

JOURNAL  
OF  
AN IMPRISONMENT IN SERINGAPATAM,

DURING THE YEARS 1781,1782,1783,  
AND PART OF 1780 AND 1784.

BY

THE HON. JOHN LINDSAY

## 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 in the notes appended by me to my uncle’s narrative. 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.

Nor have I suppressed the slightest incident in the accumulation of mental and physical suffering that weighed down for nearly four weary years the wretched victims of Hyder Ali. 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.

# JOURNAL, &c.

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## CHAPTER I.

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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 tenth of September, 1780, until my release from prison, and my arrival at Madras on the 17th April, 1784.

On the morning of the tenth 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 every thing 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<sup>1</sup> who was leading them.

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 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 now 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.

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<sup>1</sup> The epithets *Moor* or *Moorman*, and *Gentoo* or *Gentile* 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 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 license 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, Mesroure, 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 their 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.

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.<sup>2</sup> 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 to wards 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.

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, for the first time, enquired 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

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<sup>2</sup> See the "Life of General Sir David Baird. Bart...", vol 1, pp. 28—83.

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,<sup>3</sup> 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.

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,

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<sup>3</sup> 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."

our pittance of provisions was so small, and so bad of its kind, that it was barely sufficient for our existence.

On the 9th, on the line of march, my old house keeper, 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<sup>4</sup> 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 *darbar*,<sup>5</sup> and Captain Rumley, who spoke the Moorish and Persian languages extremely 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,

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<sup>4</sup> 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.*, i., 372.

<sup>5</sup> Court.

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 22d of October, a fresh guard came, and desired Baird, myself; and two others,<sup>6</sup> 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 lookout 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 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 23d, 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<sup>7</sup> 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 any thing 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 until 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,<sup>8</sup> 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.

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<sup>6</sup> Captains Menteith and Wragg.

<sup>7</sup> Commander of the fort.

<sup>8</sup> Chandgherry,—the capital of the ancient Hindoo kingdom of Narsinga.

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 any thing that he would give me, but that I had 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 any thing 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,<sup>9</sup> 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 fire-place 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, 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.

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<sup>9</sup> Cavarypatam, 109 miles east of Seringapatam.

## CHAPTER II.

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ON the sixth 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 *darbar*, 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 side 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<sup>10</sup> and a Moorman, that they said “they could depend upon.” His name was Mobit Khan; his appearance was the most villainous that could be conceived, amid 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 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 any thing [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

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<sup>10</sup> A petty officer.

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 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 tenth 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 guard 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.<sup>11</sup>

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 the 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.

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<sup>11</sup> 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 twenty-third 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 first of November.

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. Mohit 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 or 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 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 sepoy, 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 Smolletts 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.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> "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 ditto.

Neckcloths, of ditto.

Banyan shirts, ditto.

Jackets, ditto.

Waistcoats, ditto.

Trowsers, ditto.

Socks, ditto.

Buttons of thread.

Tables of bamboo, and covered with a mat.

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 Klian, 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 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 the first, [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 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,

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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."

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 chuse to believe us, but immediately sent to the Cutcherry<sup>13</sup> 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.<sup>14</sup>

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 10th. 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 10th. 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 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<sup>15</sup> 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.

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<sup>13</sup> Court of Justice.

<sup>14</sup> "In most of the prisons, it was the custom to celebrate particular days, when the funds admitted, with the luxury of plantain fritters, a draught of sherbet, and a convivial song [For instance: "June 4 [1781] In honour of his majesty's birthday, we had for dinner fowl, cutlets, and a hoar 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.*]]. 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 secrecy by causing an abundant supply of this unaccustomed luxury to be thenceforth placed within the reach of their farthing purchases."—*Wilks*, ii., 524.

<sup>15</sup> Resting-places for travellers.

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 sepoy 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 showed 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.

## CHAPTER III.

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MAY 10th. 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 for the first time, answered, 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 Nahob, 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.<sup>16</sup>—The next day, we found 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.<sup>17</sup>

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<sup>16</sup> Except Captain Baird, who was not put in irons till the 10th 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 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.*, i. 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.

<sup>17</sup> "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 [cigar], 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

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 sepoy of the guard to inform us if our 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 17. 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.<sup>18</sup> 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 stripes of bamboos— (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 sepoy have not the aversion to that animal that Europeans have, they took them to make curries of.

May 10th. 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

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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.

<sup>18</sup> 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.

to flatter ourselves that our army would soon gain a decided superiority over the enemy.<sup>19</sup>

May 25th. 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 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 Mussalmen. 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;<sup>20</sup> 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 :<sup>21</sup>

“Sir,

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<sup>19</sup> 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 Licut. Colonel Baillie, Captain Ruinloy, 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.—"But it is one of the most remarkable and beautiful features of this dreadful captivity," observes Sir D. Baird's biographer, "that every man during its continuation seemed more anxious for his fellow 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."

<sup>20</sup> 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.*, i., 53.

<sup>21</sup> 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.

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,<sup>22</sup> the Brahmin came to our prison and, after calling the men in, he selected the underwritten<sup>23</sup> 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;<sup>24</sup> 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<sup>25</sup> 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,<sup>26</sup> 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 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,  
JOHN MACKENMORE,  
ALEXANDER ROSS  
JAMES SINCLAIR,  
ROBERT MACKENZIE,      CAPT. BAIRD'S Company

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<sup>22</sup> "On Wednesday, the 19th of September," &c.—*Copy in the published Journal.*

<sup>23</sup> "He selected sixteen from the rest."—*Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> "By fourteen of us," not in published copy.

