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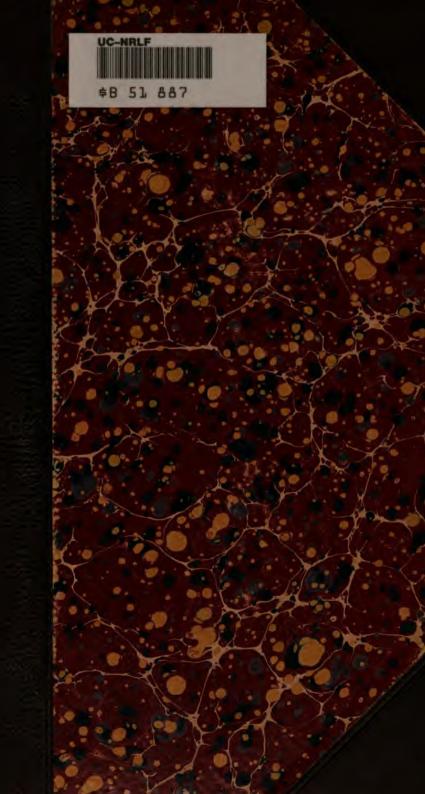
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# GENERAL GEORGE THOMAS . Obit Jugust 1802 (Clat 46

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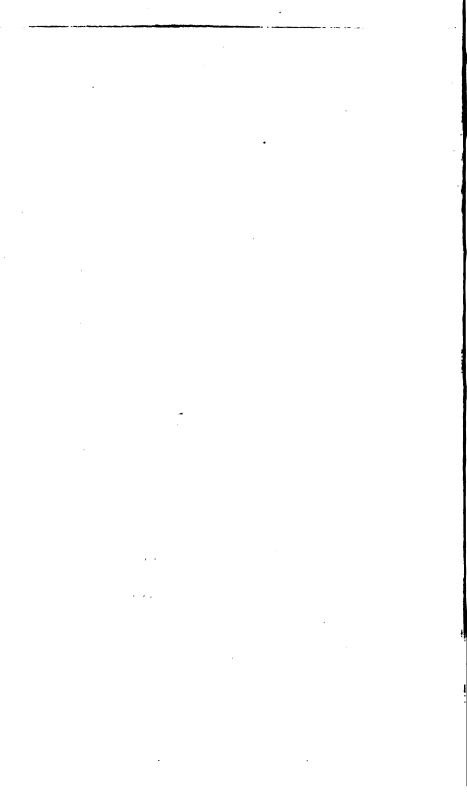
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# MILITARY

# MEMOIRS

#### OF

Tipe 5

# MR. GEORGE THOMAS;

who,

By extraordinary Talents and Enterprize,

ROSE FROM AN OBSCURE SITUATION TO THE RANK OF

# A GENERAL,

#### IN THE SERVICE OF THE NATIVE POWERS

IN THE

NORTH-WEST OF INDIA.

THROUGH THE WORK ARE INTERSPERSED,

Geographical and Statifical Accounts of feveral of the States compoling the Interior of the Peninfula, especially the Countries of Jypoor, Joudpoor, and Oudipoor, by Geographers denominated Rajpootaneh, the Seiks of Punjaub, the Territory of Beykaneer, and the Country adjoining the Great Defart to the westward of Hurrianeh.

> COMPILED AND ARRANGED FROM MR. THOMAS'S ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS.

# BY WILLIAM FRANCKLIN,

CAPTAIN OF INFANTRY; Member of the Asiatic Society, Author of a Tour to Persia, and of the History of Shah Aulum.

MORES, POPULOS, ET PRÆLIA DICAM.

CALCUTTA PRINTED.

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THE Publisher having been favoured by a friend with a copy of the following interesting Biography, which was printed at Calcutta, conceives that it could not but be acceptable to this country, which is so materially interested in whatever is connected with its vast possession in India.

As it is a work which will probably excite a very general intereft, he has thought it moft advisable to print it in octavo, whereby it could be afforded at confiderably lefs than half the price of the quarto original.

LONDON, 20th Sept. 1805.

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# MEMOIRS

# GEORGE THOMAS.

# CHAPTER I.

Introduction.—Mr. Thomas enters into the fervice of Appakandarow,—Repairs to Delhi. —Account of the environs of that city.

IN the enlightened period of the nineteenth century, when the world abounds in characters, as diftinguished for their abilities, in every branch of scientific and useful knowledge, as eminent for their courage and other perional qualifications, it may afford matter for furprise, that an obscure individual should merit the attention of the community. Yet, when it is considered that the fingularity of

character, exhibited in the fubject of the prefent memoirs, is rendered ftill more interesting by his adventures, his talents, his succeffes, and his misfortunes, detailed in the following sheets, it may not only form the best apology for the compiler in submitting these memoirs to the public view, but also afford some useful instruction to the reader.

From the beft information we could procure, it appears that Mr. George Thomas first came to India in a British ship of war, in 1781-2. His situation in the fleet was humble, having ferved as a quarter master, or, as is affirmed by some, in the capacity of a common failor.

Shortly after landing in the vicinity of Madras, the activity of his mind, overcoming the lowlines of his situation, he determined to quit the ship, and embrace a life more suitable to his ardent disposition.

His first fervice was among the Polygars to the fouthward, where he refided a few years. But at length fetting out over-land, he spirit-

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#### GEORGE THOMAS.

edly traverfed the central part of the Peninfula, and about the year 1787 arrived at Delhi. Here he received a commission in the fervice of the Begum Sumroo. This lady is well known in the history of the transactions of modern times. Soon after his arrival at Delhi, the Begum, with her usual judgment and difcrimination of character, advanced him to a command in her army. From this period his military career in the north-west of India may be faid to have commenced.

In various and fucceffive actions against the Seiks, and others of the Begum's enemies, Mr. Thomas, by his courage and perfeverance, rendered her authority respectable. By these fucceffes, he obtained a confiderable influence over the mind of his mistress, and was for some time her chief adviser and counfellor.\*

\* Among other brilliant acts, performed by Mr. Thomas, during his service with the Begum, was the circumstance related in the History of Shah Aulum. The Compiler of these Memoirs did not know, at the time, that Mr. Thomas was the officer who commanded the party. But that gentleman, during his residence at Benares, communi-

But, unfortunately for the mutual interefts of both parties, after a refidence of fix or feven years, Mr. Thomas had the mortification to find himfelf fupplanted in the good opinion of the Begum. His authority was affumed by a more fuccefsful rival.

This conduct in the Begum, exciting much animofity and many heart-burnings between the two rival commanders, Mr. Thomas refolved to embark his fortunes on a different fervice. He therefore quitted the Begum Sumroo, and about 1792 betook himfelf to the frontier flation of the British army, at the post of Anopshire.

Here he waited feveral months, in the expectation of receiving overtures for employment from fome of the native powers. He was not deceived in thefe expectations. In the beginning of the year 1793, Mr. Thomas, being at Anopfhire, received letters from Ap-

rated a detail of the affair, which, with a slight variation in a few particulars, happened as is stated in the printed work. See the History of Shah Aulum, page 167, et seq.

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pakandarow, a Mahratta chief, conveying offers of fervice, and promifes of a comfortable provision.

To comprehend the nature and use of Mr. Thomas's fervices at that juncture, it will be necessary to recur to the previous fituation and prospects of Appakandarow.

This chief had formerly been himfelf in the fervice of Madhajee Scindiah, who gave him the command of two battalions of infantry, raifed and disciplined by the celebrated General Duboigne. In return for Appakandarow's fervices, Scindiah had alfo, fubfequently, entrusted to his management the districts of Gualier and Gohud. These, for some time; he conducted with success: but having, in the year 1790, invaded Bundelcund, and being unfuccessful in his operations, he was compelled to contract debts to a confiderable amount. This irregular and improvident conduct occasioned, first, his removal from command, and afterwards, his difinition from Scindiah's employ. Of a haughty and impatient spirit; Appakundarow ill brooked this

[A. D.: 1793.

humiliation, and from that time fought, by his own exertion, to establish an independency. It was at this period he was joined by Mr. Thomas, who had with him 250 cavalry, chosen men, and of tried valour on several occasions.

This acceffion of force was highly acceptable to the Mahratta chief; he was, at that time, unable to keep under fubjection feveral diftricts, which, on account of his ill fuccefs, had rebelled against his authority, and withheld the payment of their accustomed tribute.

Mr. Thomas was now directed by Appakandarow to raife a battalion confifting of 1000 men and 100 cavalry. For the maintenance of this force, he affigned to him the pergunnas of Thajara, Thopookara, and Ferozeepoor. They are all in the Mawatty diftrict, fituated to the fouth-weft of Delhi. Thofe diftricts had, fome years preceding, been in a ftate of rebellion, nor was Appakandarow able to reduce them to fubmiffion. The inhabitants, when a large force was fent againft them, ufually took flicites in the mountains;

A. D. 1793.] GEORGE THOMAS.

but when the force was inferior in numbers, by uniting, they proved victorious. With cavalry, likewife, they committed depredations in every direction. Thefe exceffes naturally rendered the Mahratta chief anxious of tranfferring the diftricts to any perfon who would exert himfelf to prevent their plundering the industrious peafants. Mr. Thomas's agreement with Appakandarow was, that he fhould balance accounts every fix months. Thefe terms having been agreed on, as an affurance of confidencé, he prefented Mr. Thomas with two guns, fome ammunition, and a few bullocks.

The neceffary arrangements having been made, Mr. Thomas prepared to march, and take poffeffion of the lands aforementioned. He was however stopped by accounts, difpatched by Mr. Perron, announcing the death of Scindiah.

•The march thus postponed, Appakandarow repaired to Delhi to guard against an apprehended commotion in that capital. On their arrival at court, Appakandarow, and other

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chiefs, among whom was Mr. Thomas, were honoured with Khilluts, fimilar prefents were likewife given for Dowlut Row Scindiah, who had now fucceeded to the possessions of his deceased uncle.

The mention of Delhi affords an opportunity of prefenting the reader with an account of fome remarkable buildings, which stand without the precincts of the new city, and have hitherto escaped the observation of travellers. They were obtained by the compiler of these Memoirs during a visit to this celebrated city, in 1793.

We come next to the tomb of Humaioon, the fon of Baber, fecond of the imperial Houfe of Timoor, and memorable for a chequered life of alternate profperity and misfortune.— He died Anno Hejirah 963, and the maufoleum was crected by his fon, the famous Akbar, on the western bank of the Jumna, in the city of old Delhi.

The building is fituated in the centre of an

A. D. 1793.] GEORGE THOMAS. 25 ample terrace, of red ftone, two thousand feet . in circumference.

Upon this terrace rifes the mausoleum of folid red ftone. It is of a circular form, furmounted by a ftupendous dome of white marble. Confpicuous from its dimensions, this dome is seen at a great distance. Four minarets, of red and white marble, support the extremities of the building. These are crowned with octagon pavilions of red stone, having marble cupolas. I judge the height to be about a hundred and twenty feet. A winding stair-case, of red stone, leads to a terrace, which encircles the exterior of the dome; hence you have a noble prospect, both of the old and new Delhi.

The principal room below, is paved with large flabs of white marble. It contains the fepulchre of Humaioon, of the common fize, but elegantly decorated with chifel work : it bears no infeription. Adjoining to this room, are other apartments, in which are interred feveral princefles of the Houfe of Timoor.

[A. D. 1793.

Upon the terrace aforementioned are the graves of five princes of the royal family, viz, Darah Shekoah, who was put to death by order of his brother Aurungzebe. 2d. Mooizaddeen or, Jehandar. 3d. Shah Furrukfeir, put to death by the Seyuds. 4th. Beedar Bukht. 5th. Azim Shah, fon of Aurungzebe. Near them is the grave of the late Emperor, the fecond Aulumgeer.

About two hundred yards from the maufoleum of Humaioon, is that of the famous Khan Khanan, prime minister of Jehangeer, and son of the renowned Byram Khan, memorable for contributing, in so great a degree, during the fucceffive reigns of Humaioon, Akbar, and Jehangeer, to establish the House of Timoor on the throne of Hindostan. The tomb refembles, both in shape and size, that of the Nawaub Sustar Jung. The sine marble covering however of the dome, as well as the inlayings of the minarets, and the gateways, have been dilapidated.

The generous mind cannot without indignation perceive the ravages which the diffe-

# A. D. 1793.] GEORGE THOMAS.

rent invaders of Hindostan have perpetrated upon these magnificent remains of departed grandeur. But what shall we say of those now living\* who, for the paltry consideration of a few thousand rupees, strip the venerable shrines of the servants of their departed ancessors, and, by robbing the dead of what gratitude or affection had bestowed as a parting testimony, acquire thereby a partial, and difgraceful opulence?

A mile to the fouthward of the new city are the remains of the fort, palace, and mosque of the Patan emperor, the first Feroze. These ruins embrace a confiderable extent. The walls of the fort are of immense thickness, and the prodigious quantity of granite, with other stones, spread in heaps over the whole of the interior of the inclosure, denote it to have been a grand and splendid edifice.

This fort was built Anno Hejirah 755, and was deftroyed by the Mogul conqueror Timoor,

\* To every one at Delhi, it is notorious that a Prince of the House of Timoor now living, has actually sold the marble of this tomb, for twenty five thousand rupees.

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in his invation of Hindoftan. Toward the centre of the place is a building of an ancient ftyle, flanked with round pillars, and crowned with turrets of three ftories. At the top of this building, on an ample terrace of ftone, about forty feet in height, is a column of brown granite. On this column is an infcription, in the ancient character beforementioned, as difcernible on the pillar in the fort of Allahabad, and composed of the same materials. This pillar is called, by the natives, Fergze Cotelah, the staff of Feroze, and from the conftruction of the building on which it is placed, I should conjecture it has been a monument of Hindoo grandeur, prior to the irruptions of the Muffulmans. Adjoining to the cotelah, is a very large building differing in the ftyle of its architecture from those mosques built fubsequent to the establishment of the Moguls. This molque is fquare, has four extensive aisles or cloifters, the roofs of which are ftone, and fupported by two hundred and fifty columns of stone, about fixteen feet high. The length of the cloifters gives a grand appearance to the building. An octangular dome, of ftone and brick work, about twenty-five feet high,

# A. D. 1793.] GEORGE THOMAS.

rifes from the centre of the molque. In the weftern cloifter is a kibla, or niche, in the wall, in the direction of Mecca. Of this molque the emperor Timoor took a model, and carrying it with him on his return to Samarcand his capital, accompanied at the fame time by artificers and workmen of every defcription, he fhortly after his arrival built a magnificent temple.

In the northern aisle of this molque, at the upper end, is a fmall window, from which was thrown the body of the late emperor the fecond Allumgeer, who had been affaffinated at the infligation of his vizier Gaziodeen Khan. The affaffins were two Mahomedan devotees. whom he had vifited under the pretext of their working miracles. The body of this unfortunate prince, unburied, for two days lay on the fands of the Jumna. At laft it was taken up by permiffion of Gaziodeen, and interred in the fepulchre of Humaioon. To me it appears that the ftyle of building in this mosque, refers to a period in the architecture of Hindoftan prior to the Mogul conquests. The mosque at Paniput, erected by the emperor Baber, may be

[A. D. 1793.

looked upon as the model of all the fucceeding Mogul buildings.

# COOTTUB MINÄR.

Nine miles fouth of Delhi is the celebrated column, defignated Coottub Minar, fituated near, and deriving that name from the tomb of Khaja Cuttubadeen. His disciple, Shemfadeen, of the family of Ghazi, erected this column, Anno Hejirah 770. Shemfadeen defigned that this pillar and another fimilar one should have marked the entrance of a magnificent mosque. It was begun upon the ruins of a Hindoo temple. Having finished this pillar, and parts of the buildings adjacent, Shemfadeen's premature death prevented the completion of a work which would have been one of the most magnificent in the world. The whole was intended as a monument to perpetuate to posterity the triumph of Mahomedan faith over that of Brimha. The column has a most stupendous appearance. Conceive a fhaft of fixty feet diameter, composed partly of red ftone, partly of white marble,

A. D. 1793 GEORGE THOMAS.

rifing to the height of two hundred and fifty feet.

Afcending this pillar, relief is afforded by four projecting galleries of red ftone. Tapering toward the fummit, it was crowned with an octagon pavilion. I imagine this pavilion would have contained at leaft, a dozen perfons. Each of the galleries are most richly tho' differently ornamented. The column is relieved, and rendered ftrikingly bold, by convex and angular projections.

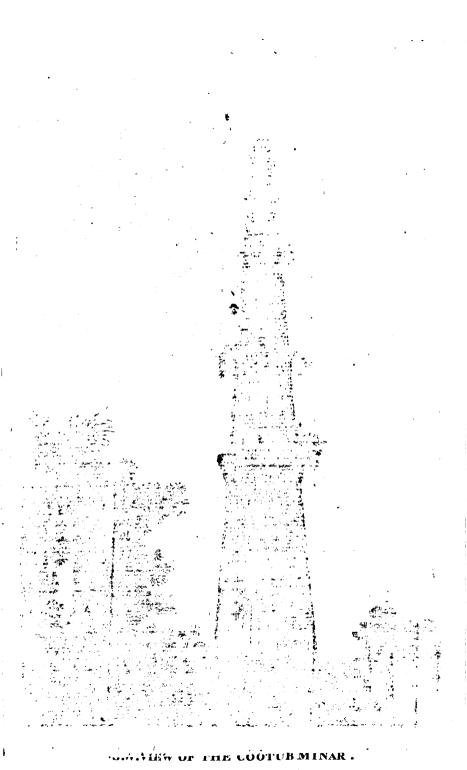
Within this grand tower, is a circular flaircafe of three hundred and eight fteps of red stone. There are, at intervals, landing places which communicate with windows. From the octagon, on the fummit, the view is strikingly grand. Looking from fuch a height, the mind is imprefied with fensations of admiration and of awe. Infcriptions in feveral parts, twelve inches in breadth, embrace the These contain verses from column. the Koran, in the Arabick character. The galleries are fupported by fculptured wrnaments,

[A. D. 1793.

of which the richness is greatly heightened by a profusion of frieze work.

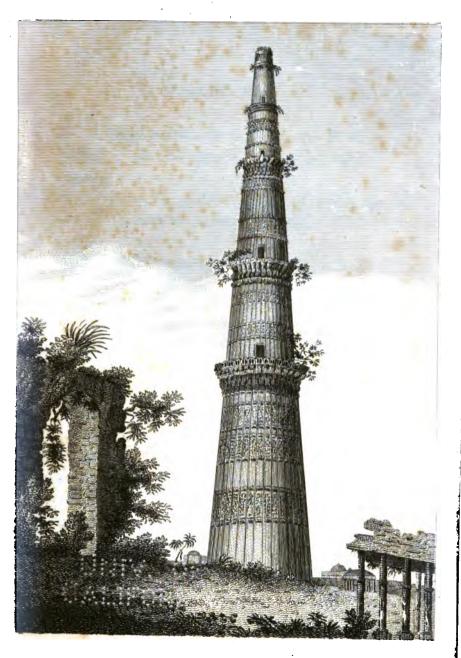
This defcription of the Coottub Minar, with the engraving\* flewing the veftiges of the ruins which furround it, will I doubt not incline the reader to think with me that they are objects to a traveller, perhaps, equally interefting as any in the world; and through the eaft are not to be found more imprefive memorials of its ingenuity, its magnificence, and its grandeur.

• For this I am indebted to the kindness of Lieutenant Macdougal, of the engineers, from whose sketch, on the spot, it has been engraved.



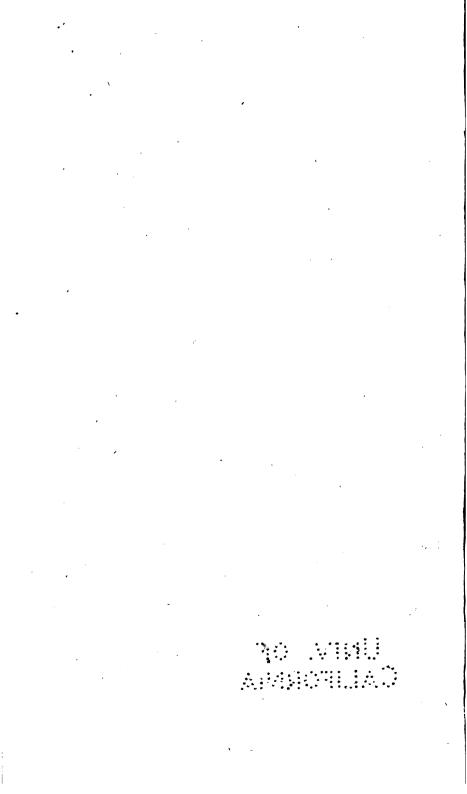
Height of the Column 250 feet. Diameter 80 d?

