and instruction too, when we had him to ourselves. Lord Macartney was one of the best companions I ever met with, and Barnard, who was with him every morning, said those were the happiest hours of his day. I sometimes alleged that, while we all supposed them laying plans for the good of the colony, they were talking all sorts of nonsense by the side of the fire; for we had a fire—and grate too, be it known to you—which was a piece of great magnificence here.

The two gentlemen who had accompanied Lord Macartney to China and on other embassies regarded his manners to Barnard with an eye of wonder, though I did not think of jealousy. They had reckoned him cold, political, without a vulnerable part where he could be affected, but they had never tried to gain his heart, though they had served him faithfully. Dr. Gillan had loved him, and Dr. Gillan he loved,—a sentiment of this sort cannot exist on one side only. To try to love what we are bound to respect I take to be a good habit; it may produce excellent effects, and cannot produce bad ones.

His aides-de-camp, though both were young, gay as larks, handsome, and fine gentlemen in all the best senses of the word, I observed were as much attached to him as young men can be to an old man; and, as they were attentive, he was full of goodness and consideration for their amusement. "Go, go," he said, "do not stay with me—Franklin shall cut up the turkey to-day," —but they settled it with each other that Lord Macartney never should be without one of them.

* Mr. Burchell describes Paradise in his 'Travels,' as visited by him in 1812. The district, he says, "is rich in botany beyond all I could have imagined, and, as an European, I might say that we wandered through coppices of greenhouse plants, and forced our way through thickets of rare exotics." The air there "felt several degrees cooler than on the open plains below."—The cottage was then much dilapidated, and most of the beautiful trees had been cut down. *Travels in S. Africa*, tom. i. p. 34.

I certainly never saw a man who, in the small line of my experience, I thought so well calculated to make a good preceptor to a young statesman as Lord Macartney. Wary, well-bred, and witty, he was never to be caught off his guard; and where he could not grant (like the sweet-tempered Lord North), he gave the negative in a pleasant way, though sometimes, if he thought the request improper, with more of the epigrammatic than the other did. Such a tutor would have been an excellent one to counteract faults of an opposite description to his own; but he might have been a dangerous master to a similar disposition, by leading him to carry his distrust of mankind too far.

I remarked amongst other things the extraordinary respect he shewed to those who could give him information, or who had been in public departments,—but I may extend this remark, and say, to every man in his own line. "To be respected," whispered he to me, "one must begin with respecting." Subjects of conversation were never wanting to him; he talked to every man on the point he was best informed upon and on which he was likely to acquit himself best,—of course each man left his closet pleased with the impression he had given of himself to the Governor. The business of the conference over, he entertained himself with getting all he could out of everybody who had sense enough to discriminate,—but of those there were few at the Cape, the men being so uneducated that reflections did not spring up where nothing was planted. Of the women we had very unfavourable accounts from one who ought to have known the truth. The French, he said, had corrupted them—the English had merely taught them to affect virtue. "Grace à Dieu," said he, "ma femme est bien laide," and therefore he seemed to have no fears for her conduct, but as to that of any other woman in the Cape, he believed them to be "all the same."*

I take this verdict of course with some grains of allowance from

* "We have more marriages at the Cape every month," writes Lady Anne in 1800 to a friend in England, "and our brides generally lay in of fine boys about two months after marriage, so quick is vegetation in this country. I was at a wedding ball about five months ago, where there were two brides, sisters, married to a pair of brothers. Both lay in about two months ago. A rough English officer, sneering at the fathers, said, the children had 'come a little too soon.'—'Not at all, Sir!' said the Dutchman, answering literally, 'they came exactly at the proper time, but the marriages took place a little too late.'—I love a delicate distinction."

a man who is soured by circumstances, but it will put me a little on the watch, and determine me to get at the truth of his assertions without appearing to have heard anything of the matter,—though, were I to find them all well grounded, what then? I must know nothing. To fulfil my duty here, as the woman (in the absence of Lady Macartney) at the head of the Government department, civility and hospitality must be shewn to all the women, Dutch or English, who live on good terms with their husbands, and to all the Dutchmen who take the oath of allegiance to the English Government, and are of sufficient respectability to visit at the Castle.

Our residence in the Castle was now ready, handsomely appointed, and clean. Barnard invited the heads of the departments in their different lines to dinner, and left it to me to settle my balls and parties as I pleased. The dinners took place in an excellent style, and on this occasion Revel, our Swiss cook, filled his department to perfection, assisted by three or four of the female slaves belonging to Government, whom his Excellency gave us permission to have from the slave-lodge as servants.

As Barnard wished me to consult the Fiscal on the mode of inviting the Dutch ladies, I took an early opportunity to do so, and found that if I followed his advice I should keep the friends Government had, but would never make a new one. He threw in objections to every person who was, as he called it, disaffected, saying, "Leave it to me, and I will ask to your balls parties of true friends."

"But remember," said I, "if I dare venture to use words so sacred on the present occasion, that we are not come to call the righteous but sinners to repentance."—"Ah, then," said he, "if you are determined to bring the sheep and the goats all together into one fold, you must take the chance of our going to loggerheads."—"Not at a ball!" said I, "mon ami,

> "Music has charms to soothe the savage heart,
> To soften rocks, and bend the knotted oak."

—My jest prevented him from being mortified at my want of acquiescence, but as to the effects of the balls, I was right,—they were of much use. If the fathers who were lukewarm to

the English Government were sulky and stayed at home, the mothers and daughters always came, and to plough with the heifers has always been reckoned a good mode of improving a reluctant soil. The balls give me also the opportunity of obliging the juvenile part of the army and navy, who had been for some wise policy (doubtless) kept much in the background by their commanding officers, and who now got a little harmless amusement, which cost them nothing and made them grateful,—the first day of every month I gave a ball, and every Thursday a party for tea and music; the invitations were conveyed through the medium of the Colonels and Captains of the navy to the subaltern officers, and those of them who were best behaved and most gentlemanlike were sent by detachments to my balls and parties according to their pleasure, so good discipline was preserved; and, what was more, a good supper was given, laid for a hundred and fifty or two hundred persons, at a moment's warning, on tables brought ready appointed, where three or four hams, as many turkeys, and some dozens of fowls and ducks, venison, and other game vanished in the twinkling of an eye—as supper is the great meal here—along with pastry of all sorts, at which Revel's *savoir faire* shone bright.—The regimental bands afforded us excellent music, and received a payment which was to them sheer gain.

As to light, that was conducted on a more economical plan than in Europe. Our supper-tables were covered with wax candles we brought from England, or had since purchased from the captains of East India ships. Our lamps, which were numerous, were lighted, and well lighted, with the tails of the sheep whose saddles we were riding off on. It occurred to me before leaving England that it might be useful to carry with me to Africa the map of a sheep and ox, as I thought it likely that the Dutch butchers might cut them up in awkward forms,—I was not mistaken; my maps have turned greatly to my account here.

I had long been desirous of ascending to the top of the Table Mountain, and, the expedition being determined on, Barnard, to render the plan still more interesting to me, procured a dozen of slaves to carry up a tent, mattress, blankets, a little table, and camp-stool, together with provisions, that we might sleep on the

top of the mountain, and see the sun set and rise, when I could have the opportunity of making what drawings I pleased. It was an expensive party of pleasure, as it cost us five rix-dollars (a guinea) for each slave, but the occasion was an uncommon one, and in all countries particular jobs must be paid well to be cheerfully performed.

We left the Castle at six in the morning on horseback, attended by as many of our servants as chose to be of the party, and by Colonel Lloyd, Mr. Barrow, Dr. Patterson, and other gentlemen, together with a couple of female slaves. We ascended for the first mile by a winding path through rocks, each side of which was clothed with the waggombomb, with its bright yellow flowers, the silver-tree, whose leaves have the appearance of white satin, and the sugar-tree, which was covered with beautiful pink flowers with black seeds,—when the flowers are boiled they produce a syrup as rich as honey, and with this all the preserves in the colony are made. The ascent became then so tremendously steep that we were obliged to dismount and send our horses back to the Castle, scrambling up amongst rocks where cascades tumbled down and lost themselves in gullies beneath. The air was perfumed with the most delicious fragrance of numberless bushes, which composed a concord of aromatic harmony perfectly wild, and such as no one can imagine to themselves.

Here Barnard was obliged to consign me to the particular care of Mentor, a most intellectual slave, who knew the safest paths to ascend by; I might have reckoned myself his Telemachus if dress had decided the sex, as I had stolen a part of Barnard's wardrobe for precaution, which I found was eminently useful, but which made him, as I bounded up the rocks, laugh and call out, "Hey-day, Anne, what are these?"—"Yours! *myne lieve vriende*, my dear friend!" said I—"You must acknowledge it is the first time you were ever conscious of my wearing them."—Mentor, our guide, smiled, as he saw us smiling, and called me a *braave vrow*, a rare wife—so in gratitude you shall have his picture, which I drew when I got home. After crawling up an immense sheet of small stones, almost perpendicular—stones broken into pieces by the force of the torrents which the clouds discharge in volumes during the rainy seasons, we proceeded up through the gully which nearly cuts the mountain in two, and began to rise above

the world. The weather was mild and charming; the sun, now fully risen, warmed us with his fervent rays, which the mountain threw back on us with intolerable heat. I was surprised here to find so many pieces of leather as I did; it appeared as if the mountain had quickly made old shoes of new ones; but I suppose other scramblers had done as I did,—I took with me several pairs of the oldest I could muster, which are far pleasanter to climb in than new ones.

While Barrow darted at plants and fossils in hopes of finding something to report favourably of to the Governor, I got out my pencil to draw the rocks and jackalls, but Mentor pressed us to go on, which we did, making a turn in the ascent which at once brought us into the shade, and lowered the thermometer fifteen degrees. We all felt the sudden chill, and hurried to get out of this atmosphere, when, coming to a milder spot, I proposed a glass of port-wine to each, to counteract its bad effects and fortify us before we proceeded. We found here a cave, where slaves who have run away for crimes hide themselves, and where wood-cutters halt as they return with their burthens; the traces of bones and cooking were seen, but our party was too numerous to have anything to fear. At last a thousand feet more of rock were surmounted,—I left all the gentlemen behind, envying the "braave vrow" for the lightness of her heels, the effect perhaps of the lightness of her heart, and reached the top as tired as it was possible to be, but perfectly refreshed before they joined me.

What a wide extended barrenness presented itself all around! Oceans, points of coast, and hills were the only objects the eye had to dwell on. The Lion's Head (a high mountain) appeared a mole-hill beneath,—to find oneself three thousand five hundred feet above the level from which we had set out—to behold a considerable town more invisible than the smallest miniature which could be painted of one—to feel the pure air raising one up—it gave me a sort of unembodied feeling such as I conceive the soul to have which mounts, a beatified spirit, leaving its atom of clay behind. The view, the sensation, was full of ether—and I hope of something better. The plan of rendering the grey expanse "parlant" by my pencil was fixing my eyes to the scene.

"Well!" cried the honest Welshman, Colonel Lloyd, rubbing

his hands, "I don't know how it is with you—but I am very hungry—you said something about cold beef, did you not?"

I confessed I had, but, as it was too soon by an hour yet to make a regular dinner, I would give him just enough to keep body and soul together in the interim. Meantime, "there was a gun to shoot birds, and here was a spade for him to dig bulbs for me," —each went on his own pursuits, prowling on the flat top of the mountain—not on its grassy or its rocky top, but on its watery top, it being almost entirely covered with a thin pool about two inches deep, where succulent plants grew in abundance; but pebbles of a very pure white, some of which I carried away with me, seemed to be the chief produce of the soil.

"And now," said I, "Mr. Barrow, thou man of infinite charts and maps, explain to me all that I see before me, and what I do not see—what is this—what is that—where are the different bays I hear you all wrangling about—where can we effect junctions—why cannot we sail round this continent with as much ease as we sail round other coasts?—shew me the roads by which grain and cattle and wine come from the interior of the country, and do not suppose that I am to clamber to the top of the Table Mountain for nothing."

What he told me Mr. Dundas had—all is now forgotten. I only remember that he explained everything so intelligibly as to prevent me from appearing very ignorant afterwards, when the subjects were discussed. For particulars I refer you to his own scientific accounts, and mention Dessin and Robin Islands only. The last is not above a mile or two round, and it is here that vessels perform quarantine when suspected of having infectious distempers on board, particularly the small-pox, of which the inhabitants of the Cape have a horror beyond all belief, owing to its having on two occasions swept away the greatest part of the settlers.

To the improper treatment of the disease this may partly be owing, for no sooner had a person been seized with the complaint, than, looking on his recovery as out of the question, a short life and a merry one was their creed; and, provided the patient kept himself hot enough, he had liberty to eat, drink, and act as he pleased till the hand of death rendered him cold.

This little island, called Dessin or Rabbit Island, is dreadfully

exposed to the South-East winds. A gentleman told me of a natural phenomenon he had met with when shooting there; his dog pointed at a rabbit's hole where the company within were placed so near the opening that he could see Mynheer, Madame, and the whole rabbit family. Pompey, encouraged, brought out the old coney, his wife, and seven young ones, all, like the callenders in the 'Arabian Nights' Entertainments,' blind of one eye, and that the same eye. The question was, on which side of the island was the rabbits' hole? With a very little reasoning and comparing, it was found that from its position the keen blast must have produced this effect. The oddest part of this story is, that it is true—but I do not expect you to believe it.

But it was now time for the gentlemen to descend the mountain, which Mr. Barrow pronounced had nothing in it of sufficient promise to repay the trouble of further search; but before I gave to each the bumper of Madeira I offered to invigorate him for the descent, I requested that all might unite in the full chorus of "God save the King!" which was instantly complied with—every hill, the Lion's Head, Lion's Rump, Devil's Hill, Hottentot Mountains, each singing his part as they had done before, till "Great George" grew less at every turn, and at last gave up the ghost, like a private gentleman, in a valley.

While Pawell, Mr. Barnard's Brabanter servant, and the slaves pitched our tent on the top of the mountain on a bit of dry ground, I pitched the little camp-table Barnard had procured for me, and with my sketch-book and colours traced the effects of the setting sun before he dropped into the ocean, which encompassed in a zone the peninsula where we were placed. This done, Pawell surprised us very agreeably with a pan in which Revel had cooked forty snipes the day before, ready for warming up, as he knew my ladyship loved a bit of hot supper. Delighted with the snipes, which we put to flight in a manner which the pure air of the atmosphere I hope will apologise for—N.B. I believe we eat a dozen apiece at least—we begged our slaves might have our nice rump of beef, fowls, and ham; but not one of them would *scoff* or eat,—they shook their heads with a look of horror —"nae, nae,"—and I found that, owing to the ham having been put up in the same basket with the other articles, everything was contaminated to them.—But they too had their pan, and their

stew, which smelt so savoury and so odd, that I begged leave to taste it. It was composed of wild herbs fried up with coriander and many aromatic seeds, to which was added a little mutton-tail grease, which is more pure than butter, and plenty of the fish called *snook*, which I thought, when salted and dried, was one of the best fish at the Cape. This made a most incomparable mess, though one I never desired to partake of again from its unaccountable singularity.

Supper over, and no fear of wild beasts existing so near the town, the slaves lay down round the fire, and Barnard and I within our tent found a good bed, on which two hearts reposed themselves which were truly grateful for all the blessings conferred on them, but most so for their happiness in each other.

Next morning, as we descended the gully, I took the sketch of it which I annex. We reached the Castle in safety, well pleased with our excursion.

Amongst the few agreeable women who came to see me, there was one more improved and enlightened than the others. Her name was Van Ness. She was born in Holland, and had spent fifteen years in India,—her sister was married to a M. Bergh, a man of some consequence at the Cape, rather clever by nature, but, having been there all his life, he had no power of judging of anything by comparison; his fancy and his prejudices therefore made droll work of it. I find I am the more respected here for having been in Holland.

"Miledi," said Mynheer Bergh, after classing his ideas and preparing his lips for a short speech, "Dites-moi franchement—is the luxury of Holland or of London the greatest?" The question startled me a little, but I got out of the scrape by saying, that, "though the riches of Holland were very great, the taste for expense being in no proportion to it, there was less of luxury in the houses of the wealthiest people than he could well suppose." —This, of being able to spend without being willing to do so, quite contented the Dutchman.

I see he does not think we shall keep the Cape on a peace, and that its being ceded to the Dutch or French will be one of the preliminary articles. To this opinion, which is very general, Mrs. Van Ness told me privately was owing the coldness with which

civilities from the English were received. She thought the people were blind to their own interests—the country was richer and more flourishing in all respects than it had been before, but that the real strong party in Cape Town was the Jacobin party, which, under the mask of seeking for equality, was aiming at a superiority it had never yet tasted. She mentioned that there was a large body of *gens de couleur*, which were united in this, and that it was easy to know their principles by their countenances when bad or good news came from England; that the intelligence of the mutiny in our navy had been received with the words, "Courage, mon ami! courage;" and that the Dutchmen who seemed most attached to our government were only so because they should be obliged to quit the place if the French were to get possession of it, amongst which number was our friend the Fiscal.

Unfortunately the mutiny, which had so justly alarmed England, and been quelled with so much difficulty, had exported a young mutiny to our peaceful shores; and there was good reason to know that the navy had been tampering with the army in such a manner that it became necessary for the Governor to order the scarlet coats a little drilling in camp to get them out of the way of the blue coats. A camp was therefore established at Rondebosch.

Meantime my balls and parties went on prosperously. The Dutch ladies came to every party and to every ball, apologising for doing so to each other by finding me so very attentive to them that, as it pledged their husbands to nothing, they could not be otherwise than civil to me in return.—As to the men, the only amusements that interested them seemed to be sales, purchases from the ships that came into the bay, ceremonials, and funerals; the two first they live by—ceremonials suit their pride, of which they have got a good stock, but a splendid funeral is the joy of their lives; nor is youth and beauty in a wife so attractive as her being a good steady housekeeper while she lives, and having a pedigree of respectable *parens* so long as to be envied for it at her death, every name which can be counted on as a relation being invited by the public crier to the funeral, in whatever part of the globe the relation happens to be; and pall-bearers or such persons as have place in the procession have each a certain

number of dollars slipped into their hands in testimony of gratitude.

But do not suppose, while we amused ourselves, that the ascent to Paradise was forgotten. Would that we could have rendered it in all senses of the word still more easy than we did to ourselves and every one else! In former times it was a haunt of *plaisur* (as the Dutch ladies called it) for Sunday; they left their carriages with eight horses (the horses generally of iron-gray) at the bottom of the hill, and, with baskets of cold meat carried by their slaves, walked up the ascent, and ate their luncheon under the shade of the peach and pear trees with which the place was well stocked—though the tree of knowledge was not to be found in that garden. Barnard begged that he, being the Adam of this terrestrial paradise, might see the fair Eves who were accustomed to frequent it do so still, so, instead of their being Eve-droppers (skulkers about his grounds unapproved), here were the Sunday parties as before—the happy junketing parties of the old government renewed by the *yonge vrows* under the sanction of the present, and by no means unsupported by the military. This liberty however was an indulgence granted to Sunday only—the week-days we possessed our little abode in privacy. To give you one day of the minutiæ of country concerns at an African villa is perhaps enough, though on second thoughts you may probably be more amused with such little particulars than with anything I could tell you. Here follows then

A Day at Paradise.

At ten Jane accompanied Mr. Barnard and me on horseback, we in the curricle, with a cold fowl of the party, all deeply regretting that we could not transport the charming varied foliage which hangs over our rocks to a distance of fifty miles from London. Our new road, winding up the hill, is almost completed—no gullies to drive over by a board of stink-wood, enough to frighten us out of our senses—we found our almond and orange trees in blossom, fragrant, fragrant—our silver-trees appearing at a distance. Five hens are preparing to become mothers—a hundred chickens are not too many to expect from

those worthy chaperons, who from the warmth of the climate are not obliged to extend their wings so scrupulously as English mothers are. A goose is sitting in the same idea I see with respect to goslings—the gander shews her much more attention than he pays to the idle wife who waddles by his side.

A hyæna had appeared on the grounds in the morning to pass his verdict on our new poultry-yard. All were at roost, but I find his hopes are alive. He was a large one—four large dogs ran howling into the house while he prowled about. Wild cats appear in detachments, and, when the fruit is in season, baboons come in parties to eat it, but they are easily scared away. The best recipe to get rid of them is to catch one, whip him, and turn him loose; he skips off chattering to his comrades, and is extremely angry, but none of them return the season that this is done. I have given orders however that there may be no whipping.

I observe that the less polished the country, the more judicious are all the animals, little and large. The horses and bullocks are uncommonly sagacious here. The gardener's dog, however, shewed a miserable instance of folly this morning in having approached and barked at a cobra capella, who, had he not been frightened, would not have attacked him,—his bite was instant paralization to the poor dog. The serpent's hissing note may always put an animal on his guard, if he is not a fool.—I was entertained by the account of a plant which the gardener praises as being particularly useful; for, "if scraped upwards," said he, "it is a stout emetic, and if downwards, it is a strong physic." As I could not have convinced him to the contrary of what he told me he had the experience of every day in his life, I did not attempt it.

He had shot two beautiful swallows for me—their colour mineral green, with the tips of their wings of a rich brown, their heads and throats black and yellow; there is no taming of them,—in this and in their form they resemble our swallows, who skim over the surface of things but will not associate themselves in society. Every day in truth produces something to amuse one here, if time was not wanting to observe all. The sea affords its part, and sends forth occasionally such laughable fish, of all shapes, that it is quite entertaining; but the most entertaining fish are the obliging, honest, well-informed sea Captains, who are

for ever sailing into port with accounts of places so new, customs so odd, that the person who reckons this a dull place can have very little taste for innocent entertainment.

How sorry I should be to quit the Cape before I have been in the interior of the country, and got a sufficient number of drawings to leave as a *souvenir* in the hands of my dear Barnard, to prove how happy I was in it!—By the bye, I have tied up the heads of my prettiest flowers to-day in their gauze bags for my sisters. Mr. Barrow tells me there is an elastic spring in the receptacle which contains the seeds of flowers in this country; it starts open the moment it is ripe, and the air sheds it all around, which may account for the profusion of flowers of the same kind which is to be seen in spots. The day passed over amusingly to me,—and let me remind you that this is now the 1st day of November (1797), so that at three o'clock this day, and at two in England, will my dearest Margaret and I be talking together. Could I but plant you beside me with a thought, what a blessing it would be! I should not ask you to give up all your winter in London for my summer in Africa, but, from this time to the 1st of February, I think you would spend a happy, warm, and amused summer.—God bless you both, my two beloved sisters! and keep you happy if you are so, and make you happier if anything is wanting! Both deserve the best gifts that Providence can bestow (as far as a poor creature, blind and partial, can venture to judge), in reward for harmless and often for meritorious conduct, for the strong correction of yourselves where you think you err, your humble dependence on Him who made you, and for your tender affection to her who inhabited the first and same earthly house with you—I mean no building of stone, but the fair edifice of clay called my mother!

Drove to Stellenbosch, the residence of the Landrost of that district, the king of the place, or rather the viceroy. We had a most hospitable reception from him, his good-humoured wife, and pretty daughters. His house has rather a distinguished appearance; it is white as milk, and has some oaks before it, so large that they measured between twelve and thirteen feet round. A noble mountain rises behind it, and, to the left, one of spiral form,

which gives singularity to the scenery, but, as I drew the whole the next day, you may judge for yourselves.

Barnard having let it be understood by proclamation that the boors had liberty to take the oaths from the moment of his arrival till nine o'clock next day, when he should return to Cape Town to inform the Governor of their determination, seven of the twelve ill-affected persons judged it expedient to sacrifice their visions of future aggrandisement to their present comfort, and swore fidelity to George III.; the other five did not appear, and were immediately commanded to do so, at the distance of a few days, on pain of confiscation of property. Meantime, by nine o'clock, Barnard set off for Cape Town, to receive further instructions from the Governor, who ordered a party of horse to be stationed at a small distance from Stellenbosch the evening before the final decision, to be in readiness to escort the delinquents in case of refusal on board of the ship which lay under sailing orders for Batavia.

I amused myself during Barnard's absence by taking a plan of the village,—it is a beautiful one, regularly built, with one broad street, flagged over, and terminated by the church, three streets going off at each side from the main street. These large streets are the garden-grounds to the houses which compose them, and are planted with rows of large oaks; the houses being whitened every year give the whole the appearance of being conjured up instantaneously by the wand of some magician; and the spreading branches of the trees meeting at top form a green canopy over the seven alleys, which are thus always cool and rendered impervious to the rays of the sun.

When the village was first built, there were a variety of manufactures attempted there by persons of a little enterprise; but this was speedily discouraged by the Dutch Government in Fatherland, whose policy it was to repress every such exertion; it therefore soon became the asylum only for old age,—and under these oaks the evening of life is spent peacefully, coolly, and I trust happily, as people are supposed to live to a more advanced period of life here than in any other part of the colony.