<sup>25</sup> A stupefying drug.

<sup>26</sup> October. Published copy.

CORPORAL ANDERSON,  
DONALD STUART,           CAPT. LINDSAY'S Company.

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 under go 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 advantages 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 every thing 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 today; 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 sepoy tells 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.<sup>27</sup>

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<sup>27</sup> See the tables of prison expenses in Seringapatam, printed (from the "Memoirs of the late War," &c.) at the close of this journal.

## CHAPTER IV.

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OCTOBER 10th. - 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 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 6th.—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 show 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 15th—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, 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 5th.—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,<sup>28</sup> 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 9th.—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 20th.—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 occurrence, 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

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<sup>28</sup> The Nairs, pure Sadras by origin, form the military caste of Malabar, next in rank after the Brahmins.

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.<sup>29</sup>

[About November.] We had, for some time past, entertained 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:—<sup>30</sup>

“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

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<sup>29</sup> 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 an delight."—*Life*, i., 48.

<sup>30</sup> 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 "Memors 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.

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<sup>31</sup> 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, and we were made prisoners by a French officer, and Ensign Byrne by a black commander.

While we remained in Tippoo Saibs 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, where, 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<sup>32</sup> 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

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<sup>31</sup> "Wounded."—Copy in "Memoirs," &c.

<sup>32</sup> Whips.

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,<sup>33</sup> 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 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 unchristianlike behaviour.<sup>34</sup>

Wishing you all a speedy releasement, we remain, Gentlemen,  
Your unfortunate brother officers and friends,

JAMES SPEEDIMAN  
and  
RD. RUTLEDGE,  
Lieutenants of Artillery<sup>35</sup>

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“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, amid 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

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<sup>33</sup> "Sept. 1. The same villains," &c.—*Copy in published Journal.*

<sup>34</sup> This paragraph does not appear in the printed journal.

<sup>35</sup> "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.

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.”

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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 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<sup>36</sup> 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.

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<sup>36</sup> 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.

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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 strong-hold, 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 sepoy, 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 sepoy 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 secrecy, 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 strong-holds, 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 10th.—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 15th.—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 17th.—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.<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>37</sup> 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 over looked. 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*, ii., 362.

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.<sup>38</sup>

June 5.—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 inure 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

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<sup>38</sup> He arrived on the 25th 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 difflère, it prison with the daily allowance of six cash and one seer 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 entrusted 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 are put or worked into the buttons of the shirt, which we have contrived to deceive the washerman..... 18th NOV. The colonels 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 sepoy. 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."

had no hopes of preserving my life but by a speedy deliverance, which now seemed at a greater distance than ever.

June 20th.—This day, General Mathews, who had commanded the army upon the Malabar coast, was brought in, a prisoner, to Seringapatam,<sup>39</sup> 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 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 Dook.”

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<sup>39</sup> General Mathews. according to the published Journal, arrived on the 27th May. and on the 20th 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.

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 every thing 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.<sup>40</sup>

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 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

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<sup>40</sup> See Colonel Wilks's Hist., ii. pp. 496 sqq.—According to the published Journal the prisoners first heard of this conspiracy being discovered, on July 24, 1783.

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.<sup>41</sup> These suspicions struck us with more force, as Tippoo Saib, during his father's life-time, 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 any thing 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

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<sup>41</sup> The author of the published Journal dates the first intimation of this murder on the 8th *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 a European who had engaged in the sultan's service." — *Memoirs, &c.*, p. 125.

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 pre-eminent,—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.

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DECEMBER 1st—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 every thing 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.<sup>42</sup> It would be difficult to describe the 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.

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<sup>42</sup> 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 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."

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 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.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>44</sup> 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 drank the poison, stepped forward 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 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

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<sup>43</sup> 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, iv. pp. III sqq.

<sup>44</sup> 3 October, 1783. Journal, in "Memoirs," &c., p. 155.

this unprincipled barbarian, we would commit no action that could give him cause to justify such villainy to the world.<sup>45</sup>

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.

In the afternoon,<sup>46</sup> two Brahmins, accompanied 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.

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<sup>45</sup> 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.

<sup>46</sup> Of the 22d March, 1784.—*Published Journal*.

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.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> 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 distressing 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. ["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

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the last, made a sign to the guard, who instantly surrounded the boys and drove them away. They were seen no more."]

"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 [He had been promoted to a company during his imprisonment], 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.

## PRISON EXPENSES IN SERINGAPATAM.

### EXPENSES OF FITTING UP A PRISONER NEWLY ARRIVED AT SERINGAPATAM.<sup>48</sup>

	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 <sup>49</sup>	0	3	0
Beggarmen's quilt, of old rags <sup>50</sup>	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

<sup>48</sup> The prices are in fanams, dubs, and cash. The gold fanam was worth five pence sterling, and changed for eleven dubs and four cash.

<sup>49</sup> The galligaskins are made of leather, and worn under the irons to preserve the skin.

<sup>50</sup> A beggarmen'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.

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 comely, as a covering	4	6	0
Bamboos and ropes for a cot	1	2	0
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 <sup>51</sup> 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 back-gammon table	0	2	0
Ivory for one pair of dice	0	5	0
Chess-board of paper, and men	0	8	3

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<sup>51</sup> Chillums are balls of tobacco and plantains, and certain spices.