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# S.W.VIEW OF THE COOTUB MINAR .

Height of the Column 250 feet Diameter 80 d?



# CHAPTER II.

Mr. Thomas marches towards his new Pergunnahs.—Military operations.—Intrigues of Begum Somroo.—She is deposed.—Death of Levasson Detwixt Mr. Thomas and Appakandarow.—Occurrences.

**H**AVING remained fome time at Delhi, it afforded Mr. Thomas the opportunity of recruiting his forces to 700 men; with this reinforcement, he prepared for his departure to the diffricts which had been affigned to him by Appakandarow.

To the accomplifhment of that purpose a new obstacle arose; —unable to pay his troops, they became mutinous, and plundered the adjacent country. This conduct disgusting Appakandarow, produced high words between him and Mr. Thomas. The dispute, after much altercation, ended in a compromise, by

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A. D. 1793. 34 which Mr. Thomas received the fum of 14,000 rupees, and an affignment for the reft of his claims. The latter, however, was never fulfilled.

MEMOIRS OF

In the march towards his diffricts, Mr. Thomas retaliated upon the Begum Sumroo, whom he now confidered his bitter enemy, laying under contribution that part of her country which came within his route.

Arriving at Goorath, a large and populous village, he imposed heavy contributions. These amounted to a confiderable fum. He found here also an ample supply of bullocks and forage.

Continuing his march, after a long and te-. dious day's journey, he encamped near the town of Tejara, a place in the centre of the Mewattee district. The night was dark and rainy: this and the extreme fatigue of the foldiers confpired to render fuccefsful an attempt which the Mewattys made, and they carried off a horfe from the very centre of the camp.

# A D 1793:] GI

## GEORGE THOMAS.

In the morning, a party was detached to difcover the village to which the horfe had been conveyed. The party had not proceeded far when they were attacked, and obliged to retreat. Orders were then given for the cavalry to advance, and cover the detachment. And Mr. Thomas himfelf leading the infantry, haftily marched, and with his collected force, attacked the enemy at the village, to which, it appears, the horfe had been carried. By this time they had affembled and became formidable. The centre division of Mr. Thomas's troops, in a fhort time fet fire to the village, and there feemed no doubt of a complete victory, when the divisions on the right and left giving way, fled with precipitation. The wounded left on the field were, even at this crifis of the action, cut to pieces by the enemy.

The centre division, under the special command of Mr. Thomas, now following the example of their brethren, left him, of his troops, only a dozen infantry and a few cavalry.

Thus difcomfited and vexed by the unfteadinefs of his troops, Mr. Thomas, as a laft refort,

### MEMOTRS OF

encouraged his fmall party to exert themfelves in extricating a nine-pounder, which unfortunately, previoufly to the battle, had ftuck in the bed of a nullah. In this he had just fucceeded, when the enemy; as certain of victory, recommenced a furious attack, and endeavoured to feize the gun.

The commandant of cavalry, a man of diftinguished bravery, still adhered to Mr. Thomas, and desperately, with a few others, threw himself between the gun and the enemy. They were cut to pieces, but the gallant effort afforded time to re-mount and oppose a welldirected fire of grape from the nine-pounder. This faved Mr. Thomas and the brave few of his furviving party. For, after the discharge of a few rounds, the enemy retired to the furrounding ravines.

Mr. Thomas now collected the fugitives, who with his veteran party formed a detachment of about 300 men. With thefe he unconcernedly challenged the enemy to a renewal of the combat, which they now as cautioufly declined.

## A. D. . 1793.] GEORGE THOMAS.

In its first view so disastrous, this action, by the dread it spread among the enemy, proved highly fortunate. Great as was Mr. Thomas's loss of brave and attached foldiers, that of the Mewattys was infinitely more confiderable. The immediate confequence was an overture, on the part of their chief, of terms which shortly led to an amicable adjustment. They agreed to pay Mr. Thomas a year's rent, and to restore to him the property that had been stolen. The performance of these articles was guaranteed by fecurities.

The punishment of this village, the strongest in the whole district, and its inhabitants the most refractory, was highly favourable to Mr. Thomas's interest; the more so, as in a preceding campaign the whole force of Begum Sumroo had been in vain exerted to reduce it. Mr. Thomas next prepared to march against the remaining districts which were still in rebellion; and, having recruited his force for this purpose, he was ordered by Appakandarow to affist the collector of the district of Kishnagur. Convinced by experience that vigorous meafures could alone enfure fuccefs, Mr. Thomas marched towards the refractory villages; of which having gained pofferfion, they were quickly confumed by fire.

An example fo fevere deterred others from purfuing a fimilar conduct. Of these the most confiderable was the town of Jyjur; which, however, submitting on the approach of the troops, opposition was at an end, and Mr. Thomas returned to Tejara.

On the fubmiffion of Jyjur, Appakandarow gave Mr. Thomas an order for a fupply of money upon the collector of that place. The collector endeavoured to evade payment, by reprefenting that the diftreffed fituation of Appakandarow (whofe troops had juft mutinied for want of payment of their arrears), required every rupee that could be raifed; in confequence, Mr. Thomas muft, for the prefent, difpenfe with payment. This, he obferves, was true; but his people being in diftrefs, to provide a remedy, he marched to Behadurg-

## ACD. 1793. GEORGE THOMAS.

hur, in order to raife by contribution the neceffary fupplies.

In this route, the finall villages were found to be deforted and the large ones increased with numbers of armed perfors. By this time, Mr. Thomas's troops, thinned by frequent defertions, amounted only to 300 men; but these, had they been foldiers accustomed to discipline, would still have been fufficient to answer the purpose of completing the reduction of the rebellious Zemindars.

Arriving at Mundaka, the Zemindars of which place had been the original caufe of the mifunderstanding betwixt Appakandarow and Mr. Thomas, were found ready for the combat; Mr. Thomas therefore, though with a force fo inconfiderable, hefitated not in making an immediate attack : in this he was fuccefsful, and having defeated the enemy, he found in the place plunder to the amount of four thoufand rupees.

During these transactions, the Begum Sumroo, and the Mahratta governor of Delhi,

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jealous of the afcondancy Mr. Thomas had acquired, fent a force to watch his motions: for the prefent he thought the most prudent method to efcape observation would be by removing to a distance, and his news levies being now complete, he marched directly back to the town of Tejara:

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At this place Mr. Thomas received a letter from Appakandarow, who was still detained in the fort of Kotepootly by the mutinous state of his troops. His fituation had been rendered thus unpleasant by the intrigues of Gopaul Row, Scindia's commander in chief. That chief had written letters to the principal findars in the army, promifing them payment of their arrears provided they would deliver up Appa as a prisoner. He further observed, that he had but too much reason to imagine the firdars would yield a ready acquiefcence to this offer; that, diffreffed for provisions, and having his family with him, if Mr. Thomas could not come to his affiftance, he must ultimately be compelled to throw himfelf on the mercy of his enemies.

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On receipt of this letter, although it rained beavily and the day was far advanced, Mr. Thomas, without hefitation, fet off: he marched all that night and the beft part of the enfuing day and night through a conftant and heavy rain. About two o'clock in the morning he serived at the fort of Kotepootly. The inceffant rain prevented his having any oppofition from the senemy without, and he encamped under the walls of the fort. The communication was thus happily opened, and provisions being fent in, plenty fucceeded to the fearcity before experienced.

Mr. Thomas, aware that the force of the mutineers would daily become augmented, recommended to Appakandarow to evacuate the fort, and retreat to Kanoond. In the mean time he advifed that letters fhould be written to Scindia, to deprecate the refentment of that chief. Approving of Mr. Thomas's propofal, Appakandarow appointed the enfuing day for the accomplifhment of his purpofe, and the bufinefs was conducted with fo much fecrefy and addrefs, that until the moment of departure every one feemed ignorant of the intend-

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ed movement. At the appointed hour, Appakandarow, attended by a few perfons who ftill adhered to him, came out of the fort of Kotepootly with his family and effects; he was received by Mr. Thomas, and placed in the centre of a firong detachment, who formed around him, and commenced their march.

The transmission of the state of the

In order to protect the baggage, Mr. Thomas, with the remainder of his force, remained behind for a fhort time, but the enemy now appearing prepared to purfue the detachment with determination to-refcue Appakandarow, Mr. Thomas, without further delay, joined that chief. They had not proceeded far when the van of the enemy made their appearance: Mr. Thomas, as the only means of infpiring confidence; recommended to Appakandarow to mount an elephant, and fhew himfelf to the The measure was instantly adopted, troops. and attended with the happiest effect; for the enemy perceiving this refolute conduct thought it most prudent to retire, and Mr. Thomas, without further opposition, conducted his chief in fafety to Kanoond. Appakandarow, releafed from his embarrassment, was defirous of making

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a grateful return for the fervices that had been rendered. He adopted Mr. Thomas as his fon, prefented him with the fum of three thousand rupces to purchase an elephant and palankeen fuitable to the dignity of his station, ordered him to encrease his force two hundred infantry and as many cavalry; and finally, made over to him, in perpetuity, the districts of Jyjur, Byree, Mandoté, and Phatoda, which yield an annual revenue of a lack and fifty thousand rupces.

He was then difmiffed by Appakandarow, and directed to complete the arrangement of the remaining diffricts in the Mewatty country.

This was become more neceffary; a principal Zemindar, by name Gunga Bithen, and of the tribe called Aheer,\* had not only openly rebelled, but had made offers to Gopaul Row of furrendering up the diffrict to Scindia; as an additional inducement for his acceptance,

\* This tribe can bring into the field a body of fourteen thousand men.

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the rebel stated that the real amount of the revenues were much larger than what had been acknowledged by Appakandarow, and paid by him to Scindia as his lord paramount. Appa being apprifed of this treacherous correspondence, directed Mr. Thomas without delay to march and attack the rebel. He. on difclosure of his treachery, fled to the mountain. ous part of the Mewatty country, and there fortified himfelf. The orders for the march had been kept a profound fecret in Mr. Thomas's camp. Arriving fuddenly before the place, by a fuccessful stratagem Mr. Thomas took Gunga Bishen prisoner, whom he fent to Appa. The fort was still maintained by his nephew, and a garrifon of one thousand men; they had abundance of provisions, ammunition, and stores of all kinds; the only inconvenience fustained by the inhabitants was a fcarcity of water. This article was not to be, procured within two miles of the place. Mr. Thomas, in the hope of compelling them to furrender. commenced a blockade ; and the better to enfure fuccess he constructed a chain of redoubts round the fort.

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Whilft employed in the crection of these posts he had a narrow escape for his life. Retired to inatch an hour of fleep and refreshment from the toils of the preceding day, Mr. Thomas was fuddenly awakened in the night by the noise and shouts of the enemy. Repairing to an eminence in the neighbourhood, he had the mortification to perceive that his own people had given way, and the enemy were become masters of a newly-finished redoubt, together with the arms and ammunition contained within: to add to his diffrefs he perceived a party advancing to the place where he ftood, unarmed and defencelefs, (the hurry of his being awoke not giving him time to fecure either piftols or fide-arms) : fortunately however for him, a faithful fervant had followed him with his fword, which taking from the man's hand he prepared for his defence.

From various quarters fpears were thrown, and matchlocks fired at him but without effect. Perceiving a ftand of colours which his own men had left behind, he stooped to pick them up, which the enemy observing, concluded by the motion of his body that he had been

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wounded; they rufhed on him in numbers, and wounded him in feveral places. This compelled him to relinquifh the colours and attack the enemy, whom he foon obliged to retreat. Mr. Thomas then afcended an eminence, in order to difcover, if poffible, the direction his own troops had taken in their pufillanimous flight, but in vain. Faint from the wounds he had received in the late encounter, he now retired within his trenches and got them dreffed. The fiege of the place advanced apace, and two mines having been fprung with confiderable effect the garrifon capitulated.

During this fiege Mr. Thomas and his people had undergone great hardfhip. Whilft the grain remained on the ground he was enabled to procure fupplies from the neighbouring country, but the harveft being got in they were reduced to a fcarcity of provifions. His own tent, the only one in the camp, was converted into an hofpital for the fick and wounded; and the feafon being fevere Mr. Thomas humanely fold his own horfes to procure blankets for the men.

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Mr. Thomas next marched to Jyjur: on his arrival at that place, the zemindars who had revolted, not chufing to contest the point, paid their rents, and the troops received their arrears.

Gopaul Row, the Mahratta general, was about this time fuperfeded in his office of lieutenant-general of the poffeffions of Scindia in Hindoftan. Luckwah Dadah and Jigwah Bapoo were appointed to fucceed him. Īn this state of Mr. Thomas's affairs, the army of these chiefs arrived in the vicinity of Appa's country. That chief determined to pay his respects, and for this purpose repaired to their camp; at first he was well received, but had not long remained when a fum of money was required of him under pretext of payment of an old tribute due to Scindia. He was moreover informed, that until this was paid he would be detained in the camp.

Unable tò raife the fum demanded, Appakandarow was under the neceffity of refigning the best part of his country into the hands of Bapoo Farnevefe, who had been appointed

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by the express orders of the Poona government. Although the fum required was less than two lacks of rupees, and many perfons in Appa's family could easily have afforded him affistance in his distress, not a man was to be found who would now part with a rupee. The districts were therefore made over in mortgage; and the fum required by the Mahratta commanders was advanced by Bapoo Farnevese.

It was moreover flipulated, that the troops kept up by Bapoo, for the purpofe of collection, fhould be paid from the treafury of Appakandarow. " In fhort (fays Mr. Thomas in terms of indignation) it was plainly to be feen, that whoever might hereafter, by chance of war, obtain possefition of the districts in question, it was evident that by these concesfions, Appa had for ever done away his own right."

Among these pergunnahs were three in the Mewatty country which belonged to Mr. Thomas. The loss to him was severe ; but, as he observes with a confideration highly to his credit as a foldier, " I had no cause for

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" complaint when my principal was ruined." After these transactions Mr. Thomas was directed to affift the deputy appointed by Appa to collect the revenues of the remaining part of his country: a talk of confiderable difficulty: fince the Zemindars, hearing of Appa's detention in the camp of the Mahrattas, had broken out into open rebellion against his authority. To reduce them to obedience, Mr. Thomas marched with about eight hundred men that remained after the heavy fervice he had lately experienced; promptitude in planning, and vigour in execution, being abfolutely neceffary, Mr. Thomas, by his animated exertions, in a very fhort time captured feveral of the principal places, fome by day affaults, and others by night.

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Among others, the capture of Byree appears interesting in the narration. "In the fort, fays Mr. Thomas, "exclusive of the garrison, "were three hundred rajepoots and jauts. "These had been hired for the express pur-"pose of defending the place, and it was here "I was in the most imminent danger of losing "the whole of my party. We had stormed

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" the fort, and were beat back with lofs; " one of my firdars was wounded, and, from " the confusion that occurred, left behind in " the hands of the enemy; the danger was , " every moment increasing, the town was on " fire in feveral parts, and our retreat nearly " cut off by the flames that furrounded us.

"In this fituation, we had the additional " mortification to perceive the mercilefs enemy " feize on the wounded officer, and, with fa-" vage barbarity, precipitate him into the fire. " Equally animated, as enraged, by this fpec-" tacle, my troops now rushed forward to the " attack, with an ardour that was irrefiftible. " Having gained entire poffession of the fort, " the foldiers, with clamorous expreffions of re-" venge, infifted on the death of every one of " the garrifon that remained, and I was not in-" clined to refuse; but it cost us dear, the " enemy to a man made a brave refiftance. " This contest was continued fo long, as to-" afford time to those who had retreated, to " return : by this means, we were again en-" gaged, and at one time almost overpowered; " but, receiving a reinforcement of our own-

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" party, the enemy, by flow degrees, began " again to retreat which they effected. I " purfued with the cavalry: the enemy once " more made a ftand in the jungles adjoining " to the town; when, after a fecond defperate " conflict, they gave way on all fides, and " most of them were cut to pieces."

Scarcely however had Mr. Thomas completed the objects of his march, when he received letters from Appa, of a tendency most unpromifing: in these, Appa, after descanting on his finances, the low state of which did not permit him to retain longer, either Mr. Thomas or his troops, recommended him to disfinis his battalions, and repair to the head quarters, which were now in the country of the Row Rajah.

In answer, Mr. Thomas stated his utter impossibility to discharge the men, without previous payment of their arrears. He then marched to join Appa, and found that chief in the vicinity of Alwar. Appa, after expatiating on the ungrateful conduct of those perfons who had enjoyed his confidence, informed Mr.

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A propofal was made by Mr. Gardiner, the commandant of a brigade of Scindia's troops, to advance the fecond parallel: a council affembled to confult on the most eligible mode, but finding this could not be effected without first taking a redoubt which lay in their front, no perfon appearing inclined to risk the enterprife, the council broke up.

On the enfuing day Mr. Thomas, of his own accord, took an opportunity, when the enemy were off their guard, to ftorm the redoubt. Repeated attempts were made by the enemy to regain poffession, but he bravely maintained himself in it, till a reinforcement arriving they gave up the contest. Mr. Thomas immediately fortified the post.

The parallel was advanced, and the garrifon perceiving no chance of fuccour from without, the commandant negotiated, and as a ranfom for the fort agreed to pay the fum of two lacs of rupees. Mr. Thomas received a fum fufficient to reimburfe him for the expences he had incurred, and was then directed **A. D. 1794.]** GEORGE THOMAS. 55 to return to his own diffricts. Soon after his arrival he reftored them to order.

Mr. Thomas had by this time formed his men into a regiment confifting of two battalions; of these, one he detached to collect the revenues of the country, and with the other remained at Jyjur.

During these transactions begum Sumroo, in whose service Mr. Thomas had formerly been employed, was now trying every means in her power to effect his ruin. She had even gone so far as to bribe the Mahratta officers to advise his dismission; and a body of Mahrattas having joined her army, the marched from Sirdhanna, her capital, and encamped about feventeen coss south-east of Jyjur.

This conduct in the begum Mr. Thomas attributed to the influence of the officers in her fervice; and more particularly to that of Levaffo, who not only commanded her troops, but had lately received her hand in marriage.

On every occasion, he was the declared and inveterate enemy of Mr. Thomas; and had by his influence wrought in the begum her prefent determination.

In the begum's army it was publicly afferted, that their prefent defination was againft Mr. Thomas. Her force, confifting of four battalions of infantry, twenty pieces of artillery, and about four hundred cavalry, was commanded by officers of tried and acknowledged abilities. Mr. Thomas, having recalled the battalion that had been detached, had now a regiment confifting of two thousand men, ten pieces of artillery, five hundred irregulars, and two hundred cavalry.

The diffentions, however, that arose among the begum's officers, not only induced her to relinquish her intention of attacking Mr. Thomas, but ended in her imprisonment, and the total subversion of her authority. The cause of these diffensions must now be traced to its fource.

Levaffo, who had the chief command of the

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begum's army, was jealous of the authority of Legois. This man is a German; and fo named from Liege, the place of his nativity. He had been many years in habits of intimacy and friendship with Mr. Thomas; and, on the prefent occasion, had strenuously disfuaded the begum from the proposed hostilities. This conduct having given umbrage to Levasso, he by his influence with the begum, procured Legois's degradation; and to render his disgrace the more mortifying, his place was given to a junior officer.

A conduct fo inconfiftent and unjuft difgufted the foldiers, who for many years had been commanded by Legois, with whom alfo they had often fought and conquered. They remonstrated, but in vain, against the measure; finding there was no hope of altering the begum's resolution, they fuddenly broke out into open mutiny. They invited Zuffur Yab Khawn, the fon of the late Sumroo by a former wife, who then resided at Delhi, to become their commander. In return, they promised to feat him on the mussinud. For this purpose, a deputation of the army, in spite of

all the exertions of the begum, repaired to Delhi, and folemnly tendered him the command. Zuffur Yab Khawn, fearful of the intrigues of his mother-in-law, at last confented. To relieve his apprehension, the deputation, in the name of the army, took an oath of fidelity to him on the spot.

On the first intelligence of the conspiracy the begum and Levasso, with a few of their old fervants, prepared for flight. It was their intention to have proceeded directly to the Ganges, and to seek refuge in the country of the vizier Asuph ool Dowla.

In this refolution, however, they were unfortunately intercepted. A party of cavalry which had been detached by Zuffur Yub Khawn on the first intimation of their flight, overtook and furrounded them at the village of Kerwah, in the begum's jaghire, four miles distant from her capital. Previous to the commencement of hostilities the commandant of cavalry proclaimed a free pardon, and promise of their arrears, to the foldiers who still adhered

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to the begum, on condition of their laying down their arms, and delivering up the begum and her hufband.