As the day was not sultry, I walked off with Jane and a couple of slaves to take the general *coup d'œil* of the place from an eminence. From this spot I could judge that much more wine

might be cultivated on the rich soil which encompasses the town than *is* cultivated; but I doubt if a market could be found for it. There seems to be a general ill will harboured against the wines of the country, only because they are cheap; good wine may be purchased here by private persons at six-pence per bottle,—it is sold to the army and navy at ten-pence and a shilling at the wine-houses, which purchase their licences from Government, and are winked at for making a considerable gain on them, as it prevents the intoxication which would ensue if wine was bought too cheap by the soldiers. Our Englishmen, who, I observe, drink more from prejudice than skill, pronounce the Cape wines (the Constantia grape excepted) to be detestable, and reckon themselves ill used if they are put on the table in the house of an Englishman. I was entertained with a circumstance which happened lately at ours, when some Steine wine, which had been pronounced so bad as to be fit only for the purposes of the kitchen, having accidentally got beside a small quantity of very fine old Hock, which we reserved for Lord Macartney, was drunk up as such by the very men who had abused it, and who, having tasted it under a different impression, would not give it up till each had had his bottle. The Brabanter whispered me, "Dey haf *not* got my Lord's Hock, my lady—dey are socking in de kitchen wines, and I dare not tell um now, for they vill fancy dey are poisoned!"

The evening of the day specified for the appearance of the boors arrived—the party of dragoons being lodged in an unsuspected quarter. The Landrost and Barnard bestowed all their powers to persuade the sulky fellows to yield, but in vain; and the Landrost's wife, with tears in her eyes, said, "How can you answer to your wives and children for your conduct?"—but all being fruitless, the party of horse settled the business; and the five delinquents were carried off under a sufficient escort to Cape Town, in high spirits, convinced they should be set at liberty the moment they arrived,—but they knew not the Governor, if they conceived that obstinacy would carry its point with him.

After their departure, Jane and I went to church, though we understood nothing of their language. How very fat we found the people! many of them shewing evident tendencies to dropsy, all of the women passing thirty years of age weighing from fourteen to sixteen stone, and so prolific withal, that the Sunday

before twelve children had been baptized there, belonging to five mothers only. On asking from whence those useful mothers came, the reply was, "From over Berg Yarrow," from over the hills, whence everything good, greasy, and in quantity comes, I find.

Since I came to the Cape I have discovered that it is a bit of a reflection to be without a family here. One of the civilest of the Dutchmen, on hearing me say we had no children, exclaimed, "Oh miserauble, miserauble!" in such a doleful tone, that I believe I must give myself credit for half a dozen boys left at school for the future.

Next day we went to see two of Nature's singularities, a couple of stones which find themselves on the top of a high mountain, and are of such gigantic size as to appear conspicuous at twenty miles' distance. They are named the Paarl, or the Pearls, from their form, are without flaw, unique, single stones,* so large that it takes above half an hour for a man to walk round each; one of them is hollow, and it is said could contain twenty thousand men—*I* will say five hundred; and from their appearance at the foot of the mountain I think I can vouch for that being under the truth. In that part of the country, and particularly on the mountain, there is found the paint-stone of all sizes, in the heart of which there is a quantity of powder enclosed, of every colour but green; it is so finely ground and impalpable that it only requires to be mixed with oil to be ready for use,—the boors paint their houses, railings, carts, &c., with it. I picked up some of the small ones, and on cracking them found the powder. The Brobdingnag Paarl-stones had certainly made a colossal marriage of it—the hollow stone had been delivered of a shoal of little ones, which cover the surface of the country; and probably, if the great giant who stands entire had a slight incision made into him, he would pour forth paint enough to colour his own quarter of the world with yellow, black, or blue. One colour he doubtless has in him—but more than one none of them have, and, till cracked, no one can tell what that colour is to prove.

But we were obliged to press on a little further, to take an early dinner at the house of Mynheer Alleng, the clergyman of

* This however, I believe, is an error; they are part and parcel of the mountain on which they appear to stand. *Ed.*

that quarter, and, I must add, the only virtuoso I had heard of in Africa. We found him a man about six feet seven or eight inches in height, broad in proportion, and with the sweet and good-humoured countenance that I think is often worn by those who can amuse themselves. He was classing his shells and fossils, arranging the dried horns of wild animals, saving the seeds of such flowers as were ripe—for here there is no period of the year when some plant is not to be found in flower or fruit—and pruning a rose-tree, which he made me a present of, which carries seven different kinds of roses, and blows every day at four o'clock—an invaluable flower to a cook who has no watch, when that is the hour for dinner. But as this was but a young plant, I could not judge of its *savoir faire*, so I do not vouch for my story. I do for the vegetable wax which the Vrow Alleng's slaves were stewing from berries, of which I saw a stock of green dull candles made,—but they cost nothing, which is a merit in a Dutch ménage.

After dinner, our party, consisting of ourselves and the family of the Landrost, went to Waggonmaker's Valley, one of the most fertile spots, as we had been told, in the neighbourhood of Cape Town. Still—still I found the same want of plantation, of cultivation—excepting round the houses of the settlers; rich soil (as far as I could judge of it) remaining in unproductive barrenness for want of industry, though the grasping hope of possessing all the land between the settler and his next neighbour makes every man place himself at as great a distance from him as he can. Wherever there was diligence, it appeared to me to be amply rewarded by mother earth.

We proceeded on from the bottom of the mountain in the Landrost's carriage to Mynheer Veh's, where we were to spend the night, the coachman driving eight horses in hand with as much facility as an English whip would have done a pair. We were received at the door of a respectable-looking English farm-house by the good people themselves, whose manners were of a far more pleasing description than some others we had seen. The truth came out—Mynheer was an old Prussian soldier who had fought many a battle under Frederick, and had the liberality of thinking which a military life gives where a larger circle of the world has been gone over than that of Africa.

But his size, and that of his wife, was immense! A number of boors also, who were beginning to get reconciled to the English government, came to wait on the "Secretarius" and the Landrost, partly from curiosity, partly from policy. Coffee and *sopies* (glasses of wine) were handed round all the afternoon, the gentlemen smoking their pipes by us, while the Vrow Veh sat, like charity, covered all over with mice, seven little black naked creatures climbing on her back, scrambling up her knees, while in each arm she held one, looking at it with a mother's fondness. I found she had none of her own, for a wonder—and the husband and wife were so attached to their slaves that they meant to give them all their liberty on their death, and to divide amongst the deserving ones the whole of their property,—so I think those people have a good chance of being well served.—I wished that our friend Lord Monboddo had been of the party; how he would have crowed like chanticleer over the size of those men, in proof of his doctrine, that man, unsophisticated and uneducated, is a larger animal than what he is daily dwindling into by sloth and luxury.

The following morning Mynheer Veh carried us to see the orange-grove of his brother Latiga, who had planted it himself, and found it very productive. There indeed I saw the effects of cultivation displayed, for trees that had not been planted above thirty-six years were now above forty feet high, and so loaded with delicious ripe oranges, that he told me he had in the course of the last month sent twenty-seven loaded waggons to the Cape, at three dollars per hundred, and had as many more to send. I measured some of the trees, and found them nine feet in circumference.

While the rest of the company walked on, I shook my head at the youngest daughter of the Landrost, who was eating so many that I feared it would make her ill. "No, no," said she to the Brabanter, "tell the Vrow Barnard I have only ate eleven." I counted the number on one of the small boughs, and there were forty—I never saw a gooseberry-bush so loaded. I asked Mynheer what he should do with them; he could not sell all. Mynheer replied, "he was distilling spirits from them, as an experiment,"—it was above proof, for strength. Barnard bought a cask of it, for which he paid eleven guineas. I must here remark, for the benefit of gardeners, that the wonderful returns

made by this spot arose entirely from the manner in which the soil is constantly pulverized, manured, and watered.

We left this beautiful grove to return to Mynheer Alleng's, and the Landrost's family went home, promising to send us the lightest of his many carriages to Clapnutch, a military quarter, to which we might ride, and proceed in that carriage to Stellenbosch through the mountains. I secretly intended to get up betimes, and pay a visit to my gigantic friends on the top of the Paarl, but a heavy fall of rain raised the bed of the river we had to cross so very high that we gave up the attempt; and perceiving that Mynheer Alleng longed prodigiously for me to take drawings from some of his horns, I could not do otherwise than indulge one who had been so hospitably civil to us. You will therefore find the virtuoso encircled as we found him, and perfectly resembling the man as he sat. His company had afforded much entertainment to Barnard, and not a little satisfaction when he found his own Dutch was understood by the man of *virtù*, as it proved his industry in endeavouring to acquire it had not been fruitless.

My drawings, however, had made the vehicle of the Landrost wait too long. "Do not mind," said Barnard, laughing, "'it be used to it'—look at whose it lately was!"—How were we then entertained to find that the carriage in question was actually that of the old Duke of Queensberry, named 'Old Q.'—that weary *vis-à-vis* which had been in the habit of *waiting* for the last forty years at the door of Brookes' Club in St. James's Street! There was the ducal coronet, there were six horses to draw it (an apology from the Landrost for not being eight)—there was a Hottentot coachman, clad in his native charms—and well could he guide his beasts; but how a St. James's Street lounger would have laughed at our appointment! 'Twas no matter; it delighted Barnard and me, and made the fair Jane thank her stars in secret that neither of the aides-de-camp were there to quiz her.

We reached Stellenbosch in safety, and, after staying one night longer there, returned to the Castle.

I have not mentioned that the clerical virtuoso would not accept of any repayment for the accommodation of two nights; every Dutchman refuses, but all accept when pressed,—Mynheer Alleng seemed to be of a class of more sensibility, mixed with pride, than the others; but as Barnard had his sensibility too, you will na-

turally conclude that ten dozen of bottled porter, the greatest present that the colony could bestow, was appropriated forthwith for our kind host.

One word more is necessary to close the story of the boors. On our return the Governor would not listen to the petition of their wives, and the husbands gave up the point, took the oaths of allegiance, and had a certain number of the military (ten, and a subaltern officer) quartered on each for a certain time, as a punishment for the past.

Among other passing guests, we had a visit from Lord Mornington, with his brother,* on his way to India, to fill the station of Governor-General. As they were people we loved much, we certainly would have been happy to have accommodated them in the Castle, had not the prior claims of the A——s, as older friends, nearer friends, and poorer friends, made it impossible to sacrifice the holy motive to the agreeable attraction. But the bugs were so plentiful the following night at the honest Dutchman's where the Governor-General took up his quarters, that we could not resist his entreaties, and took him in, his brother, and their four servants, into our sanctuary. We lodged him in one of our back parlours, into which a little tent-bed is put, to hold the great man, and from which he has only to step out upon the bricks of our balcony to enjoy the cool air, as it hangs over a basin of pure water, supplied by a fountain descending from the Table Mountain, which raises its head above the tall oaks that encompass the pool, and afford a walk to the favourites of the back-yard, whom I now presented to the Governor-General, and of which number my little buck is the first. I reared him myself, without a mother, and he seems now to regard me as one, following me like a dog, and begging hard at night for Barnard's permission to sleep on my feet.

A couple of secretary-birds came next—majestic creatures, with long legs, black velvet breeches, and large wings, who strut about with an air much resembling that of some of our fine gentlemen. They have one singularity, as birds—they never eat standing—not even at luncheon, but sit down to dinner as regularly as we

* The Hon. Henry Wellesley, afterwards Lord Cowley.

do. I believe this is in consequence of the extreme length of their legs.

A sea-calf I next presented, who has been betrayed into living in spite of his teeth, as I gave him in charge to a slave, with orders to seize the golden opportunity of his bleating to insert the spout of a teapot into his mouth, and give him his bellyful of milk. He is a very foolish creature, half fish, half animal; but his countenance is more of the calf than the fish; his feet are fins, and his method of walking has too much of the waddle in it to be graceful, but when laughed at he plunges into the water, and is in his kingdom.

A penguin comes next upon the boards—the link between fish and fowl in the same degree that the calf is between animal and fish. The penguin is half the day in the pond with the calf, and half of it in the drawing-room with me. She resembles many old ladies who wear what were called *sacques* with long ruffles, and is more like a duck than any other bird. Her appetite is enormous, and she is very nice, as she must have everything raw and fresh.

Two jackals are the delight of all the dogs in the garrison, they are such coquettes; they come out of their hole every evening, and allow themselves to be chased all round the flat-topped wall of the fortress for about two hours; when tired, they creep within the gate of the castle, and get into the cellar by a broken pane, where they live secure, and do no harm.

Two young wild-cats are also of the party. Strange to say, these savage animals were nursed by the dog of the Brabanter, who prevailed on her, by dint of argument, to adopt and rear them, she having lost her own puppies, though she detested the cats, and was ready to bite off their heads; but when told by her master that she *must* nurse them, as they had no mother, Jacqueline gave up the point,—and no one could look at her disgust to them without being sorry for the animal while so employed.

A horned owl, more important than wise, and a beautiful green chamelion from Madagascar, made up the rest of this worthy society. But the buck possessed my heart, and soon won Lord Mornington's.

Every day produces something to entertain Lord Mornington; he has a levee every morning of yellow generals and captains

from India with despatches to Government, who stop here, and, finding his Excellency at the Cape, deliver up their official papers, which he opens, peruses, and by such means will arrive instructed on the present position of affairs there, and will appear a prodigy of ability in being master of all so soon after his arrival. The evening is fully occupied in gayer ways.

We were glad to accept of some invitations from the wealthiest of the Dutchmen while Lord Mornington was with us, to give him the variety he so delighted in. Though the Dutch love their money, they have so much pride that they will spend any sum on entertaining a great man, giving him courses on courses till he is ready to die with them. They begin their dinners *piano piano* with what we should reckon very ordinary fare, stewed cow-heel, which is a favourite dish, tripe, macaroni, water-souchy soups, and fish, but increase the size and number of their dishes every course, ending at last with enormous joints. Of this we had an instance at the table of our friend Dirk van Rhenin, who lived near us at Paradise, possessing in my opinion the only house at the Cape which had the air of a European mansion, and this, having been erected by his own slaves from an Italian drawing he happened to meet with, had a degree of taste in its architecture which I may fairly call unique.

Before we reached it we passed the gate of Mynheer de Vosse, which is more after the fashion of the Dutch. The name of Dirk van Rhenin's villa is the Brewery, he being the contractor for beer to the army and navy, and not a little afraid of having a colleague united with him in his licence, which he hoped to have possessed in monopoly from father to son; but new masters being likely to give new laws, he was but too happy to feed us with the fat of the land, to put the children of Government, as he supposed, into good humour.

The family received us all with open countenances of gladness and hospitality, but the openest countenance and the most resolute smile, amounting to a grin, was borne by a calf's-head nearly as large as that of an ox, which was boiled entire, and served up with the ears whole, and a pair of gallant young horns; the teeth were more perfect than dentist ever made, and no white satin was

so pure as the skin of the countenance. This melancholy merry smiler and a tureen of birds'-nest soup were the most distinguished *plats* in the entertainment. The soup was a mess of the most aromatic nastiness I ever tasted, somewhat resembling macaroni perfumed with different scents; it is a Chinese dish, and was formerly so highly valued in India that five-and-twenty guineas was the price of a tureenful of it. The springer also made its appearance, boiled in large slices—admirable! It is a fish that would make the fortune of any one who could convey it by spawn to England. The pastry was good—the game abundant, but ill-cooked—the beef bad—the mutton by no means superior—the poultry remarkably good—and the venison of the highest flavour, but without fat; this however was supplied by its being larded very thickly—all sorts of fruits in great perfection, pines excepted, of which there are not any at the Cape. Mynheer carried us after dinner to see his blow of tulips and of other flowers; the tulips were very fine, the carnations beautiful; all were sheltered from the winds which descend from the mountains by myrtle hedges. Our gentlemen returned delighted with the day they had spent, and very glad to have the prospect of another such.

Mynheer Cloete, of Constantia, one of the most opulent and worst affected men in the colony, had lately, in consequence of some attentions shewn to the ladies, given us an invitation to a cold collation at his country-house, to see the making of his wines, and taste of the admirable Constantia grapes, hanging then upon their stalks, half-dried into preserves by the sun.

The day was charming, the master of the house in good humour, having treated himself with an hour's sleep extraordinary in the morning, getting up at six to superintend his wine-press instead of five, his usual hour, as he foresaw he should lose his *slaap* after his dinner-hour, which was at present appropriated to our luncheon.

Till our hot vegetables were ready, along with our cold collation, Mynheer took us into the wine-press hall, where the whole of our party made wry faces at the idea of drinking wine that had been pressed from the grapes by three pair of black feet; but the certainty that the fermentation would carry off every polluted particle settled that objection with me. What struck me most was the beautiful antique forms, perpetually changing and perpe-

tually graceful, of the three bronze figures, half naked, who were dancing in the wine-press and beating the drum (as it were) with their feet to some other instrument, in perfect time. Of these presses there were four, with three slaves in each. Into the first the grapes were tossed in large quantities, and the slaves danced on them softly, the wine running out from a hole at the bottom of the barrel, pure and clear,—this was done to slow music. A quicker and stronger measure began when the same grapes were danced on over again. The third process gone through was that of passing the pulp and skins through a sieve, and this produced the richest wine of the three; but the different sorts were ultimately mixed together by Mynheer Cloete, who told us it had been the practice of his forefathers to keep them separate and sell them at different prices, but he found the wine was improved by being mixed together. I was astonished to hear a Dutchman say he did anything his father had not done before him, but when I said, "Would it not answer the same purpose if the various processes were finished off at once?" he shrugged up his shoulders and replied, "it had not been the custom." I eat some of the grapes; they were extremely sweet, but not so good in my opinion as the Honipot grape sent me by another neighbour, Mynheer Eckstein, a fleshy white grape, which is of the Muscatel nature and excellent.

At dinner the prejudices of our Englishmen got the better of their civility, and, instead of drinking the wines made by the giver of the collation, the old port, sherry, and particularly the claret of Mynheer was preferred; it had been immemorially in his cellar, as Governors-General do not appear every day. Mynheer seemed to be quite of the opinion of his guests however, and shared copiously in his own claret. "My wines," said he, "are valuable, and I am glad when others like them; but I do not,—who ever prizes what is made at home?"

The news of some brilliant successes by sea having arrived from England in the morning, I was glad to observe how much our friend the Fiscal seemed to rejoice *de bonne foi* over them; his remark however was natural—"I only wish the triumphs of the English had been over the French instead of the Dutch; it would have accelerated peace, and France would have been weakened instead of Fatherland, which I have no doubt will be once more in

friendship with England on a peace."—Being willing, however, to keep our intelligence snug during our morning at Constantia, whose master my husband had cause to know (from some correspondence forwarded to him from England) was a Jacobin in his heart, conversation went all smooth and easy, till an unlucky person brought out this news. I could not help observing then the steady countenances of Mynheer and some of his friends, who appeared to be unconcerned; they had "expected nothing else—the Dutch fleet had been forced to fight by the French—the officers were of the lowest class, ill educated and mere boys,"—but when the subject was changed, and there seemed no longer reason for caution, I heard some deep sighs, the ladies became grave, and the devil's tattoo was beat under the table by more than one.

After spending a couple of easy pleasant months with us, Lord Mornington and his brother departed.*

* I subjoin two interesting letters from Lord Mornington (more generally known as Marquess of Wellesley) to Lady Anne from India:—

"Fort William, Oct. 2, 1800.

"Your several kind letters have given me as much pleasure, my dear Lady Anne, as I was capable of receiving in the bad state of health by which I have been tormented even since the month of April. My complaints, however, have been more tedious and painful than dangerous. . . These, with their accompaniments, confined me to my couch for the greater part of four months, and my spirits were most severely affected; but I was still able to apply to public business, and to carry many great points quietly, which will soon make a loud report. On what honours you compliment me I know not; I am persuaded you have too much good sense and good taste to esteem an Irish peerage a complimentary or complimentable honour in my case. Perhaps you refer to the votes of Parliament and to the conscious sense of eminent public service,—these are honours indeed, which neither negligence, nor slander, nor ingratitude, nor ignorance, nor folly, nor envy, can impair. With respect to rewards of another description, I have received none—I expect none—and (be not surprised) perhaps you may hear that I will accept none. This brief declamation will admit you to the secret agonies of my poor dear heart or soul, and give you some light to discover the causes of my ill health and of my declining, indignant, wounded spirits. But do not suppose me to be so weak as to meditate hasty resignations or passionate returns to Europe, or fury, or violence of any kind. No.—I will shame their injustice by aggravating the burthen of their obligations to me; I will heap kingdoms upon kingdoms, victory upon victory, revenue upon revenue; I will accumulate glory, and wealth, and power, until the ambition and avarice even of my masters shall cry mercy; and then I will shew them what dust in the balance their tardy gratitude is, in the estimation of injured, neglected, disdainful merit.

"Your lofty twaddler's order in council for the arrangement of his playhouse is incomparable. If I could disclose his *most secret* despatches to me, how I should amuse you! But I cannot trust even your discretion with the secrets of the state. If we ever meet again, you shall hear it all, when the whole pageantry of state affairs shall have passed away like a dream after a heavy supper. Even in the other world, where I hope we shall meet at last, you will laugh at the history—if the ghost of your risible muscles should retain any powers of laughter.

"I believe Mr. Barnard is in my debt on the account of correspondence; or if I am the debtor, I must take out a commission of bankruptcy, and request him to accept through you, my assignee, my most sincere and grateful declarations of kind remembrance and good wishes, as a payment of one shilling in the pound. "My

One of the most pleasing circumstances of the Cape is the wonderful variety of new interests which daily pass in review before us. Captains of the navy, those of the Company's service, even

"My brother Arthur has been distinguishing himself most nobly in a short, rapid, and able campaign against an insurgent called (do not laugh) Doondah Jee Waugh.

"I am employed from morning till night in business, and from night till morning in dozing and slumbering, and recovering the severe fatigues of the laborious day. If Dalilah were here, she certainly might catch me napping every evening as early as eight o'clock, and sometimes earlier, but, to pursue your metaphor, she could neither discover my weakness nor my strength, nor any other quality in me than an unconquerable propensity to sleep. I am in anxious expectation of Henry's arrival, who will be a great relief to my melancholy. When the cold season shall commence, I shall give balls and dinners to the ladies, as usual, but these amuse me not greatly. As to your friends, and the society of this place, I believe they go on very well. I never see the society but in buckram, so I know nothing about it, and never shall, or will, or can know more.

"Adieu, dear Lady Anne; write to me as often as you can, and tell me all about it, and about it.

"Yours ever most affectionately,

"WELLESLEY."

"My dearest Lady, "Fort William, June 27th, 1801.

"Many thanks for your kind and balmy letter of the 21st of January, and many reproaches for your curtailed, docked, cropped *chit*[a] of the 26th April. . . .

"Now for his Excellency the Governor and Captain-General—pray do not forget the Captain, although I hope he will not prove to be, what Burke always called the Great Mr. Hastings, Captain-General of Iniquity! As you say nothing of yourself or yours, I must talk of my dear self.

"I am still much out of humour, but very proud and public-spirited; so I mean to remain here until I have accomplished my ethereal visions, as you call them. I have been very well since Henry's arrival, residing almost entirely at Barrackpore, a charming spot, which, in my usual spirit of tyranny, I have plucked from the Commander-in-chief. For these last ten days, however, I have been a little feverish, bily and boily; but, upon the whole, pretty stout.

"You must hear the story of my proceeding with my masters. I reserved a large part of the prize taken at Seringapatam, (namely, the ordnance and stores,) for the King's disposal, with a view of saving the general rights of the Crown, and of shewing to my beloved and immortal army, that even *they* had no *right* to prize, without the authority of the Supreme Power. Massa proposed to grant me a plumb (100,000*l.*) *out of this reserved prize*,—thus deducting a large sum from what the King might grant to Massa, (and what Massa ought to re-grant to the army,) for the profit of his Excellency. 'No, Massa,' says his Excellency, 'you shall not rob Peter to pay Paul; and I will not take one farthing from you at the expense of the army.'—'Slave!' says Massa, 'how dare you look a gift horse in the mouth?'—'Massa,' says his Excellency, 'I am a public slave as well as your slave, and I will not be gifted with dishonour.'—'Well, then,' says Massa, after a long pause of many months, 'Here—take one-third of what I would have given you, if you would have joined with me in robbing my own army. Since you will not be an accomplice in robbery, let honour be your reward. And, hark ye! remember that I am too kind to you in not punishing your pride by withholding all reward for the conquest of a whole empire, because you presumed to reject my offer of going snacks with me in the plunder of my rascally soldiers.'—'Well, Massa!' says his Excellency, 'I submit. As there is *now* no dishonour in your gift, I accept it thankfully.'—'Slave!' says Massa, 'I mean *now* to grant all the reserved prize to the army; and the plumb intended for you shall be established as a fund for military widows and orphans.'—'Bravo, Massa! that is noble, that is munificence, and justice, and dignity, and charity, and true glory; but—if *I* had taken your plumb, where would the widow and orphan have sheltered their heads?'—And so Massa and his Excellency have come to a good

[a] "A Bengalee phrase for a small note on a trifling subject."

intelligent traders, often bring such accounts from the various nooks of the world into which they have been driven, as to give a flow of new ideas and conjectures that are very entertaining. Their society is cultivated by Barnard, and the inferior ones of the profession are always so classed as to make them happy without putting them out of their element. To-day a Captain Farrier sat with me an hour, while Barnard was busy. He commands the prize-ship taken by the gallant Tod; he began his seafaring life with Captain Cook, the king of discovery, whom he accompanied in most of his voyages, and gave me a variety of most interesting anecdotes.