In the confusion that arose, and before any resolution could be taken, some shot were fired, and a few men flightly wounded. The foldiers, perceiving they had nothing to hope from the begum (who, they knew, only wished to get away with her effects), openly declared themfelves for Sumroo's fon. The infantry then furrounding her palanquin demanded her to furrender; the cavalry at the fame time furrounded her hufband, who was on horfeback. The begum at that inftant drew a poniard from . her fide, and running the point of it across her. breaft drew a little blood, but with no intention of killing herfelf. Her attendants calling for affiftance, Levaffo hearing the tumult demanded to know what had happened. He was, answered that the begum had killed herself :. twice he put the fame queftion, and receiving, the fame answer, with great deliberation he. put a piftol to his mouth, fhot himfelf, and immediately fell from his horfe. " The vil-" lains (fays Mr. Thomas) who, the preceding

" day, had ftyled themfelves his flaves, now committed every act of infult and indignity " upon his corpfe!" For three days it lay exposed to the infults of the rabble, and was at length thrown into a ditch.

Meanwhile Zuffur Yub Khawn advanced to Sirdhanna, whither the begum had already been conducted a prifoner; and having affumed the government of the jaghire, tranquillity was foon re-eftablished.

Freed from the apprehension of hostilities, Mr. Thomas now feduloufly employed himfelf in the arrangement of the districts.

Appakandarow, who during the late events had found means to fow diffentions between Luckwa and Bappoo Fernevele, now reaped the fruits of his addrefs. Finding thefe commanders at variance, he prepared to return to Kanond; and while on the march to that place, fent written orders to Mr. Thomas to difmifs the collectors who had been appointed by Bappoo, and to reinftate his own. A. D. 1795.] GEORGE THOMAS.

Mr. Thomas obeyed; but Bappoo's army amounting to three thousand men, it cost the lives of many to disposses him.

This affair however being at length terminated, Mr. Thomas had the long-expected interview with Appa. They met at Narnoul, a place which had that morning furrendered to his arms. After the ftrongeft expressions of fatisfaction, and of the sense he entertained of his fervices, as proof of those fentiments Appakandarow presented Mr. Thomas with an elephant, a palanquin, shawls, and other articles of value.

A reception focordial was highly gratifying; but its effect was foon diminished when, three days after, Appa demanded the delivery of a Bramin in the fervice of Bappoo Fernevese, from whom he intended to exact a fine.

It must here be remarked, that previous to the furrender of the fort this man, coming privately to Mr. Thomas's camp, had offered terms for the delivery of the fort, for himself and two others who accompanied him; as the reward

of his treachery, he required fecurity of life and property, towhich Mr. Thomas yielded a ready affent.

Notwithstanding these affurances, Appa, at this time in want of a supply of money, infisted on his delivery, which Mr. Thomas for the reasons above stated as positively declined.

To convince Appa of the juftness of his reafoning, Mr. Thomas exhibited to that chief his own written orders, which had been communicated at the commencement of hostilities. These positively specified that the servants of Bappoo or his adherents who submitted should not suffer either in person or fortune, but on the contrary were to be allowed a safe conduct and fuitable effort to Mattra or Delhi.

In vain Mr. Thomas shewed this order; Appa continued inflexible, and contended moreover that as these people had formerly been in his own employ, he had on the present occasion a right to extort money. On quitting the durbar the bramin informed Mr. Thomas that he with others was willing to settle ac-

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counts with Appa, and only required that perfons of integrity fhould be appointed to infpect them. To this likewife Appa refufed his confent; adding that if Mr. Thomas ftill hefitated to deliver up the people his own confequence would thereby be leffened in the eyes of his army. They parted mutually diffatisfied with each other. To bring this bufinefs to an iffue Mr. Thomas fent a meffage, offering to procure a perfon who, if the bramin was liberated, fhould become refponfible for the adjuftment of the accounts. Appa, highly enraged, and well knowing that the bramin owed him nothing, not only rejected this propofal, but declined all further intercourfe.

A few days after this altercation, Appa fent a meffage to Mr. Thomas defiring his attendance in the town. He went thither. On his arrival at the houfe he was informed by the fervants that Appa was unable to come down. Mr. Thomas, unwilling to give any caufe for offence, ordered the foldiers who had accompanied him to remain below; and afcending by himfelf, was, by a perfon on whofe attachment he could rely, introduced into his apart-

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ment : to his no fmall furprife, that chief appeared in perfect health, but of this Mr. Thomas took no notice. The difcourse concerning the Bramin was renewed; and shortly after Appa rifing from his feat, told Mr. Thomas he intended taking a flight repait, and would then Scarcely had he quitted the room in return. which they fat before Mr. Thomas was furprifed by the appearance of feveral armed men. He now began to fuspect fome treacherous attempt against his perfon might be intended; but with that prefence of mind which on trying occasions never forfook him, he continued firm on his feat. convinced that if on this occafion he had retired it would have afforded matter of triumph to his enemies.

In this fituation he remained until Appa returned to an adjoining room; from thence he fent Mr. Thomas a written order immediately to deliver up the perfons in queftion. Mr. Thomas perceiving matters were advancing to a crifis, and preferring death to diffuonour, rofe from his feat, and refolutely told the perfon who had delivered the order that he would never perform what was now required; with-

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out further difension he entered the apartment of Appa, his foord being in his hand, but as yet undrawn: the Mahratta chief, on Mr. Thomas's approach, appeared hefitating, and as if he was uncertain how to act; Mr. Thomas perceiving his confusion took this opportunity of paying him the cuftomary compliment, and retiring unmolefted, though fully determined to visit him no more.

On his arrival in the camp, Mr. Thomas difpatched his Dewan to Appakanderow with the following meffage :--- " That compelled by " a just indignation against the treachery of his " proceeding, he would no longer ferve him." In making this declaration, Mr. Thomas had the fatisfaction to find he was supported by the troops; who, fired at the infult offered to a man whom they fo highly respected, had declared with unanimous confent that they would temain no longer in the fervice of Appakandarow. Intimidated by this fpirited refolution, Appa now wished to compromise the matter : he fent excuses to Mr. Thomas in mitigation of his treachery, and to enfure confidence came the next day in perfon to the camp. Willing

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to forget the paft, Mr. Thomas received his chief with refpect; and matters having once more been placed on an amicable footing, Appa told Mr. Thomas that he had received letters from Bappoo Farnevefe, requesting the delivery of the persons who had occasioned the differences, as a personal favour to himself. They were accordingly sent off to Muttra in the manner proposed.

Mr. Thomas was now directed to repair to the Mewatty country, to collect the tribute that had become due. Taking leave of Appa, he in a few days arrived at Mewat; his prefence at this juncture was the more necessary, perpetual quarrels having arifen between the collectors of Appakandarow and those who had been recently nominated by the Mahratta commanders. Mr. Thomas, however, by his active and fpirited conduct on this occasion, by punishing fome and conciliating others, at last brought matters into a favourable train of fettlement. In the course of these transactions he had been under the necessity of taking one of the forts by ftorm, in which were found feveral pieces of artillery, and an abundant fupply of bullocks

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and other carriage-cattle. Appakandarow, hearing of this capture, claimed as his right the artillery that had been found in the fort. Mr. Thomas as strenuously infisted on its being the property of the captors. Repeated altercations ensued, till at length Appakandarow having fecretly gained over a body of Ghossiens, who were proceeding to their annual pilgrimage at Hurdwar, inftigated them to the attack of Mr. Thomas's camp.

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# CHAPTER III.

Descriptive account of the Hurdwar, and of the annual pilgrimage—Mr. Thomas defeats the Ghosfieins—the districts of Panniput and Soneput are added to Mr. Thomas's passes account of the city of Panniput, and of the canal of Ali Merdan Khan.

THE mountains through which the Ganges flows at Hurdwar, prefent the fpectator with the view of a grand natural amphitheatre; their appearance is rugged, and deftitute of verdure; they run in ridges and blunt points, in a direction eaft and weft; at the back of the largeft range, rife, towering to the clouds, the lofty mountains of Himmalayah, whose tops are covered with perpetual fnow, which on clear days prefent a most fublime prospect. The large jagged masses, broken into a variety of irregular stapes, added to their stupendous height, impress the mind with an idea of antiquity and grandeur coeval A. p. 1795.] GEORGE THOMAS. 69 with the creation, and the eternal froft with which they are encrufted appears to preclude the poffibility of mortals ever attaining their fummit.

In viewing this grand fpectacle of nature, the traveller may eafily yield his affent to, and pardon, the fuperfititious veneration of the Hindoo votary who, in the fervour of his imagination, affigns the fummit of thefe icy regions as the abode of the great Mahadeo, or Firft Caufe; where, feated on his throne of ice, he is fuppofed to receive the homage of the furrounding univerfe.

Hurdwar is a place of great fanctity, and , rendered memorable for the pilgrimages made thither from a remote antiquity.

About the latter end of March, and beginning of April, the pilgrims from Punjab, Guzurat, and the lowest points of Bengal, assemble in prodigious numbers.

In 1794, not lefs than an hundred and fifty thousand perfons were affembled, though fourteen days were still remaining before the pilgrimage would be completed.

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Brima and Bifhun, or the creating and preferving powers, are the principal objects of worfhip at Hurdwar. The temple, fituate at the foot of the mountain, is called Brimhakood, or the refervoir of Brimha. Hither the pilgrims refort, and after purifying themfelves in the Ganges, they cut off their hair and fhave themfelves. Those who die during the pilgrimage, are burnt on the banks of the Ganges, and their ashes thrown into the river.

The pilgrimage to Hurdwar is effeemed of fuch confequence, as to be equivalent to that of Cafi (Benares), Puraug (Allahabad), or Chillumbrum, in the Carnatic; and a devotee who has vifited this place may be excufed from going to any other the remainder of his days. This pilgrimage never fails to benefit the inhabitants of Hurdwar and the neighbouring villages; as out of the great number who refort there at the annual period, all perfons are obliged to pay a duftoor, or tax, to the bra-

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mins and chokeydars of the villages. This amounts to a large fum.

Exclusive of the profits before stated, the Mahrattas receive a tax upon horfes and camels coming to the fair; the former paying eight annas per head, and the latter fix annas; one half of this impost is levied at the village Joalahpore, and the remainder at the Hurdwar. Hackerys, or wheel-carriages, pay a tax of eight annas, and the covered doolies for the women two annas. There is likewife a refoom (cuftom) upon the fale of horfes and camels, on the former ten per cent. and the latter eight, which is paid equally between the vendor and purchaser. Another mode by which the inhabitants enrich themselves is. by raifing the price of grain and articles of provision, though upon the balance this is not much against the visitors; who, bringing along with them the production of their respective countries, difpofe of their goods to advantage at Hurdwar.

Hence this pilgrimage has been converted into a great fair, where all forts of merchan-

72 MEMOIRS OF [A. D. 1795. dize from various parts of Hindostan arc fold.

To Hurdwar are brought horses, camels, mules, cloths from the Punjeb, Mawls, fruit, faffron, musk, Cashmerian wool, brass, and tutinague ; cherrus, an intoxicating drug, which bears an excessive price in Bengal; fire-arms from Lahore, and excellent Persian scimitars. These several articles are bought, exchanged, and fold; and, from the affemblage of people composed of sp many different nations, the place refembles a grand commercial emporium : added to this, those rajahs and petty chiefs, who visit Hurdwar from religious motives, being attended by their troops, and their respective suites, contribute to accumulate the general mass, so that all is hurry, buffle, noife, and confusion.

But to return to our narrative after this digreffion. The Mahratta chief afore-mentioned, having inftigated the Ghoffeins to attack Mr. Thomas in his camp, to encourage them, offered as a reward for their fervices, the fum of ten thousand rupees. These particulars were

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communicated to Mr. Thomas by his own vakeel, then refident with Appa. Incenfed at the indignity offered him by a conduct fo treacherous, he marched against the Ghossiens, whom he attacked and defeated with great loss to them, and to himself but trifling. After the encounter, they fled towards Dethi; and not thinking themselves fase there, continued to retreat until they had croffed the Jumna.

On the retreat of the Ghoffeins, Mr. Thomas expostulated with Appa on the treachery of his conduct. He told him that the late transaction was so shameful, that he could no longer remain in his fervice. Mr. Thomas particularly expatiated on the treatment fustained by a Mr. Taylor: whom, after unjustly depriving of his command, Appa had confined in the fort of Goalier, under the pretext of extorting money; till finding the man was not either to be daunted by threats, or cajoled by promises, he had at length given him his liberty. "Such," faid Mr. Thomas with indignation, "has been the fate of all who have ferved " you with fidelity."

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As a Mahratta is feldom at a lofs for an excufe, Appa, in answer to these charges, replied, that his own inability to attend to bufinefs (being confined by illnefs) had occafioned those who had undertaken to manage his concerns, to act in a manner fo unworthy; that a dangerous diforder with which he had been long afflicted was growing worfe every day, and that he wished much for a personal interview with Mr. Thomas before his death. Īn this letter, Appakandarow further urged, that the perfon whom he intended for his fucceffor being young and inexperienced, he wished to avail himself of the benefit of Mr. Thomas's counfel, Appakandarow being from experience well convinced no other perfon would be equally interested with the welfare of his family. Finally he assured Mr. Thomas, that in the proposed interview he would not only clear himfelf from the aspersions of treachery, but arrange every thing to their mutual fatisfaction and advantage.

This intimation excited no fmall degree of furprife in Mr. Thomas, but from past experience he did not chuse to place implicit re-

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liance in the declaration of the Mahratta chief. He was thus reduced to a critical fituation : for as on the one hand it was difficult to refufe the requeft of fo powerful a chief; fo on the other, a laudable regard for his perfonal fafety, if treachery were intended, induced him to decline the propofed vifit. From this ftate of uncertainty and fufpenfe he was happily relieved, by intelligence of a numerous body of feiks having made an irruption into the Dooab, and were at that time committing depredations in the vicinity of Scharunpore, the capital of the late Gholaum Cadir Khan.

The apprehension of all parties was considerably augmented, when it was known that on their first onset they had cut to pieces some battalions of Mahratta troops stationed for the defence of that province.

Although Appakandarow had no particular connexion with Scharunpore, he thought that, in common with other powers, he ought to exert himfelf to prevent further incurfions, efpecially as his own diftrict would in all probility be the next invaded by thefe defperate ma-

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rauders. He therefore directed Mr. Thomas to march with his whole force, and with all poffible expedition, giving the most express injunctions to fight the feiks wherever he might come up with them in the Mahratta territories.

Agreeably to these instructions, Mr. Thomas lost no time in repairing to Jyjur; from whence, croffing the Jumna to the northward of Delhi, he advanced rapidly towards the enemy. They not being inclined for the contest thought proper to retreat, croffed the river, and returned unmolested to the Punjab. Mr. Thomas in this place remarks, that whilst in the fervice of Begum Sumroo he had encountered the seiks on more than one occasion, and had already given them samples of his method of fighting; and though their number at this time was not more than five thousand men, they had not only defeated the Mahrattas, but compelled them to take shelter in the fort of Jelalabad.

Luckwa, commander of the Mahratta forces, hearing of the difgrace fuftained by his troops at Scharunpore, as likewife of the fubfequent

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flight of the feiks on Mr. Thomas's approach, now requested of Appa to permit this enterprifing man to raife a body of two thousand men for the protection of the province of Scharunpore, and other parts of the Mahratta poffeffions. To this request Appa, though with difficulty, complied; and in confequence of the purgunahs of Panniput, Sonepat, and Karnaul, were affigned to Mr. Thomas, for the payment of two thousand infantry, two hundred cavalry, and fixteen pieces of field artillery. Bappoo Scindiah was nominated to the government of Scharunpore; which with the country adjacent, at the period we are speaking of, yielded an annual revenue of ten lacks of rupees.

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The fituation of the city of Panniput, and the celebrated canal in its neighbourhood, may perhaps justify a digreffion in its favour, and curiofity will be gratified in the detail of its ancient and prefent flate.

Panniput is a city of great antiquity, and was inhabited by Mahomedans in the reign of Mahmoud of Ghuzna; who, during one of his

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incurfions into Hindooftan, fettled a colony at that place. In the time of the emperor Shah Jehan, it was a populous city; and in the reign of Mahomed Shah, was felected by that prince as his principal refidence. In the year 900 of the Hijira, or A. D. 1525, the Mogul emperor Mahomed Baber invaded Hindooftan: Ibrahim Lodi of the Patan dynafty at that time fat on the throne of Delhi.

He prepared to refift the invader; and affembling his forces, conducted them towards the The rival armies met on the plains frontiers. of Panniput; and a general engagement enfued, in which the forces of Ibrahim were totally defeated, and himfelf flain. The deceased monarch was interred on the fpot where he fell, by the command of Baber, who directed a tomb to be erected to his memory. This tomb is still to be seen, about three miles to the north-weft of the city. In commemoration of the victory, the Mogul prince directed a magnificent mofque to be built on the fpot where his own tent was pitched, on the eastern fide of the city. It is called Cabil Baug.

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This building, which exhibits one of the first specimens of Mahomedan grandeur among the Mogul race of princes, confifts of a spacious apartment of forty feet square, with others adjoining. It is furmounted at top by a magnificent dome, with fix-and-twenty others of fmaller dimensions. These are attached to different apartments on each fide of the molque. To the eye this building has a very grand effect, but it is difficult to describe. The edifice is furrounded by a high wall of confiderable length, and within the enclosure are convenient habitations for the attendants on the mosque. The wall is flanked with octangular pavilions of red ftone, and the entrances through the gateways are of the fame materials.

The plain of Panniput has likewife been celebrated in the hiftory of modern times. It was on this plain that the famous battle was fought in 1762 between Ahamed Shah, the Duranny, and the Mahrattas. The latter were commanded by Vifwas Raou, a prince of the Mahratta empire, who was flain in the conteft. The lofs of this action wrefted from the Mah-

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rattas the fovereignty of Hindoostan; though the supineness and effeminacy of Ahamed Shah, after his success, prevented his enjoying the fruits of his victory.\*

The city of Panniput is fituated in 29° 22' of north latitude. Its circumference may be about four miles. It was formerly furrounded by a brick wall, which in many places is ftill entire. This wall, and a noble caravanfera of ftone adjoining the Delhi gate, was built at the expence of Nuwaub Rofhun Al Dowlah, grand-chamberlain of the houfehold to Mahomed Shah. The remains of the Delhi gate are ftill handfome. It is built of brick, forty feet in height, arched at the top and flanked with towers of red ftone, and is connected by

\* The particulars of this battle have been too ably detailed by the pen of colonel Brown, in a letter to the Asiatic Society, to require comments in this place. It is here sufficient to remark, that no remains of the entrenched camp of the Mahrattas are now to be seen, the plain being perfectly level. But about a mile east of the city, two trees were pointed out to us by the natives, as the place where the Bhow's tent was pitched previous to the battle.

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a rampart within the city wall. The exterior of this gateway is encrufted with very fine chunam, and decorated with paintings of flowers, in various patterns, executed in a ftyle of peculiar neatnefs and delicacy.

In the centre of the city is the fhrine of a Mahommedan devotee, by name Shah Shurfuddeen Boo Ali Culinder, the fon of Furruckuddeen Iraki. Since his death, which happened in the 724th year of the Hijerah, this maufoleum has been repaired feveral times. The tomb is fituated at the upper end of a spacious square, at the entrance to which is a fcreen of perforated stone-work; beyond this is the verandah or portico, the roof of which is supported by four pillars of *Jungmuhuk*, a fpecies of black marble; the pillars are twelve feet in height, having pedeftals of porphyry. The cieling of this portico is decorated with paintings of flowers on fine chunam; along the front of the veftibule, on a flab of white marble, are engraved couplets in the Perfian language in black marble characters. These verses are in praise of the fanctity of the deceased, and by the operation

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TA. D. 1794. MEMOIRS OF of the arithmetical verse called ABJUD,\* give the date of his death in the 724th year of the Hijerah.

Within the dome is the grave of Boo Ali Culinder: it is fix feet by three, of white marble, and is covered by a pall of rich brocade. The whole is furrounded by a latticework of wood. Above is a covering of green. filk, fupported by four pillars of wood, encrufted with mother of pearl.

The revenues of this tomb were formerly confiderable; but most of them, during the troubles which have fublisted in the upper provinces, have long fince been confifcated.

\* The arithmetical verse called ABJUD, consists of the letters of the Arabic alphabet joined together so as to form articulate sounds, but without any meaning. It may be given as follows in Roman character :

Abjud, Huwwuz, huttee, Cullamun; Saufuz, kurshut sukkhuz, Zuzzug.