About the middle of April we moved to Paradise, as we intended. The year was in its wane, but all was blooming still. As we drove along, a singular sound of music reached my ears, soft and wild, accompanied with loud laughter and talking; but on reaching the spot, I saw one slave only, with a bit of wood in his hands, on which a few pegs were placed. I stopped, and asked to whom he spoke. "To this little fellow," said he, "it is my instrument; I talk to him, he play to me,—we make company for one another."—I mention this as an instance of the hilarity of spirits which is possessed in a far greater degree by the black complexion than by the white.

I was pleased with his instrument, which I imagined was his own invention, and determined to have one made after it, "to make company" to me when I become old and blind, that I may not be a tax on any one. It is so portable, so uncommon, so much

and honourable agreement, by which his Excellency is supposed to have lost about five thousand pounds per annum, and to have gained about a puff and a half of pure air from the trumpet of fame.

"I suppose you heard of my treaty with a certain potentate called the Nizam, a twaddler of order high. That was one of my visions realized—others are coming. We are all on the point of moving up the river, in grand state, to visit the upper provinces, where I hope to realize other of my fantasies.

"The high twaddler injures me in saying that I consult nobody. I notoriously consult everybody of any knowledge, but I hope that I am not governed by any other opinion than my own deliberate judgment, after full reflection and consideration of all other sentiments, and even of the nonsense of many blockheads; for chips may be taken even from the block.

"Adieu, dear Lady Anne. I have solaced myself by writing much stuff to you; I expect to be repaid with compound Indian interest.

"I am very happy with General Lake, who is an excellent assistant to me in all affairs, and a most pleasant man.

"Again yours most affectionately,

"WELLESLEY."

fitted to the meanest capacity, and has sounds so sweet coming from a musical instrument almost invisible, that—but you shall have its picture and judge for yourselves.*

Our gardener at Paradise was a good one. He had set a beautiful extraordinary plant, which I call "Madame de Coster," after its mistress, a widow. The Jewess had the conscience to ask me three rix-dollars for it, and I had the folly—read wisdom—to give it, for "Madame de Coster" is a fine large star-plant, yellow, and spotted like the skin of a leopard, over which there grows a crop of glossy brown hair, at once handsome and horrible; it crawls flat on the ground, and its leaves are thick and fat. The most aromatic flower however that I have seen is the blue water-lily, which is of a bright cerulean hue; its roots are planted in the soil, but it pushes up its flowers to the surface of the water, where it lies flat, sending forth such a fragrance as to scent the air all around. I have procured a few plants of this sweet flower for sweet friends in England.

The sun sets here in Paradise two hours sooner than on the other side of the hill, which I am told marks its height, but, with lamps and candles, that makes no difference. We have nothing here to annoy us—no enemies to dread except the musquitoes, who whiz past our canopy at the early dawn, and, if caught, like the witches in Macbeth, "make themselves air and vanish," so unembodied an insect is that little vexatious creature; but, such as it is, to know that there is one under the same curtains with himself makes my lord so wretched, that I have often the complaisance to go a musquito-hunting with him, though by no means well equipped "pour la chasse."—In return, I endeavoured to effect a treaty of peace for the baboons, who are apt to come down from the mountain in little troops to pillage our garden of the fruit with which the trees are loaded.

I told him he would be worse than Don Carlos if he refused the children of the sun and of the soil the use of what had descended from ouran-outang to ouran-outang; but, alas! I could not succeed. He had pledged himself to the gardener, to the slaves, and to all the dogs, not to baulk them of their sport; so

* Lady Anne afterwards had a facsimile made of it. It is about eight inches square—held with both hands—the notes produced by steel bars fixed to the woodwork, the extremities of which bars are played on with the thumbs. *Ed.*

he shot a superb man of the mountain one morning, who was marauding, and electrified himself the same moment, so shocked was he at the groan given by the poor creature, as he limped off the ground. I do not think I shall hear of another falling a sacrifice to Barnard's gun; they come too near the human race.

While here, and at leisure, I began to collect my Cape trifles for my friends at home,—some beautiful loories alive—some still more beautiful swallows dead—some plumes of the sugar-bird's tail, which is long and elegantly formed at the season of the year when Nature dresses out her children in their best attire to please their mates. Ostrich-feathers I depended upon getting during our proposed tour. For the Queen and Princesses I was preparing a collection of flower-roots, and seeds of the castor-oil-tree, so resembling beads that it was impossible, when strung into necklaces and mixed with gold ones, to suppose them anything else.* To the Prince I meant to send home a very fine leopard-skin, as a saddle-cloth for his beautiful Arabian. A few pretty land-turtles of the size of walnuts begged to be of the party, and to those I hoped to be enabled to add many an oddity unthought of in our meditated tour.

Meantime I amuse myself here rather as necessity obliges than as taste directs, as I have, owing to the illness of my cook and the loss of my maid, who is obliged to go to England from bad health, to attend to many household matters when I would rather be employing my pen or pencil.

At six I rise, and, after I have made breakfast for my *mann*, I reserve a good one for a half-starved pussy that was found in the shrubbery with five poor kittens reared out of her own misery half way on to cat's estate. Next comes the breakfast of a hundred and fifty very very young chickens, at which I act as groom of the chambers, standing by while they eat it, as I have too much reason to think a hundred have been starved to death by the tyranny of force over feebleness, the turkeys, ducks, &c., having made it their practice to frighten the chickens from their breakfast, and of course, though the little ones came well out of their shells, and lived for a few days while attended to, all vanished; and it broke my heart to think what a number of wretched creatures I had

* Her Majesty afterwards expressed her thanks for them, and particularly for my goodness in permitting her to employ them externally instead of internally.

called into life, to have a poor specimen of it, and to die before they had had their little bellies full.

One of our dogs expects to be confined directly—a serious beast, who I had no idea was given to such follies; but she is mild and affectionate, so I have made up a bed for her and her heirs of entail at the top of the staircase in a hole in the roof.

Our two black cooks from town are come to assist me in the absence of Revel to dress dinner, as a dozen of people are to dine here, whom my husband has invited, finding them anxious to see this little place. I cannot convince the cooks that so great a lady as "my vrow" understands anything of the kitchen, though I give my directions with Mr. Fairley, head *cuisinier* to the London Tavern, in my hand, and have lately succeeded so well in a vegetable soup, that I can make no greater present to the persons reading this (if they reside in the country) than by giving them the following

Receipt for a meagre vegetable soup.

Take one large head of celery—shred it down, stopping before you reach the green part, which is bitter—take one onion, a handful of spinach, three heads of cabbage, each about the size of your two hands, half a dozen leaves of sorrel, twenty carrots twice as long as your finger, two or three handfuls of green peas, and after you have shelled them, if the peas are young (but not otherwise), you may cut the shells in pieces and throw them in with the rest—all these must be cut into bits about the size of your little finger, and the carrots smaller than sixpences—put all in a large wash-hand bason, which will be sufficient to make a small tureen-full.

Meantime take a quarter of a pound of butter, put it into a frying-pan, and, when melted, dust in a handful of flour, stir it well about in the pan, till it is of the colour of brown tanned leather—then put your vegetables and that into a saucepan, with as much gravy or weak broth as will cover them all over, and stand two inches above them—let it stew gently for two or three hours till all is quite tender—put a large teaspoonful of salt to it, and another of pepper—then, having given it five minutes more, serve it up hot in your tureen.—If the liquid is taken from it, it will be equally good as stewed vegetables.

Our friends arrived, and did it ample justice.

In a few days afterwards we returned to town, to accept of General D——'s ball, and to give him our own previous to the commencement of our tour into the interior. . . The balls passed over as balls do. The General's was ill lighted, plenty of expense laid out on it, but it wanted elegance and numbers. Three hun-

dred people were invited to ours; they came—and a magnificent suite of apartments and plenty of light gave to everything the air of general satisfaction. Light is the great secret of ensuring success to entertainments, as I dare say you all know. I remember hearing, when quite a girl, a reply made by a witty neighbour of my mother's to a little attack made by her on him for living so little at home with a very good-humoured wife. "Ah!" said he, "it is her own fault; she does not make my house cheerful to me."—"No? pray in what is she deficient?"—"She gives me no light, Madam. When a man has been at the club, surrounded by wax-candles, and feeling himself like a gentleman, to go home to a dark house—no lamp in the staircase—a pair of mutton fats on his wife's table, with great caps on their heads for want of being snuffed—O damnation! there is nothing for it but to put on one's hat again, and fly."—From this stupid quaint speech, however, a good moral may be picked, viz. to burn lamps in order to secure domestic happiness.

I have not mentioned that, in spite of the cold water thrown on me by the Fiscal at the first opening of my balls, when he proposed the gates of the Castle and of Paradise should be shut to foes, I sent an invitation to a hostile family, who had however on a late occasion behaved well. The old father was so affected with the good nature of the card addressed to one disdained by those who were in power, that he burst into tears, and conveyed to me a message such as plainly shewed the edge of hostility was blunted. He durst not come, as he belonged to a party whose frowns he had not courage to stand; but he gave me the company of a lovely pair of daughters. I never saw a more beautiful young woman than the married one—her eyes beamed with a lustre which no man could meet without feeling the obligation, but beauty and charms all took their flight when she spoke or moved, from a vulgarity which exceeded all belief.

Of one point I believe friends and foes at Cape Town were equally aware, viz. that the place was enriched by the arrival of the English; the traders who could not before afford to keep up the price of their articles, but sold them off for ready money to purchase others, now established monopolies of things, much to their own benefit.

But let us now go on with the Tour before alluded to.

TOUR INTO THE INTERIOR,

&c. &c.

THE present of an idle month, and that the month of May, to a poor Secretary who had been screwed to his desk for one whole twelvemonth, was an offer much too welcome not to be accepted with joy. Do not however suppose that it contained all the pleasure it sounds to do. The month of May here is not "bella madre de' fiori," as it is in Europe,—it is on the contrary our Cape November, and the commencement of the rainy season, when the roads become impassable, and when a man and his family with their waggon may be stopped on the wrong side of a river for three or four weeks, so deep are their beds (in general), and so steep their banks. But in spite of this, Mr. Barnard and I determined to catch the golden opportunity of piercing a little into the interior of a country we might never find as good a moment to see again. We felt very grateful to Lord Macartney for this holiday, but no one is more disposed to suggest and propose what he thinks will conduce to the pleasure or advantage of those around him than he is.

Our young friend Miss M—— preferred accompanying us to remaining at the Castle, though with a pleasant party which I proposed to invite to keep her company; but she assured me that upon the whole she would so much rather go than be left behind that it was so settled, much to my satisfaction. As a young lady, however, like a great general, is nothing without a proper staff on such an occasion, Mr. Barnard kindly invited my cousin, John Dalrymple, to be her *aide-de-camp*. Johnnie is somewhere from five to seven feet high, for, as he grows an inch or two every fortnight, there is no knowing where to fix him,—about seventeen years of age, good-humoured and very obliging, fond of his

gun, fonder of his horse. When we add to this that he was to be jolted in a waggon for some hundred miles with the beauty of the garrison, to the exclusion of all generals, colonels, and field officers, I can paint no happier cornet.

The first thing to be procured was our conveyance. Any carriage *but* a waggon it was impossible to think of; those of the country, long and narrow, are the best calculated for the business they have to perform. An ox-waggon would have suited our pockets best, as it is exactly half the price of a horse one, but it takes double the time to travel over the same space of ground, and we wished to see as much as our month could possibly afford. For the horses therefore we determined, though on many occasions we learnt that we must hire oxen also, to take us over the *kloofs*, or steep passes amongst the mountains, which no number of horses are equal to accomplish. Our friend the Fiscal arranged the bargain for us for twelve dollars per day, all expenses besides to be paid by us, which added three or four more, and brought the price to somewhat above three guineas per day for our waggon, coachman, and eight horses.

Thus furnished with a wooden case to pack ourselves into (over which by the bye there was a stout sail-cloth cover), each one provided what was necessary to render the month as comfortable as possible. The first comfort I wished Mr. Barnard to procure (I introduce him here as if he were stock) was an interpreter—some Dutchman to be of the party who could talk a little French or English, who would not grudge leaving his house for such an excursion, but would be patient in replying to all my questions and intelligent in answering them. This person was not easily found—to quit the Cape in winter and go into the country without having any business there! Mynheer did not comprehend it. At last however the Fiscal recommended to us a Mr. Prince, a sort of clerk in the Orphan Chamber and auctioneer, who, from having to sell at all parts of the country (there being constantly a sale and division of effects on the death of every head of a house), was well instructed in the best roads, and, from knowing all the farmers—or *boors*, as they are called here—could best tell us the places it would be wise for us to stop at.

But unfortunately this comfortable Mr. Prince at the first setting off we could not have,—business detained him in town

for ten days or a fortnight; but he settled it with Mr. Barnard to meet him at Swellendam, about two hundred miles' distance from the Cape, the 19th of the month. Though bad, this was far better than no prospect; I therefore made up my mind to travel on for two hundred miles ignorant of everything but appearances, and to return by his means wise and good for something.

Mr. Barnard took his own servant, Pawell, the Brabanter, master of French, English, and Dutch—a little Latin too, if necessary,—active, young, and fond of excursions, he heard with delight that he was to be of the party. We only regretted that we could not make our *knecht* sit down at table with us, and pass him off for a cousin,—but a trick of this sort would never have been forgiven in this place, had we lived for two thousand years. And now let us see what the careful *haus-vrow*, Anne Barnard, put up for resources upon the journey.

In the first place, I had a couple of strong sail-cloth bags made to hold a pair of mattresses, two pair of blankets, sheets, pillows, &c., in case we should find a want of beds at any of our nightly quarters, or in case the beds should be very dirty. I carried some dozens of coarse handkerchiefs to give to slaves, farmers' servants, &c., ribbands, gold lace, needles, thread, scissors, a bag of good tea, coffee, sugar, rice, for the higher classes, where people would not take money,—a good many common beads for Hottentots, of different colours, and a quantity of white pearl beads such as we all wear, which I put in without supposing they would be of much use,—some dozens of common knives about sixpence value each—a large bale of tobacco—a bag of raisins—a bundle of candles—some oil—a lamp—two or three pine-apple cheeses—the conjurer *—plenty of cold meat—and in the corner of the waggon a jar of Batavian ginger—with a little bag of *schellings*, or bank-notes of sixpence each, in my pocket, from which I expected much satisfaction.

Mr. Barnard furnished on his part two good hams and a half, a large piece of Hamburgh beef, and two tongues. He added a small cask of good Madeira, a box of gin, rum, and liqueurs, and plenty of powder and shot; which baggage, with some other things

* Apparently a small portable machine for making stews, fricassees, &c. *Ed.*

in great coats which lined the sides of the waggon (and which I did not attend to), he stowed up himself. Each of us possessed a box of our own containing our goods, over which the seats were hung, and the coachman, Gaspar (lent to us by a friend for the journey), sat enthroned, lord of his own, which was filled with nails and all sorts of tools for reparation should it be wanted. So provided, at nine o'clock in the morning of

Saturday the 5th of May, 1798, we set out in our waggon and eight,—on the front seat of which sat the illustrious Gaspar on his box—behind him Lady Anne Barnard, on her knee an old drawing-book stoutly bound, which had descended from mitre to mitre in the Barnard family, and which little thought in its old age, as Sarah says, that it should be caught turning over a new leaf and producing hasty sketches in the wilds of Africa. By her was Mynheer the "Secretarius," for the express purpose of popping out at the partridges in half a minute when they appeared. Behind them, seated on the wool-sacks, viz. mattresses, Cousin Johnnie and Jane,—a situation, she said, she preferred to the front seat, where she could have *only* seen the country, and which Johnnie highly approved of her for preferring, as the country was not fit to be looked at. The care of Jane's knitting-case, containing some pins, pen and ink, and a half-finished purse, was divided between her and her *aide-de-camp*. Behind these good children was Charles, my little black boy, a West Indian, lolling on his own mattress,—he was appointed Inspector of the baggage, to be ready to holla out when anything dropped, and what with great coats and a few baskets, powder-bags, &c., we foresaw his department would not be a sinecure. By him was Hector—a stupid old slave belonging to the coachman, somewhat younger than myself I believe, but rather harder worked, whose business it was to walk through all questionable places, see if fords were passable, run before to observe if the drag was necessary, and put to rights the harness on any of the refractory leaders. Behind our waggon followed Pawell and another Charles, a slave of Mr. Barnard's, who rode his horse and led Jane's stud, viz. a couple of riding-horses, and a Hottentot riding Johnnie Dalrymple's "best of all possible horses, Hobgoblin,"—he led up the rear. And now, having brought us to this point, I transcribe my waggon memorandums.

We left the Cape by the same road we went to Stellenbosch,—indeed there is but one egress from Cape Town, which, being at the extremity of the peninsula, has no variety of roads from it leading into the country,—after we pass Rondebosch, they branch out. The road was sandy and heavy. As we proceeded, a few branches of the wax-tree appeared, and some low brushwood—white sandy hillocks—a few partridges—two bucks—"Give me my gun, Anne—my gun, my gun!"—"Gun! have we any guns near us?" A smile—he reached across and took down one of the lurking villains out of its great coat, charged for murder—out jumped Johnnie, seizing another; but the bucks escaped scot-free, and the gentlemen returned.—"You must not mind a gun or two, for that is the beauty of the thing, to have all ready at a moment's warning." I now saw there were five, charged, in the waggon with us, and believed it was best to give up all fear at once and trust to Providence. All that Jane and I stipulated for was to have them placed where we had the best chance of escaping being shot.—Two pheasants—some wild turkeys—one house seen at a distance—what savage sounds they use to their horses! an English horse would say it was not language fit for a gentleman.—Mr. Barnard had laughed at me, after we were all packed up and ready to depart, for taking a good quantity of small cord—"useless," he called it, "as there was plenty in one of the boxes." I put up my cord, however. Down came one thing at the end of a few miles—tumble went another—I repaired all out of my disdained store—at last, pop there came Mr. Barnard's powder-bag, which was imperfectly slung.—"Anne! do hand me THE cord." 'Tis I who place the emphasis—he did not; the triumph was too great for me to use it,—but he used the cord. Traveller! constantly have little resources by you of small value, and never be laughed out of anything.

I saw no tillage till we arrived near Mynheer Meybourgh's, a wealthy man, where we hoped to bait and dine, having come about twenty miles in five hours. We found he had expected us some days before, and was now gone to the Cape; his vrow was at home—a perfect Dutchwoman. I was afraid at first by her air that she was angry at a *mal-entendu* which had probably been the death of some of the poultry, but I found it was only manner; she gave us an excellent dinner. After it was over, a child of

eighteen months was brought in, which no one could lift from the ground, it was so heavy. I gazed with a wonder, which being translated into admiration, her daughter ran for hers,—it was still sucking and eleven months old, but I could not contain it in my arms, it was such a porpoise.—"Ah! what would *mi vrow* give to have such an one!" said one of the party, looking to me. I thought, if I had, that like Solomon I should be tempted to make two of it. This is one of the great points of vanity with the Dutch—the size and number of their children. Mr. Barnard has given me leave, as I before mentioned, to take the credit of three or four whenever I find the tide of pity and self-complacency running too strong in the other party. I shall use it with moderation, for fear of detection, but they must all be in England, and all boys,—I will not enact the careless mother and leave my girls behind.

While we dined, the horses refreshed themselves, as they call it, that is to say, had liberty to roll in the sand with all their hoofs in the air, except one which is tied to the bridle to prevent them from escaping; and even to this restraint a Cape horse gets so accustomed by habit, that I see them often in the fields cantering off on three legs as nimbly as a dog.

We left these good people at four o'clock, and proceeded to Mynheer William Morkel's, where we heard we could be accommodated for the night. We arrived there about eight o'clock, and to our sorrow for the point of good cheer, and gladness for the point of liberty, we found Mynheer and his wife were then on a visit at some distance. Of course all the children and most of the slaves were of the party, the Dutchmen never leaving any of them behind, which I do not think proceeds so much from affection (of which they have not any in the anxious and tender degree of European parents) as from its being their custom. The children's tutor, viz. the schoolmaster, received us during their absence.

Sunday, May 6th, 1798.—After making a tolerable breakfast from our own tea-chest, with the addition of fresh eggs, we started. The tutor lent us a team of oxen to carry us to the foot of the Hottentot Kloof—we reached it in about an hour, having passed but one farm-house by the way—little game—no tree or bush—and simply a field or two attached to the house in tillage.

A farmer at the bottom of the ascent stood ready with twelve fine, stout, beautiful oxen, with horns which spread from pole to pole, ready to be put to the waggon. Sensible creatures they seemed to be, for much did they dislike the business they were going on, and lowed piteously when they found themselves in the yoke.—We were advised to let them draw us up as far as we chose to sit,—the ascent is about a mile and a half or two miles long; but we soon preferred leaving the waggon, the sight of their exertions being painful to me; besides, I wished to take a flying sketch from the Kloof itself of Gordon's Bay, the wide prospect we were leaving, where bay succeeded to bay and hill to hill, carrying on the eye with an infinity of bare beauty; but there was unfortunately a distant fog, which was a little untoward, considering that it was not every day I could find myself here.

From this spot, half-way up the mountain, wherever the eye turned there was heath, sand, sea, mountain—scarce a house to be seen, no cultivation, and of course no population. I therefore hoarded up my little portion of hope, which had been given me by the Dutch I had conversed with, who assured me that round Cape Town it was nothing, but that, when I got to the other side of the Hottentot Kloof, a new country would open on me, so fertile, so many houses! the face of nature so bespangled with flowers that I should be delighted with it.

As we ascended the path was so perpendicular, and the jutting rocks, over which the waggon was to be pulled, so large in the middle of the road, that we were astonished how it could be accomplished at all, particularly at one pass, called the Porch. At length we reached the summit, and the new Canaan opened on my view—hillock on hillock, mountain behind mountain, far as the sight could reach—a slight thread of rivulet here and there, like a silver eel, winding through the valleys, but scarcely perceptible, and the only objects on which the eye found anything to pause were sometimes a few pointed stones, on the summit of rising grounds, under which fancy would fain have laid the bones of Hottentot heroes slain in battle, had not observation pointed out that this was only the natural form of the country.

The descent was not much better, though less fatiguing than the other side; in about half an hour we reached the bottom, where we found the waggon safe and the horses put to it. Mr.

Barnard stood by the team of oxen, and called, "Anne, don't look this way!" but, at the sound of his voice, I naturally and involuntarily turned my head, and saw what made my heart sore, how much the poor animals had suffered in our service, their sides streaming down with the blood which the knives of their savage drivers had brought. They are very cruel here to their cattle; the whip itself, which carries away with it the hide, is not thought enough on some occasions; with their sharp knives they cut the poor creatures, till, bellowing and kicking, they perform their almost impossible task, and they are sufficiently good anatomists to know exactly the vital parts to be avoided.

Travelled on—fields still innocent of the plough—a long range of grey barren mountains—in a few miles a quantity of greenish knolls looking verdant at a distance, but it was only young vegetation on the tops of brownish evergreens; the cattle eat this, and grow fat on it. Passed by Grietsgate farmhouse and riviére, (as rivers are pronounced here,) then by the Steinbrass Riviére, and some miles further by the Palmite, the broadest we had passed. To these succeeded a very dangerous pass along the sloping side of a hill with a precipice beneath,—this, with a high-loaded waggon and eight horses in hand, was not pleasant; but Gaspar seemed to know so thoroughly well what he was equal to perform that we soon began to place unlimited confidence in him.

After travelling about four hours with no other variety than I have mentioned, except three or four partridges killed by our gentlemen, we saw at a distance the farmhouse where we were to stop for the night. The name of the proprietor was Jacob Toubert—a mere boor; Mr. Barnard had seen him at the Cape in his blue jacket, driving his waggon, and there he had given him a hearty invitation to his house. His wife received us at the door, not out of size, about thirty-five, plain, stupid, but civil. I expected to have seen a dozen of children, and was primed with my four boys; but to my surprise I found she had none, so I thought it kinder to give her a companion in misfortune than to lord it falsely over her. Being extremely hungry, we ate up part of their dinner with them, to which they had added some boiled fowls, which, with plenty of potatoes and good butter, was a repast for an Emperor.