Each of these letters having a numerical property, from one to one thousand, by this operation the dates of inscriptions are discovered. See Richardson's Dictionary, articlo Abjud.

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However, still there are from four to five hundred perfons attendant on the shrine. These fubsifit on the contributions of the charitable.

The city, though now much decayed, and the population reduced, formerly contained many good houfes. The bazars, of which there are two, are of confiderable length, but narrow; they contain about three hundred fhops tolerably well furnished. The trade of this place confists in imports of falt, grain of all kinds, and cotton cloths: they export coarse fugar.

In the flourishing times of the empire, Panniput, fituated in the high road to Lahore, Cabul, and Persia, was the emporium of the caravans from the north, and the seat of an extensive commerce. But the ravages occafioned by the distracted state of the empire, for more than half a century, have not only caused a stad reverse, but almost annihilated its commercial relations with other countries.

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### CANAL OF ALI MERDAN KHAN.

In the reign of Shah Jehan, Ali Merdan Khan, a nobleman of the court of Persia, who had revolted from Shah Abass, entered into the service of the Mogul prince, having previously delivered up the important fortress of Candahar, of which he was governor.

This nobleman, being a man of a public fpirit and a pattern of munificence, dug at his own expence a canal from the vicinity of the city of Panniput, near the head of the Dooab, which extended to the fuburbs of Delhi. It comprehended a tract of ninety miles in the extent, by which means the villages in the neighbourhood, and every where within its influence, received a most furprising benefit in the cultivation of their lands.

This noble canal\* runs in a direction from north to fouth, and is in general about ten miles diftant from the Jumna, until it joins

\* It is called by the natives NEHUR BEHEISHT, or " canal of paradise." that river nine miles below the city of New Delhi. From this canal, while it exifted, a revenue was produced to the royal treasury of fourteen lacks of rupees per annum. At prefent it is out of repair, dried up, and in many places almost destroyed; and in the hands of the Mabrattas, its present posses, the cultivation of the adjacent country scarcely yields a lack of rupees.

# CHAPTER IV.

Refloration to her authority of the Begum Somroo —account of Sirdhannah—death and character of Appakandarow—capture of Samli-Mr. Thomas marches to Panniput,

**R** ESUMING our narrative after the foregoing digreffion, it is neceffary to remark that about this time Begum Somroo, whofe deposition from authority we have before noticed, ftill remained a prifoner at Sirdhannah. In a manner the most abject and desponding, she addreffed Mr. Thomas; she stated her apprehensions of being poisoned, or otherwise put to death; affirmed that her only dependance was on him, implored him to come to her affistance, and, finally, offered to pay any fum of money the Mahrattas should require, on condition they would reinstate her in her Jaghire.

On receipt of these letters, Mr. Thomas, by

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an offer of 120,000 rupees, prevailed on Bappoo Scindia to make a movement towards Sirdhannah. Convinced from his former experience, that unlefs he could gain over a part of the troops under Zaffer Yab Khan to the Begum's interest, not only his exertions would be fruitlefs, but that fhe herfelf would be exposed to the greatest personal danger, he therefore fet on foot a negotiation for this purpose, in which having fucceeded, he marched and encamped with his whole force at the village of Kathoolee, eight cofs to the northeast of Sirdhannah. Here Mr. Thomas publicly gave out that unless the Begum was reinstated in her authority, those who refisted must expect no mercy; and to give additional weight to this declaration, he apprifed them that he was acting under the orders of the Mahratta chiefs.

This intimation was at first attended with defired effect. Part of the troops belonging to the garrifon instantly mutinied, confined Zaffer Yab Kkan, and declared for the begum. Mr. Thomas, however, who well knew that no reliance could be placed on the capricious

temper of troops accustomed to frequent mutinies, lost no time in advancing to Sirdhannah, but before he reached that place, a counter-revolution had already proclaimed the restoration of Sumroo's fon.

Efcorted by only fifty horfe of approved fidelity, Mr. Thomas entered the cantonments, having at the time he fet out directed four hundred of his infantry to follow him with all poffible expedition; the arrival of the latter force was particularly fortunate, as Zaffer Yab Khan, on Mr. Thomas's first appearance, perceiving him flightly attended, thought he had now got him into his power, and inftructed his foldiers to threaten him with inftant death; but at that moment the reinforcement abovementioned arriving, and the mutineers thinking the whole Mahratta force was at hand, not only gave over their defign, but now became as fubmiffive as they had before been infolent.

Abandoning the caufe of Somroo's fon, they endeavoured, through the Begum's mediation, to deprecate the refentment of the Mahratta commanders: to this the Begum having con-

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fented, an oath of fidelity was administered to the troops, and she was finally reinstated in the full authority of her Jaghire.

Somroo's fon, after being plundered of his effects, was reconducted a prifoner to Delhi. Part of the fum flipulated was now paid to Bappoo Scindia, and the remainder promifed. An interview took place between the Begum and the Mahratta chiefs, when every thing being amicably adjusted, the army quitting Sirdhannah repaired to their respective destinations.

The reftoration of the Begum to her authority, affords us an opportunity of giving a detailed account of her Jaghire.

Sirdhannah, the refidence of Begum Somroo, is the capital of a fmall principality, fituated in the centre of the Dooab, in latitude 29° 10' north, and about thirty-five coffes diitant from Delhi. This Jaghire was from early times rich and fruitful: it was first peopled by a Hindoo rajah named Sirkhut. When the famous Mahmood of Ghuzna invaded Hindoo-'

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ftan, he fettled a colony of Muffulmans in this diftrict, and diftributed lands to them in feveral parts of the country. When the pofterity of Timoor became firmly feated on the throne of India, Sirdhannah was first attached to the province of Schaurunpore, fituated at the head of the Dooab, and at the foot of the mountains called Sewalick. In the reign of Mahmood Shah it was affigned as a Jaghire to the famous Kummur Uddeen Khan; and fubfequent to that period it was held by an omrah named Yacoob Ali Khan, of the court of Alumgeer the Second.

On the death of that monarch, the province of Schaurunpore was poffeffed by the Nawaub Nujuff Khan, prime minister to the prefent king, and he allotted Sirdhannah and its dependancy to Somroo, a German, who had been in the fervice of Cossim Ali Khan, the deposed subah of Bengal. This man is well known to the English by the share he bore in the dreadful catastrophe of Patna. On the death of Somroo, which happened in the year 1776, Nujuff Khan delivered over the perguanah to his widow the prefent Begum, on condition of

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her keeping up a force of three battalions of infantry for the protection of the province.

When Nujuff Khan died, the Begum still kept possession of her jaghire, from which time until the period we are speaking of, her situation has been fully detailed in recent publications.\*

The habitation of Begum Somroo is in a large and fpacious inclofure, equal in many refpects to a fortified town. The houfe is well built, and handfomely furnifhed, partly after the European and partly after the Hindooftany ftyle: thefe blended together have a fingular though not upon the whole an unpleafing appearance. Hofpitable in her manner, the Begum's table is furnifhed with every thing the country can afford. European articles of all kinds are procured from Calcutta.

It has been the conftant and invariable usage of this lady to exact from her subjects and fervants the most rigid attention to the customs

\* Consult the History of Shah Aulum.

TA. D. 1796. MEMOIRS OF of Hindooftan. She is never seen out of doors, or in her public durbar unveiled.

Her officers and others, who have business with her, prefent themfelves opposite the place where she fits. The front of her apartments is furnished with chicques or Indian screens, these being let down from the roof. In this manner she gives audience, and transacts businefs of all kinds. She frequently admits to her table the higher ranks of her European officers, but never admits the natives to come within the inclofure. On dinner being announced, twenty or thirty of her female attendants, most of them christians, repairing to the outer door, there receive the diffes and place them upon table; they wait on the company during the repait, which is always plentiful and well ferved.\*

\* Begum Somroo is about forty-five years of age, small in stature, but inclined to be plump, Her complexion is very fair, her eyes black, large, and animated; her dress perfectly Hindoostany, and of the most costly materials. She speaks the Persian and Hindoostany languages with fluency, and in her conversation is engaging, sensible, and spirited.

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The Begum being thus reftored to her authority, Mr. Thomas next received orders to proceed to Samli, and punifh the commandant of that place for his conduct in encouraging the feiks in their intended incursions into the Dooab, and having communicated to them the defenceless state of the upper provinces.

After a fatiguing and difficult march of thirty cois in one day, Mr. Thomas arrived before Samli.\* An action took place, in which the commandant, after a most gallant refistance, was defeated, and compelled to retreat into the town. Mr. Thomas, perceiving the

• Samli is a large town situated near the head of the Dooab, in the province of Schaurunpore. It is two miles in circumference, and contains many handsome houses both of brick and stone. The streets intersect each other at right angles, and have separate gates at their entrances, which at night are shut for the security of the inhabitants. At Samli is a large bazar and a mint where money used formerly to be coined. But the trade of this place, like many others in the Dooab, is now much on the decline; and, with the exception of a few coarse cloths, the manufactures are at a stand. In its present state, the villages attached to the pergunnah of Samli yield a revenue of about 50,000 rupees, though in the flourishing times of the empire it was far more considerable.

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neceffity of bringing this affair to a fpeedy conclusion, in the evening of the fame day gave orders for an affault, and carried the place by ftorm. The commandant, his fon, and most of his adherents, were cut to pieces.

Having arranged the affairs of Samli, and appointed a civil governor on the part of the Mahrattas, Mr. Thomas repaired to the camp of Bappoo Scindia, with whom, by order of Appakandarow, he now acted in concert.

Bappoo Scindia, when joined by Mr. Thomas, was employed in the reduction of Lucnowty, a place of confiderable ftrength. A practicable breach being effected, preparations were made for ftorming; when the commandant, feeing he was likely to be unfuccefsful in defending the fort, to fave a further effufion of blood, came privately to Mr. Thomas's tent, and there made terms for the delivery of the place, which, on the enfuing morning, were performed with punctuality.

A circumstance now arose which had confiderable effect not only with regard to the im-

A. D. 1797.] GEORGE THOMAS. 95 mediate situation of Mr. Thomas's affairs, but in changing the future fortune of his eventful life.

Two days previous to the reduction of Samli, he received a letter from Appakandarow, in which that chief informed Mr. Thomas. that from continued illness his pains were augmented to a degree which had now become intolerable, and no hopes appearing of recovery from the cruel diftemper under which 'he laboured, he had determined to put a period to his mifery by a voluntary death! For this purpose he was on his way to the Ganges, but requested of Mr. Thomas to come and see him once more before the scene was closed for ever.

On receipt of this intelligence, Mr. Thomas fet out immediately to meet, and, if poffible, afford confolation to his defponding chief; but he had not advanced far, when the melancholy intelligence reached him of Appakandarow's having voluntarily drowned himfelf in the river Jumna.

Such was the end of Appakandarow, a chief

[A. D. 1798. intrepid and enterprizing, who, amid the tranfactions of later times, and the various revolutions of Mahratta politics in Hindooftan, had borne an active and diftinguished part.

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The death of Appa was on feveral accounts unfavourable to Mr. Thomas's interests. Vavon Row, his nephew and fucceffor, was a youth vain and inexperienced, and better adapted to the life of an accomptant than that of a general.

Inftigated by the fuggestions of perfons who furrounded him, the incautious youth was perfuaded to demand reftitution from Mr. Thomas of the districts which had been given him by his uncle, as an honorable reward for the fervices he had performed. Agreeably to this refolution, he had the weakness to order his troops to take possession of the districts in question.

Mr. Thomas, indignant at a conduct he fo little merited, peremptorily refused compliance He represented to that chief, with the order. by letter, the impropriety of his prefent proceeding; declared his firm refolution to main-

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tain poffeffion of the diffricts; pointed out to him the fatal effects that muft neceffarily arife to both parties if the quarrel was purfued further; and, finally, for the fake of peace, and to prevent future difagreements, acquainted Vavan Row that he was willing to pay a fum of money if left in quiet poffeffion.

These remonstrances, however founded on reason or justice, were of no avail: Vavon Row would listen to no terms but the implicit cession of the whole. The matter could therefore only be decided by an appeal to the fword.

On Mr. Thomas's arrival at Hoffellee, a large village forming part of his poffeffions, he perceived it in the hands of the enemy; and Vavon Row, prepared to defend it, encamped under the walls of the fort.

Unwilling to pufh matters to an extremity, if by any means it could be avoided, Mr. Thomas drew off his force to a fmall diftance, and gave particular orders to his own people to forbear all acts of hostility on their part. This mode of conduct was of no avail; for the

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troops of Vavon Row coming daily from their own camp, infulted and fired upon Mr. Thomas's men, by which feveral of them were feverely wounded.

The enemy, reinforced by a large body of the peafantry, and headed by the zemindars of their refpective villages, were now become fo formidable, that Mr. Thomas refolved to bring the bufinefs to an iffue. He accordingly attacked them. The affair was quickly decided; the enemy fled in all directions; and the greater part, having taken fhelter in the fort of Kuffollee, were followed by Mr. Thomas, who immediately commenced the fiege of that place. Having erected batteries, he ordered the grates for heating fhot to be got in readinefs; which being done, he fired fo fuccefsfully with red-hot fhot, that he quickly compelled them to furrender at difcretion.

It was now agreed that an interview betwixt Mr. Thomas and Vavon Row fhould take place at Kanond, whither the former had marched for that purpofe. On his arrival, however, Vavon Row, pretending to be fearful

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of treachery, refufed to come out of the fort; and Mr. Thomas, for fimilar reafons, was unwilling to enter it. The negotiations were therefore broken off; and Mr. Thomas, continuing to confider this Mahratta chief as an enemy, led his troops toward the frontiers.

This measure was rendered more neceffary, and his attention called to the defence of his northern purgunnahs, which had recently been invaded by the feiks.

But the mention of this remarkable people, leading us afide for a while from the ordinary courfe of our narrative, invites a detail of the prefent state of the Punjaub, or country situated between the Indus and the Sutledge.

#### Memoirs of

# CHAPTER V.

Geographical description of the Punjab,—of the feiks, their manners, customs, forces, and refources.

THE extensive and fertile country defcribed by Arrian and other antient historians, as comprehended within the five great rivers, the Hydaspes, the Hydraötes, the Acessines, the Hyphasis, and the Sutledge, is, by modern geographers, denominated Punjab.

On the north it is bounded by the mountains inhabited by the tribe called Yoofuf Zey; on the eaft by the mountains of Naun, Serinnaghur and Jumbo; on the weft by the river Sind or Attock;\* and on the fouth by the diftricts of Panniput, and the province of Harrianah. It is two hundred and fifty coffes from

• This river above the city of Attock is called by the natives Aba Seen.

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north to fouth, and nearly one hundred from east to weft. Notwithstanding the state of warfare in which the chiefs of Punjab are constantly involved, the country is in a state of high cultivation; and though the population be great, grain is cheaper than in any other part of India. This advantage in a great meafure is derived from the numerous rivers by which it is watered. Advancing from the fouth, a traveller meets in rapid fuccession the Sersory, the Cugger, the Chowah, and the Sutledge.

The Serfooty, after paffing the towns of Mooftufabad, Shahabad, and Tehnaffer, and overflowing the country on each of its banks, joins itself to the Cugger to the north-west of Kaythul.

The Cugger, on the contrary, after paffing the towns of Bunnoor, Seyfabad, Puttialah, Jowhana, and Jomalpore, enters the country of the Batties at the town of Arwah, formerly the capital of the diftrict. The Chowah, in like manner, after paffing through an extensive tract of country which it fertilizes and enriches, is finally loft in the fands of Sonaum.

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The Punjab yields to no part of India in fertility of foil; it produces in the greatest abundance, fugar-cane, wheat, barley, rice, pulse of all forts, tobacco, and various fruits; and it is also well supplied with cattle. The principal manufactures of this country are swords, match-locks, cotton cloths, and filks both coarse and fine.

This nation, if united, could bring into the field from fifty to fixty thousand cavalry, but it is Mr. Thomas's opinion that they will never unite or be fo formidable to their neighbours as they have heretofore been. Internal commotions and civil strife have of late years generated a spirit of revenge and difunion among the chiefs, which it will take a long time to overcome.

The number of cavalry which it is fuppofed this nation was able to affemble has been confiderably over-rated, in confequence of a cuftom which formerly obtained among the Sciks, of forming an affociation of their forces under a particular chief. From this affociation of their forces they had the general interests of the community in view. To those who were ig-

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norant of the fecret causes of the affociation, this junction of forces was frequently mistaken for the army of an individual; and this error was perhaps increased by the natural partiality of the Seiks themfelves to magnify the force and enhance the character of their own nation.

It has been remarked, that the Seiks are able to collect from fifty to fixty thousand horse; but, to render this number effective, those who do not take the field, or who remain at home to guard their possessions, must be included.

Estimating the force of the different districts, the aggregate will be seen in the subjoined schedule.\*

	Cavalry.
* The districts south of the Sutledge, -	15,000
The Dooab, or country between the Sutledge	;
and Beyah,	8,000
Between the Beyah and Rowee,	11,000
Force of Bugheel Sing, chief of Pattialah, -	12,000-
The countries above Lahore, the inhabitants of	<b>E</b>
which are chiefly under the influence of	f <sub>.</sub>
Runjeet Sing,	11,000
To which may be added the force of Nizamud-	•
deen Khan, – – –	5,000
Roy Elias,	1,300
Other Patan chiefs, in pay of the Seiks, -	800
Grand total -	64,000

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By this statement it will appear that the entire force of this nation, exclusive as the district held by Zemaun Shah, eastward of the Attock,\* can amount to no more than fixty-four thoufand men, and of these two-thirds might probably take the field, were a chief of experience and enterprize to appear amongst them; but this in Mr. Thomas's opinion is highly improbable. The chief of most confequence at prefent is Runjeet Sing : he having poffettion of Lahore, which may be termed the capital of the Punjab, has acquired a decided afcendancy over the other chiefs, though he be frequently in a state of warfare with his neighbours who inhabit that part of the country fituated between the Beyah and the Rawee. This chief is deemed by the natives as the most powerful among them. He possesses one thousand horse, which are his own property.

The repeated invation of the Punjab by fmall armies, of late years, affords a convincing proof that the national force of the feiks cannot be

\* These districts are computed to reach from Sirhind to the banks of that river.

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fo formidable as has been represented. Several instances occur in support of this affertion. Not many years fince, Dara Row Scindia invaded it at the head of ten thousand men; though not more than fix thousand of that number deferved the name of troops, the remainder being a defpl. cable rabble. Though joined on his march by two chiefs, Buggeel Sing and Kurrum Sing, he was at length oppofed by Sahib Sing, the chief of Fyzealpore. That chief was encamped under the walls of Kuffoor,\* having the river Cugger in his front; was defeated in an engagement. and the enfuing day the fort furrendered. Sahib Sing then agreed to pay the Mahrattas a fum of money, and most of the chiefs fouth of the Sutledge having by this time fubmitted to Dara Row, opposition was at an end.

It was fucceflively invaded by the armies of Ambajee, Bala Row, and Nana Furkiah, who drove the feiks repeatedly before them.

In 1800 Mr. Thomas himfelf entered their country at the head of five thousand troops and

\* Kussoor, a fort south of the river Sutledge,

for their cattle, and endeavour to procure a meal for themfelves.

Seldom indulging in the comforts of a tent, whilft in the enemy's country, the repart of a feik cannot be fuppofed to be either fumptuous or elegant. Seated on the ground with a mat fpread before them, a bramin, appointed for the purpofe, ferves out a portion of food to each individual, the cakes of flour which they eat during the meal ferving them in the room of difhes and plates.\*

## The feiks are remarkably fond of the flefh

• Does not this circumstance recall our ideas to the situation of Æncas and his companions, shortly after their landing on the coast of Italy? The condition of Æncas exhibits a specimen of primeval simplicity of manners among the Romans, no less singular than the coincidence of cuftoms existing in Punjab at the present day appears. strikingly interefting.

> Consuntis hic forte aliis, ut vertere morsus Exiguam in Cererem penuria adegit édendi, Et violare manu malisq. audacibus orbem Fatalis crufti, patulis nec parcere quadris, Heus ! etiam mensas consuminus, inquit Iulus. Virg. Æn, lib. 7.

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army of fixty thousand men, led on by the Shah in person, and the princes of the blood, compared with the detached bodies already described. Hence it would appear that this nation is not so formidable as they have been represented, and in all probability they never will be formidable when opposed by regular troops.

The Seiks are armed with a fpear, matchlock, and fcymetar. Their method of fighting, as defcribed by Mr. Thomas, is fingular : after performing the requisite duties of their religion by ablution and prayer, they comb their hair and beards with peculiar care; then. mounting their horfes, ride forth towards the enemy, with whom they engage in a continued fkirmish, advancing and retreating until man and horfe become equally fatigued. They then draw off to fome diftance from the enemy, and meeting with cultivated ground, they permit their horfes to graze of their own accord, while they parch a little gram for themfelves; and after fatisfying nature by this frugal repaft, if the enemy be near, they renew the ikirmishing. Should he have retreated they provide forage,

matter of wonder if they perform marches, which, to those who are only accustomed to European warfare, must appear almost incredible.

The Seiks, among other cuftoms fingular in their nature, never fuffer their hair or beards to be cut: confequently, when mounted on horfeback, their black flowing locks and halfnaked bodies, which are formed in the ftouteft and most athletic mould, the glittering of their arms, and the fize and fpeed of their horfes, render their appearance imposing and formidable, and superior to most of the cavalry of Hindoostan.

In the use of their arms, especially the matchlock and fabre, they are uncommonly expert; some use bows and arrows. In addition to the articles of dress which have been described in recent publications \* of the times, Mr. Thomas mentions that the arms and wrists of the Seiks are decorated with bangles of gold, filver, brass, and iron, according to the circum-

\* Consult the History of Shah Aulum.

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ftances of the wearers; but among the chiefs of the respective tribes, the horse-furniture, in which they take the greatest pride (and which, with the exception of the inlaying of their fire-arms, is their luxury), is uncommonly splendid; for, though a feik will foruple to expend the most trifling sum on his food or clothing, he will spare no expence in endeavouring to excel his comrades in the furniture of his horse, and in the richness and brightness of his armour; a circumstance which appears to bear no inconsiderable resemblance to the customs of the ancient Spartans.\*

Confiderable fimilarity in their general cuftoms may be traced with those of the Jauts. Though these in some districts apparently vary, the difference is not material; and their permitting an interchange of marriages with the Jauts of the Dooab and Harrianah, amounts almost to a conclusive proof of their affinity of origin.

The Seiks allow foreigners of every description to join their standard, to fit in their com-

\* See Cornelius Nepos, and Pausanias.

pany, and to fhave their beards; but, excepting in the inftance of the Jauts, they will not confent to intermarriages; nor will they eat or drink from the hands of an alien, except he be a bramin, and for this caft they always profefs the higheft veneration.

If, indeed, fome regulations which are in their nature purely military, and which were introduced by their founder Nanick, be excepted, it will be found that the Seiks are neither more or lefs than Jauts in their primitive ftate.

Thus far, fays Mr. Thomas, we have feen the fair fide of the picture; let us now confider the reverfe.—The Seiks are falfe, fanguinary, and faithlefs; they are addicted to plunder, and the acquirement of wealth by any means, however nefarious. Inftances have occurred of a child's arm being raifed against his parent, and of brothers destroying each other.

Women amongst them are held in little estimation, and though ill treated by their

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huíbands, and prohibited from accompanying them in their wars, thefe unhappy females neverthelefs attend to their domeftic concerns with a diligence and feduloufnefs deferving of a better fate.

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Inftances, indeed, have not unfrequently occurred, in which they have actually taken up arms to defend their habitations from the defultory attacks of the enemy, and throughout the contest behaved themselves with an intrepidity of spirit highly praiseworthy.

In the feik army, the modes of payment are various: but the moft common is at the time of harveft, when every foldier receives the amount of his pay in grain and other articles, the produce of the country; to fome is given money in fmall fums, and to others lands are allotted for their maintenance. Three-fifths of the horfes of the Punjab are the property of the different chieftains: the remainder belong to the peafantry who have become fettlers.

Afeik foldier has also his portion of the plunder acquired in the course of a campaign : this is set as a reward for his services; and

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in addition to it, he fometimes increases his gain by fecreting part of the public plunder.

The nature of the feik government is fingular, and probably had its origin in the unfettled state of the tribe when first established in their poffeffions. Within his own domains each chief is lord paramount. He exerts an exclusive authority over his vaffals, even to the power of life and death; and to increase the population of his diffricts, he proffers a ready and hospitable asylum to fugitives from all parts of India. Hence, in the feik territories, though the government be arbitrary, there exifts much lefs caufe for oppreffion than in many of the neighbouring states; and hence likewife, the cultivator of the foil being liable to frequent change of mafters, by the numerous revolutions that are perpetually occurring, may be confidered as one of the caufes of the fluctuation of the national force.\*

\* In the above sketch of the situation and resources of the seik nation, Mr. Thomas does not include the territories of Zemaun Shah lying east of the Attock; part of which were, during the reigns of the emperors, included in the Punjab, and may therefore be considered as belonging to it.

# CHAPTER VI.

Mr. Thomas defeats the Seiks—concludes an advantageous treaty—disagreement with Bappoo Scindia—Mr. Thomas forms the design of establishing himself as an independent chief—for that purpose selects the province of Hurrianah —his establishment at Hansi.

SUCH was the tribe against which Mr. Thomas now prepared to march. Leaving a force competent to the defence of Jyjur, which he expected would be attacked by Vavon Bow, he marched to Karnâl, near which the Seiks lay.

Four fucceflive actions took place, attended with confiderable lofs on both fides; Mr. Thomas having loft five hundred men, and the Seiks double that number. Both parties inclining to peace, a treaty was concluded, by which the Seiks agreed to evacuate the province, which was accordingly done.

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As Mr. Thomas had forefeen, he now received intelligence of Vavon Row having laid fiege to Jyjur, to defend which he immediately marched back. On his approach, Vavon Row thought proper to retire. Mr. Thomas next determined to punifh Cafhmiree Bolee, who, as before ftated, had been the author and fomenter of all the differences which had occurred betwixt him and Vavon Row. Mr. Thomas, therefore, fell fuddenly on the pergunnah of Daderee, which belonged to Cafhmiree Bolee, and laid it under contribution.

From hence he was called away to affift Bapoo Scindia againft a body of Rohillas, who, inftigated by Nevil Sing, a feik chief, had croffed the Ganges, and invaded his poffeffions near the head of the Dooab. But previous to Mr. Thomas's arrival, the Mahratta chief had not only defeated the invaders, but followed up his blow by laying fiege to the enemy's capital.

A body of Seiks had affembled to affift him; but, on the approach of Mr. Thomas's force, thought proper to feparate; and Bapoo Scin-

dia, not deeming the capture of this fort worth the trouble it would take to gain poffeffion, of his own accord foon after raifed the fiege, and returned to Scharunpore. Mr. Thomas remained with his force at Soneput, a city twenty-fix miles fouth of Panniput, the neighbouring country, barren and defolate.

North of this city is a maufoleum erected by Khizzer Khan, a Patan nobleman, defcended from the royal family of Sheer Shah. This building is an octagon, furmounted by a fpacious dome, and ornamented at the top with a cullis of copper gilt. The interior of the maufoleum is of grey ftone, the cornices are embellifhed with fculpture ornaments of red freeftone, and around the lower part of the dome runs a ftone border, on which are engraved verfes from the Koran in Arabic characters. The front of the building is decorated with rofes cut in freeftone, of a brown colour; the whole uncommonly delicate, and has been finifhed with more than ufual attention.

The pergunnah of Soneput composes part of the Jaghire of Defmouk, fon-in-law of Scin-

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dia, and yields an income of feventy-five thoufand rupees. But in the reign of the emperor Mahomed Shah, this pergunnah, in confequence of the benefit it derived from its vicinity to the noble canal of Ali Merdan Khan, is faid to have yielded a revenue of nine lacks of rupees.

In the environs of Soneput, a traveller firft meets with the *cofs minar*, or Indian mile-ftone. It is a round pillar of brick, ten feet in height, and placed on each fide of the road, at the diftance of about three English miles from each other. They were erected by order of the emperor Jehan Gheer, and formerly extended from Lahor to Agra. Adjoining to each of these pillars is a well, lined with brick, near which are stone benches expressly for the accommodation of travellers.

Mr. Thomas had not long remained at Soneput, when rumours of the arrival of Zemaun Shah, king of Cabul, at Lahore, induced Bappoo to meet and confult with him on the prefent emergency.

Mr. Thomas accordingly repaired to Bappoo; but his troops having again fallen in arrears, were become clamorous for payment: this conduct giving offence to Bappoo, a mifunderstanding took place between him and Mr. Thomas, when the latter in difgust marched away.

He was foon after attacked by Bappoo's force, who, on hearing of the retreat of the fhah, had determined on punishing Mr. Thomas for what he termed his late misbehaviour. An action ensued; but the commander of Bappoo's troops being wounded in the conflict, he thought proper to remove to a distance.

An amicable arrangement between the parties would now have taken place, had not the Seiks in Bappoo's army, aware of Mr. Thomas's intention to enter the Punjab, ufed their utmost exertions to widen the difference. Hoftilities being again renewed, an action took place at the passage of the Jumna; and though the country people had by this time joined the Mahrattas, Mr. Thomas, by a spirited attack, compelled them to leave him a free passage.

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Straitened for provisions, he proceeded on his route to the north-east frontier. In his retreat, he was followed by Bappoo's army; and the troops of Begum Somroo, as also those of Ragojee, governor of Delhi, had now increased the number of his enemies.

Over this combined force, however, he proved victorious; and having defeated the enemy in every attempt to interrupt him on his march, he at length reached the neighbourhood of Panniput. Here, on account of his inferiority in force, he was compelled for the prefent not only to relinquifh the frontier towns, but to confine himfelf to Jyjur. Thither he fhortly after arrived. Unable to fatisfy the demands of his troops, Mr. Thomas now determined to levy contributions on the territories of his neighbours. For this purpofe he led his army to Oreecha, a large and populous town belonging to the rajah of Jypore.

As a ranfom for this place, Mr. Thomas demanded of the governor a lack of rupees; which being denied, he ftormed and took poffeffion of the city. The fort, which was feparate, ftill

holding out, he was on the point of making a fecond affault, when the killadâr agreed to ranfom both for fifty-two thousand rupees. During the negotiations the town had unfortunately been set on fire; which burnt so fiercely, that it was with difficulty extinguished, and not until goods to the amount of several lacks of rupees had been totally confumed.

About this time a reconciliation was effected betwixt Mr. Thomas and Vavon Row, when it was agreed to adjust all former differences; and Mr. Thomas, to evince the reconciliation was on his part fincere, brought under obedience to Vavon Row feveral refractory zemindars. He now entered the Jypore country the fecond time; and the Meenas, a thievish tribe inhabiting a part of the country on his route, about thirty coss north of Jypore, having formerly invaded Vavon Row's possefilions, Mr. Thomas attacked them in force, and in a very fhort time annihilated this neft of banditti. After these transactions, Mr. Thomas returned to Jyjur.

At this place, about the middle of the year

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1798, he first formed the eccentric and arduous defign of erecting an independant principality for himself. The country of Hurrianah, which, from the troubled state of the times, had for many years acknowledged no 'master, but became in turn the prey of each succeeding invader, appeared to him as best adapted for the execution of his purpose.

The fcarcity of water, however, in this part of India, induced Mr. Thomas to postpone his intended expedition until the approach of the rainy feason. Having reinforced his army, and being well provided with every thing neceffary to ensure success, he commenced his march.

His first attack was directed against the town and fort of Kanhoree, the inhabitants of which place were notorious for their thievishdepredations. Advancing with celerity, Mr, Thomas, according to his usual custom, attempted to carry the place by florm. In this, however, he was not only prevented by the spirited conduct of the enemy, but compelled to retreat with the loss of three hundred of his men,

In confequence of this fevere check, it became neceffary to fortify his camp; and the conftant and heavy rains which now fell preventing his erecting batteries, he fortified a chain of pofts round the town, and thereby prevented any fuccour from without.

The garrifon he well knew was straitened for provisions; and the fiege, thus converted into a blockade, augmented their diftrefs. The enemy, by frequent fallies, endeavoured to interrupt Mr. Thomas's operations. In one of thefe, an attack was made on the redoubt occupied by himfelf. In the confusion attendant on a business of this nature, the greater part of his people, being panic-ftruck, ran away. Mr. Thomas was thus reduced to a fituation truly critical: five men only remained with him of the infantry, to whom had been allotted the particular charge of his fire-arms. confifting of piftols and blunderbuffes of a large fize. With these, and the affistance of a few horfemen, who had likewife adhered to him, he maintained the post for a confiderable time against every effort of the enemy; and at

length, by repeated and well-directed difcharges, compelled them to retreat.

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A few days after this occurrence, the weather becoming more favourable, and Mr. Thomas having rallied the fugitives, erected a battery, from which he fired with fuch good effect, as to bring down a confiderable part of the wall; but night intervening before he could prepare for florming, the affault was delayed until the enfuing day. It was however rendered unneceffary by the enemy's having evacuated the town during the night.

The best and bravest men of Hurrianah being in this town, Mr. Thomas reduced the other places with but little resistance. In a short time he gained complete possible for the whole fouth part of the province; but the north-western part being occupied by the Batties, the rajah of Pattyalah, and other set chieftains, it cost him considerable time and much trouble to establish his authority as far as the river Cauggur.

The fuccefsful termination of this campaign,

# A. D. 1798.] GEORGE THOMAS. affords us an opportunity of presenting a detailed account of the country poffeffed by Mr. Thomas; with fome relative observations on the nature and quality of the foil, and on the general character of its inhabitants.

In the diffrict called Hurrianah, ninety miles to the north-west of Delhi, is the country of Mr. George Thomas. It extends eighty cofs from north to fouth, and the fame distance - from east to west. To the northward it is bounded by the possessions of Sahig Sing, chief of Puttialah, on the north-west by the Batties, weft by the dominions of Beykaneer, and fouth by Jypore, fouth-east by the pergunnah of Dadaree, east by the districts adjoining to Delhi, and north-east by the cities of Rhotuck and Panniput. That part of the country more immediately occupied by Mr. Thomas, is in fhape nearly oval, and extends from fixteen to twenty-four cofs \* in different directions. The northern boundary is formed by the river Cauggur, beyond which are the feik territories. To the fouth it is bounded by the town of Behal,

\* Consult the map.

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east by Mahim, and west by Behadra, contain-

Within this tract of country, as in most parts of Hurrianah, water is fcarce, more efpecially during the hot feason. To remedy this inconvenience, the inhabitants have constructed wells of confiderable depth, not unfrequently from one hundred and twenty to one hundred and fifty feet.

In addition to this each diffrict has two or three tanks faced with ftone. These afford a plentiful supply of water until the approach of the hot winds of the ensuing feason, when they are dried up. The number of wells differ according to the industry of the respective inhabitants. At Hissar, for instance, are three hundred; at Hansi, thirty; at Mahim, one hundred; Tuhana has only six; and some of the smaller towns from two to sive. In this country the Cauggur river is of the greatest fervice to the inhabitants. It is overflowed during the rainy season by the accession of the streams which issue from the mountains; and on the retiring of the waters, leaves, like the

waters of the Nile, a rich and greafy earth. which yields an abundant crop of the fineft Other parts of Mr. Thomas's poffefwheat. fions produce joar, rice, bajerah, and various forts of pulfe, chunah, and barley; but the latter depends on the rain that may fall from the month of October to Christmas. Within the aforementioned tract, the pasturage is uncommonly luxuriant, and produces perhaps the largest supply of forage to be met with in any. part of Afia. The grafs in Hurrianah is alfo of a very fuperior quality, both as to wholefomenefs and nourifhment. Hence the cattle excel those of other parts. The climate is in general falubrious; though, when the fandy and defert country lying to the westward becomes heated, it is inimical to an European conftitution.

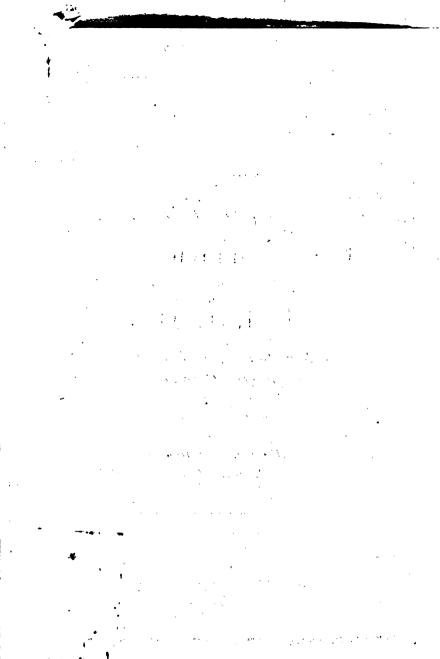
The peyook, or Guinea-worm, so common in feveral parts of Arabia and Persia, is likewise extremely troublessome in this province. To some it proves dangerous; though it is remarked by Mr. Thomas, this diforder feldom attacks Europeans, and is in general confined to the peasantry of the country.

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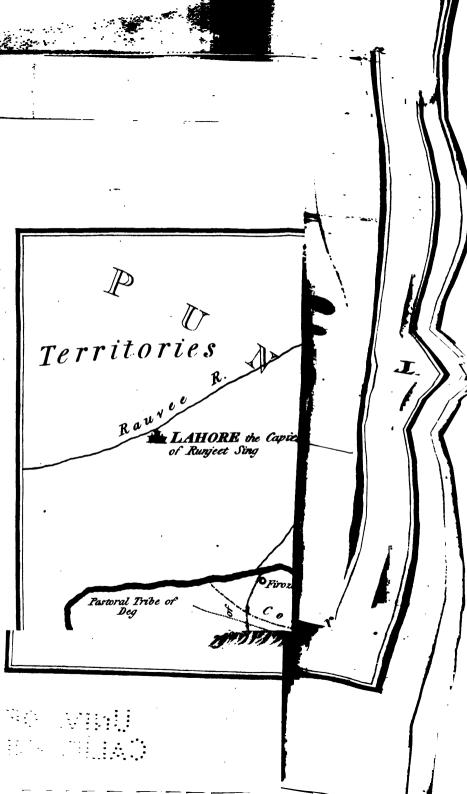
The Peyook, or Guinea worm, the dracunculus persarum of Kœmpfer,\* is found chiefly on the fhores of the Perfian gulf, and in the fouthern parts of Perfia; more efpecially in the province of Carmania, and on the ifland of Ormuz. The origin and progrefs of the diforder occafioned by this fingular worm, is deferibed by Kœmpfer in his Amœnitates Exoticæ, with fo much accuracy and fpirit, that we hope to be pardoned in prefenting our readers with an extract from this valuable work, which, it is much to be regretted, has not hitherto been given to our countrymen in an Englifh drefs.<sup>‡</sup>.

• \* Vide Kœmpfer's Amœnitates Exoticæ, Fasciculus 3d, Observatio 4th, p. 529.

† In lucem prodituri nuncia plerumque est febricula, ut plurimum ephemera, non nunquam in tertiam diem protracta, cum fetæ partis rubidine et tumore; in quo postridie exsurgit postula pisi magnitudine, tenera, aquosa, pellucida, non raro atricolor: qua post unum aut alterum diem spontē ruptâ vel acu apertâ, prosilit lumbrici summus apex, sive rostellum, ibidem hactenus absconditum, quod pedetentim et reliquum corpus undecunque subsequitur, blandâ attractione quotidié solicitatum. Sæpè etiam non nisi prævió partis dolore, et duritie vix sensibili nascitur; rupto ibidem, quo perpetuo sibi viam parat, ul-



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The natives of Hurrianah for a fucceffion of ages having been in a constant state of warfare.

cusculo, sine epidermidis pustula. Excretia pro lumbrici magnitudine et maturitate citiori, tum pro situ et loco generationis vario, facilior est aut difficilior, longior aut brevior: raro autem pariter et vivus, frequentissime successive tempore, diebus circiter decem, extrahitur. Omníum felicissime egreditur, qui in scroti cavo absconditur, nam hune, barba exerta, vivum illico educimus, sine dolore et puradenti ulceris incommodo. Supra musculum aliquém in crure aut brachio non admodum dispersus jacens, vel in gyrum volutus, qualis oculo et tactu deprehenditur, intra naucos dies, a quo maturare incipit, sine notabili pure et molestia, quin vel uno interdum nisu extrahituro . Ex fomore et ulnis plerumque facili partu exit, diebus admodum paucis. Sita vago ligamenta pedis involvens admodum difficulter, mora videlicet viginti vel amplius dierum, excluditur, cum tabo quotidie copiosissime magnoque zgroti cum dolore et incommodo.