Monday, May 7th, 1798.—We set off from this place at seven

in the morning—the weather glorious, all our animals well—with a fresh team of twelve oxen, which we had provided to carry us over the Howe-Hook, another tremendous hill, and for the use of which oxen for two days we paid twelve dollars. These cattle were so strong that they pulled us with ease up ascents which made me almost think they could pull us up to heaven like Elijah. The vegetation of tender green on olive and brown was still fresher than the day before, and not ugly. We ascended the Howe-Hook, and found it a tolerable road, but tedious. As one gains the summit, a fine rock presents itself, and on descending there is another, resembling a giant shooting at the passenger. Here we were obliged to get out, the road became so bad,—it was hardly exceeded by the Hottentot Kloof. The ascent was two miles long, the descent the same; the rocks appeared to me chiefly of a bastard white marble, but Mr. Barnard said it was only limestone. Quantities of the most brilliant everlasting flowers, pink with black hearts, grew amongst the heath. Jane and I loaded ourselves with them, we were so intoxicated with their beauty, glittering as they did in the sun like the brightest foils, although we knew the impossibility there was for them to make the journey and return with us in any tolerable state to the Cape.

I remarked, on looking at the oxen as they picked their way down this steep descent, how ingenious they are in avoiding to hurt each other with their horns, which it sometimes appears wholly out of their power to avoid, yet they never do. We met four waggons at the bottom of the hill, the oxen all lowing at the prospect before them.

Before us opened a wide desert—pathless, untenanted—one little bit of smoke only ascended to heaven—it looked like the burnt offering of Cain—probably it was the fire of some poor Hottentot, cooking his humble mess. We now turned off at the foot of the mountain, and quitted what is called the Great Road (it being tolerably beat by waggons) to pursue the path which leads to Mr. Brandt's,—there we intended to pass the night, though he was not at home.

We stopped about half way at a farmhouse of Mynheer Cloete's, to rest our wearied horses,—he spends three months every summer there—two small rooms is the whole of it, and a

nasty little kitchen, inhabited by a very old man slave and a woman, into which we did not much wish to creep; but the day was fine, and the *stoop* which hung over the sea was the pleasantest of all seats. At the mouth of the river, about half a mile distant, we saw a fishing-boat that had been successful; the old man put up a signal to bring us the fish, which he contrived to inform us was excellent, but the fishers made him understand that they were to carry it to Mynheer Brandt's on the other side of the river, where we were to pass the night, so, as that which is deferred is not lost, we contented ourselves with examining our present resources.

I had fortunately when I inspected the hamper put in a piece of bouilli, had one of our tongues boiled, and I thought a couple of fowls would make pretty company for the tongue; the poor people of the house could only afford us a little dry fish and a few hard eggs,—I was mistress of a jar of butter, and by signs got the old slave to dig me up a few potatoes which I saw in his little garden. Table we had none, but we had the top of an old barrel, and by no means any want of company,—cocks, hens, and every living thing assembling round to partake, and they had their share. One of the horses was much fatigued, and Gaspar, while he shook his head at the distance he had still to go, said he must take another half-hour to rest poor Osberg.

As the day began to decline, I pressed Mr. Barnard to let us remain there all night,—that we could sleep in the waggon, or take our beds into one of the out-houses; but on consulting Gaspar, our chief and governor, he said it could just do still to go on, that we should reach the river we were to ford before it was quite dark, that he had put up a signal for a guide to meet us on this side of it,—and, as the house we were going to belonged to his master, I saw he wished to push on, and to get his horses put in his own stables.

At last, all being ready, we set off, leaving the slaves happy with knives, handkerchiefs, and a sprinkling of Danaes, or, if you please, you may call it Anne's paper-shower, the schellings.

In this country the sun sets at once; there is hardly any twilight, and the difference of a quarter of an hour is the difference between light and total darkness. There happened to be no moon, and very shortly we began to have serious apprehensions,

from our having to travel still an hour and a half, that we might find the fording of the river a dangerous thing. The road too—Gaspar was ignorant of it on the side of the river we were then on; on t'other side he was at home. I requested him to make Hector walk at the heads of the horses, that we might lessen the chance of an accident. For about half an hour matters went on pretty well, though the shades of night fell fast about us; at last—"Hey!" cried Mr. Barnard—the waggon rocked—"Sit close!"—I felt its wheel sinking on the side I was, and in a moment down we came like a mountain! The waggon was overturned—my head lower than my heels; and everything in the world I felt was above me. Mr. Barnard rushed out to see where we were—Cousin Jane, Johnnie and I, were laid low.

"Anne, are you hurt?"—"No—are you?"—"I can't tell, I believe not, but—your hand, your hand, Anne!" cried Mr. Barnard, "and immediately get out." I felt suffocated with the luggage—the left I could have given, but my right arm was wedged in between two of the bars of the waggon, and I felt that if the other was pulled violently, it must be broke. Thank God! I got myself disengaged, and crawled out safe on the heath,—Mr. Barnard returned for Jane, and brought her out, bruised, but no bones broken.

How we all blessed Providence for an escape which seemed almost miraculous, for, added to other dangers, there was one which I said nothing of, but which I thought by no means trifling; had any of our guns gone off, some of us would have stood a pretty chance of being shot. But how did this happen with so many servants and a person at the head of the horses? The foolish old Hector had led us too near the edge of a sloping bank, under which ran a little brook, and, while he walked on before, the wheel of the waggon had tipped over the bank. But what was to be done? Dark as pitch now, Gaspar pronounced that the waggon was not broken, though shattered; and if the gentlemen could lend their assistance to help on with the head of it, we could proceed in half an hour; but to do it things were to be moved so very heavy, that, except on a strong emergency such as this, they did not conceive they could have been equal to it,—now, each seemed to have been endowed with strength for the purpose, and all was replaced, nor did there seem to be much

damage done except among some liquids, the extent of which ruin we were ignorant of.

While this was going on, I walked about to discover if I could what sort of road was before us, level or hilly; while Jane sat on a stone, the statue of patience, condoling with herself over the bruises of her white marble arm, the rest of the figure in a state of perfect preservation in the saddest, sweetest sense of the word, as the cask of ginger had had its top knocked off in the fall, and had poured its contents in at Jane's neck and out at her toe, by which means she was a complete confection. I should have ventured to laugh however at this misfortune, and to have counted my bruises with her, had not my attention been called to a voice in the dark saying, "Well, to be sure, this is the devil's own circumstance!"

I found it Cousin Johnnie's, who had embarked the whole of his fortune, amounting to thirty dollars, in Jane's netting-case, which happened to be the only thing lost in our tumble; and he had groped on the bank, and felt in the brook, and nowhere was this unlucky netting-case to be found. Nor had we a tinder-box to strike a light. At last—"Well!" says he, "I don't care—a light heart and a thin pair of breeches,"—as he accompanied this with the swagger of a cornet's philosophy, he kicked his foot against something that jingled:—I leave it to you all to judge of Johnnie's transports when *here* was the box, the fortune of thirty dollars, and, what was better still, all the ivory pins safe, and Jane's half-finished purse.

In about an hour, everything being replaced, Mr. Barnard wished us to get into the waggon again, but cowardice was now much too strong to listen to argument; side-saddles were put on both the horses, and, attended by the gentlemen, we rode to the ford, which was at half an hour's distance, the only house that was near on this side the river finding it impossible to accommodate us, the man and his wife being from home, and the *yonge vrow* was afraid of us. At last we reached the water and followed the guide; the ford was marked out only by a stick or two to the right, and even at this time, when no rain had fallen, it was so deep that it took us pains to avoid being wet. Safe on the other side, we once more got into the waggon, and after three-quarters of an hour drove up to the door of Gaspar's master, whom we had left at the Cape.

We entered through a kitchen filled with slaves, many of them blessed with a very scanty portion of covering indeed. We had not been long here before we found that the talents of our coachman were by no means confined to driving; he had no sooner given his horses their feed, rubbing down being out of the question here, than he set all hands to work; the sleeping chickens were called up to be broiled, the sheep to be stewed, while the admirable fish which we had wished for in the morning now blessed our eyes in a hamper, and put into the pan, cut in pieces, with a good lump of mutton-tail, came forth delicious. A little hot wine and water crowned our repast, and decent beds rendered no trouble in unpacking necessary.

"This will all be very pleasant ten years hence," said I, "dear Jane!"—"Ye—s," said she, "but I am so tired I must go to bed."—Johnnie, also being very sleepy, and having vowed vengeance against the whole feathered race in the morning, did so too, and my lord and I, shaking hands, took a cordial glass of wine and water "to the health of all those we love and who love us!"

Tuesday, May 8th, 1798.—Had an excellent sleep in one of the tallest beds I ever saw, and a good breakfast—our own tea and sugar, but fine butter, eggs, and milk—all the bruises tolerable—white marble arms to-day become verd antique, which I tried to convince Jane was the more valuable article.

Having heard of a curious cave for petrifactions called the Drup Kelder, at five or six hours' distance, although we had little expectation of finding it equal in beauty to some of our own in Derbyshire and elsewhere, yet, as it is always well to see everything in a country where nothing has been looked at, we determined to go, and Gaspar lent us one team of his master's oxen, and sent another on before, that were still more powerful, as a relay—the road being heavy beyond all description, particularly the latter part of it. We set off at eight o'clock, going for some time along the edge of the river, opposite to that where we had met our disaster.

A quantity of game here bolted out on us, of various sorts, partridges and hares chiefly; several of the last appearing and standing still; the gentlemen were after them in a moment, requesting us not to stop for them. Gaspar and Hector, however,

being both keen sportsmen in their hearts, were off to assist the gentlemen, giving a good lash at parting to the oxen, to keep them up full speed. To be sure, Jane and I, in spite of fear, could not help laughing at the mode in which we now seemed to put all our hopes in destiny—alone in a waggon, no driver near, and at the discretion of twelve galloping oxen to go where they pleased; but the oxen and horses here are so little accustomed to made road, and so much used to pick their own, that we soon found ourselves as safe when under the guidance of a good team, and much safer, than if we had had a London coachman on the box.

On these banks there grows in little bunches the Cokima-cranki, or what I call Hottentot pine-apple; it has the same colour, the same flavour, and is filled with an aromatic juice and seeds—which I do not recommend to be bruised with the teeth, as they leave a taste of garlick in the mouth. The Dutch are so fond of this root, which by the bye is not a root but a fruit, that they give twopence apiece for them to the black children who pick them up in the country and bring them to the town—no small price for a luxury here—I mean for them to give for one, which is a different thing.

We passed through a low brushwood afterwards, the trees so close that they met over the backs of the oxen, who butted their way through it,—to the left there was a good deal of the same; this is a harbour for wild boars, of which there are a quantity here, and some tigers.

When we had pierced through this, and travelled a few miles further, we met with our fresh oxen, and soon plunged into a pathless world, sandy, but covered high all over with evergreens of various descriptions, breaking down our way as we went by the mere weight of the waggon, which was driven by Gaspar's brother, who was employed on the farm, and more conversant than he was with this part of the country. The brushwood seemed to me to be of a more brittle nature than what I was accustomed to see in England, which would not have given way so easily.

How many various plants might not a botanist have discovered here! I have eyes, but I see not, from ignorance.—Sometimes we went over bushy mountains, sometimes dipped into sandy holes —every here and there a buck skipping out of a corner, and Mr.

Barnard after it, or Johnnie. At last, at a distance appeared the stupendous hills of white sand which I had before observed no mortal surely could have courage to pass, but cross over them we must, or no Drup Kelder. It was a beautiful thing to see the quantity of bucks which now began to run all over the snow-white mountains; the figures of the gentlemen too at a distance were picturesque—all appeared to be in deep snow, while the air had the charms of summer in it without its oppressive heat. The first remarkable thing I saw was a range of rocks, in one of which there was a natural porch, the sea having beat through an opening in one of them for its foaming surge.

Many tremendous mounds of sand did we ascend and descend, our wheels above the axle-tree, before we reached the top of the cliff where was the cavern,—and when we did, our oxen were quite spent. It was now rather later than could be wished, and Gaspar's brother told us we must not think of halting here above an hour, else we should be benighted; we therefore sought for the path to the cave immediately, to lose no time—no one could find any, each took his own—I found some large shells of bad mother-of-pearl; but while looking for better, Mr. Barnard called to me that he had discovered the way, but was afraid I could not follow him,—he bid me try, however, and not be afraid.

I did, cautiously grasping by the bushes, much inconvenienced by my great-coat. In this way I descended the precipice which hangs over the sea, under which is the cavern, till Mr. Barnard called to me there was no going any further, and, in a calm, indifferent tone of voice which I perfectly understood, said, "Follow me up this road, and don't look at anything below."

I vigilantly followed his advice,—I felt all my danger; it was even greater than he knew of, as the soft, woolly cloth of my great-coat adhered to the bushes, and sadly retarded my progress. Had my head turned round, or had I not exerted in myself all the philosophic calmness I was mistress of, I must have tumbled, my knees trembling as they did.

"Don't be afraid," said he, "follow me—I cannot assist you; but turn your face to the rock as I do, and hold fast by the shrubs; the road is narrow—take care to lay hold of the bushes that are firm in the rock."

These bushes were small twigs which grew about shoulder high

in the stony wall to the left. I did, while a glance of my eye shewed me I was passing along a two feet broad path, which must have dashed me to atoms had I fallen. When safely at the top, I thanked God with a trembling but a grateful heart. No part of the ascent of the Table Mountain was equal to the dangers or horrors of this. The first was merely fatiguing—this was hazardous.

We afterwards found the right path, though not a good one, and got down to the cave. In a cavity of the rock, far far out of the reach of man, we saw an immense hive of bees, which have as good a chance of eating their own honey as any bees of my acquaintance,—and a noble porch is to be seen in a contiguous rock, through which the sea appears. At the cave's mouth there lay scattered bones, but we could not judge what animal they had belonged to. Tigers often infest it, and feast on what they drag within it; it is therefore necessary to fire a gun before the cavern is entered, and to have plenty of light, to intimidate the creatures from appearing who may be there concealed. Unless in the greatest want, no savage animal will attack a man. The guides remarked by the trembling of the horses, as they approached the cavern, that they smelt the tigers near; but they did not appear. We had fortunately brought a tinder-box, and the gloom of the recess was soon illuminated with a set of wax candles, which had been packed up after my last party in Berkeley Square; they little thought, when their tops had the honour of shining upon some of their Royal Highnesses and all your right honourable faces, that their bottoms would next illuminate the Drup Kelder at the Cape of Good Hope.

They, however, did not refuse to shew us the curiosities of the place. The pointed *drup-stones* descended from the roof in great numbers, and sometimes met with others which had risen from the ground to meet them. The largest piece of petrifaction that has ever come out of the cavern is in the possession of Mr. Cloete at Constantia. One day in the cave he said to some people that were there along with him, "That is so fine a specimen that I would give a thousand dollars to have it at Constantia." A boor asked him if he was serious,—he replied, he was—he did not believe any one could bring it safe over the Kloof—the boor effected it, and landed it entire at Mynheer's door, much to his sorrow. Had

there been the least flaw found in it, he would not have paid the money, but as there was none, and witnesses present when his offer was made, he was obliged to pay the sum.

We stayed too short a time in the cave for me to draw it, but I have endeavoured from recollection to give you an idea of it. We now remounted our waggon, but found great difficulty in getting to the end of our journey, as the cattle sometimes lay down quite exhausted on the sand-hills; in particular poor Tea-water (all the oxen have their names, and this was his)—Tea-water was so weak, that they were obliged to put him in the place of Landsman, and make him a leader.

We changed our team where we had before changed in the morning,—it was not easy to find it; it is by cracking of the whip the drivers let each other know where they are, and, as there is no trace of a road, they cannot in a dark night guess within a quarter of a mile, or perhaps more, of each other's situation. At one time I observed our driver lashed his oxen into a gallop; I apprehended some wild beasts were near, but he explained to Mr. Barnard that we were passing by one of the spots where the cattle usually assemble together at night, and, had our oxen smelt the others, off they would have been over bush and briar, and we should have spent the night with Tea-water's friends.

We did not reach home till eleven. Mr. Barnard was not well, and went to bed. I made a fricassee in the conjurer, much to my own satisfaction and that of the others. The aide-de-camp once more vowed to be up betimes to pop at the partridges; but waking vows are sometimes lost in sleepy infidelity.

Wednesday, May 9th, 1798.—An admirable breakfast of a mutton-chop of a particular kind, being the side of the sheep after the shoulder and leg are cut off; it is salted, peppered, with crumbs of bread and parsley,—nothing can be more savoury. We had also very fine wild honey.

One of the slaves here, seeing me take notice of one of her children, pleased and flattered, brought me seven more. One of the little ones she made me understand was dumb. I looked into its mouth, and saw evidently that the tongue was tacked down by a ligament I have often seen cut. How I wished that I durst have set it a-going with my scissors; but while I looked the child began to roar; and as it was a girl, I thought it was possible I might do

more harm than good by giving liberty to an unruly member. Jesting apart, I feared the locked-jaw, which I have sometimes heard was the consequence of any injudicious step of this kind; and, like a coward, I did nothing from the terror of doing ill.

Wherever we turned as we left this place the bontebocks bounded away before us, and set Johnnie's heart a-beating. No tillage—no trees—and but one human being appeared as we travelled on. We passed the Clyne Riviére Kloof—not steep, but stony and dangerous from the frequent slopings of the road—some very marshy passes—to the right, a range of hills and a cascade—to the left, a long row of mountains, which on turning the angle we found was succeeded by another. We passed the Hartebeast Riviére—a good farm belonging to one Tesler—the Steinbrass Riviére—and arrived about six at M. Wolfram's, who rents the Government baths, where people go for a variety of complaints—and slept there.

Thursday, May 10*th*, 1798.—While breakfast was preparing, I made acquaintance with two very distinguished personages, a pair of young ostriches of about eight months old. There was something in their appearance so unlike anything I had seen before, that, when I perceived a couple of creatures whose long throats reached about four feet higher than the horses' backs that they stood by, I rubbed my eyes, thinking my head was giddy. Mrs. Wolfram called them to her, and they ran directly at the sight of two oranges, one of which they swallowed at a gulp,—the second orange, being rather large, stuck in the throat of one of the immense creatures, who instantly picked up a stone of nearly the same size, which he swallowed to put it down. I never saw so fine a drawing as might have been made of a battle between an ostrich and a man; it would have been worthy of Herculaneum,—the ostrich, baulked of his orange, getting at last so wildly, madly, and beautifully angry, that it was a charming sight; but then he becomes dangerous, for, if he puts his foot on the man's, he treads it flat. He is an astonishing creature, not without a resemblance to a horse and to a camel; he makes a wonderful link between the bird and beast, partaking of both, as the penguin does of fish and fowl in his low class, where he is, however, as perfect a link as the ostrich.

Having expressed a wish to see the baths, Mr. Wolfram took

us in the waggon. The Government House consists of three or four rooms, which could be divided so as to contain a dozen or two of invalids, but there are bare walls only at present. The water is introduced in its own stream into a small house where there is the bathing-place; I put my hand in it, and could just hold it there. In the kitchen I admired a very picturesque group —a Hottentot woman in her ornaments, a boor, little Charles, and slaves of different countries, all collected together; but the boor's figure, supinely smoking his pipe, first looking at the Hottentot he was accustomed to see, and then at the Englishwoman he had never seen before, would have been in itself a picture.

When we returned to the house, Mr. Barnard settled the expense of the horses, as Wolfram would not hear of accepting of money for our eating. He of course overpaid the other bill, which was the same thing.—As to the slaves, they ask for nothing, but they gaze one out of scissors, needles, ribands, and whatever else, poor things, they covet—and they accept with transport; a Dutchwoman, on the contrary, pockets your gift, how much soever she may like it, almost without thanks, and rather with an air of offence, being too proud to praise.

But now all was ready. We ascended, and packed ourselves again into our waggon, and, with another charming day, the gift of the kind Power who blessed the journey, we set off to see those humble missionaries under Him, who, sent by the Moravian Church about seven years ago, have made so great a progress in civilising and converting the Hottentots to Christianity. Of these men, of their worthy undertaking, of their primitive manners, I had heard much, and this it was I desired with my own eyes to judge of, and to see what sort of people the Hottentots are when collected together in such an extensive *craal* as that which surrounds the mansion of the Fathers.

In the houses I had as yet stopped in I had seen only the servants of the farmers, kept to hard work and under humiliating subjection. I had reason to guess the Fathers, or Herrn-hüters, as they are called in this country, were no favourites of theirs,—and ere long we shall see the reason. Their abode we were told was at the foot of the Baviaan and Boscheman's Kloof, at about four hours' distance, viz. sixteen miles, and we hoped to get there by two o'clock.

The river which runs from the Bath accompanied us part of our journey—we had two ugly steps to drag through, of boggy brooks—saw one farm-house at a distance amongst the mountains—then lengthy hills and hills succeeding to each other, but with some little appearance of verdure, from the same cause I have before mentioned, the vegetation of heaths and evergreens. Baron Kilderness has a house here, a comfortable-looking farm, the first appearance of ground in tillage since we left the Baths. Here we met a specimen of Hottentot cavalry, an ox saddled and bridled, which seemed to be carrying his bare rider just as well as if he had been an Arabian and the rider dressed in the best buckskin. Sweet Milk Fly, or Valley, was seen at a distance, or rather its mountains rising over knotty hillocks—more mountains when we left these, and another range beyond,

> "Never ending, still beginning—
> Was this country worth the winning?
> Yes! here 's climate, soil, beside thee;
> Cultivate—the gods provide thee!"

"Good morrow, moeder!" said Gaspar to an old Hottentot woman with a dog running by her side; "Goeden morgend!"—"She is coming from school," said he. She smiled to us with much benignity, and pointed to the country she had left, saying "Herrn-hüters?"—"Yaw, yaw!" said I. She clasped her hands and looked at the place as much as to say "God bless them!" and passed on.

To the right we passed another farmhouse of tolerable appearance—we passed over another hill, and then at a distance we saw the humble mansion of the Fathers. Each step we took we now found a bit of grass or a few cattle, a craal or hut, a corn-field, a little garden interrupted by heath—then more cattle, a larger field, cows and calves—these cows and calves, the look of peace and prosperity, I need not tell any one of you what sort of sensations it conveyed—it was the tacit manna of the Almighty showered down on his children.

A waggon now appeared at a small distance before us, and Gaspar had not so little of the *esprit du métier* as to be without the desire of getting to the house before it. There was not much accommodation for the horses to be expected, and the "Secretarius" himself, he seemed to think, would have no chance of

having his horses put into stable if the others arrived first. He therefore whipped on through a marshy ground, by which he meant to jockey the other party,—our cunning had almost lodged us in a bog, but two or three Hottentot women, seeing our distress, ran before us to put us in the right path, which we gained with some difficulty. The other waggon however won the day, and the horses were in the stable when we arrived—but Gaspar's were also provided for.

The Fathers, of whom there were three, came out to meet us in their working jackets, each man being employed in following the business of his original profession—a miller, a smith—a carpenter and tailor in one. They welcomed us simply and frankly, without artificial gladness or more than hospitable civility, and led us into their sitting-room, a small but neat apartment, in which there was a chimney and a grate. 'T was here I began to regret more than ever the absence of Mr. Prince, whom I should have pinned to my sleeve and found such use in! However they made us comprehend that the house we were then in was built with their own hands five years ago; that they were sent by the Moravian Church in Germany; that their object was to convert the Hottentots, to render them industrious, religious, and happy; that they had spent some time in looking out for a proper situation, sheltered, of a good soil, near water—and that they had fixed here,—that they had been furnished with money by their Church to collect materials, and to assist them till they could earn something for themselves,—that they had procured some Hottentots to assist them in the beginning of the work, and by their treatment of them more had been encouraged to creep round them. "This grate," said he, "and all the iron-work, is my broeder's making; he got the bars, and fashioned it himself." The other two had raised the walls, which were of clay mixed with stone, and had done the wood-work and glazed the whole,—the tailor had taught the Hottentot women to make rush mats of a sort of reed, with which the floor of the church was covered over the clay, and which also lined it all round, shoulder high. They bid us step in to see it, which we did,—we entered from the small room we were in, and found it about forty feet long and twenty broad; the pulpit was only a few steps raised above the ground and matted with the same rushes, on which three chairs

were placed, and a small table and desk, on which was the Bible. The church had benches on each hand, the right side for the men, the left for the women, and to these they entered by separate doors at the end.