The time when the worm is about to appear, is indicated by slight feverish symptoms in the patient; it is sometimes protracted until the third day, when the part is affected by a red tumor, which on the ensuing day becomes a pustule of a bright black : this breaking of itself, or being pierced with a needle, the head or snout of the worm makes its appearance, and as quickly withdraws itself from the touch. To extract the worm, great patience and caution are necessary, as from unskilfulness in handling it frequently breaks, which not only causes acute pain to

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poffeis great perfonal bravery; they are expert in the use of arms, particularly in the exercise

, the patient, but the part remaining degenerates into an in-- curable ulcer. The time necessary for extracting this worm v is longer or shorter, according to its size, but it is seldom / taken out entire before the expiration of ten days. It sometimes lies dispersed above a muscle, at other times it is found in the interstices of the muscles of the legs and arms, or convoluted; it is laid hold of with an armed needle. A few days from the time in which it begins to maturate it may be extracted without pain or any considerable discharge of matter, except when it is withdrawn by a first attempt. From the thighs and arm-pits it makes , an easy exit within a few days : when it appears among the > tendons of the feet, great delay. is experienced. It takes , up twenty days in the operation, which is moreover attended with a copious discharge of matter, and severe pain to , the patient.

The general mode adopted in India for the extraction of this worm, is by means of a small round piece of bamboo, to which is attached a thread. This being fixed to the worm, so much of the thread is wound round the body as to prevent its retiring again within the flesh. In this state it remains until the ensuing day, when a little more is added to the former, until the whole is extracted. By this curious process, it is easy to be perceived the extreme care that is necessary to prevent its breaking.

Travellers have at various times been afflicted with this disorder; for myself I never experienced it, though it was

of the lance, fabre, and the matchlock;\* but though brave, they are in difpolition cruel, treacherous, and vindictive; and when engaged in domestic quarrels, fcruple not to kill their antagonist on the slightest and most trivial occasions.

For his capital, Mr. Thomas selected the town of Hansi;† this place is situate ninety

common to the inhabitants of Persia, during my residence in that country, many years since. The spirited and intelligent Bruce got it after his return from Abyssinia to Grand Cairo. In like manner this worm is extracted from the negroes on the coast of Africa, who attribute the cause of this complaint to the badness of the water.

\* Mr. Thomas adduced several instances of their despearate resolution, and almost invincible courage, once against the celebrated Ismaul Beg, at the town of Bhowanny, and a second time against the attacks of Gopaul Row, the Mahratta general. The army of the latter was defeated at Sanghee, after an unsuccessful siege of forty days.

In an assault against the fort of Deighle, Appakandarow, though attended by a select and well-appointed army, was repulsed with considerable loss.

† The subjoined schedule contains an account tolerably accurate of the country held by Mr. Thomas, including the

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miles north-west of Delhi, and nearly in the centre of his newly-acquired domains. The town standing upon a hill is peculiarly well adapted to a permanent residence.

No water can be procured within feven cofs, but the garrifon have an ample fupply of that

names of the separate pergunnahs, the number of villages formerly inhabited, compared with its present state; the revenues, bearings, and distances of each pergunnah being taken from Hansi, the capital.

Pergunnahs.		Former number of villages.	Number of villages now inha- bited.	Former Revenue.	Present Revenue.	Coas : bearing and distance from Hansi.
Hansi, -	· • .	84	82	2,50,000	60,000	Coss,
Benwala, -	•	46	11	63,000	11,000	14 N.
Tohana, - ·		. 74	26	1,20,000		
Jemaulpore, -	•	70	16	1,10,000	70,000	36 N. N. W.
Augrowa,	-	44	3	70,000		24 N.W.
Hagar,	÷ 1	250	13	3,00,000	10,000	12 W.
Bahra, -	•	24	18	40,000	12,000	30 W. S. W.
Seedmuck, -	•	70	4	<b>30,00</b> 0	6,000	24 S.W.
Sevance	•	70 .	11	50,000	14,000	24 S.W.by S.
Telam, -	-	74	18	70,000	16,000	12 S.
Maheem, -		24	16 -	50,000	23,000	16 E. S. E.
Safydoo, -	-	24,	8	30,000	10,000	36 E. N. E.
Jaind	••	72	· 66	2,00,000	70,000	18 E. N. E.
Casohan, -	-	24	11	50,000	16,000	24 N. E.
•		950	253	14,30,000	2,86,000	,
Held by Mr.GTh	omas					
of the Mahratu	as.					
Jiger, -	-	250	90	3,00,000		40 B. S. F.
Byree, -	-	24	16	30,000		35 E.S.E.
Maundotse, -	-	24	11	<b>\$0,000</b>		
Pathoda, -	•	4	4	1,00,000		
Badlee, -	-	72	<b>S</b> O	1,20,000	1,20,000	48 E. S. E.
Т	otal	374	161	5 <b>,80,</b> 000	1,44,000	
Grand T	otal	1924	404	20,10,000	4,30,000	

necessary article from feveral wells within the fort. This circumstance renders difficult an attack, except at the season of the periodical rains. "Here," fays Mr. Thomas, with that energy and spirited animation which diffinguished him throughout the scenes of his extraordinary life, "I established my capital, "rebuilt the walls of the city, long since fallen "into decay, and repaired the fortifications. "As it had been long deferted, at first I found "difficulty in procuring inhabitants, but by "degrees and gentle treatment I selected "between five and fix thousand persons, to "whom I allowed every lawful indulgence.

"I eftablished a mint, and coined my own "rupees, which I made current in my army "and country; as from the commencement "of my career at Jyjur, I had refolved to "eftablish an independency, I employed work-"men and artificers of all kinds, and I now "judged that nothing but force of arms could "maintain me in my authority. I therefore "L increased their numbers, cast my own artil-"lery, commenced making musquets, match-"locks, and powder; and, in short, made the

" beft preparations for carrying on an offen-"five and defensive war; till at length having gained a capital and country bordering on "the Seik territories, I wished to put myself "in a capacity, when a favorable opportunity fhould offer, of attempting the conquest of the Punjab, and aspired to the honour of planting the British standard on the banks of the Attock."\*

\* To carry his plans into effect, and for the support of his troops, Mr. Thomas appropriated a part of the revenue arising from the lands granted by the Mahrattas, and with much judgment and discernment, naturally inherent in liberal minds, endeavoured to conciliate the affections of his men by granting pensions to the widows and children or nearest relations of those soldiers who fell in his service. These pensions, amounting to 40,000 rupees per annum, were regularly paid to the respective claimants, a mode which reflects the highest credit on Mr. Thomas's character, but which had long since been anticipated by the wisdom of the British government in rewarding their veteran sepoys. The payments were made every six months, and the nearest relation of the deceased, whether officer or soldier, received the half pay of his rank. This and the expence of casting cannon, the fabrication of small arms, and purchase of warlike stores, consumed that part of Mr. Thomas's revenues which he derived from the districts granted him by the Mahrattas, as detailed in the force going schedule.

# CHAPTER VII.

Reflections.—Mr. Thomas refolves to invade the Jypoor territory.—Geographical and flatifical account of that country.—Revenues, hiftory, manners and cuftoms of the inhabitants.

HAVING accompanied Mr. Thomas through a feries of fervices, as interefting in their nature as fingular in their refult; having beheld him from the fituation of a fugitive, a friendlefs and deferted object, now by the force of his own exertions, and an intrepidity of fpirit fearcely to be paralleled, obtain a fituation feldom equalled by the most fortunate; we must next proceed to trace the caufes and deferibe the progress of those events which led to a decline of his authority, and in the end, as the only means of fastery and escape from the perfecution of numerous and inveterate foes; compelled him to feek an afylum in the territories of his native fovereign.

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Not however to anticipate the order of events, it will now be neceffary to recur to Mr. Thomas's fituation when in poffeffion of his newly acquired country. His mind having been long intent on the reduction of the Punjab, he would now have fet out on this interefting expedition, but on a review of his troops made for the purpofe, he found his force infufficient to the tafk, and was therefore induced to have recourfe to an excursion into the Jypore dominions, which had hitherto afforded a never-failing fupply to his neceffities, and whofe ruler was in confequence become his bitter enemy.

The fituation of the Jypore dominions, and their relative importance among the flates of Rajpootana, will juftify a detail of the flrength and internal refources of this interefting country. The dominions of Jypore are nearly one hundred cofs from north to fouth, and fifty from eaft to weft; they are bounded on the north by the diffrict of Hurrianah, on the north-east by Alvar, east by Karolee and Bhurtpoor, fouth by Kota, Boondee and Mewar, fouth-west by Kishenghur, west by Ajmere and Joud-pore, and on the north-west by the country of Beykaneer.

The eastern, north-castern, southern and fouth-western parts of Jypore produce wheat, cotton, tobacco, and in general whatever is common to other parts of India; to which may be added, excellent cattle, and abundance of good copper.

The country in general is watered from the wells: the northern and north-western districts being fandy are not fo well supplied with this neceffary article as the midland parts; but in that part of Jypore which is mountainous, the streams that iffue from thence are of the highest advantage to the cultivation of the foil.

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fervable in a comparison with the stature and personal comeliness of the Rhatores with those of Jypore, the inhabitants of the former being by far more robust in their make.

No Rajpoot engages in trade, or any mechanical occupation what loever: they are all, without exception, either foldiers or hufbandmen.

They are of a high and unconquerable fpirit, and do not think poverty any difhonour : on the contrary they will often affert in converfation, that provided a perfon shall conduct himfelf with propriety towards his neighbours, he, whether posseffed of riches or not, is, in all respects, to be considered as a man of perfect honour,

Among other cuftoms peculiar to the Rajpoots the prefervation of female honour holds with them a fuperior flation; fcandal uttered against the wife or daughter of a Rajpoot is never forgiven, and death alone can expiate the offence.

This high fense of honour has, however, rendered them of all other people most circumspect in conversation, and they are careful of giving offence; should a Rajpoot suspect a person inclined to flight him, he will not only forego every profpect of advantage to be derived from the usual mode of reconciliation, by the mutual exertion of common friends, but will even make a circuitous route to avoid paffing by the habitation of his antagonist. This severity of manners may appear to strangers, at a first view, to be prohibitory; but a long refidence in the country, and intimate acquaintance with the manners and cuftoms of this extraordinary people, have long fince convinced Mr. Thomas that a perfon of upright manners cannot affociate with a better companion than a Rajpoot.

In their marriages they pay the ftricteft attention to caff, and will never unite themfelves with people of inferior condition; this is fo unavoidably neceffary, that were a man to enter into an alliance with a family of ignoble blood, the children of fuch marriage would in confequence be deprived of their right of inhe-

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ritance; a striking instance of national pertipacity.

A plurality of wives, though allowed by their inftitutions, excepting among the higher order of Rajpoots, is feldom practifed; and even in that inftance it is more owing to motives of policy than inclination, and arifes chiefly from a define of extinguishing those antient feuds which have so long substitted among families.

During their infancy and childhood, the Rajpoot women being kept in a conftant flate of concealment, when once married are feldom feen but by the very neareft in blood among their own relations. This cuftom is fo rooted among them, that a lady would confider herfelf as diffuonted by any exposure of her perfon to public view.

This fectuation of females in fouthern Afia, has been erroneoufly fuppofed by many perfons to be a hardship on the fex; but, in Mr. Thomas's opinion, it is understood in a fense rather too general; in every other respect, the Rajpoot character yields to no nation in Afia, or perhaps

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in the world, in maintaining the ties of relationship and confanguinity, by a feries of the kindest actions towards each other. They are dutiful sons, kind husbands, and affectionate brothers.

The men, it is true, are in the higheft degree jealous of their honour, but the exempting their women from perfonal labour, in employing them though feereted from the reft of the world, in fuperintending the education of their children, and other domestic avocations, cannot furely with justice be confidered as a hardship. "And " if we book," fays Mr. Thomas, " at the con-" dition of the inferior fort of women in most " parts of Europe, the fituation of the Rajpoot " females may be, perhaps, beneficed by the " comparison."

One cuftom, and one alone, obtains among this infatuated people, at which nature muft ever revolt, and humanity fhudder : it is the practice of putting to death their new-born females. In other respects tender and affectionate towards their offspring, it was a matter of extreme furprize to Mr. Thomas that in this

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instance the Rajpoots should to far exceed the bounds of natural affection.

From motives of curiofity, he was induced to demand their reason for allowing of this horrid practice; the reply in general was, " it is our cuftom 1" but when Mr. Thomas remarked that was but a bad plea for the commission of the horrid crime of murder, they would then urge the poffibility of their daughters meeting with bad hufbands, who might hereafter bring difgrace and difhonour on their posterity; or. that the infants themfelves might, at fome future period, commit actions unworthy of the name of Rajpoots. "Should this reafoning hold," faid Mr. Thomas, " and the Raipoot " nation, in this particular, were to be all of " the fame mind, they would in the fpace of " one hundred years, or much lefs time, become " extinct." This argument enforced with pertinacity, had, for a time, the effect of carrying apparent conviction of the impropriety of a cuftom fo unnatural, and he had the fatisfaction to obtain frequent promises from some refpectable families in that country, that they would discontinue the practice in future. This

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promise he afterwards learnt had, in some instances, among their own relations been happily carried into effect.

With these exceptions the Rajpoots may be confidered as honourable, brave, and faithful; and few nations who are not in possession of the advantages of education, or those benefits which arise from the refinements of civilized life, can be faid to be possessed of more good qualities, or benevolence of disposition.

This benevolence of difposition is exhibited in a peculiar manner towards the Jauts, who are cultivators of the foil, for though the Rajpoots keep them under the strictest obedience, and do not allow them more than is necessary for their subsistence, deprive them of the honour of bearing arms, except it be on the actual invation of their frontiers; notwithstanding these circumstances, apparently so degrading, the farmer acknowledges that he lives happily under the government, and that his state of poverty is, by the mildness in manners exhibited towards him by his superiors the Rajpoots, converted into content.

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The rajah of Jypore, rich in refources of every kind, is in fact a very powerful prince; his cavalry may be computed at not lefs than thirty thousand men. He has twelve thousand infantry in his fervice, exclusive of five or fix thousand mercenaries. In this statement are not included the aids which he would be enabled to draw from his connections with the neighbouring countries of Joudpore, Oudepore, and Beykaneer, to whose rulers he is allied by blood. His artillery is numerous, and wellappointed, " and in fhort," fays Mr. Thomas, " an alliance with this prince, in cafe of ne-" ceffity, may be one day deemed not unwor-" thy the precaution and forefight of the British " government in Afia."

One thing only tends to mark a deficiency in the otherwife found policy of this prince, which is, the appointment of people of inferior rank to high commands in his army.

Naturally high-fpirited and haughty, a Rajpoot is, of all other people, most averse to ferve under a person whom he confiders his inferior.

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Hence arifes the impolicy of the rajah, who has of late years introduced into commands in his army, setvants, mechanics, and even flaves. These men. deftitute of talents or conduct. cannot be fuppofed to poffefs that independancy of spirit which alone excites to the performance of great actions. In justification of the rajah's measures in this instance, it has however been afferted by some, that the difference of cast and condition makes none in respect to courage: which Mr. Thomas observes may hold good with refpect to European troops, or even Indian troops disciplined and conducted by European officers, as, in that inftance, they may be confidered as a machine actuated and animated by the voice of the commander : but in an Indian army, where difcipline never exifted, little can be expected from chiefs who in their actions are not ftimulated by a fense of personal honour.

The Rajpoots, therefore, who composed the greater number of the troops in the Jypore army, deeming these commanders inadequate to perform the duties of their station, became consequently indifferent in their acknowledge-

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ment of authority: these men, moreover, from a constant residence at the court of a gay and luxurious prince, for such is the character of the reigning sovereign, have assumed the manners of courtiers, and indulge in too frequent ridicule on the plain and honest simplicity of Rajpoot manners; while the latter, from their haughtiness of spirit, and the disgust conceived at this treatment, never sail, on the slightest token of disrespect, to revenge the insult, by putting the aggressor to instant death.

Among the recreations of the Kutchwah Rajpoots, the exercise on horseback forms a diftinguishing feature. If ever, by chance, they should be necessitated to combat on foot, it is only in defence of their houses and families. Their arms confiss of a lance and fabre; and though the rajah, of late years, has introduced the musquet and matchlock, they make but little use of these weapons. They have, in common with other Rajpoots, a thick quilted jacket, which, like armour, will result with effect the stroke of a fcymeter.

The country of Jypore is capable of yielding

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an annual revenue of one hundred and twenty lacks of rapees; though from the nature of its government, the amount paid into the rajah's treafury now feldom exceeds fixty lacks. This may be accounted for by confidering that the feudal fystem prevailing throughout the dominions of Jypore leffens thereby the actual revenue of the state. The respective chieftains hold their lands in Jâiedad, and for the express, purpose of affording a body of troops in times. of emergency, which cannot be difpenfed with. To this certain expense are to be added the occafional exactions of the fovereign upon particular chiefs, and confequent diminution of the effective military force.

The chiefs of the diffrict termed Sheckhawathy in particular, who in former times could contribute their quota towards the exigencies of the ftate, by bringing ten thousand men into the field, and who from great military experience and length of fervice, were justly confidered as the best foldiers in the Jypore army, can now with difficulty muster three thousand men. Of late years these troops have become not only extremely difgusted with the fervice,

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occasioned by the causes already detailed," but have evinced a spirit of discontent and distantsfaction, which in the event of civil discord threatens to prove highly detrimental to the general interests of the community.

The Rajpoot princes of Jypore are of the tribe called Kutchwa, and tracing their origin from a remote antiquity, this illustrious family in the annals of the empire are called Beni Suruj, or children of the fun. They originally fettled in the fouthern parts of the province of Gualior, and drew their lineage from rajah Ramchunder, a prince of high celebrity.

It appears from the Hindoo books called Ramayoon and Muhubhàrat, that rajah Ramchunder had two fons, the one named Nubh, and the other Koofh. The defcendants of the former are denominated Burhagoojer, and thofe of the latter Kutchwayah. Pirthi Raj<sup>#</sup> the

\* Pirthi Sing, aforementioned, was the founder of a dynasty, denominated Duazdah Kutchoory, or the twelve partitions; so called from the number of his sons, among whom, to prevent animosities, he during his lifetime divided his dominions into as many separate parts.

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first fovereign who mounted the throne of Jypore, in the zera of Bekermajeet,\* 1559, died in 1584.

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The descendants of the Bajahs of Ambeer having established themselves in the finest parts of the peninsula, for a series of years were pofsession of high authority and extensive dominion. Among these Maun Sing, a prince renowned in the annals of the empire, assumed a leading part; others, following his example, in succession contributed to the permanent establishment of their family, by acts of no less wildom than benevolence.

The dry and uninteresting matter contained in a genealogical detail can be gratifying to none; it will therefore be fufficient to remark, that the fuccession of the Rajpoot princes from their founder continued for several centuries to fill the throne of Jypore; and our present detail will conclude by observing, that in the records of the royal family of Ambeer, there

\* For the zera of Bekermajeet consult Mr. Gladwin's Ayeen Akbery. exists a table of two hundred and fifteen princes from rajah Ramchunder to Purtaub Sing, the

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• In the foregoing detail the compiler has great satisfaction in offering his best thanks to Colonel Palmer, late ambassador at the Poonah Durbar; to Captain John Baillie, professor of the Arabic and Persian languages; and to the gentlemen students in the Persian and Arabic classes in the college of Fort William, founded under the auspices of his excellency the most noble Marquis Wellesley: Colonel Palmer having most obligingly communicated to him some M.S. matter on the genealogy of the Rajpoot princes of Jypore, Joudpore, and Oudipore; and Captain Baillie having, with no less kindness, suggested to his pupils the translation of it as a voluntary exercise during their vacation hours.

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prefent fovereign.\*

## CHAPTER VIII.

In an expedition against Jypore, Mr. Thomas is joined by Vavon Row.—Their proceedings.— Account of the city of Futtahpore.—Approach of the Jypore army.—Battle of Futtahpore.

IN returning from a digreffion, which it is hoped will have afforded our readers fome relief from the tedium of narrative detail, it is now neceffary to remark, that about this time Luckwah, commander in chief of the forces of Scindiah north of the Nerbuddah, fent orders to Vavon Row to invade Jypore; and in his letter on that fubject, having mentioned the fum exacted by his predeceffors in office from each of the diftricts, he recommended Vavon Row to demand an equal proportion on the prefent occafion, as a reward for the fervice to be performed : he moreover allowed Vavon Row ten annas in the rupee, from the money thus collected, to be divided among the troops, MENOIRS OF

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and the remaining fix annas to be fent to his own treafury.

Vavon Row, on receipt of the above order, wrote preffing letters to Mr. Thomas, inviting him to join in the proposed expedition; but he, though willing to make a temporary incursion to Jypore to obtain prefent relief to his necessfities, was by no means inclined to go the lengths proposed, and at first from prudential motives declined the offer.