I regretted much that it was Thursday and not Sunday, when I should have found the whole community, about three hundred Hottentots, assembled to divine worship; but I found I should have only seen them more dressed, and such as had acquired any clothes by their industry would have worn them,—I should also have seen a greater number; but that I should still see plenty, as at sunsetting every day, when business was supposed to be over, there were prayers. We retired to our parlour, and, the church-bell now ringing to bring them all together, when the church was full and all was ready, we begged leave to make part of the congregation.

I doubt much whether I should have entered St. Peter's at Rome, with the triple crown itself present in all its ancient splendour, with a more awed impression of the Deity and his presence than I did this little church, of a few feet square, where the simple disciples of Christianity, dressed in the skins of animals, knew no purple or fine linen, no pride, no hypocrisy. I felt as if I was creeping back seventeen hundred years, to hear from the rude but inspired lips of evangelists the simple sacred words of wisdom and purity.

The service began after the Presbyterian form with a psalm. Then indeed the note that raised itself to heaven was an affecting one; about one hundred and fifty Hottentots joined in the twenty-third psalm in a tone so sweet, so loud, but so just and true that it was impossible to hear it without being surprised. The Fathers, who were the sole music-masters, sang their deep-toned bass along with them, and the harmony was excellent. One fault only I found,—the key on which they took the psalm was too high, by which means the shrill pipes of the women rang upon the ear too sharply, and made one apprehensive of their own voices being injured by it. This over, the miller took a portion of the Scripture, and expounded as he went along,—how I wished to have understood him! but by the chapter he spoke from (St. Matth. viii. 11), and a word now and then, I knew the subject he dwelt on,—that the goodness of God knew no distinction of persons, and that the

Dutchman who was great and rich, with abundance of slaves and cattle, was not more sure of a place in a better world than the Hottentot was who was good, and who would find a seat in heaven kept for him to eternal happiness.

Mild and tender by nature, oppressed by the Dutch and often sinking under it, the poor creatures blessed God as they listened, while the artless tears of gratitude and hope fell down on their sheepskins. The Father's discourse was short, and seemed to be whatever came first without study,—the tone of his voice had no puritanism in it, it was even and natural; but when he used the words, which he often did, *myne lieve vriende*, "my beloved friends," I thought he felt to them all as his children. Not a Hottentot did I see in this congregation that had a bad passion in the countenance; I watched them closely—all was sweetness and attention; I was even surprised to observe so few vacant eyes, and so little curiosity directed to ourselves; I own our dresses, the great coats I have mentioned, well pounded in the waggon, were not very attracting.

Dinner was now ready, and we were well disposed to do it ample justice, but that dinner—bread, eggs, and vegetables excepted—was drawn from our own stores; we had one fowl by the bye, but that was all,—the Fathers never eat meat, unless the Hottentots bring them game, or an animal meets with an accident, in which case he is cut up and divided into numberless portions, and all fare gladly on what they are too economical to kill. They live on the produce of their garden chiefly, on milk, eggs, rice, coffee, but by no means object to meat when it comes in their way. I helped the sweet old men to great lumps of cold meat again and again, particularly to ham, the half of one of which we had boiled, and never saw I finer appetites—"Broeder, eat this!"—"Broeder, take another slice."—"Ledi, ask him, he likes it!"—at the same time telling us they had not tasted ham since they left Germany,—of course the piece was put aside for them, and thankfully accepted. Our cask of Madeira and our gin were next produced. They had no affectation about it, but gladly took, as a day of fête, all we offered them, and said they should often like to have wine, but that, their pride being to cost their Church as little as possible, they had accustomed themselves to do without it.

They professed themselves to be perfectly happy in their situa-

tion, though it was by no means free from danger, not from the Hottentots, who loved them, but from the boors, who were angry at their having come amongst them to teach the others how to be industrious and independent,—that, as to religion, they did not care whether they were enlightened or not, provided they were kept poor, lazy, and subordinate,—that the farmers had found the Hottentots more patient, tractable, and laborious than the slaves of the other countries that they bought—they also came infinitely cheaper to them. They had been in the habit of hiring them at three or four shillings a-month,—at first they used them well, but kept their wages in their hands; by degrees, as the debt grew longer, the Hottentot had more and more required of him without any means of redress; he felt himself compelled to stay on to move his master to do him justice, which was seldom or never done. "You see, therefore," said the Fathers, "that they have an interest in getting exclusively into their power the people who cultivate their grounds and do everything for them.—We, on the other hand, have taught them to do many things by which they daily become more and more independent of the Dutch; we have taught them gardening, made them attend to the seasons of sowing and reaping, got them to make butter and a kind of cheese, to work mats, to make flour; we have prevailed on each family to have a spot of ground round its craal to rear things on,—tomorrow you shall see them; and every morning at sunrising and sunsetting we meet to prayers, which keeps them regular and cleanly,—they are a mild, honest, but very inactive people; our religious tenets they understand enough to be charmed by them, and the more so that through us they find peace, ease, and no necessity for laborious servitude,—the farmers of course find it more difficult to get them for servants than they used to do, for when once a Hottentot gets to Baviaan's Kloof, and under this hill is taught religion, industry, and good order, he is frightened at the idea of service.

"At first they came but scantily to join us—by degrees more arrived; those who came first live the nearest to us—the new settlers are more distant, and begin to extend wide. You observed all those little patches as you came along,—they are the property of the craals; one man raises one thing, another another; they barter them or sell them at the Cape, and get clothes for them,

pots, or what they may want,—but in the mean time we are here but to-day; we know not how soon the revenge of the farmers may take us off. Again and again there have been plans laid to murder us,—the last, when we erected the church-bell that you see there, which we put up to assemble the people together, as they could not always in bad weather guess at the hour, we were to have been shot with poisoned arrows when the congregation was assembled near it, for the church was not then finished; but it was the will of God that the plot should be discovered. Those who laid it live near us, and there is no security against the skill with which some of the African tribes shoot their poisoned darts,—a button or a bit of tobacco may be the price of a life."

You may easily suppose that this was a point to engage Mr. Barnard's warmest attention. We knew the thing before to be the simple fact, and a narrow escape they had; but as some of the Fathers, as they told us, meant to be shortly at the Cape to receive a new brother whom they expected from Fatherland, he thought there would be an opportunity then of laying the matter before the Governor, and settling what was best to be done for their security.

Jane and I had intended, with the assistance of Johnnie, to spend the small portion that remained of the evening in threading up our beads for the Hottentots, and drawing from our stores such little trappings as we thought would please them; but there was something in these worthy men that made me pause over this,—I had a presentiment that their good sense might object to the measure, and was determined to do nothing without consulting them.

They smiled when I shewed them my hoard, disapproved of nothing, but, thanking me for giving them leave to speak their minds freely, said, they would be glad if I kept back the beads and all other ornaments; they wished their minds to be turned to industry and not to ostentation, which is their natural turn; but if I had any garden-seeds, common knives, coarse scissors, or thread, they would be grateful for them, but reminded me that there were three hundred of them, and that, unless some little civility from some of them justified particular gifts, it might introduce jealousy amongst the others.

Guided by his opinions, I put up my beads, and employed

myself in new packing all the trunks,—like Esop's baskets, ours had been eaten lighter, and misfortunes (the effects of Pawell's bad packing) had made us still more so, the bottle of lamp-oil having been broken by the jolting of the waggon, and a bag of raisins finely soaked with it. My next object was to collect for the Fathers all the things we could spare, amongst which there was an English cheese, some tea, sugar, a piece of beef, a small lantern, a crockery lamp, a little rice, coffee, and brown paper.

But the present of all I put most value on, and which they seemed to value most, was the third part of the fleshy Margaret strawberry. Fond of their garden, and extremely neat in the divisions of it, I painted how delicious this fruit would prove if well taken care of, and that it was sent me by my sister Margaret, the most beautiful woman in Europe, who desired it might be called by her own name,—" and you, Fathers," said I, " are the only people in Africa who have this."—The circumstance pleased them,—even under the Baviaan Kloof a pretty woman is not without her influence in creating the glow of vanity in a holy heart —they eagerly seized the paper.

In the small sitting-room a couple of cane sofas were put, and we contrived to spend the night very comfortably.

Friday, May 11*th*, 1798.—This morning I rose betimes. Mr. Barnard had told me that I had but three hours to make the best of, as we must get to Sweet-Milk Valley that evening—a military quarter for the cavalry, and reckoned the most beautiful situation in the country.

The first thing I did was to visit the garden, with which I was greatly pleased, but there were many things wanting in it which I hoped to be able to supply them with from seeds with good effect. Indeed I see no reason why these people may not be as rich as they please, having hands and soil. I mentioned the cotton-tree and indigo, both of which grow wild in this country,—the marshy ground where we had almost been bogged I thought would do well, if drained, for rice—they believed it; and I recommended a very extensive plantation of potatoes as a capital good granary against starvation either in man or beast,—hemp and flax, I thought, might grow well, and there was a noble spot for a vineyard and for orange-trees. On these points we agreed and comprehended each other, which I was vain of, as I doubt much if my

whole stock of Dutch amounts to two dozen of words. The miller attended me, the others prepared the breakfast and waited on the contents of the other waggon, in which there was a handsome, very fat young woman, whom Rubens would have married for a fourth wife if he had seen her and been a widower—an old woman, a bunch of children, and slaves.

We returned to breakfast, and sallied forth the moment it was over. My first object was to take a view of the place from a distance, where I could not only bring in the church, but have a view of a part of the craals which surrounded it; many of them reached far beyond what my drawing could take in.

The Father and I climbed the mountain to the right; the sun was warm, and shone inconveniently bright on my paper,—I put him between it and me till such time as little Charles should reach me with my umbrella. I then gave the old man his liberty, but he was pleased to see me work, and would not go. I did not succeed to my wish—the sun was too vertical to give me the proper shadows, and I do not understand drawing from a height. He was transported when I traced the church-bell; the erecting of it, I saw, had been a flattering epocha in the calm tenor of time.—I then descended with him, and hastily went through a dozen of the little gardens of the Hottentots; they were not very neat, but each one had something growing in it. The huts were of clay, thatched with rushes, some square as in Ireland, others round in the original Hottentot fashion, and brought up to the top without rushes, a hole only being left in the middle to serve as a vent, and another for the door. I entered one or two of the round ones,—the Hottentots were out, working in the field; furniture there was none, a few sticks were in the centre to boil their kettle, and tied to the sticks of the roof were a few skins, some calabashes, an iron pot, a couple of spoons made of bits of wood, to the end of which a deep shell was spliced and tied on, some calabash ladles and bowls. I saw nothing further to remark among the craals but the bakehouse, a nice round oven, where a Hottentot was baking the loaves of the others,—they nodded to us without awe as we passed.

The brothers who remained in the house were delighted with my drawing. The smith begged me to walk into his workshop; there I saw rough tools for hammering out iron into common

shapes, and two or three Hottentots at work, making knives. He shewed me one that he said would soon be able to make knives without any more directions from him, an ingenious-looking lad of fifteen. "Here is what he does already," said he; "all my penknives are gone, but I have these remaining." I bought a couple—I suppose it is the means of livelihood to them; they generally sell something to the strangers who go to see them. This done, I sat me down by the door of the workshop, and took a view of the church and house nearer; it pleased them still more than the other, but the smith, in a woeful tone, asked *where* his workshop was, for *there* was the church and *there* the house, but his workshop was not there, though it was *here*,—he was not aware that I could not introduce the place I was drawing from. But I wrote under the sketch, "This was taken from the door of Mynheer Küpnel's workshop," which seemed at once to content him.

All at last being ready for departure, Mr. Barnard paid for the barley the horses had had, or rather the *bear*, as there is no barley here. We loaded the Hottentots who particularly belonged to the house with little gifts,—money would have been of no use to them. To the Fathers we gave presents, not forgetting the relics of the ham,—they gladly took all, with thanks, and we departed—pleased with the twenty-four hours we had spent, and only sorry we could not have doubled them.*

We arrived at Sweet-Milk Valley early in the evening. Mynheer Tunis gave us an excellent supper, dressed by Gaspar, who, I find, is head cook wherever he goes.

Saturday, May 12th, 1798.—This same Sweet-Milk Valley does not at all answer my expectations. I was told of charming woods where the greatest variety of choice timber was to be found—stink-wood, ebony or black-wood, satin-wood, the wild olive, which resembles tortoiseshell when polished, and many others; but I saw not a tree. I learnt afterwards that there is a deep glen between the rising ground and the mountains, which is wooded all over,—this may be very useful, but does not beautify the country much. I had no time to go to see it, which I was sorry for.

* For an interesting account of a visit to Genadendal, as the settlement of the Herrnhüters was subsequently called, in 1812, at which time the number of converts had increased to seven hundred, see Mr. Burchell's 'Travels,' t. i. p. 109.—*Ed.*

Proceeded this day to the Landrost's of Swellendam, but found to our dismay that they had been detained a day or two longer at the Cape than they expected, and were not yet returned. But here was another civil schoolmaster, the tutor of the *yonge vrow*, who is an only child, and whom he reports as quite clever enough, if she would mind her book. Like the other, he bewailed that all was locked up—even the apartments were—beds, bedding, wine, everything but such eatables as did very well for us; we therefore made a good supper on what we could get. The good *meister* gave us some of his private bottle of punch, and we got out our mattresses, sheets, blankets—and, after a good deal of laughing, went to sleep just as well as if we had satin canopies over our heads.

Sunday, May 13th, 1798.—Woke very early after a good nap, but could not help laughing very heartily, we resembled so much a set of strolling players in a barn. Got up, and prepared a very excellent breakfast for my fellow-actors. Thieved a few feathers out of the wing of a flamingo for my sisters—it was used as a fan to brush away the flies.—Departed with a guide—saw no house for five miles, and then another of the Landrost's, with craals around it of Hottentots belonging to the farm, all naked.

A good deal of game had got up on our way, but here a couple of immense birds appeared, larger than geese. Off went Hobgoblin with his rider at full speed—he dismounted—fired :—" I have killed him, by Jove!" said the transported Johnnie, as he brought me the bird—" see how fat he is—look how handsome he is! Not an officer of the mess will believe me when I tell him this—give me off one of his feet, I pray, to put in my pocket, that I may shew my voucher."—I begged him to defer that till we reached our journey's end, and tied the *pow*, or wild peacock, to the waggon—a very fine bird indeed, of grave colours, but rich brown.—Passed through a stony river, the road worse for the waggon than the kloof—a quantity of wild thorns now grew everywhere, sometimes they met so close as to endanger our eyes. Three ostriches appeared at a distance, and a secretary-bird—Mr. Barnard on horseback endeavoured to shoot his colleague—Gaspar shook his head, and cried, *Neit goed, neit goed!* It is in the first place reckoned very unlucky to kill one, and is, in the second, contrary, I believe, to law, as they are supposed to be

necessary to destroy certain enormous snakes, &c.—Johnnie Dalrymple's happy star shone bright to-day, for two core-hens and certain partridges and curlews also fell victims to his gun.

After passing a small brook, where the water appeared thick and brackish, Gaspar told us we must alight and dine, as the horses must have an hour and a half to rest. At liberty from their harness, up went all the two-and-thirty hoofs in the air—hoofs, I may say, for the horses in Africa have no shoes, and they go so well without them that even Mr. Barnard begins to doubt if the practice of shoeing is a good one, or whether there is not more harm than advantage in it to a sound horse.

Our cold meat, our Hamburgh beef, our tongue, our excellent butter given us by Mynheer Tunis, all with the sauce of hunger, tasted exquisite. A Dutch party would have eat away, and left the slaves to throw up their hoofs and refresh themselves with the horses, or have given them scraps afterwards, but we divided with our crew, and, with a very small *sopie* of gin to each, made them as happy as ourselves.

I plucked from the great thorn-trees some of their prickles, of which I send you a few; they exactly resemble the horns of the cattle. I hear the plant has found its way to Kew Gardens, and is there called the cuckold-tree; it is certainly no scandal to give it that name, for richly does it deserve it from the quantity of horns it bears, and, all being white, at a distance it looks as if the tree was covered with snow.

The Pottenberg hills here appeared at a distance, under which runs the Braid Riviére.

We now remounted our waggon, and without seeing anything else to remark—house, river, corn-field, or human creature—in the course of the ensuing twenty miles, reached (rather late) the abode of Jacob van Rhenin, where Mr. Barnard had so much wished to find himself, on account of the excellent sport he was told he should find there. As it was dark, I could only judge that we descended a hill to go to it, and I observed Gaspar was cautious of his footsteps,—in the shade I thought I could espy some giants on each side of us—they were aloes, which grow here in great abundance, and with their long bodies and bushy heads make very good ghosts. We were met at the door by Jacob van Rhenin and his vrow, a whole clutch of fair children, and many

clutches of black. We saw at once that we were both welcome and expected.

When we entered the house, we found it rather different from the common style of Dutch architecture—better in some respects, but not so well as it might have been. We came at once into the hall or family-room, which was a good one of thirty-five by twenty-five, without any intermediate passage,—on the one side was our apartment, viz. the best one; on the other a smaller, where Johnnie, Pawell, and the baggage were to sleep,—the third apartment was that which the good people occupied themselves, and where, I suspect, all the children slept also. The kitchen was the fourth, and there was a trap-staircase to the roof of the house, which was used as a store-room, like all the rest of the farm-houses,—in which roof many convenient pigeon-holes might have been used if the proprietors had ever been introduced to the knowledge of what it was to be comfortable.

The vrow was of the same size and age with all the rest of the married women in the colony,—the moment half a dozen children are born, five-and-thirty and fifteen stone seem to be acquired of course. They have no idea, I see, of continuing to look handsome to please their husbands,—I believe the husbands would even think it odd if their wives were to dress neat and smart like the girls. A blue stuff petticoat, or a brown, a cotton bedgown with long sleeves, a double mock shawl handkerchief, and a Scots mutch, or round plaited morning cap, is the dress of every woman in the Cape when at home.

The vrow here had one perfection, which to me is a great one, an open and sweet countenance, no solicitude about anything, and tolerable good teeth—a very rare thing to be seen, as the women here lose the front ones entirely when they pass thirty, and they have no idea of supplying them. She pointed to the table, where tea and coffee boil over charcoal all day long, and milk ditto, saying, "Mak—self—know best vat like"—which was sensible—and gave us a good white loaf and choice fresh butter, which we made great havock on.

Johnnie now began to whisper something about the foot of the *pow*, and, as this seemed to be a house without ceremony, I told them I should strip it myself of its feathers in my own room, which I did, saving the best for you all, and those

of the core-hen. The children assisted me, and we were all very jolly.

At nine supper appeared, and was the best supper I ever ate in my life. There was at one end of the table a large shapeless piece of fine juicy roast veal; at the other a round of something black, like beef, larded—it was bontebock stewed in its own gravy, and admirable—no fat, I own, but the flesh a mixture between venison and beef—Mr. Barnard, though no supper-man, did it ample justice—potatoes also, rice and curry—a sort of soup—a quantity of our own partridges spliced and done on the gridiron with salt and pepper—bad Cape wine only, which we cared little about, having a store of our own, and some very tolerable apples, dried buck, and butter for dessert. *Her* father, a very old and beautiful figure, supped in his nightcap with us, as did Jacob himself, —a Dutchman is never happy till he gets on his cap and nightgown. I expected to have seen him with his pipe also, like the others; but he never smokes, having lived elsewhere at the time first habits are formed. The schoolmaster was also of the party, and all the children, who were attended by an equal number of slaves, chiefly girls.

Van Rhenin proposed that next morning, if the day was fine, Mr. Barnard should go a-hunting in his waggon,—he concluded the ladies would not like to go; but as he told us we should probably fall in with troops of zebras and other wild animals we had never seen before and might never have an opportunity of seeing again, both Jane and I resolved to be of the chase, though he bid us prepare to be as well jolted as ever we were in our lives.—At a reasonable hour we separated, and slept "like the sons of Kings"—perhaps better.

Monday, May 14*th*, 1798.—Up at a tolerable hour—we breakfasted—the waggon was ready, to which there was no top—the vrow declined making one; she had to get us a good dinner against our return, and she hinted another reason which the jolting of the waggon would not have suited. Off we set—Mr. Barnard, Johnnie, Jane and myself, Adonis, the gamekeeper or rather gamekiller, little Charles—and Gaspar driving—with a forest of guns in the waggon, all charged—fear being the only thing that had been dis-charged.

I perceived the house was placed in a small valley, somewhat

like the bottom of a bason, the ground rising all round it, which kept it sheltered; but there was not a tree to be seen, a few thorns and aloes excepted. He had built it about two years before,—part of the offices were not yet finished. When we got out of our bason and to the top of the ascent, a boundless plain opened before us, boundless except to the left, where some mountains rose at a great distance, and by the sea, as I was told, at another point, but these did not interrupt the wide range which the eye took in. "And now lend me the whip," said Van Rhenin, "and do you, Gaspar, hold the reins."

The whip he applied to his eight horses, who, knowing their master's taste, set off at full gallop, leaving the winds behind them. Game bolted out on all sides—I took my pencil to mark them down as they passed—six ostriches—six pows—one ditto—one buck—twelve wild geese—one hare—nineteen ostriches—one young steinbuck—four bontebocks—nine bontebocks—four steinbucks—four roebucks. The bucks always run against the wind; we therefore knew where they must pass, and galloped our waggon at full speed to stop their course by a shot. Van Rhenin took one of Mr. Barnard's guns,—he liked to shoot from the waggon, being rather lazy, and as Jane and I had no right to object to anything, having shoved ourselves into the party, off went the guns round us; but Van Rhenin was always too high or too low—I believe Adonis would have succeeded better. Mr. Barnard and the aide-de-camp, unaccustomed to this sort of hunting, preferred mounting their horses and taking their guns. Four or five hours we spent in galloping in this manner over the face of this immense heath, where half a dozen dry ponds or pools are the only varieties of feature.

The soil, like all the rest of the country, seemed good, waiting only to be tried to prove itself so. The heath fattens the cattle well, and, as the horses know no better, they are contented with it. The hills which appeared at a distance are the habitations of the zebras, who come down to the plain in certain winds, but they were at that time contrary. Van Rhenin offered to get me a couple of young ones tamed, but he bid me take care what they drank; they will eat most things and drink whatever they can find; he had had one killed with lime-water. When they grow old they become fierce and bite.

Much as we saw of game, we returned without killing anything. Mr. Barnard said he had shot and (he was certain) wounded a bontebock, but, as he had no voucher so strong as the foot of Johnnie's *pow*, we would not believe him. We returned before three, and found our good-humoured hostess and dinner ready for us—the table clean laid—game in plenty—but no meat except the continuation of the calf, the head of which was served up, as is the custom here, entire, with the horns and its own fine set of teeth. All was good however, and not so much undone with grease as in other houses. After dinner the conversation turned on the melancholy fate of the "Governor" a great many years ago, which, you may remember, was wrecked on one of the most barbarous shores in Africa.

This Jacob Van Rhenin was the man who proposed to the Dutch government to send a party from the Cape to explore the interior part of the country, and to travel along the sea-shore to ascertain whether any of that unfortunate crew still lived. Some were supposed to exist,—in particular it was believed that several of the ladies had been carried off and forced to remain among the Caffres,—six years had elapsed since the ship was lost, but still there was a chance that some might be alive, and Van Rhenin, joined by eleven other gentlemen, his particular friends, (one of whom died of illness on the journey and another was killed by an elephant,) traversed a country which no civilized person before had ever dared to visit.

At first they ran a considerable risk from the Boschemen and Caffres, but, when they found what was the object of their journey, they did them no harm. Upon the best enquiry, they found that the crew which was saved consisted of two hundred persons, and that they had been able to collect a good many useful things from the wreck, but, being without a leader, the men would not bend to any authority, which was the chief cause of their misfortunes afterwards. They divided themselves into three parties instead of keeping together. The first went into a peopled country where the natives were fierce and poor, and would give nothing without a return,—those, alas! were starved to death. Another division, amongst whom were the women and children, remained in the middle part of the country, but they ultimately shared the same fate. A third party travelled by the banks of rivers and by the

sea-coast, taking their chance of what they could pick up for subsistence, and were also lost in the end, all but five, who reached the Cape. Traces of many of these unfortunate people Van Rhenin saw five or six years afterwards—their skeletons, part of their clothes, two pieces of spermaceti candle which remained undamaged by the elements, and a silver coat-button, on which the unfortunate proprietor, "Colonel Johnstone," had engraved his name, leaving it, the last legacy of misery and affection, on the barren sand, though with but little hope that any pitying chance should ever send over that trackless desert a person who should find and convey it to his family. Van Rhenin gave the button to Colonel Gordon, who commanded at the Cape, to find out by the spelling of the name and number of the regiment who had had such a relation. What a melancholy pledge it would be to receive of a son or brother!

The five people I before mentioned (probably sailors) surmounted ten thousand difficulties, and by following the tracks of the rivers, living on muscles and shell-fish, reached Cape Town. One of them, an Italian, carried all the way in his arms an infant belonging, he said, to the Governor of Bengal; but, on enquiring more closely, we found it must have been the child of Sir Robert Chambers. He had nourished it on plantains and water,—at last he came to a spot of safety—he made a fire to warm it, and left it for a moment to see what he could gather for its support; the infant being cold crept to the fire, where it lost its balance and fell in; he found it alive on his return, but it died next day. Its parents never knew the manner of its death, and so much the better.

He told us, however, that, although no person remained of the crew, there was an old woman, near sixty years of age, an European, who had been found when a child by the Caffres under similar circumstances. She did not know from what country she came, but remembered to have sailed a great way in a ship. He proposed to her to come down and visit the Europeans at the Cape; she seemed intoxicated with pleasure at the idea, but said she could not till her harvest was got. She had been married in the Caffre fashion to the richest man of the tribe,—that is to say, he had more cattle than anybody; and her sons by him were all Captains—a preeminence given to them voluntarily by the rest in compliment to her as a white woman. She still

lives, and still proposes coming to the Cape,—I wish she would make her words good while I am here; I should be very glad to give old Caffraria an apartment in the Castle.

To-night we had what was a treat to Mr. Barnard, a large dish of oysters, and some very fine fish. Johnnie said the oysters were good, but they did not look so well as ours. Their shells are singular—I send two; every oyster has a room and a dressing-room, so, when she is "crossed in love" and unhappy, she may retire to her "boudoir." There are pearls frequently found in them. I wanted Van Rhenin to make an oyster-pit, and try to fatten up some jewels,—I must look into the 'Encyclopedia' for this—a book which, if thrown upon a desert island with one, would shove one forwards about a hundred years.

He proposed next day, if we liked it, to go on a fishing party to the mouth of the Breede Riviére, which is joined on its way by four others, and here falls into the sea. He dined there generally twice a-week, he said, in fine weather, "and my fat woman," said he, kindly taking his wife by the hand, "will have no objection to accompany you." She nodded assent—she has but little English, though she understands all that is said. This settled, we separated.

Tuesday, May 15*th*, 1798.—The charming weather still continuing, we mounted our waggon—not the light hunting machine, but one to hold all the family, and set off, partly the same road as before. Bucks, pows, and ostriches again appeared. At a distance a flock of birds still larger than pows were seen; they were so busy about something as not to perceive that we were approaching them, till, scared by guns, they mounted and hovered, half unwilling to depart. We found it was a company of eagles feasting magnificently on the identical bontebock we had faced Mr. Barnard out of the day before,—the spot was nearly where he had shot. But little more of the buck remained than the head. Van Rhenin took possession of it as a perquisite to the Lord of the Manor, and departing we gave the eagles liberty to renew their meal.

I met with a very aromatic grass here, which I took some of, but the smell has gone off. I wished to have had another plant, a miniature aloe, which is used as a kind of birdlime, but I felt shy of proposing it to others to stop for my fancy.

I got some curious bulbs of an odd plant, the leaves of which

spread like a fan, thin and flat; and longed to have picked up some stones, so like French rolls, that it would have been impossible to know the difference. On falling down to the river, there was much fragrance from the bushes, a thousand agreeable but old-fashioned smells, such as the noses of nieces and nephews have been regaled with on the opening of old India cabinets of their grandmothers or aunts. On the shore there are flat black rocks to which square bits of iron are fixed, and are sometimes found detached; Van Rhenin supposes there is volcanic matter below—I send a specimen. I had not time to proceed on to where the sea-beans are found, but they gave me some,—they are highly esteemed by the Dutch, I know not why; they mount and hang them to their watches,—I think they would make curious ear-rings. After taking a slight sketch of the shore, I saw the boat return, loaded with fish. Gaspar had lighted a fire amongst the bushes; the Vrow van Rhenin tucked up her sleeves, and, by the time my drawing was ready, dinner was.

On the grass we arranged ourselves—a sail-cloth for our damask; each one had his plate, each his appetite; mustard, salt, pepper were in calabashes. Adonis arrived, not loaded with game to the expecting Venuses, but with the tridents of Neptune, viz. four three-pronged pitchforks, on which were spitted fish, salted, peppered, buttered, roasted, before a clear fire on these forks, which were stuck in the ground, and a pan accompanied them of a hot sauce of butter, lemon-juice, soy, and cayenne. Nothing could be better—how I wished you all to have had a share with us, on Fortunatus's carpet! A fish-soup also came, which the others eat with rice; and a great variety of other fish, cut in pieces, and fried, made up the entertainment. Never did I see Mr. Barnard make so hearty a dinner,—he said the same of me with equal justice.

The nets were now hauled again,—they produced a huge skate, as large as a house, which sighed bitterly and died with difficulty; it was ordered into oil. There were a great many little fish like eels with it; they have bills like woodcocks, and are called becasse-fish.—We returned to our station, and there, reclining on the grass, while the gentlemen took a moderate sip of our Madeira, we looked round us pleased and praising the entertainment of the day.

Van Rhenin seemed to enjoy our satisfaction, and, conversation stealing on with ease and confidence, it insensibly turned on his first setting off in life, and what had led him to fix on a spot two hundred miles distant from the general residence of his family.

"My father," said he, "left Holland for the Cape when I and my three brothers were infants; as they grew up, they married and settled; I remained with him as a sort of clerk, and he particularly loved me. On a certain occasion French troops were obliged to put in at the Cape; they were in distress for money and for necessaries, having neither credit nor bills; my father at his own risk ventured to let them have what was necessary, for which they gave him bills on the French Government, at the same time stating their obligations to him,—for which he was thanked by the great men in power, and by the bankers of the Court, but—not reimbursed.

"Years after years passed, and the want of the money became so inconvenient, my father having had other losses, that he raised the little he could, and, taking me with him, determined to go to Paris and seek redress there himself. We were possessed of three hundred pounds in all. We went—we spent near three years in useless solicitation. In vain I called on the minister—he acknowledged the justice of my demand, but evaded the payment. Madame de Pompadour sent us a private message, that, if we would give her a third of our claim, my father should have the rest directly,—my father did not like to accept this offer. In this situation he was taken ill; vexation preyed on him, and we were at the bottom of our purse. He seemed resigned, and rather to wish for death, had he known what would become of me. I looked at my store—three guineas was all that remained. In vain I had of late pressed for admittance—the minister's door was shut. I now took a guinea and gave it to his Swiss—'Friend,' said I, 'I must see your master.' I was ushered in directly—I saw him look angry at the Swiss.—'Sir!' said I—and I told my tale—'my father lies perishing for want—there is three guineas; it is all that remains after three years that we have asked for justice—I have just given one to your servant.'—I remember," said he, smiling, "the figure of that man, as if I had seen him yesterday—he was galled by my misery, and writhing on his chair—wherever

he turned, I saw him covered with orders and stars.—'Well, well, well! there is a bill for five thousand livres, and the rest shall be paid by and by.'—I took the bill; I saw it was all I had to expect. I went to the house of a friend, a man in trade, and, unhappy, opened my heart to him. He bid me come back to dinner and fear nothing. I did—a little old Abbé was there. After dinner my friend turned the conversation on what passed in the morning. I told my story with the eagerness of youth. The Abbé said, 'And is this so?' asking me some more questions. My papers happened to be in my pocket—'Come to me to-morrow at twelve,' said he, 'and you shall find your business done.'—I thought he was an angel, and asked my friend if I could depend on him. He said it was the Abbé Terrai who told me I might. I seized my hat and ran to my father, to tell him all would be settled; he shook his head and would not believe me. Next day proved that the Abbé had not deceived me. He carried me to the Court banker's and waited in the carriage till I carried in the order the minister had given me and received the money. The tone of the banker was changed in a moment,—he asked me to dinner the first time in the course of three years since I had kissed his threshold. My father recovered, and we returned to the Cape.

"I had some genius for speculation, and I struck out a plan which, had it been permitted to go on unchecked, would have enriched me; but the great men in power here grew jealous of me; they wished to share the advantages with me, and I saw no reason why I was to give them away. They entangled me with lawsuits—I grew sick of my plan—I was not certain that my life was not in danger. I offered to the Dutch Government to go on the expedition I mentioned to you after the crew of the Governor, if they would pay my expenses. They were glad to get me out of the way. I left *her* at the Cape—for in the mean time I had fallen in love and married. I wished to see the country and to calculate my resources, for my father was dead.

"I returned—I spent six months in the Cape. I observed that qualities were wanting amongst the individuals—that a man appeared one thing and was another. I was disgusted with what I saw, and asked my wife if she could be contented to live with me at a distance from the Cape and from the haunts of her

youth. She said it was all the same to her where she lived if I and her children were with her. We looked about for a spot to fix on—we placed ourselves at the foot of those hills I shewed you. I improved a little place, and three years ago I sold it well. I then looked out for another, and soon determined on this. I am fond of sports, and yet of an indolent habit—I dislike the labour and anxiety of farming, nor have I slaves who understand it. I have therefore chosen a place where by breeding horses, instead of raising grain or making wine, I am always supplied with the best for my own use, and make a gain while I amuse myself. By hunting and fishing I keep my table well provided and feed my children, while I am also pursuing my pleasures. I am perfectly contented and happy—she is so too:"—(she looked at him—it was the first sparkle of mind that I have seen in a Dutchwoman's eye since I came here):—"I was feared and hated while I was poor and supposed to be clever; I am now independent, and, away from rivalship, I am beloved and respected,—the first did not mortify me; the last does not flatter me,—but we are forgetting to put to the horses."

"This is the first *soupçon* of philosophy," said Mr. Barnard, "I have heard since I left Berkeley Square." We both united in liking this man, his wife, his children, his horses, his fish—all his ways, all his tenets; but we did not pay him any compliments—he saw we did not; many words are not necessary amongst honest people.

We returned home the way we came, only stopping at a house belonging to his brother, another Van Rhenin—a great stable to it—two hundred horses, which Mr. Barnard looked over, but found none worth his purchasing. A little more size in the breed would render the Cape horses very good; they have already got a cross of the Arabian fire, and are hardy to the greatest degree, and as easily contented as to fare as mules, never having been pampered in their youth. At this place we found a garden in no order—good offices falling out of repair—a house dirty and inconvenient. How these people have everything, but possess things so unneatly, so indiligently, that there is the appearance of misery where there might be all the charms of comfort!

When we got home, we found a boor and his wife come to stay all night,—she the same age, the same size, the same petticoat

and handkerchief, cap, bedgown; he in his blue cloth jacket, trousers, and white nightcap. I hope old England furnishes all this blue cloth.—Made the girls so happy with necklaces of the white beads I had by good luck put up—I see they are excessively admired.

Wednesday, May 16*th*, 1798.—A strong tendency to rain, which went off in the course of a few hours; but we thought it best to take an early dinner, and go out afterwards in the waggon. Van Rhenin said he was almost sure if we drove towards the hills we should see the troops of zebras. We dined therefore at one o'clock, and had for the top dish Johnnie's *pow*, stewed and then baked in the pan, with coals above and below. I never tasted any sort of game equal to it for delicacy and flavour. Its size was larger than the largest goose; its legs and back were white, like those of the finest woodcock; the breast was dark brown, and tasted of venison and pheasant. It was dressed with a *sauce piquante*, and was such a dish that I said I would give twenty guineas had it been at his Majesty's table that day instead of ours, —to which Van Rhenin assented, and drank his health like a loyal subject, contented with a good master, though not the old one.

Before I went out, Dunira, a pretty black slave, wife to Adonis, came into my room, and in a bashful way pointed to one of the white bead necklaces which lay on the table, and then to her own neck, seeming to beg for a row. This threw me into a sad quandary—to give a slave a necklace the same that I have given to the young ladies of the family! it would have been nearly as much as my life was worth in some houses, and to have displeased my hospitable landlord and landlady after all their civility to me—No, no!—I therefore shook my head, and made Dunira suppose I had no more—"All done!"—but I promised she should have something better. She left me, mortified. I thought, if I could manage the matter, that it was worth the trying, so I bid Mr. Barnard tell the story to Van Rhenin before his wife, and at the same time mention my objections to her request, that I had given of them before to the young ladies.

They both laughed, and cried out aloud, "Not to think anything of that,—that she had been born in the house, and was a sort of child of the family,—and that, if I had the beads, to give her them,"—which I did, making her happier than a young beauty

would be with a diamond necklace. I gave some of a common kind to a wonderfully clever little boy of the name of Fortune, a son of Adonis's by a Hottentot wife, who has since abandoned her colours, and left the field to Dunira.

We now set off after the zebras, and saw them at a distance, but they were wild, and scampered off. We saw the round hole where they come down from the mountains to roll themselves and spend the night. The gentlemen shot some game. We returned to the house, and I spent the evening in making memorandums of these simple matters, and in packing up anew our baggage, as we meant to depart early next morning, that we might reach the Landrost's of Swellendam by a tolerable hour.

Van Rhenin declared his intention of accompanying us for a day or two. He seemed to hook himself on to Mr. Barnard with a cordial feeling in which the "Secretarius" had no share, as he wanted nothing of him or of anybody,—and which Mr. Barnard returned as it deserved.—How to repay them for all their kindness we knew not—money they would not have accepted of. To defray the mere expense of the horses we always found practicable, as whatever the farmers buy they are never unwilling to receive back the price for—but for our living we saw it would be unfit to offer anything. Mr. Barnard therefore made him a present of a gun which he had praised, value in England fifteen guineas, and here, I suppose, double; while I gave his wife a share of all the articles I could spare from future calls, and a smelling-bottle with a double gold top. I tied up the heads and waists of all the children with scarlet and white checked riband, and gave to every slave a handkerchief, scissors, thread and needles, knife, and two schellings.

Dunira now stole into my room, and in her bashful way said, "You—you!" slipping into my hand a pair of cliches, or grey sea-beans, which I send to the Queen of Dunira, Lady Susan,* for a pair of earrings.

Thursday, May 17th, 1798.—Left the Van Rhenins at eight, bidding her adieu with the most cordial feeling of thankfulness for her kind reception of us that I had felt to anybody here. She had made us happy after the right fashion, given us liberty and the best she had to bestow, without ceremony and without requiring

* Wife of Mr. Dundas, afterwards Lord Melville. *Ed.*

exertion of me—the most oppressive of all bills which can be drawn on my gratitude, and one I pay to be sure, but pay it fatigued and annoyed. Had I a fortnight at my command, to spend pleasantly where I should be sure to be welcome, I should not make a scruple of going to Jacob van Rhenin's, to partake of his fish from his pond, the ocean, and of his bontebock from his park of two hundred miles in circumference. She promised to come to the castle when she visited the Cape, but she had a bit of business to perform first, and then she must bring the *clyne kint* to get its name.

We proceeded to Swellendam by a different road from that we came by, driven by Van Rhenin and Gaspar in company—if one can call that a road which is pathless amongst the mountains, where no trace of human creature or blade of corn is to be seen. Gaspar seemed resolved to lay in a stock of talk to last him for some time; he never stopped chatting to Van Rhenin,—indeed, he had been sadly stinted in that way with us, so this was to him the feast of tongues.—On this hilly and heathy pasturage game seemed to abound still more than at Van Rhenin's; in one troop of bontebocks I counted seventy-two, and at a distance twenty-six zebras.

We reached the Landrost's at seven o'clock, after again crossing the abominable Stony River,—so rude a river, with so rough a bottom, and that so far extended, never did I see. They were now returned home, and we hoped to get a good supper and good beds, no longer comedians in a barn, but great people received by a great man, the prince of the place, or rather the Viceroy.

Friday, May 18*th*, 1798.—All slept well, but not the better for our rise in life—Johnnie thinks our barometer stood higher at Van Rhenin's than here. After breakfast I tried to find a good place to draw from, but could not, so fixed myself where I could find a stone for my seat. The sun shone bright and hot; a couple of African slave-girls, sisters, stood between me and it, unconscious of anything but how much pleasure they had in being of the party. I drew them, and they did not know it.

The mountains rise nobly at a couple of miles' distance or so; their bases were lost in a bluish vapour; greenish hillocks rose between us and them,—'tis between them and the mountains, in a glen, much the same as at Sweet-Milk Valley, the woods are to be found which have been reckoned so luxuriant, but they are of no use to beautify the country, as their highest branch does not rise

above the surface of the earth. Mr. Barnard and the gentlemen had gone out a hunting, or rather shooting; he had passed through those woods, and saw much fertile and well-watered country; he said it was the finest situation for settlers of any he had seen. They had killed a good quantity of game.

Our dinner was eatable though greasy—the evening was long. I must not, however, omit mentioning a present from the good Landrost which delighted me—the old great-coat which the serpent drops when he gets his new suit, which he does annually. It is rare that one is found in such preservation. When he has reason from his *feels* to think his new skin is stout enough to bear the air, he fixes the tip of his tail upon a thorn-tree, generally in a wood where he is not likely to be disturbed; he then cracks the skin under his jaw, and, like Joseph of old, glides off, leaving his garment behind him. I was so pleased with the skin, when shewn me, that my looks begged it, and the Landrost replied to their language; it is as fine as Cyprus gauze, with a beautiful net all over it. I shall send it to Lord Hardwicke.

Saturday, May 19*th*, 1798.—Detained here, waiting for Mr. Prince, without whom we could not proceed on our journey, he knowing the roads, and Gaspar not.

Sunday, May 20*th*, 1798.—Attended divine service here. The audience was reverent and attentive, but in natural elegance the Hottentot assembly beat this hollow. Never did I behold so large or so fat a collection of human beings! Opposite to me there were eight women on the first row, who could not weigh less each than from fifteen to twenty stone—and the men the same, for, though they were not in general so fat, they were taller. Some of the young boors, however, had fine countenances, and two or three of the young women had much Flemish beauty, which one saw would swell within a couple of years into immoderate perfection. We had a good many *kinder* baptized, the boys in their little man's nightcaps; they had three names apiece.

But what did I see the moment after service was over?—a thin wizened man in black arrive, round whom everybody crowded—it was Mr. Prince, and with him a whole packet of letters to us from Europe!—How I passed the rest of the day I need not tell you—in my own room feasting; much good reading I had—everything to please, nothing to pain me—and only regretting the want of one

or two letters to make me completely happy. I leave consciences to sting the guilty.

Monday, May 21*st*, 1798.—All being ready, I had only to dispense my presents—no disagreeable moment, for nothing being necessary to give, as in English houses or inns, to servants, everything is gratefully received. We breakfasted, and at eight o'clock, the weather still brilliant, cool, but comfortable, we remounted our waggon, with the addition of Mr. Prince sometimes along with us, when he was not mounted on his horse, Van Tromp, in pursuit of game.

As we drove off from the door a flag was hoisted, and the sound of cannon surprised me. Jane told me it was a compliment paid to the Secretarius, whose horse seemed to carry his tail rather higher upon the seven discharges. I should have preferred some cold beef or veal to this ostentatious respect, but the veal would have been to us only—the cannon was to be seen and heard of men, that they, hearing our good report, might glorify King George who is in England.

We dined as usual to-day at a farmhouse about half way to Jacob Corradi's, where we were to halt for the night. We were received by the vrow, the mistress of the house—O house, unworthy such a mistress! as she was larger than her mansion. She seemed to me to be about forty, nor could she weigh less than twenty stone, —if she weighed twenty-four I should not have been surprised. We have seen Mrs. M——,—she is a mere nothing to this woman, for Mrs. M——, though large, has not an equal portion below; on the contrary, the Dutchwomen, like respectable piles, have a balance beneath the surface of petticoat, which steadies what is above. Her eldest daughter was very handsome, and must have weighed about eighteen stone; she was the picture of the goddess Ceres, a goddess more of the earth than the heavens. Her child of fourteen months walked and talked, and was so heavy I could not pretend to lift it from the ground. Their dinner was over, which I was sorry for, as I like to take part of what is going, without putting any one out of the way,—they regretted it, because we should have a hurried and bad one; but I believe we gained by our loss, as we had it cooked by Gaspar, to the great saving of the contents of the grease-pot.

Johnnie soon provided entertainment for us, by shooting two or

three fowls who had baffled the attempts of the slaves to catch them. Meantime the Hottentots got round me, and I drew one little girl, not arrived at woman's estate, who had a sweet countenance, and whom I should have liked to have taken with me; but she would have been too dear a purchase, being the property of the farmer, unless I had known her qualities to have been good. Every Hottentot child born in the family when the mother is receiving wages is the property of the master of it for twenty-five years, which is supposed a proper length of time to compensate for the charge of maintaining the child in infancy. It is in reality about twelve years too much. A Hottentot child is at seven years of age employed to tend fowls, sheep, cows, and its work fully repays the expense of its miserable board. The six following years are certainly sufficient to liquidate the past and pay the present; at thirteen, fourteen, or fifteen at most, I should think the child ought to be free; and I have some reason to hope the Governor will shorten the term of slavery to those poor oppressed creatures. I am sure he will, if he thinks it just.

While taking the picture of the Hottentot girl in her own attitude, I spied a poor *clyne* Hottentot in a chair which had lost the matting, by way of a go-cart, to keep it from harm. Its mother, they told me, was a Boschewoman and in the fields with the goats. I had never seen a right Boschewoman, and begged them to send for her, which they did. Meantime I took the child out of its chair, set it on the floor, gave it an apple, and bid it sit still.

It looked like an Indian god, but it sat well—very well—better and better. I drew on, and soon found the little god had fallen asleep in its attitude. In this situation it remained till the Boschewoman arrived from the goats and entered the room. She was not a *figure ragoûtante*, but instinct rendered her dear; and there was something beautiful in seeing the little god wakened from his sleep (probably by her smell), and crawling on all fours directly to the place where stood its miserable parent, who, pleased and proud, gave it something for its reward that no one would have robbed it of.

Her countenance was sweet to a degree—extremely like Lady ——'s; her size about four feet, and her shape singular enough behind, as far as one could judge by the rotundity which her sheepskin seemed to conceal, though a slender woman. I cannot

think this was a real Boschewoman, her countenance had so much of the Hottentot mildness in it.

After dinner I begged Mynheer Prince to invite the vrow and her husband to visit me at the Castle, when they came to the Cape, and desired him once for all to ask every boor and his wife who shewed us any civility. Mr. Prince stared at me—" Are you serious ?" said he. " Certainly," said I ; " I feel obliged to them ; they give me what they have, and will hardly accept of payment —I wish to be civil to them in return."—" Nay," said he, " you are perfectly right, I believe ; but I never heard any one talk of returning a civility in all my life."—" The more shame to them,"said I, " Mr. Prince."—He spoke to the vrow, and she nodded assent, as is the Dutch fashion, very few words being used on such occasions.

This settled, we shook hands and left them—but not them only; their *stoop* was covered with a set of large idle boors in their blue jackets, sons of the family—men who do hardly anything beside eating and smoking, scarcely superintending the work of the farm, which is carried on by the slaves, but certainly never digging, threshing, or holding the plough. All looked at us with great curiosity, but none had disaffection or hostility in his countenance. I believe the farmers are far better contented with the English government than the people of the town, yet all benefit by it, a few excepted, who have lost good places and whose wings are clipped respecting monopolies, and who cannot, when the fancy strikes them, encroach on the rights of the weak in their farms distant from Cape Town.

Can there be a greater proof of the flourishing situation of this country, compared to what it was formerly, and the increasing riches of its inhabitants, than the complaints the president of the court of justice makes, that there is now not above one bankruptcy in a hundred to what there used to be, and that he is an undone man for want of customary fees—great part of his salary being paid in that way ? The hangman too complains that people are either growing honest or rich, for that he has no longer anything to do. All this is very flattering testimony in favour of our Governor's jurisdiction.

We left these good people, and passed nothing worth marking down, heath and hill being all, enlivened by a few partridges, till we arrived at the house of Jacob Corradi, where we slept.

Tuesday, May 22nd, 1798.—The family were all dressed, and had drunk the dish of coffee with which they begin the day, before we appeared. They rise by candlelight here all the year round, stinting themselves much, as we should imagine, in sleep, did not the two hours' nap they take in bed after dinner make amends for their early rising. They certainly make the most of life by contriving to have two days and nights out of every twenty-four hours, and their plurality of meals, two dinners in one day, being equal to their plurality of sleeps,—but I do not like their division of time, nor the effects it produces either on the mind or body, sloth and constant eating being certainly the cause of the unwieldy fat, which they have not an idea of preventing or regretting, looking upon it entirely as a matter of course; nor am I sure that they are not a little vain of it, as it testifies of good fare, and enough of it.