Mr. Thomas moreover was not ignorant that the fubliftence of fo large a body of troops on an expedition like the prefent, could only be obtained by a full treafury, and his own refources were at prefent dried up. That the numerous cavalry which the Jypore rajah could bring into the field would very much impede their efforts in procuring the neceffary fupplies of forage and provisions; and that without these aids the fuccess of the expedition would be very doubtful; and finally, he remarked to Vavon Bow, that even if fuccess attended their argues the rajah would never pay to them the

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fum specified, but would refer the matter to Luckwah himself, whereby they would lose the fruits of their labours. These suggestions, however salutary in their design, could not perfuade Vavon Row to give up his scheme, or convince him that their united force was incompetent to the present contest.

That chief now fent his vakeel to Mr. Thomas, promifing him a fum of money, of which he flood in great need, for the proffered affiftance, and he at length closed with the propofal.

His force at this time confifted of three battalions of four hundred men each, with fourteen pieces of artillery, ninety horfe, three hundred Rohillas, and two hundred of the peafantry of Hurrianah, with which he joined Vavon Row at Kanond.

That chief had himfelf one battalion of infantry, four pieces of artillery, nine hundred cavalry, and fix hundred irregulars. With this force they commenced their march towards Jypore. On entering the country, a party of

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• the Rajah's troops stationed to collect the revenues retreated; when the chief of the district fent vakeels into Mr. Thomas's camp, who agreed to the payment of the two years' tribute which had been named by Luckwah.

The offer was accepted, and the troops marching forward compelled feveral others to submit to similar exactions. For near a month the united armies continued their progrefs without interruption ; but the rajah of Jypore, who had in the interim been collecting his troops, now marched to the relief of his pofferfions, with a refolution to punish the invaders, and revenge the infult he had fuftained, by giving battle wherever he fhould meet with his enemies. The army thus collected, amounted to forty thousand men, with which the rajah marched against Mr. Thomas and Vavon Row, who, not having yet got poffeffion of any place from whence a fupply of grain could be drawn, became fenfible of their error, and were reduced to a fituation truly hazardous. Vavon Row deeming it impoffible to encounter fo large a force, now acquainted Mr. Thomas that he must rely on his own exertions; that from

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the numbers and acknowledged bravery of the enemy, who were chiefly Rajpoots, there could exift but fmall hope of fuccefs in rifking an engagement, and for these confiderations advised Mr. Thomas to retreat. To combat thefe arguments, and frustrate a defign fo pufillanimous in its nature, Mr. Thomas reminded Vavon Row of his hafty and inconfiderate conduct in leading them into their prefent exigency, that there existed no cause to prevent at least one trial of ftrength, their own troops being faithful to them, and in high fpirit to engage; that moreover, to think of a retreat on the prefent occasion, without an exertion on their part, would be a difhonour to himfelf and his progenitors, who never turned their backs on an enemy; and finally observed, that if Vavon Row now receded, he never could again expect to be employed by Scindiah, or any other chief under his authority. These arguments combined at length made an impression on the mind of Vavon Row, and he agreed to rifk an engagement.

With this determination, they marched forthwith to the city of Futtahpore, in which

they expected to meet with a fupply of grain fufficient for the confumption of their troops; but on their arrival the inhabitants, who had received intimation of their approach, were bufily employed in filling up the wells in the neighbourhood, in order to diftrefs the troops for water. They had nearly completed this defign, only one remaining open, when Mr. Thomas arrived.

The possession of this remaining well now became the object of contention betwixt Mr. Thomas and a body of four hundred men who had been detached from the city for the express purpose of filling it up. Mr. Thomas, who perceived no time was to be lost, ordered his cavalry to charge. The action was at first obftinate; but two of the enemy's firdars being killed, the rest retreated, and the well was happily preferved. This was of great importance, as except in this fingle supply no water was to be procured but from a confiderable distance.

The fervice on this day was uncommonly fevere, as Mr. Thomas had completed a march of five-and-twenty miles over a deep fand,

A.D. 1799.] GEORGE THOMAS. ist which in most places was above the ancles of his men; he was therefore glad to encamp, and afford some repose to his fatigued troops.

As the city of Futtahpore was marked in Mr. Thomas's military career, as a place of fignal fuccess; an account of it may not perhaps be deemed intrusive.

Kaieem Khan, a Tartar nobleman, accompanied the standard of the Moguls on their first invasion of Hindostan; and as a reward for his military fervices on that occasion had been prefented with the government of the adjoining country of Hurrianah and Jinjinnoo, where he fettled with his family and adherents.

In process of time, however, the Mogul princes who fat on the throne of Delhi, unmindful of the fervices of this illustrious family, endeavoured to effect their ruin; and finally by a tyrannical procedure, expelled them from the province. On their expulsion they fought aff asylum in the dominions of Jypore, by whose suler they were kindly received, and where they remained until the present time. The city of Futtahpore was allotted for their refidence: where, fince that period, the defcendants of Kaieem Khan have continued to refide, retaining, along with the name of their founder, the characteristic energy and military fpirit of the tribe; and are to this day termed by the natives Kaieem Khanee, or defcendants of Kaieem Khan.

The city of Futtahpore being full of people, Mr. Thomas, in order to fave the effusion of blood, was defirous to treat with the inhabitants for its ranfom; but the demands of Vavon Row were fo exorbitant, that they declined compliance.

The Mahratta chief afked no lefs a fum than ten lacs of rupees, whilft the townspeople only offered one, encouraged perhaps by the hope of receiving affiftance from the rajah of Jypore, who was rapidly advancing to their relief.

'During these negotiations night came on, and nothing was done respecting the proposed ransfom: some persons, however, who had been

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fent into the city by Mr. Thomas to protect the place until they could make the terms of furrender, unluckily began to plunder the inhabitants; which circumstance fo exasperated the commandant, that he broke off all further treaty, and the united force then took poffeffion of the place by ftorm. This was fcarcely effected, when intelligence of the rajah's approach was announced to Mr. Thomas, who then thought proper to fortify his camp, which he did in the following manner. . In the neighbourhood were abundance of large thorn-trees, which are common in the weft of India: a fufficient number of these were cut down, and, by Mr. Thomas's direction, piled one upon another in the front and flanks of his camp, his rear being fecured, by the city of Futtahpore. To, render it more impenetrable, the branches of the trees\* being closely interwoven

\* It is remarkable that Mr. Thomas, who had read very little, should, from the resources of his own mind, have adopted a mode of defence parallel with one related in the History of Modern Europe. Speaking of the approach of the British army under the command of General Abercromby, in the war of 1758, against the fort of Ticonderago, in North America, "The French (says the historian)

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with each other, were then made fast with ropes, thus forming *chevaux de frize* to keep off the cavalry; and lastly a large quantity of fand was thrown between the branches which pointed outwards toward the enemy.

A trench could not be dug, as the fand was fo loofe in its quality that the excavations were inftantly filled up as foon as made: but the abbatis above-mentioned wason feveral accounts highly ferviceable, particularly as it not only fecured Mr. Thomas from the attacks of the enemy's cavalry, but afforded protection to the camp. He next directed batteries to be made for the defence of the different wells in the neighbourhood, which had by this time been cleaned out and opened afresh for use. He took posseficien of and fortified the city in the best manner that the shortness of the time

" were stationed under the cannon of the place, behind an " *abbatis* or breast-work formed of the trunks of trees " piled one upon another; and they were farther defended " by whole trees, with their branches outward, some of " which were cut and sharpened so as to answer the pur-" pose of *chevaux de frize*."—See Russel's History of Modern Europe, vol. v. p. 288.

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On their arrival, the enemy encamped within four coss of Mr. Thomas, and soon after pushed on a detachment of cavalry and infantry to elear the wells in the neighbourhood. For two days he allowed them to proceed with their work uninterruptedly; but on the third morning, he with two battalions of infantry. eight pieces of artillery, and his own cavalry, marched out with a refolution to attack their grand park of artillery, leaving directions to the battalion that remained behind to attack and difperfe the advanced party before-mentioned. On his departure, he left a written paper for Vavon Row, requefting that chief to follow with the remainder of his cavalry, and with the infantry which he had with him, to provide for the fecurity of the camp.

Mr. Thomas was disposed to act in this manner from his experience of the Mahrattas, who he well knew, if acquainted with his plans,

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could keep nothing focret; but would, by divulging them, put the enemy on their guard. It was night when he fet out; and a tumbril being upfet on the road, occasioned confiderable delay in their progress, fo that the day began to dawn before the evil was repaired; and, to add to bis mortification, on arriving near the camp, he perceived the enemy asfembled under arms, and ready to receive him.

It was now too late to carry his first defign into execution. He pushed on, however: and, coming up with a party who now advanced to meet him, attacked them to the number of feven thousand men with great spirit and vigour. The enemy made but a feeble refuftance, and foon after withdrew to their main body, having fustained confiderable The wells which had been cleaned out loís. were again filled up; and Mr. Thomas, after collecting the horses and other cattle which had been left on the field, returned with his detachment to camp. On his way he met with the Mahratta cavalry, who feemed much out of human that they had not been confulted on fo important an occasion: but Vayoa

A. D. 1799.] CEORGE THOMAS. 163 Row, their chief, repressed their pride by telling them plainly, that their own delay in accoutring was the real cause of their disappointment.

Mr. Thomas's officers now received khilluts\* from the Mahratta chief; and, to prevent animolities, fimilar marks of honour were beftowed, though with reluctance, on the officers of the Mahratta horfe.

Preparations were now making by the enemy to bring on a general engagement, which proved far greater in its confequences than either party had forefeen. The next morning at day-break, Mr. Thomas was informed that there was a great buftle in the enemy's camp, and fhortly after received intelligence of their actual approach in order of battle. He had determined in his own mind the fpot where he would engage; and as he well knew no reliance could be placed on the Mahrattas, he was neceffitated to leave a part of his infantry, and four fix-pounders, to guard

Dresses of honour.

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the camp and cover his rear, which was in danger of being furrounded by the enemy: with the remainder, confifting of two battalions of infantry, two hundred Rohillas, his cavalry, and ten pieces of artillery, he prepared for the encounter.

The Mahrattas, on feeing the immense force they had to cope with, gave themselves over for loft; and Mr. Thomas was in a manner compelled to fight this important battle without affistance.

After fome manœuvres on either fide, he, was glad to find that the enemy distributed their army as he wished.

Their right wing, confifting of the whole force of the Rajpoot cavalry, was defined to the attack of his camp; and fo certain were they of victory, that, on perceiving the ftockade we have before defcribed, they laughed at the idea that *a few bufhes*, as they were pleafed to term them, could for a moment retard their progrefs, or refift the impetuofity of the attack. The left wing, confifting of four thoufand Ro-

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hillas, three thousand Ghossieins, and fix thoufand irregular infantry, commanded by the chiefs of their respective districts, advanced at the same time with hasty strides and loud shouts, to take possession of the city, the loss of which, by cutting off the supply of water, would have been attended with the most ferious confequences.

Their third, or main body, was composed of ten battalions of infantry, twenty-two pieces of artillery, and the *fillah pofk*, or body guard, of the rajah, confifting of fixteen hundred men armed with matchlocks and fabres, and commanded by Rajah Roorojee Khavies, as generalifimo of the army. Notwithstanding this immense force, Mr. Thomas derived great advantage from the position in which his troops were drawn up; his front and flanks being secured by the fortified camp, and his rear by the city of Futtahpore.

The enemy's cavalry now advancing in close and compact order, the Mahrattas, who were posted in the rear, sent to require a reinforcement; and accordingly Mr. Thomas, though

he could ill spare it, ordered four companies and two of the guns which had been left for the protection of the camp, to march out and join him; while, with three guns and five companies of infantry, he advanced to repel the attack of the enemy's horse. His main body was commanded by John Morris, an Englishman, " who, though a brave man (fays " Mr. Thomas), was better adapted to con-" duct a forlorn hope than to direct the mor " tions of troops in a field of battle." Mr. Thomas having taken possession of a very high fand-bank, the enemy were thus placed between two fires, and could neither charge him or attack the camp; they confequently began to draw off: but perceiving he had but fewcavalry, and those being in his rear, on a fudden made a furious charge upon them, by which the perfon who commanded, and feveral other brave men, were instantly cut to pieces; and it was not until the advance of two companies of grenadiers, who, after hav, ing given their volley, charged with bayonets, that the enemy, thus exposed, were compelled to retreat; and had the other divisions of their army behaved with equal fpirit, the day would

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have been their own. It was not, however, until their cavalry retreated, that the body deftined to take possession of the city thought proper to advance a fecond time, having already once been driven back with confiderable Within the city Mr. Thomas had posted lofs. the Hurrianah infantry, and one hundred Rohillas, who, having fortified the highest and the ftrongest of the houses, could maintain themfelves against all attacks, excepting those of Of this circumftance the enemy artillery. were aware; and accordingly now detached fix pieces of cannon against the city, with orders to renew the combat. Mr. Thomas, on feeing their cavalry draw off from the field, was thereby enabled to fuccour those. He attacked the enomy instantly, and with so much vigour, that he compelled them to withdraw the artillery, and retreat. Their main body had by this time become a confused mass, without order, regularity, or method. The encony, notwithstanding, was determined to risk the iffat of the day on a general charge on Mr. Thomas's main body. But their general was not met on this occation with equal ardour by his troops; and Mr. Thomas, per-

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ceiving them at a ftand, commenced a heavy fire of grape that from his guns, when, after fustaining much lofs, the enemy retreated, and Mr. Thomas at this time ordered his battalions that had fuffered the leaft in the late conflict to advance in the purfuit. This, however, could not now be effected: the bullocks attached to the artillery, having been flationed behind a fand-bank in the rear, could not be brought up with the expedition the emergency of the cafe required. At this time the Mahratta cavalry, who, during the preceding part of the conflict, had ftood aloof, came forward with their fervices in this purfuit. After some delay, Mr. Thomas, having procured a fufficient number of bullocks for one of his guns, advanced with that and a battalion of infantry against the enemy; while the Mahratta horse, to wipe off the difgrace they had before fuffered by their inactivity, joined in the purfuit.

The enemy were retreating in all directions; and Mr. Thomas prepared to take poffeffion of a pair of twenty-four pounders, which remained near the fpot where he ftood, and directed fome of his people to carry them into A. D. 1799. GEORGE THOMAS.

the rear. At this inftant a large body of Rajpoot cavalry advanced fword in hand to refcue the guns, when the cowardly Mahrattas, without fustaining a fingle affault, quitted the field. Mr. Thomas, perceiving the enemy continued to advance, drew up his troops as well as the shortness of time permitted; but before he was completely formed, the Mahratta horfe. in their pufillanimous flight, had broken through his left wing, and were followed clofely by the Rajpoots, who began to cut down a great number of his men. These gallant foldiers made a brave refistance; many of them, even in the agonies of death, feized hold of the bridles of the enemy's horfes. The moment was critical; and to Mr. Thomas pregnant with future mischief. With the only gun that remained, which he loaded up to the muzzle, and about one hundred and fifty of his followers, who bravely determined to conquer or die with him, he waited the event with fortitude. After permitting the enemy to approach within forty yards, he gave his fire, accompanied at the fame time by a volley of mufquetry, with fuch confiderable effect, that great numbers of the enemy were inftantly

knocked down. This first effort, being followed by two other discharges, completely routed the enemy, and drove them from this well-contested field.

The Mahratta horfe, who had been the chief caufe of the late difafter, had in the interim haftened to the camp for protection, but were by Mr. Thomas's order refused admittance; and a fmall party of Rajpoots, who had followed in their rear, put feveral to death without mercy.\*

The enemy's infantry, perceiving the attack made by the horfe, began by this time to rally, and feemed inclined to renew the action. To afford them an opportunity of fo doing, Mr. Thomas, having collected the remains of his gallant detachment, waited the attack. The day approaching to a clofe, the enemy thought proper to retire; and Mr. Thomas, after fearching in vain for the twenty-four pounders which he had once poffeffed during the action, re-

• Throughout the whole of this action, Mr. Thomas speaks in terms most indignant of the disgraceful behaviour of his allies. A. D. 1999.] GB

turned with his army to camp. In this action, in killed and wounded, Mr. Thomas loft three hundred men (amongft the latter of whom was the gallant Morris): that of the enemy amounted to more than two thousand, exclufive of horses and other valuable effects, which they were compelled to leave behind on the field of battle.

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## CHAPTER IX.

Military operations continued.—Mr. Thomas compelled to retreat.—Diftrefs of the army.—Peace concluded.—Mr. Thomas marches against the rajah of Beykaneer.—Geographical defcription of that country—of the Lackhi Jungle.— Military operations.—Mr. Thomas enters inta engagements with Ambajee.

O<sup>N</sup> the enfuing morning, Mr. Thomas notified to the enemy's general that he might fend proper perfons to bury the dead, and carry away the wounded men without interruption on his part. This civility was received with attention, accompanied at the fame time with a requeft to treat for peace.

Vavon Row, as a previous ftipulation, infifted on the payment of a large fum of money to indemnify him for loss fustained during the campaign. To this the other objected, upon the principle of not being authorifed by the

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rajah of Jypoor to difburfe fo large a fum without further orders. On receiving this answer, Mr. Thomas, fufpecting that the enemy only waited for time to procure a reinforcement, recommended to Vavon Row the profecution of hostilities. That chief was averse to the propofal, as he deemed the performance of mamla, or agreement, preferable to the hazard and rifk of a fecond engagement, and therefore he overruled Mr. Thomas's objections. The negotiations for peace were therefore broken off. The enemy, having collected the fcattered remains of their forces, took post on their former ground. In the mean time letters from Scindiah arrived. requefting Vavon Row to defift from holtilities against the troops of Jypoor. Others of similar import came from Mr. Perron, who had lately fucceeded General Duboigne in the chief command of Scindiah's forces.

The enemy now of their own accord offered to pay the fum of fifty thousand rupees, which being most unaccountably rejected, Vavon Row had much reason to repent. During the late negotiations confiderable reinforcements had arrived in the Jypoor camp, and hostilities re-

MEMOIRS OF [A.D. 1799: commenced with redoubled vigour on both fides.

Mr. Thomas's troops from a want of forage, which they were obliged to collect from a diftance of twenty miles from the camp, fultained much inconvenience. In attempts to bring it in they were moreover haraffed by detached parties of the enemy; and to complete their diffress, the rajah of Beykaneer had by this time reinforced the Jypore army with five thousand men. The Mahrattas in Mr. Thomas's camp, wholly useless, were fit only to plunder and deftroy the unrefifting peafantry. Thus fituated, and forage continuing to decrease, a council of war was held between Vavon Row, Mr. Thomas, and the other commanders, in which it was unanimoufly agreed to attempt a retreat to their own country.

Agreeably to this refolution, the next morning before day-break, the troops began to file off, but were fcarcely got in motion when the enemy's whole force came up to the attack. While it continued dark, great confusion prevailed; but on the appearance of day-light, Mr.

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Thomas, having formed his men, compelled the enemy to retreat with great loss.

They still continued to hang on his rear, and annoy him with the fire of artillery, affifted by an immense quantity of rockets. From the rapidity of his march the enemy's heavy gans were foon obliged to remain behind, and the rocket and the matchlock men alone continued thepurfuit. The day was intenfely hot, and the troops fuffered feverely from a total want of water; this caufe, however, operating in a fimilar manner upon the enemy, prevented the execution of their plans. The fervice was fevere. and in the highest degree fatiguing ; at length after a toilfome march. Mr. Thomas arrived in the evening at a village, where he fortunately met with two wells, containing plenty of excellent water. His men, eager to catch a refreshing draught, crowded to fast upon each other that two fell into the well, by which accident one of them was instantly fuffocated, and the other with much difficulty brought out alive. Care was now taken to prevent a renewal of fimilar accidents, by flationing an armed force to protest the well, till by degrees most of the troops

TA. D. 1700 MEMOIRS OF having received a fmall fupply, the confusion ceased, and order was restored in the camp.

The enemy still followed in the rear, and encamped within two cofs. Mr. Thomas determined to renew the attack the enfuing day.

Mr. Thomas, perceiving that his men had lost their accustomed spirits, to encourage them marched himfelf, on foot, at their head, during the whole of the enfuing day.

The enemy frequently appearing inclined to charge, Mr. Thomas directed the commandant of artillery to keep up a conftant fire in the rear. This, in fome degree checked their ardour, and afforded an opportunity to his own troops to move on. After a fecond day's march, attended by circumstances of distress similar to the preceding one, though with confiderable lofs to the enemy, Mr. Thomas arrived at a large town; in the neighbourhood of which he was gratified with the fight of an ample fupply of water, from five wells.