When we dressed ourselves and got into the next room, we found Mr. Barnard making his toilette in the corner, and busily talking Dutch with the young vrows, who had attended him through all the manœuvrings of a tidy man's morning ablutions. A toothbrush they had never seen before, nor indeed anything else almost, combs excepted. I went into the kitchen—the roof was hung as full of dried meat of different kinds as the Drup Kelder was of petrifactions, but chiefly of mutton and buck,—it was filled with servants belonging to the farm, Hottentots, &c.; but such good fare as the dried meat comes not to their lot. I believe I have before mentioned that they have rarely anything given them but bread; at some of the farmhouses they are even worse off, getting the fourth part of a raw pampoon, a sort of pumpkin or bad melon, which they carry into the fields with them when they have cattle to tend,—it must last them for the day.

Amongst others, there was a Hottentot woman in the kitchen so near her time that she could not have had many days to depend on. I made Pawell ask her if she had anything to put on the little one. He did. She shook her head. Did she expect to lie in soon? She shook her head again. "Is her husband belonging to the farm?" "I need not ask her that," said Pawell, "they have no husbands, my lady!"—"So much the worse for them, Pawell—but tell her, then, that here is some check to make clothes for the *clyne kint*, when it comes."—The poor creature now

"bloshed" (as Pawell said) with pleasure and surprise—a present for the child she was to have! she did not quite understand it—but it was very entertaining, and she laughed heartily.

Whatever I looked at or mentioned, the two good-natured strange girls brought me with unaffected generosity. I had given them some of my stores—they could not in return heap enough on me. I even saw they had secreted dried buck and sausages in the waggon, because I had praised them. On departing, they permitted Mr. Prince to pay them for our horses and fare, but they added, or rather would have added, honest people! gifts of their simple sort worth more than their bill came to. This was very unlike the inhabitants of Cape Town.

We now got into our waggon, after giving them a cordial invitation to the Castle, and proceeded on our journey, falling down first into a valley, rendered almost green by a variety of such plants as our greenhouses in Europe are stocked with, and from which we fell down into another valley of the same description. Of these valleys or basons there were four. The country is called the Noray.

I plucked from one of the high bushes some black round berries like small shot; they made a beautiful purple dye, which in an hour became a bright Prussian blue, and might I think be converted to some use,—but how many useful things lurk in Nature all around one, which the eye of ignorance sees not, and which the eye of the skilful botanist and chemist has not yet discovered! Wherever I go, whether in Africa or in Europe, I cannot help being often possessed with the idea of being hoodwinked to things around,—but we shall all see more clearly when we have no mortal eyes to look with.

After travelling about three hours, I saw a little brook that wandered at a distance through some low bushes. I had just been regretting to Jane that I had not seen any of the Hottentot ladies in their natural but also ornamented state, the servants of the farmers being kept to too much drudgery to be vain, and the disciples of the Herrnhüters have the disposition in them checked as much as possible by the Fathers. I had hardly expressed the regret when my good genius presented to me Pharaoh's daughter in the very brook before me, washing her royal robes, and perhaps one of the most picturesque creatures it was possible to see.

From afar I saw my copper-coloured princess seated on a stone, and all over ornaments, and hinted to Gaspar that his horses, I was sure, would be glad of a sip of water, but found him inflexible,—to give any gratification to a horse to make him go on the better was Greek and Hebrew to him. I was therefore obliged to tell the truth, that I wanted to draw the vrow. He shook his head. Mr. Barnard said he would not witness such doings, and scampered off. I dropped two minutes of the five I had prayed for, and I trust no one will expect much from a sketch done in that time. I bid her stand up—she saw what I was about, and was delighted with it. From whence can a Hottentot girl have acquired the idea of having a picture done for her? She stood as if it was familiar to her, yet I dare say it never happened to her before.

When I had marked the form a little and the dress, I offered her four schellings or a *dook*, viz. a handkerchief; she preferred the last. I recollected having some old silver lace in my work-bag which had been on a court-dress,—I thought it a royal present, as it had seen their Majesties, and fit for her Highness. Her transport on seeing it passed all bounds; she clasped her hands to adore it, tied it round her head, then took it off, and spread it out on the bushes. I fancy the washing was over for that day, so fully had the finery taken hold of her heart. She was the best-made woman of her sort that I had seen—extremely tall; her countenance, though less sweet than that of many other Hottentots, was frank and ingenuous to a great degree, and she had much the air as if she had been told she was handsome, and had nothing to reproach herself with in want of tenderness of heart. She was really a gallant-looking girl of eighteen, and resembled extremely my old and kind friend Mrs. L—— when she was about that age.

We reached our destination, the Brandt Fly Baths, between seven and eight at night, our bones complaining much of an eight hours' journey, and flattering ourselves, from the title of "The Baths," we could not fail to have good fare and good beds, the season for the sick people being over. The look of the place, however, soon shewed me what was to be expected.

The master was a fat boor, decent enough in appearance, though dirty—his wife a peevish-faced Madonna, *passée*, with a child

rather needlessly large for its situation in her arms. A very old grandmother, of whom I shall say nothing, an infirm man on crutches, two men with bad legs, one with a much worse, five or six children baffling description, and a dozen of slaves and their children, were contained in the eating-room. They apologized for supper, which was ready to put on the table—they had some cause. There was—a dead chicken, which had paid the last debt to nature by some malady, and was half-boiled; it was swimming in rice and water—some pieces of boiled dried mutton—ditto of beef, putrid—a dish of terrible spinach—a stewpan with a dog's mess in it of yellow pumpkin—and brown bread, which, though bad, was the only thing which could be tasted. I forgot to mention a pot of sheep's-tail grease for butter,—and all this amidst stinks of every description. I durst not look, but tried to float my eyes lightly over everything, fixing them on nothing. Johnnie tugged away at boiled mutton,—Jane put on her plate a bit of the fowl, which there remained. Mr. Barnard knew not well where to apply,—and I declared that, as I never ate supper, I would beg permission of the vrow to have some tea and bread and butter,—that I had everything with me, and only requested boiling water. I perceived the countenances of two of my friends rise on this proposal, which I carried into effect, and certainly there never was a heartier meal made in the nursery than Mr. Barnard, Johnnie, and I made of what my stores produced. Jane would not join us, but retired to bed in silent despair.

We soon followed, and found her laid along for the night in her powdering-gown. I had got some little arrangement made for her bed and Johnnie's, but nothing good; he therefore laid himself along in his clothes, as did Mr. Barnard and I, foreseeing that, if there were any fleas in the colony, here they would be at home.

Wednesday, May 23rd, 1798.—The event justified my apprehensions,—we were all bit to death; and before it was light our room was invaded by men, women, and children searching beneath our beds for shoes, stockings, shirts—everything which had been stuffed there out of the way on our arrival. Mr. Barnard attempted to scold them off the field, but, as he was not understood, they returned to the attack.—At daybreak we got up—no bason, no bottle of water to be found in a house where washing

anything seemed to be unknown. We sallied forth therefore to the spring, where hot water being in plenty, we availed ourselves of it to wash the hands at least.

When we returned to the house, we found all that we had required, boiling water and a very dirty leaden teapot, which I soon made a clean one. Jane arrived after us, and, finding no clean cup, called for one. The Madonna had not another, but she gave her one of the child's nightcaps to wipe the one Mynheer Prince had used. I hoped this would have made Jane laugh, but she was more ready to cry. We have all our different ways of taking small misfortunes. I feel all those sort of ridiculous inconveniences which I cannot help (provided they do not happen at home) as jests—Jane as injuries—Johnnie as nothing at all, or, if as anything, as "the devil's own circumstance,"—and Mr. Barnard remembers how it was at St. Lucie, and how much worse that was than the present ill, be it what it may.

As soon as the horses could be got ready, off we bowled, rejoicing to have escaped from this abode of needless nastiness—for I have not told one half of the horrors that hemmed us round.

The farther we proceeded through the valley, the more bold and picturesque became the mountains, their form more varied and striking than any I had seen before. These as usual were succeeded by others and others. We were to dine, Mr. Prince told us, at the house of one Peter de Joy, where we should be tolerably well off, and where it would be advisable for us to spend the night, as we had a long journey to make next day to reach the house of Mynheer Du Val,—we had but little expectation of good from so faint a recommendation; but there was still another farmhouse some miles farther on, where we could halt if we found this one too bad, though at some risk of being too late. We determined however to try Mynheer de Joy's first, and after a dreadful deal of jolting we drove up to the door.

What a noble near mountain—what a nobler distant one, spiral like a cathedral—and what a capital rock as a foreground! Trees were wanting, but, as Margaret would say, the "bones of the country" were charming. The farmer, his wife, and two daughters came out to receive us. The farmer had an unformed fit of the gout hanging over his spirits, which sometimes attacked his stomach, but had not yet reached his toe,—I never saw a poor

man more evidently under its influence. His wife was a clean woman of forty, with a cap well washed and nicely pinched, and two pretty daughters.

When we entered the house we were agreeably surprised with a cleanliness as singular as the contrast we had lately quitted; the Staffordshire plates in the inside of their glass cupboard shone bright, having been well wiped with a clean cloth—no greasy nightcap,—the brass spoons and ditto tea and coffee urns were polished as looking-glasses.—"Mynheer Prince," said I, "this house is delightful, it is so tidy."—"Ay, ay," said he, "well enoof,"—but he did not seem to be struck with the difference. We resolved to rest here for the night,—further on we might fare worse; so we declared our intentions and found no difficulty.

Dinner was soon ready—a milk-white napkin spread on the board—all was good, clean, savoury—and as we were all not a little hungry, having had nothing for twenty-four hours almost but bread and butter, we did it justice. The master of the house sat melancholy in a corner—Mr. Barnard called for his Madeira, and, very much against his inclination, made him drink some glasses of it,—he had an idea that any strong liquor would kill him; whether it do so or no we shall see to-morrow.

Amongst other dried things they gave us excellent dried peaches, done without sugar, and cured in the sun; the dried fruits of this country are much liked, particularly in India,—at first they are not particularly palatable, as they fully as much resemble leather as fruit; but on chewing, the taste of the fresh fruit is found to be more preserved than in the fruits that are done with sugar. Mr. Barnard is so fond of these dried peaches that he became purchaser of Mynheer's whole stock.—"You will bring these to me," said he, "when you come to the Cape, Mynheer."—Mynheer shook his head, and bid Prince tell the Secretarius he should not live to be there again. We hoped better things from the Madeira. This man was the picture of good health—rosy, and scarcely forty years of age.

While standing at the door, an old Hottentot, who might from her appearance have been two hundred, came up, dressed in all her finery; her business was to tend the goats,—she wore beads in profusion, and, as I expressed a desire to have some of hers, which from their equality were such as are most valued, Mr.

Barnard gave her a couple of dollars for a part of her necklace. It appeared to me that they do not know distinctly the value of money, for Jane gave her two schellings for her bracelets, and she seemed full as happy.

These good people were very civil to us—gave me calabashes, Job's-tears—a pretty sort of grey seed which the Hottentots string into necklaces—and everything else they could think of,—in particular, a milk-basket which I looked at with a covetous eye, in which the Caffres carry their milk—which they weave so close with certain rushes that, after once using, the milk cannot get through.

We retired to roost betimes—we had but one sheet to each bed, but it was clean, as everything was in our apartment.

Thursday, May 24th, 1798.—We were scarcely out of bed when all the vrows and all the slaves invaded our room. I saw from the anxious eyes which darted into my boxes that, if they liked to give, they also wished to receive; so I gave the young ones all the ribands and beads I could spare, tea and sugar to the mother, and handkerchiefs to the slaves.

On entering the public room, which in all houses is the same, that which one walks into from the outer door, I saw Mynheer with a new countenance—the enemy was no longer triumphant—the Madeira had done its duty, and, after battling it bravely and keeping him roaring half the night, the disease had retreated to his toe; of course he thought himself in heaven, and talked as if he expected and wished for no other these fifty years. Mr. Barnard left him a legacy of some bottles of the physician.

After travelling about four hours, we crossed a pretty deep though narrow river, and stopped at a farmhouse of good size, where Mynheer Prince told us we should dine. No invitation on such occasions is necessary from the farmer,—when a waggon stops at the door, he concludes of course that the passengers want to *scoff* (to eat), and the horses the same after they have rolled themselves. Here we fell in exactly with the dinner-hour, twelve o'clock, and got to be sure a very greasy one, dressed after the right Dutch fashion.

The farmer was a complete boor, in his white shirt and a slouched hat of an enormous size, such as is to be seen in old Dutch pictures, but not more enormous than the figure it had to

shade. The board was filled with sons and daughters, the sons equal in size almost to himself, the daughters promising to follow the example of their mother. In this house I saw the first trait of female industry, the vrows being employed in making clothes for their "men." I found the mistress of the house was mother-in-law to the children, so I presume she had not encouraged the same indolence in the ladies that would have been permitted had they been her own.

Since working was the fashion here, I gave needles and thread to all. On endeavouring to pay the charge, the boor would not listen to receiving money, but talked in a high but liberal style of the pleasure of giving a share of what he had to a stranger. To say the truth, I find the whole of this class of people very hospitable; and I hear they are equally so to others whom they may be supposed to have less interest in obliging.

We left this boor's house, whose name was De Foset, and proceeded to the Roysand Kloof, a very long pass, which we were obliged to walk, the waggon slowly dragging on before—the road very bad, but romantic. As we reached the summit, the sun was beginning to set with a glowing orange ray to the left, behind the hills, but where he still permitted us light to see and start at the image which presented itself—a jet-black castle, turreted all round, with a strange oddity of a rock or building at a small distance, on the top of which was placed an enormous urn, which seemed to be the sarcophagus of some giant who had been slain by the prince of the castle, who of course must have been the King of the Caffres by its sullen, dark appearance. I was grieved to hear that it had no history, but was simply a production of Madam Nature's in one of her freaks. I drew it, but have done it no justice—I'll do it more if I find leisure and get into the humour; for I'll give it a history, write an original Hottentot song, translate it myself, put it to Hottentot music, and celebrate the fair maid confined by the cruel giant in the dungeon of the Black Rock till rescued by her lover, the Prince of the Caffres!

Nature had even gone so far as to make some windows in this tower, through which the rays of light darted. I liked it much—it was the finest object I had met with in a country where objects are thinly scattered, unless we count in the mountains, which are

generally splendid ones. In the more interior part of the country I believe Nature is more various and less barren. King James used to call the county of Fife a worsted petticoat with a gold fringe on it; I fancy the Cape reverses his simile, and is rather a gold petticoat with a worsted fringe—the skirting of the sea being far inferior, as I am told, in fertility to what Africa is in those parts through which Mr. Barrow is now travelling, and is probably still more so in those remoter quarters to which he cannot pierce.

It now began to grow very dark, but Mynheer Prince knew the road, and went before us till we descended into the more civilised part of the country, and after travelling some miles more, and passing the Lion's Rocks, so called from a fierce one having been killed there about fifty years ago, we reached the house of Mynheer Du Val, a wealthy man of rather a higher class than the other boors, and one of the tallest men I had seen. He and his wife welcomed us with cordiality.

Friday, May 25th, 1798.—Pawell having sprained his back, we gave up the plan of proceeding to Saldanha Bay till we saw if he was better to-morrow. Mynheer Du Val drove us in his waggon to a farmer's of the name of Leester, where we dined. We were received by a lady *d'un certain age*, with a black patch on each side of a bright black eye, a pretty daughter, and an old lady, very infirm, who I afterwards found was the mistress of the house, and about twenty years older than her husband, who, I was told, was a "smart young man," then at the Cape; he had married her for money, she him for love.

This was a most comfortable-looking place—plenty of trees—a good garden, from which I took two samples of indigo—a nice pigeon-house, well stocked with tame pigeons, which are the only ones used here, unless wild ones are accidentally shot, like other game,—a pond for ducks, geese, &c., over which birds' nests hung in hundreds from the branches of the trees, made of the stalks of grass, with a hole at the under end by which the bird enters. Where the nests are exposed to danger from serpents or other noxious creatures (which they could not be here, hanging over water), the entry to it is made like a long narrow tube.

All looked wealthy and flourishing here; even an honest barn-door hen I admired, chuckling about, with forty-six chickens behind her; probably she had had several clutches consigned over

to her care more than her own; the slaves told me she was *goed hunder*, a good fowl.

In a corner of the room, stuck up with a pin through him, I saw what was to me a great curiosity—the king bee,—for here bees do not submit, as in Europe, to a female government, but have a king of no small size and power. His body is as large as a large moth, his face marked exactly as a death's-head, and his sting is mortal. They gave us an instance of the rapidity of the poison, by mentioning that a Hottentot had been found dead with his hand in the nest, robbing it of the honey,—the king must have inflicted speedy justice on him. I longed to ask the dead body of this monarch, but they did not offer it and I was modest. When I like anything much, I suppose it is equally valued by the possessor, and that seals my lips,—I have generally found myself wrong, and that the possessor, from having had it long, is so tired of it that it had not been offered to me from the idea of its being unworthy of my acceptance; but in spite of knowing this, I go on playing the fool.

They gave us a very eatable dinner,—it was scarcely over when our waggon was ready for departure, and another with eight horses drove up to the door, out of which alighted a short, round, quizzical man of fifty, dressed in dark blue, bound with gold—it was Mynheer Leester, the master of the house, returned from the Cape. "Ha, Mynheer Prince!"—shake hands,—"Ha, the Secretarius!"—shake hands again—talking away to the coachman all the way as he walked into the house—smacked the old lady—still talking—smacked the vrow with the patches, and then the daughter; 'twas all in the day's work,—these businesses over, he set himself down, put on his nightcap, and was ready for a pipe, or a *sopie*, or whatever the Mynheers pleased. But it was too late—we were obliged to return to Du Val's; so, getting into the waggon, we bid them good evening. I had kindly invited the old woman to visit me at the Cape,—I saw it was the fashion of the house to neglect her, by the gratitude of her manner to me.

Saturday, May 26th, 1798.—Left Du Val's—St. Helen's Bay at a great distance to the left, the Sandenberg and other mountains to the right—before us, but far distant, Elephant's River, with the mountains where is the source of the twenty-four rivers. —Nothing struck me remarkably on the road except the strong

resemblance there is in the first part of the country we passed to part of Fife—the lands carrying good corn, but there is little plantation.

We dined at a farmhouse, situated on a rising ground which commanded the view of an extensive sporting country,—the master, whose name was Losper, had a degree of civil, serious polish about him, that was genteel in a boor.

After dinner we travelled on; it grew late, and, the further we went, the heavier grew the road—at last it became a deep sand, up to the axle-trees, which lasted till we reached Mynheer Slaber's, where we slept. Mynheer was at the Cape, but we were received by the old moeder, by his daughter-in-law, two daughters, and a granddaughter of her own, of whom we shall say something to-morrow,—at present, as we all are a little fatigued, let us bid each other good night.

Sunday, May 27th, 1798.—Long, long before I thought of rising, I heard a little gentle wandering through the house, and found it was the old lady, who, though seventy-seven years of age, gets up before five every morning, and gives out the barley for the horses and necessary directions for the farm. She is reckoned a prodigy at her time of life; her person is erect, but her face more wrinkled than anything I ever saw, though not without remains of beauty. Her family, which are numerous, are reckoned the tallest people at the Cape, running on between six and seven feet high—I have seen others quite as tall, but the curiosity is, that there is none, man or woman, amongst them that is shorter.

She and the rest of the good folks had had their dish of coffee three hours before I appeared, and when I did, I found a respectable company assembled, whom I had not seen the night before,—from twelve to eighteen favourite cats, who breakfast with her every morning, and do not reappear till next day, but hunt for themselves amongst the low bushes. They were very beautiful ones indeed. I thought of the Hermitage, my dear Annie Keith! —of the old Commodore—and wished Auntie Babie had had the pleasure of seeing them, though she would not have allowed them to be as handsome as her own.*

* Allusions to these favourites, and to their venerable mistress, who died in extreme old age, occur in the 'Memoirs and Correspondence of Sir Robert Murray Keith,' by Mrs. Smyth of Gibliston, *passim.—Ed.*

The eldest daughter is rather what may be called a fine woman, not unpleasing, and she alloys her masculine size with a little tender affectation of manner, which did very well. Perhaps gratitude made me think so, as she took much to me, calling me a *lieve vrow*, a dear lady,—and in return I did for her a resemblance of her old mother, which she told the poor old lady she should look at many a day when she "was gone." The struggle between two different ideas here reached my ears in a sigh, which it was easy to explain.

Miss Slaber gave me some calabashes, and a slave taught me how to clean and prepare them. I plan having a parterre in my garden at Paradise full of them, and I think it very possible to make them grow into Etruscan forms, and also the forms of elephants and other animals of the country, by covering the young fruit with cases into which they will grow and take the form they are compelled to. Nothing keeps water, wine, fruit, butter, so cool in summer as these receptacles, which are sometimes very large, and cannot receive injury as glass or stoneware would by being tossed about. I have a thousand little plans of travelling cases for my friends made of these matters, but whether they will ever be carried into execution depends on too many accidents for me to insure them. I often wish, while others have their secretaries and their clerks, that I had a plan-realiser, to bring into effect the many little inventions which daily start into my thoughts, and which I am convinced would answer if followed up —but I want continuation in my industry; I am ardent and active when employed in anything, and do not quit it if I can possibly help it, but if I am obliged to leave it, and a different train of thoughts intervene, it is a chance if I return to my work.

The journey from Slaber's to Mynheer Stockberg's, the post-holder at Saldanha Bay, being a long one, not less than forty miles, we found it necessary to secure three relays of oxen,—one set, of fourteen, we were to have from this place; at Longue Fontaine, a spot where we were to halt and dine on the grass, another set were to meet us from a farmer in the district; and at another house further on Mynheer Stockberg's were appointed to carry us to his house. We set out at eight, and arrived there about seven, and had a very kind and hospitable reception.

Monday, May 28th, 1798.—The day being a fine one, we

proposed going to the Out Keek, or look-out post, about four miles distant, to see the bay and adjacent country from the highest ground. Mynheer Stockberg took us with his oxen, and we had to ascend some hearty pulls by their means. I saw great quantities of oval pebbles of a blackish colour, but so uniformly alike in shape and size that I requested to have a few picked up. I suppose other collectors of curiosities are at moments of their researches not without their knowledge of similar disgrace—though perhaps they don't tell. I found my oval pebbles when cracked neither more nor less than sheep's dung—and was laughed at by my friends accordingly.

We mounted the eminence after a considerable tract of bushy and rocky ground, rendered fragrant by the aromatic scent of the wild shrubs which grow here in profusion. We got out and walked to the Out Keek, which is on the top of a rock, and where the signal post is placed and the flag hoisted when ships appear. I sat down on a stone and endeavoured to take a sort of panorama of the place, while the gentlemen went in search of game—the young ladies sat down on another and fell to their reveries, while I went on with mine. My first was to look round the wide-extended prospect with wonder at my being here at all,—the second was to wonder whether, if we had kept the Cape when first discovered, we should have found it an advantage to us to-day.

After I had spent a couple of hours in this way, our gentlemen returned, and I found it was time to depart. We stopped at the old post-house where M. Stockberg used to live. At the door there stood a Belisarius—one of the finest-looking grey-headed men I had ever seen—an old soldier, who, he said, was teacher to his children. His manner was so dignified and so polished, his bow so genteel, and his French so good, that he struck me much. On inquiry, I found he also was a Prussian. I had my hand in my pocket to bring forth three dollars, which was all my stock at the time, to give him in some way or another if I could contrive it without indelicacy; but the smallness of the sum, and his manner so much above his situation, awed me. Mr. Barnard read the whole of this in my face and attitude. "Don't," said he.—"What?" said I.—"Don't," he replied again. I saw that he advised me under the same impulse that I hesitated, as he feared to give offence. With a sigh I was obliged to depart, and

my old Prussian lost his three dollars because they were not a dozen, or he less like a man of birth.

When we reached M. Stockberg's, dinner was ready, and I had the pleasure of finding the son had shot me two flamingoes; one was dead, the other had lost only the tip of his wing, and I am in hopes of his living to be the wonder and delight of all my friends in England.

Tuesday, May 29th, 1798.—At half-past eight the waggon and oxen were ready for our departure. I had found Mrs. Stockberg a very civil, honest creature, obliging and good-humoured. She undertook to get me flamingo feathers, to nurse my bird and send it, to get me a barrel of good salt fish, a large one of which was to be purchased here for a guinea, and, dressed with potatoes, I foresaw it would be no bad mess during the continuance of a South-Easter, which does not permit any fishing-boat to venture out from shore. In return I liberally dealt away my stores to the poor good people, Mr. Barnard adding afterwards a still more useful present in ale and porter.

We reached M. Slaber's at a proper hour, and found Mynheer had returned from the Cape. I must not forget to mention a curious anecdote which transpired at supper,—it shews the value of a Frenchman's journal. Le Vaillant, it seems, narrates a story of his own prowess in having killed a tiger while at their house. Barnard asked if this was true, on which the young Vrow Slaber, and even the old vrow, burst into invectives against him. "He was the greatest liar it was possible to imagine, though very civil and well bred—but the tiger was killed by one of their Hottentots, nor had Le Vaillant seen it till the fellow brought it dead into the back-yard. When Le Vaillant looked at it, I well remember what he did," said the old woman; "he thrust his spear through the skin, though it spoiled it for sale—(but he did not care for that)—saying, 'Now I have it to boast that this spear has been imbrued in the blood of one of the most savage animals in Africa!'" —On points, however, where his own vanity was not concerned, I imagine his representations are tolerably correct.

Wednesday, May 30th, 1798.—While getting ready for departure, the old lady gave me a kind and even tender farewell, which from extreme old age is always rather affecting, but she promised to visit me at the Cape in a manner that did not bespeak

any doubt of her seeing it again. I collected the remains of my finery for the three ladies, who, though higher than most other vrows at the farmhouses, I saw, were not above accepting of all I could produce.

I had some neat shoes, though large, which I meant for Miss Slaber,—they were too small, but her sister-in-law said she was "sure they would fit *her*," so on she forced them, and I saw the shoes were "lost muttons." The others I found ribands for—needles, thread, a gold bandeau, and sash for my friend. I was now almost at the end of my stock, but they had all been well bestowed, for I plainly found that we had left no house where kindness had not been felt to us from our civil manners—at least as much as it is in human nature to feel for those of the conquering nation, who now are by compulsion the masters. They accepted at this house of payment for everything, which I was glad of, though the fare had not been so good as it was in many other places where nothing would be taken.

We departed at ten, the gentlemen having mounted their horses in order to shoot on their way to Groenekloof, where we proposed to dine and stay all night. It is a government post, where dragoons are quartered,—a very excellent house, stabling, offices, and farm, but we found all much out of repair.

While dinner was getting ready, I walked out to see the view of the Cape from the rising ground at the back of the house. After taking a slight sketch, I came back to the yard in time to see about five hundred ewes returning from their pasture at a distance to the fold, where as many lambs were anxiously waiting their return. The door being opened, it was pretty to see the little creatures running out to meet their dams, no one mistaking her own, and each in haste to have its little long-delayed supper.

I regretted that the master of this mansion was dead. He had been kind to me, and had given me the two secretary-birds I mentioned as such charming creatures, and my little buck. How I grieved that I could not bring it with me. I never was so fond of an animal before,—it is so fond of me and so careless of every one else that it is impossible not to love it.—It licked my hand the morning of my departure, and seemed to beg hard to go too, but the cook promised faithfully he would take as much care of it as if it were his child—he is fond of birds and beasts. My little buck would have been in danger too from every dog he met

with whom he was not acquainted with, as they have no respect for wild animals which are become tame. Had he been in the waggon with me when we were overturned, his slender legs must have been broken. If I could say however that an animal had a presentiment that he should not see his friend and mistress again, I should say it of my buck from his complaining note when I bade him farewell. I believe I should not accept of any favourites,—I never ask for one and generally refuse them; but when a little creature is left an orphan without fortune or guardian, it is impossible to say no.

Thursday, May 31*st*, 1798.—None of us had slept so well as to render the sacrifice of rising a great one. By ten we remounted our waggon, and set off for a farmhouse called Blueberg, where we were to dine, and from that proceed to the Cape.

The road was much the same as usual, heathy sand, scarce any cultivation or grass. We passed about four houses in the space of fifteen or twenty miles, and about one o'clock arrived at our farm, where a clean, civil old vrow gave us some dinner,—we then proceeded homewards. It would have been a foolish enough matter, after a tour not without its occasional dangers, to lose one's life the last day, and within a few miles of our journey's end, but Gaspar, to save some heavy road, drove down upon the sea-beach before we came to the Salt River—a pass sometimes dangerous from the quicksands, which, if passed unskilfully, are hazardous.

Gaspar had mistaken the hour, and imagined the tide was retreating, instead of which it was coming in; and every five minutes he was obliged to whip up his horses to their full speed to avoid sinking in sands almost alive from the approach of the sea which foamed under our wheels. We were all not a little afraid,—Mynheer Prince afterwards confessed to me that we had had great reason; however the event justified Gaspar, for we got through safe, and by eight o'clock at night, accompanied by a heavy South-Easter and rain, we reached the Castle, where I hoped to find all clean, peaceable, and comfortable, from a comparison which after the last month was likely to be in its favour.

The first person I saw was Revel, the cook—who, instead of welcoming me back, seemed to avoid me. This I felt as a sad omen—I need not say why. He burst into tears—or pretended to do so, and told me my little buck was dead—that it had never

been well from the morning of my departure, constantly bleating and running about, looking for something—would not taste food, and died in ten days!

Though I knew the half of this to be untrue, it affected and worried me more than common sense can justify, and indeed gave the moment of return a shock which I leave those to pardon me for feeling who have had a favourite and lost it in some measure by their own want of judicious arrangement. I should not have trusted Revel—I knew he drank, and I should have risked it with Madame Goetz in spite of her children and dogs, or with any other friend in my absence, rather than with him. But he had talked me over, with so much specious fondness for my animal! What a pain did I not suffer when I heard from the other servants, who now crowded upon me with their grievances, that, from the day I left the Castle, no one had seen my buck, and that he had it locked up, but had been constantly drunk himself,—that he had sent a slave with it into the country to have it buried in my garden at Paradise, but with strict charges to let no one see it.—But let me leave this subject.

Whoever leaves home without a very steady person in rule will be apt to find that all has gone topsy-turvy in his absence. The coachman and the cook had quarrelled; the cook had cited him before the Fiscal—two men in the stable had been fighting; both were black and blue—Margaret, a soldier's wife, whom I have to keep the apartments when we are out of town, complained that Revel would not permit her to enter, but had sent for the two black slaves, whom I had returned to the slave-lodge while absent, as they are all thieves—he and they had finished a cask of wine in three days, which was to have lasted the family till our return—Jane's dog had been stolen by a Dutchman, who, finding it in vain to bribe the coachman, had enticed Tartar away; but we hoped to find him out—Martinus, a black boy, whom I had desired to water some plants, had never given them a drop, and had permitted regimental goats to walk in and eat up a box of fine young nutmeg-trees—the cats had established a temple for Cloacina under the sofas of my drawing-room—my penguin, who had lived with me a month, and with his long ruffle wings and solemn gravity as respectably filled the link between fish and fowl as I hope my little ostrich will do that between bird and beast, had

been choked by a bone—and, to sum up all the misfortunes and ill-humour of the component parts of our family, the cow, hitherto mild, had become insolent, and had offended the laws by walking on the parade, the consequence of which was, like other caitiffs, she was put in the *Tronck*, where she then was.

If anything could have made me laugh, it was this last misfortune. It reminded me of the mice which fell into a certain great personage's mess, when he was in prison,—hungry and oppressed, he thought, as things were at the worst, they would surely mend—his prison-gates were thrown open, and he was proclaimed Emperor! But no change for the better could give me back my little buck.

Our tour finished and all well, the 1st of June, Mr. Barnard thanked our kind Governor for the pleasure he had afforded us, and we were all glad to have made the journey. Though small the portion of ground we had gone over, it shewed me at least the face of seven hundred miles of Africa, and enabled me to judge a little of the peasantry, whom upon the whole we found hospitable and good-humoured, at least to travellers, but without industry, emulation, or capacity, attached to habits and careless of improvement—in their persons and houses slovenly and dirty, a few excepted; but, while improved minds are happy from religious contentment, from philosophy, or from a combination of blessings, these good folks seem to me to be equally so from their want of care, thought, or feeling, from a good deal of self-conceit, and from the charms of power, experienced by every master, mistress, and child, of every house.

The slaves and Hottentots, on the other hand, seem happy too upon the whole, from knowing no other state than that which they are in,—the idea of drawing a comparison between themselves and their masters is one belonging to the first step of civilization, and they have not reached to it, as far as I could judge. Their pleasures consist in eating what is given them, and in sleeping whenever they can; and all their pains are bounded by the lash of the whip, which is occasionally applied if they are disobedient, or what the master may call insolent. Could we weigh happiness in a scale, I do not believe, on the average, they are less happy than ourselves, though they have much less reason to be so, and meet death with an apathy which one would be apt to imagine

proceeded from the dislike to life, were it not that it certainly arises from the want of strong or precise feelings about anything.

Whether we shall ever, in a family party, venture farther into the country, I cannot tell; I think it probable we shall not. I shall therefore confine my little migrations henceforward to the quarters where I'm likely to pick up flowers, which may be done within a hundred miles of the Cape, and shall endeavour to stock myself with such things previous to that return which will put it in my power to embrace you all, my dear friends, with affection unabated on my part, and undivided by any new ties which the head or heart can form here.

ANNE BARNARD.*

* Lady Anne, I may add, remained at the Cape of Good Hope with her husband till the peace of Amiens, when she returned to England on the Cape being given back to the Dutch, leaving Mr. Barnard to follow a few months afterwards. I subjoin an extract from the concluding pages of her Journal.

"The Dutch, having heard of my departure, hastened to take leave of me at the Castle,—at least those did who *had* heard; their countenances were expressive of regret, but brightened up when I told them Mr. Barnard certainly remained behind. The Fiscal entreated and even implored me to give his family the last day I spent in Africa, and to pass it at his country-house. It was extremely inconvenient to me to do so, but, when a small sacrifice is to make another person very happy, I cannot find it possible to say no. Mr. Barnard and I went. He had shewed some taste in the walks he had made through his woods, and much industry, all being done by his slaves; his rural staircases particularly pleased me,—instead of sloping his rapid ascents, he had cut the steepest into steps, and with straight young trees had bound in the earth so as to make it secure and very pretty. I wandered amongst the wild bushes, and picked up a few seeds as souvenirs of the day, but the season was as yet too early to afford ripe ones in plenty, and *I* could not wait their maturity! Every day was now to me a gain and a pleasure; but as every hour of delay became alarming to the Admiral, while I was exulting in the westerly breeze, on Saturday the 9th of January, 1802, at breakfast, the mandate came—I must be on board at twelve o'clock—the fleet was to sail at two—every last, last package was therefore to be sent on board. Hurry is favourable to feeling, for it does not permit reflection. A few particular friends came to say adieu; my best ones gave me the cordial 'God bless you!' of kindness, with the full hope of joining me soon in London; a bunch of less true hearts who had (as they say of fox-hounds) given tongue as occasion offered or interest induced, came too, and, there being something in the simplicity of sorrow which makes a bystander more disposed to pity than envy, I saw even them bidding me farewell as if they condemned themselves secretly for a something, and wished to wipe it away by the cordiality of the parting moment. All was at last ready—I stood a moment on the quay before I descended its steps, and looked at the town and at the mountains rising over it. I left with them a benediction—praying Heaven to avert from the land the ills which French principles and French rapacity might pour over it in greater volumes than the clouds from the hills—I thanked God for the peaceful days He had permitted me to pass there, and for the health in which He allowed me to return—and, dropping a tear at the last look of a place where I had spent five years, I stepped into the barge and soon reached the ship."—*Ed.*

AN

ADVENTURE IN CHINA,

IN A LETTER TO

The Lady Anne Barnard.

BY

THE HON. HUGH LINDSAY.

AN ADVENTURE IN CHINA,

&c. &c.

My dear Sister,

You have requested I would give you some anecdote of my life which might be interesting. Had my first outset in the world been fortunate, and the profession which I chose been auspicious to me, I might have been able to have furnished you and my country with some lasting memorial of services rendered in that naval field where so much fame has so honourably been acquired; but you are aware that my career in that service was cut short by the entire stop to promotion which took place at the close of the American war in the year 1782; and the sea-service of the East India Company, which I then adopted, gave but little scope for anything worth relating; however, on one occasion, in China, I was placed in a situation the account of which you may perhaps think worthy of a place in your collection.

In 1811 I was commodore of a large and valuable fleet belonging to the East India Company, then lying in the port of Canton.

In Canton all mercantile business is carried on by Chinese appointed by the Government, and styled Hong or security merchants; they are selected from the richest and most respectable persons in Canton, and through them only can the supercargoes, our residents in China, have intercourse with the Hoppo, or Viceroy.

Those merchants have therefore the power of withholding all representations to the Government which may be against their private interest, or otherwise disagreeable to them by exposing the extortions and impositions they frequently attempt on the English.

On the occasion I am now going to relate the Hong merchants

had made some pecuniary demands which the supercargoes thought it their duty to resist,—the consequence of which was, that misrepresentations were made by them to the Viceroy, and, when the fleet was ready to sail, the port-clearance was refused.

After various ineffectual efforts to obtain our despatch, Mr. Brown, the chief supercargo, sent for me, and expressed his anxiety at the unlooked-for detention of the very valuable fleet which was ready for sea. He informed me he had sent several petitions by the security merchants to the Hoppo, but he had reason to believe that they had never been presented, and that one which he had ordered to be carried to the city-gate had also been stopped by them in its progress. Mr. Brown declared it his positive determination to resist the pecuniary demands made by the Hong merchants, and stated it to be his firm belief that, could a petition be conveyed to the Hoppo's own hand, the sailing of the fleet would no longer be delayed.

It now occurred to me that I might find a way of obtaining this desirable object by gaining access to the Viceroy; I therefore suggested to Mr. Brown the propriety of the commanders and officers of the fleet presenting themselves at the great gate of the city, headed by myself as commodore, with a petition in the Chinese language, addressed, by my particular desire, "To the Viceroy," in large Chinese characters,—and this, I said, I would endeavour to get conveyed by some means into the Viceroy's own hand.

Mr. Brown agreed to my proposal, and said he would confide in my prudence to carry it into effect. I then requested I might be accompanied by Sir George Staunton, or some one of the interpreters belonging to the factory, but this Mr. Brown declined,—permitting Mr. Perry, one of the supercargoes, to go along with me.

When I left Mr. Brown, he believed it was my intention only to go to the city-gate, as was the usual practice, present the petition there, and endeavour, by waiting, to get an answer; but I was well aware, on the present occasion, of how little use this would be, and I determined to get into the city—if possible, to reach the Viceroy's palace—and to deliver the petition to him in person; however, as my success was very doubtful, I did not disclose my intentions to any one, but determined to act as circumstances might direct.

The petition stated, "That the commodore, the commanders, and officers of the fleet, having finished the business which brought them to China, and having carefully observed all the laws and regulations of the port, were desirous of departing, but were informed by the security merchants that his Excellency the Viceroy had refused the port-clearance without assigning any cause for so doing,—that the petitioners, believing in the justice of the Viceroy, had reason to doubt that the detention arose from some misrepresentations made to him by the merchants for their own private purposes,—they therefore prayed the Viceroy would give them permission to depart."

In all my intercourse with the Chinese I had observed that, however much they were inclined to oppress, a steady and temperate resistance had never failed to succeed in obtaining redress.

In Canton strangers are strictly prohibited from entering the city, being only permitted to live in the suburbs; I had, however, frequently observed in my walks, that the guards at the gates were very remiss in their duty, and that in the morning, during the time of breakfast, there was seldom more than one man there. I also knew that the streets in the city, like those in the suburbs, were so narrow that not more than three persons could walk abreast; and I had learned from the Chinese that the Viceroy's palace was about a mile from the great gate, but whether in a direct line or diverging I did not know.

On my leaving Mr. Brown I sent orders to the commanders of the fleet to meet me at eight o'clock next morning, at the Company's factory, with all their officers who were in Canton; and I directed that they should be in full uniform, but without side-arms.

At the time appointed we assembled,—sixteen commanders and their officers, making in all about sixty persons. I informed them that I had received orders from the chief supercargo to proceed to the great gate of the city to present a petition for the sailing of the fleet,—that Captain Craig, Mr. Perry, and myself would lead the van, and that the rest of the body should follow, in files of three abreast, keeping close order.

About eight o'clock in the morning there are few Chinese in the streets,—we therefore had no difficulty in proceeding to the great gate, and, as I expected, found the guard (one soldier

excepted) in the guard-house at breakfast. The soldier, on my passing, attempted to stop me, but, on my giving him a push forward, he ran on before me; our party then immediately got through the gate and beyond the guard-house before the guard could get out to stop us,—in consequence of the narrowness of the street, our files of three filling it completely, they could not pass us, their efforts to do so only pushing us on the faster. On, therefore, we went—no one before us attempting to impede our progress.

In a short time I discovered the soldier who was at the gate, a little way in advance, watching our proceedings; it then occurred to me that, as he could not pass us to return to the guard, he would go on to the Hoppo's palace to give information there of our entry into the city; I therefore resolved to keep him in view if possible, but the moment we came near him he set off at full speed, and in spite of all the efforts we could make we soon lost sight of him.

We had now proceeded about half a mile in a long narrow street, the end of which I was much annoyed at finding branched into two others rather wider, one turning short to the left, the other inclining to the right; here I called a halt, as it was evident, if we took the wrong direction, all chance of success was at an end. I therefore called to my aid the petition addressed (as I before mentioned) "To the Hoppo," in large characters; and seeing at a shop-door a good-humoured-looking fellow staring at the unusual appearance of such a number of strangers in the city, I ran up to him and shewed him the back of the petition, which he instantly read, laughed heartily, and pointed out the right road.

We proceeded on as fast as we could go, and, after advancing a short distance, we again got sight of the soldier, whom we discovered, with several others, in the act of shutting two very large folding gates, which appeared to be the entrance to a spacious outer court, in which was visible the front of one of the most magnificent buildings I had ever seen. This was a very critical moment, for I instantly imagined it must be the Hoppo's palace, and, if the gates were once closed against us, all our labour was lost. I therefore loudly called out, "Hurrah to the gate!"—We in a body sprung forward and luckily reached it at the

instant the gates were shut, but before they had time to get them bolted; with one consent we put our shoulders to them, and the gates flew open before us, throwing all those inside to the right and left. Our whole body immediately rushed in, and it was our turn then to assist the soldiers in shutting and bolting the gates to keep out a mob of Chinese who had gathered in the city and followed in our rear.

Now we had time to breathe, look about us, and consider where we were.—Nothing could be more splendid than the building which stood in front of us; it was covered with Chinese characters in gold, beautifully ornamented with carved work in the Chinese style, and painted in the most brilliant and gaudy colours.

Mr. Perry at once assured me we must have reached the Viceroy's palace, as he discovered the particular banner which was carried before the Hoppo when he visited the Company's factory. The guard, whom we seemed to have caught *en déshabille*, had retired, and shortly after made their appearance in magnificent uniforms, and drew up in a body opposite to us.

The palace-gate now opened, and a Mandarin slowly advanced towards me; he addressed me in Chinese, to which I could only reply by shaking my head and shewing him my petition. He put out his hand to receive it, but I drew back mine, and made a sign I wanted to go into the palace to deliver it. He shook his head, and seemed decidedly averse to such a proceeding.

We were soon relieved from this embarrassment by the arrival of the two senior security merchants, Mowqua and Howqua, the first a fine old man of upwards of eighty years of age, and it was supposed that to those two we principally owed our detention,—the rest of the Hong came soon after.

Mowqua was in great agitation when he arrived, and addressed me in his usual Chinese-English, "Ah! Mister Commodore, what for you come here? you wanty security merchants have cutty head? Hoppo truly too much angry English come him house,—he will cutty my poor old head."—My reply was, "Mowqua! it is your own fault; why did you not present the Typan's (chief supercargo's) petition to the Hoppo? Had you done so, I should not have come here."—"Good Mister Commodore, me takey

petition, and truly will get answer directly."—"No, no, Mowqua! I will give it into the Hoppo's own hand myself,"—on which all the security merchants set up a cry as if I had uttered some treason against the Celestial Empire,—"What you come here? you wanty see Hoppo? That you no can do—Hoppo send you prison as soon as he know you come him house—we takey petition before he know you come city—get out fast you can; truly he too much angry he know you here."

There now appeared a Mandarin of high rank, to whom the merchants paid great respect; he came up to Captain Craig, Mr. Perry, and myself, who were standing with the two senior security merchants in front of our party; he, with civility, enquired what we wanted? and was instantly replied to by Mowqua, but I was determined to be my own interpreter. I therefore held up the petition for him to read the address, and made signs as before that I wanted to go into the palace to present it. This compelled Mowqua to come to an explanation with the Mandarin, who left us, as I supposed, to inform the Hoppo of our being there; he soon, however, returned, and held another consultation with the Hong merchants, who again informed me that I could not possibly see the Viceroy, and that I must entrust the petition to their care.

On this I thought it right to consult with Mr. Perry, Captain Craig, and some of the senior commanders, whether they advised my yielding the point and giving up the petition. I however gave it as my own decided opinion that we should still persevere in demanding an audience, and in this I was supported by all but Mr. Perry, who thought we ought not to persist any longer. I however determined to resist, and informed the Hong merchants that nothing but force should compel us to leave the palace without an interview.—I was the more inclined to persevere, from one of the junior merchants having whispered in my ear not to give up my point,—and that he, and several other of the Hong, did not approve of what the seniors had been doing.

After a long pause, Mowqua said to me, if I was resolved to see the Hoppo I must send away all the commanders and officers except one, and that he and I should then be admitted into the palace. To this I instantly agreed, and it was settled that Mr. Perry, the supercargo, should be the person to remain with me,

and that Captain Craig and the rest of the party should retire out of the city, which they accordingly did.

Mr. Perry and myself were now left in the court of the Hoppo's palace, surrounded by a great number of Mandarins, Hong merchants, and soldiers; the Mandarin who took the lead then shewed us into a large and splendid hall in the palace, where we were accompanied by the Hong merchants, who appeared extremely disconcerted at our success. It was now near twelve o'clock, and from that time till four every effort by promises, persuasions, and threats, was made use of by the Hong to prevail on me to give up the desire of seeing the Hoppo, but without effect; I was perfectly decided and firm, although frequently and most anxiously urged by Mr. Perry to yield the point.

Finding that I was not to be moved, Mowqua at last told me I should soon see the Viceroy,—"And now, Mister Commodore, when great man come, you must knocky head."—"What is knocky head, Mowqua?" said I.—"You must down on knees, and putty head on ground," was the reply.—"That's not my country fashion, Mowqua—I don't do so to my King, therefore will not do so to your Hoppo, but I will make him a bow while you knocky head." With this, after some communication between the Mandarins and the security merchants, they appeared satisfied.

I now found they were in earnest as to my seeing the Hoppo, and there was much bustle in the palace; they were, however, determined I should not imagine that I had forced an interview, as I was given to understand that the Viceroy was going out to pay his colleague, the Fyane, a visit, and that I should see him as he went out.

At this time there were in the great hall thirty or forty Mandarins of various ranks, all the security merchants, Mr. Perry, and myself, with many other persons belonging to the palace,—in all, I should suppose, about a hundred and fifty in number.

The doors were shortly thrown open, and we observed a procession issuing from another large house, and crossing a court to the hall we were in; the guard passed on, and presently there appeared the Hoppo, borne in a most magnificent state chair by sixteen men richly dressed; the chair was very splendid, and the Hoppo one of the finest and noblest-looking Chinese I had ever seen, with a remarkably fine black beard. The moment he entered

the hall, every person, except Mr. Perry and myself, threw themselves down as if they had been shot through the head, touched the ground with their forehead, and were up again in a moment,—even my old friend Mowqua, though so advanced in years, was down and up again as nimbly as a boy; on my remarking this to him after the interview was over, his reply was, "Mister Commodore, I very much long time do that custom."

As the Hoppo approached to Mr. Perry and me, we made him a low bow. I then advanced, with my petition in my hand, to his chair, when he desired his bearers to stop, and, having called Mowqua, he enquired by him of me what I wanted? I said I had a petition which I was desirous of having the honour to deliver into his own hand. He asked if it was written in Chinese? I replied it was. He then put out his hand and took it from me, saying he was going to visit the Fyane, and that I should have an immediate answer. He gave orders that we should have refreshments, and be conveyed back to the Company's factory in chairs belonging to the palace—made us a *chin-chin*, (a complimentary mode of saluting,) which was considered by the Chinese present as a mark of great favour towards us—and then passed on out of the palace.

As soon as the Hoppo was gone, we were taken by the Mandarins into another apartment, where several tables were laid, covered with fruit and sweetmeats. I was placed at one table with two Mandarins and Mowqua, Mr. Perry and Howqua at another, with two other Mandarins; the rest of the security merchants and Mandarins were placed at tables of four, agreeably to the Chinese custom. A handsome dinner was served, with great abundance of hot wine, the produce of China, and, after passing a very pleasant hour, we were put into the state chairs, and carried through the city back to the Company's factory—to the astonishment of all the Chinese, and to the no small satisfaction of Mr. Brown, who had been under much uneasiness on our account.

Next day there was a heavy fine levied on the security merchants—the port-clearance was issued—the fleet despatched—and here ends my story.

I remain, my dear Sister,

Your affectionate brother,

HUGH LINDSAY.

GENERAL INDEX.

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THE END.

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