Here the enemy defifting from the purfuit,

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Mr. Thomas had time to direct his attention to the fituation of his own troops. The fick and wounded were conducted to a place of fafety, together with the hoftages which had been received from the enemy on the commencement of the late negotiations; and having refted and refreshed his men, Mr. Thomas recommenced hostilities on the enemy's country, and, by a fucceffion of exactions and fines, foon obtained money fufficient to defray his expences, and fatisfy his troops for their arrears.

By this time, the rajah of Jypoor, fenfible of the injury which his country would fuftain by these depredations, once more sent performs to offer terms to Vavon Row, for the evacuation of his territories. The terms were accepted, a fum of money paid, and hostilities ceased.

On the conclusion of the transactions, Mr. Thomas determined to retaliate on the rajah of Beykaneer, and punish him for the aid which he had afforded the prince of Jypoor the preceding year.

To comprehend, however, the nature of this

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expedition, it will be neceffary in this place to recur to a geographical and statistical sketch of this remarkable country.

The province of Beykaneer is bounded on the north by the country of the Batties, weft by the defert, fouth-weft by Jeffelmere, and fouth by Joudpoor; fouth-east by Jypoor, and east by the district of Hurrianah. It is one hundred and twenty cofs from north to fouth, and from fifty to eighty from east to west; but is broadeft in the centre. The country is elevated; the foil a light brown fand, from the nature of which rain is fwallowed up as foon as fallen. This circumstance renders necessary a recourse to the construction of wells in all parts of the country. Thefe, which are made of brick, are ingeneral from one to two hundred feet in depth, though towards the Jeffelmere frontier they. extend to no lefs than three hundred feet. For the ordinary purposes of life, and domestic confumption, each family is careful to provide a ciftern for the reception of rain water; as a dearth of this precious article frequently compels the inhabitants, by whole families, to migrate to a more favourable foil.

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With the exception of a few villages towards the eaftern boundary, the cultivation of Beykaneer is precarious; bajerah, and other forts of Indian pulfe, being all that are produced. But horfes and bullocks are numerous. From the caufes above ftated, the inhabitants of Beykaneer are obliged in a great measure to depend upon their neighbours for the neceffary fupplies of provisions; as even in the few, places most favourable for cultivation the produce of the fields fcarcely recompenses the labour of the peafant.

The city of Beykaneer is fpacious, well-built, and furrounded by a wall of conker.

One mile fouth-weft of the city is the fort where the rajah refides. It is a place of confiderable ftrength, built in the Indian ftyle, and encompassed by a broad and deep ditch; but the chief fecurity of both the city and fort is owing to the fearcity of water in the furrounding country.

The form of government in Beykaneer refembles that of Joudpoor, for here also both

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the property and lives of the fubject are entirely at the difpofal of the prince.

Soorut Sing, the prefent ruler of Beykaneer, has been of late years compelled to maintain an army of metcenaries for the fecurity of his authority. For though at his acceffion to the government he found himfelf poffeffed of a full treafury, which the wifdom and forefight of his anceftors had hoarded up with frugality and care; yet from boundlefs profusion and thoughtlefs extravagance this was quickly diffipated; and his neceffities compelling him to have recourfe to extortions to fupply his extravagance, he has, by becoming cruel, tyrannical, and oppreffive, thereby alienated the love of his fubjects.\*

\* In the year 1799, the rajah of Beykaneer committed an act deserving of the highest reprobation, and which stands confirmed on the authority of Mr. Thomas.

A party who were sent by Vizier Ali, the spurious nawaub of Oude, to the country of Zemaun Shah, were, by order of Soorut Sing, the present sovereign, not only detained prisoners in their passage through his territories, but plundered of their property and treasure to the amount of twenty-seven lacks of rupees, and finally put to death.

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The inhabitants of Beykaneer are in general Rajpoots, and fpring from the parent flock of Oudipore, as will be hereafter noticed in the hiftorical fketch of that remarkable country. This of courfe attaches to them a fimilarity of habits and manners. It has however been remarked that although Rajpoots, and of the Rhatore tribe, the Beykaneerians are cruel in difposition, cowardly, and treacherous. These degenerate fymptoms may be attributed partly to their indolent and inactive flate for a long period of years; and partly to a relaxation in their ancient fimplicity of manners, occasioned by the bad example fet them by their own princes.

The revenues of Beykaneer amount to about three lacks of rupees; though the rajah has occafionally found means, by laying duties and vexatious imposts on the merchants passing through his country, to realize nearly double that fum.

The trade formerly passing from the port of Soorat to Tatta on the Indus, entered from

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thence the Beykaneer province. The ufual route of the caravans was through Joudpore and the province of Jeffelmere; but the rapacity and injuffice of the reigning prince, as above related, have, of late years, if not utterly annihilated commerce, at leaft directed its courfe into other channels: of this neglect the rajah of Jypore has reaped the principal benefit, by turning the most lucrative branches of commerce into his own territories.

The force of Beykaneer may amount on the whole to eight thousand men; two fifths of which are cavalry, and the remainder infantry and artillery. In the fervice of this prince are feveral Europeans of different nations, who refide within the fort of Beykaneer.

The rajah of Beykaneer has many enemies, the principal of which are his neighbours the Batties, whofe country he invaded about nine years fince, but without fuccefs. He has, in like manner, been unfuccefsful in feveral attempts lately made in the diftrict of Churoo.

Confidering the nature of the foil and climate

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of this country, it must appear matter of no fmall furprize, that any people should voluntarily have felected so barren and unprofitable a spot for a permanent residence. In Mr. Thomas's opinion, this determination must have originated in the predilection manifested by the first settlers for this dreary folitude; either from a romantic wish for retirement among themfelves, or occasioned by the hatred which they entertained against the oppression and injustice of their former rulers. The natives of this district are robust, hardy, and excellent farmers.

Adjoining the province of Beykaneer is the diffrict called the Lacky Jungle, fo much and fo defervedly celebrated for the fertility of its pafture lands, and for a breed of excellent horfes of the higheft effimation in India. The Lacky Jungle is comprifed within the diffrict of Batinda, forming a circle of about twentyfour coffes of the country each way. On the north it is bounded by the country of Roy Kelaun, eaft by the province of Hurrianah, fouth by Batnier, and weft by the great defert.

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It is fituated twenty-two cofs north of Batnier, and fifty west of Pattialah, to whose chief the rajah is tributary.\* The foil being fandy, the wells are of confiderable depth. The country yields rice and bajerah, and other forts of grain, but not in abundance. The chief excellency of the district confists in its pasture lands, which for a fucceffion of ages have been celebrated as a nurfery for cattle. The original breed in this country has been much improved by Persian horfes, which were introduced during the fucceffive invations of Nadir Shah and the Abdallis into Hindooftan. This breed however has of 'late years been much neglected. This Mr. Thomas attributes to the exactions of the government, or rather to the rapacity of the minifters of the rajah, who frequently compel the proprietors of the horfes to fell them at their own price, much under the real value; and when purchased they are by these rapacious men sent, on their own accounts, to different parts of the peninfula, and fold at a confiderable profit.

\* Consult the map.—This part of the country however stands in need of an actual survey, which would be both curious and interesting.

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This impolitic measure has not only caufed a decrease in the present breed, but has also deterred the inhabitants from extending the traffic; though, on the contrary, if the breeders of the horses were allowed a fair and equitable market, and they were to be exempted from those vexatious drawbacks, the commerce might again flourish, and the proprietors of land in the Lacky Jungle and its vicinity would have a certain preference in supplying the neighbouring states with plenty of the finest horses in India.

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The prices of the horfes are variable, and obtain according to the quality of the animal; they are in general from two hundred to one thousand rupees in value, which latter fum is feldom exceeded.

It is remarked that the breeders are averfe to difpofe of their brood mares; and if prevailed upon to do fo, will exact double price : though in general with regard to foreigners; they cannot be perfuaded to part with a brood mare for any price.

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While breeding, the mares and foals are kept apart from the horfes. The women and children look after them during the day-time. At the feafon of the periodical rains they are allowed to graze, and are brought home at night; but in the cold and dry feafons they are fed upon hay, which is dried in the fame manner as in Europe; a cuftom common throughout the weft of India.

One thing only diminishes the excellence of this breed, which is a difease of the most diftress nature. A species of musquitoes, called by the natives Dunkh\*, and sometimes Fetha, are not only very troubless to the animals, by annoying them with their stings, but in a short time degenerating into an incurable cancer, the horse die.

This diforder prevails chiefly in the neigh-

• This is remarkable, and it would no doubt amply recompense the labour any gentleman of science might bestow in investigating the causes of this extraordinary distemper, and pointing out a remedy; more especially, as it seems peculiar to the district called the Lacky Jungle. A. D. 1799.] GEORGE THOMAS.

bourhood of the Cuggur river, more particularly about the towns of Futtiahbad, Seerfah, and Runyah; and it is computed that in these places, and the interior parts of the Lacky Jungle, the yearly loss fustained by the ravages of this pernicious infect is estimated at onefourth of the horses that are produced.

Returning from our geographical excursion, we now refume the thread of our narrative. When refolved on the invasion of Beykaneer, Mr. Thomas, with great precaution and forefight, had prepared a number of water-bags for the use of his army; a measure which the fcarcity of water in that country rendered indispensably necessary.

With this aid, and a reinforcement of troops, ' he on the commencement of the rainy feafon began his march. The rajah, who had received

\* In addition to the foregoing it may be observed, that though the best horses are said to be produced within the boundaries of the Lacky Jungle, Mr. Thomas affirms that equally good horses may be procured many coss distant from thence; a circumstance which may possibly have confounded the real Jungle with some other place.

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intimation of the intended attack, was prepared to repel it. Being in want of artillery, and knowing he could not stand against Mr. Thomas on the plain, he stationed large bodies of infantry in each of the frontier towns.

The first attack was made on the village of Jeitpore, in which were three thousand men. Mr. Thomas resolved on an immediate affault; and carried the place, though with the loss of two hundred of his troops. The lives and property of the furvivors were then ransformed for a fum of money; and fuccessful in this first onfet, Mr. Thomas met with but little resistance during the remainder of the campaign. Intimidated by these repeated destates, the rajah's followers deserted in crowds; a few Rajpoots alone remained faithful to his cause.

Under circumstances so unfavorable, the rajah dispatched a vakeel to Mr. Thomas, to request a ceffation from hostilities, and consent to an adjustment of former differences. The rajah agreed to pay the sum of two lacks of rupees, part of which was delivered on the spot; and for the remainder bills were given upon mer-

A. D. 1799.] GEORGE THOMAS. 189 chants in Jypore, the amount of which Mr. Thomas never received.

It has before been remarked that Luckwah and his colleague had been fuperfeded in their command, and made prifoners. This circumstance afforded Mr. Thomas an opportunity of regaining poffession of the districts belonging to the deceased Appakandarow, and which, as above related, had been made over in form to Furnaveese. Mr. Thomas now posseffed himfelf of the districts in question, with an intent to prefent them to Appa's heir; but Ambajee and Mr. Perron, who had been lately nominated to the chief command in Hindooftan, hearing of his intentions, united in requesting Mr. Thomas to abstain from interfering in the affair. Confulting with Vavon Row on the fubject, he was advifed by that chief to comply, and at length affented. In recompence for this conceffion, the Marhattas gave him the pergunnah of Badhli, which he added to his other acquifitions.

Mr. Thomas next marched to Jeind, a town on the frontiers of Hurrianah and Punjab, be-

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longing to Baug Sing. This chief had, from Mr. Thomas's first entering the province, behaved towards him in a hoftile manner, for which Mr. Thomas now determined to reta-On his arrival at Jeind, the capital of liate. Baug Sing, he attempted to ftorm the place, but was driven back with the lofs of four hundred men. Undifmayed even at a check fo unexpected, Mr. Thomas, having fortified his camp agreeably to his usual custom, formed the blockade of the place; by which means, there being three thousand perfons within the town, he expected to compel them to a furren-In this hope he was for the prefent dif--der. appointed. The fifter of Sahib Sing, of Puttialah, a woman of a masculine and intrepid fpirit, attended by a large force, arrived to fuccour the place: with her alfo came Bugheel Sing, and other chiefs of the Seiks. Mr. Thomas, without hefitation, attacked the last-mentioned party with fo much fpirit that he compelled them to retire: and following up his victory, drove them through their own camp; which, confifting of ftraw huts, he quickly deftroyed by fire. They returned however to the attack, and their numbers increasing, they were

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permitted, by the fhameful fupineness of his own officers, to take possession of two redoubts, by which many of his beft men were cut to pieces. Supplies of provision coming in flowly, and the country people perceiving the untoward fituation of affairs, now declared against him, and joined the enemy. This compelled Mr. Thomas, after a blockade of three months, to raife the fiege, and return to Hanfi. The enemy, by this time increased to ten thousand men. followed in his rear : and to add to his diftrefs, the chief of Puttialah appeared at the fame time with feveral pieces of heavy artillery. A retreat in these countries being always deemed equivalent to a defeat, the peafantry who rofe on all fides increafed the difficulty in his progrefs. In hope of diverting the enemy's attention, Mr. Thomas gave out that he was going to Jypore; which lying far diftant from their own country, he expected would induce them to relinquish their pursuit. In this he was unfuccefsful; but the enemy having repeatedly attacked him, and as often been repulfed, now of their own accord drew off, and directed their march towards Hanfi. Hoping to intercept him before he could reach that place, in their

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route they encamped at Narnound, a town twenty cofs to the northward of Hanfi. Here Mr. Thomas refolved to attack them. For this purpofe he marched all night, and arriving by daybreak in their camp, gave them a complete defeat. Their tents, baggage, the howdahs of their elephants, the bazar, with one thoufand faddles, and about two hundred horfes, fell into his hands; but his troops difperfing on all fides in fearch of plunder, prevented his becoming mafter of their artillery and elephants.

From the inclemency of the feafon, Mr. Thomas was now neceffitated to return to the place where he had deposited his heavy baggage; and the Seiks, in their late defeat, repaired to Jeind. On their arrival they were refused admittance into the place, by the fifter of Sahib Sing. This lady, who, as we have before feen, had on feveral occasions exhibited a spirit fuperior to what could have been expected from her sex, and far more decided than her brother, now offered to take the field in person. But the Seik chieftains, assand in being exceeded in spirit by a woman, returned to encounter

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Mr. Thomas, whom they found encamped near a large town. They now came to a refolution to conquer, or perifh in the attempt : but whilft deliberating on the mode of attack, their own camp was fuddenly affaulted during the night by a numerous and daring banditti, who founded their trumpets with fuch loud alarms that the Seiks, thinking the whole force of Mr. Thomas was at hand, abandoned their camp with precipitation. This circumstance, though it occasioned no real loss to the Seiks, had great effect on the minds of the country people, and leffened their ideas of Seik prowefs. The Seiks were now as defirous of peace as they had before been determined on the continuance of hostilities; and it was at length agreed between the contending parties that each should remain in possession of their several districts, as they ftood before the fiege of Jeind. Excepting the Rajah of Pattialah, all the reft were well fatiffied with the termination of hosfilities. He alone refused to fign the treaty, although, in fpite of his remonstrances, it was done by his more spirited fifter. For this conduct the Seik chief ungeneroufly evinced his refentment, by detaining her a prifoner; but Mr. Thomas,

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MEMOIRS OF TA. D. 1799. deeming it his duty to interfere on this occasion, by threats compelled him to release her.

About this time Mr. Thomas was invited by Ambajee to unite their forces : for his affistance Mr. Thomas was to receive the monthly fum , of fifty thousand rupees. Having at prefent no particular destination, he closed with the terms: and agreeably to the inftructions of Ambajee, prepared to lead his army to Oudipoor to encounter Luckwa; who by this time, having regained his liberty, was affembled in great force. As the country of Oudipoor conftitutes one of the principal states of Rajepootana, and is on feveral accounts extremely interesting, we shall hope for pardon in digreffing a little from the thread of our narrative, and proceed to take a retrospective sketch of its geographical position, and internal refources.

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# CHAPTER X.

Geographical description of the country of Oudipoor or Mewar—its constitution—manners and customs of the inhabitants—military operations in the Oudipoor country—termination of the campaign.

THE dominions of Oudipoor are feventy cofs from north to fouth, and fifty from caft to weft.

They are bounded on the north by Ajmere and the principality of Kithenghur, on the north and weft by Joudepoor, on the fouth and eaft by the province of Malwa, and the north-eaft by Kotah and Boondy.

The lands throughout Oudipoor are poffeffed by the princes, and chief nobility, and are held as Jaeedâd. Thefe lands at prefent can yield an annual revenue of a crore of rupees:

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it formerly produced a larger fum, but the depredations committed by the Mahrattas fince taking poffeffion of a great part of this country, have caused its reduction to the present standard; and though the Mahrattas fince their conquest have permitted the landholders abovementioned to retain their lands, yet by frequent exactions and vexatious mulcis, their value to the proprietors is confiderably leffened.

Most of the opulent towns in Mewar, which formerly acknowledged the authority of the Oudipoor family, are now in the hands of the Mahrattas.

The rajah is in a state fimilar to that of the emperor at Delhi; he is entirely guided by Mahratta councils, and dependant on them in a great measure for his subsistence: but in Mr. Thomas's opinion, they have not yet obtained the strong holds in his country, and this prince, at present so insignificant, may possibly at no distant period free himself from their usual presents.

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The country of Oudipoor is very productive; it yields fugar-cane, indigo, tobacco, wheat, rice, barley, and in fhort every thing to be found in other parts of India in the greatest abundance.

In Oudipoor are found iron-mines, excellent timber, and in one part of the country is produced fulphur.

The generality of cattle, however, are infetior in quality to those of the more western countries: horses only are numerous, and may be procured at a moderate price.

The produce of the neighbouring states being nearly the same as that of Oudipoor, the trade with them is not confiderable, but a very extensive commerce from all parts of India was formerly carried on through the agency of the Ghossiens of Nathdora; this of late years; through the oppressive government of the Mahrattas, has been obstructed in its progress; almost to annihilation.

This country is uncommonly firing by nature. The city of Oudipoor, which is fituated 80L

in an amphitheatre of hills, is guarded in the approach by a deep and dangerous defile, which admits of only a fingle carriage paffing at a time. So extensive is the circuit protected by this pafs, that between four and five hundred villages are contained within its range; but Oudipoor, thus furrounded by hills, is very unhealthy, and peculiarly fo during the feason of the periodical rains.

The wells in the neighbourhood of the city, though but a fmall diftance from the furface of the earth, are ftrongly impregnated with the mineral qualities of the water that flows from the neighbouring hills, a principal caufe of the infalubrity of this climate.

The internal administration of Oudipoor is extremely fingular, and therefore merits attention.

The whole power of the ftate was formerly vefted in fixteen principal chieftains, who were accustomed to refide at court, with a stipulated number of followers. These chiefs diftinguished by the name of the fixteen omrahs,

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and conftantly refiding at the capital, under the immediate eye of the fovereign, this circumftance rendered it impoffible for them to transact the business of their respective domains in perfon. To remedy this inconvenience, thirty-two inferior chiefs were nominated to affift them with their counfels: these were defignated the thirty-two omrahs; and in order to affift the latter, in the ordinary detail of business in the interior districts, fixtyfour inferior officers were appointed, who from their number are also called the fixty-Thefe combined, prefent a fyffour omrahs. tem not very diffimilar to that of the feudal tenures of Europe, prior to the confolidation of the French monarchy, under the emperor Charlemagne,\* though that prince has been blamed by hiftorians for dividing his kingdom among his children.

In the original defign of this extraordinary conftitution, it was intended that a gradation of authority should be established by the

\* Consult the History of France, vol. I. p. 59, et seq. Author anonymous.

fmaller number controlling the greater; fo that the thirty-two chiefs were to be fubferyient to the decrees of the council of fixteen; and by a fimilar and progreffive ratio the refolutions of the fixty-four were to be controlled by those of the thirty-two.

But, as might reafonably have been expected, the chiefs, by a frequent abufe of power, at length fanctioned the interference of the prince; who by intrigues and fowing diffenfions among them, gradually recovered the exercise of his own authority.

He therefore forbade these high-spirited nobles to interfere with each others' concerns: and to remedy the inconveniences that gowernment might suftain from their private feuds, the rajah appointed of his own accord a dewaun, or controller-general; to whom all complaints from the omrahs or the subjects within their respective districts were to be made, and whose adjudication was to be confidered as final. As the lands throughout Oudipoor had formerly been divided among the omrahs, with a flight variation they have so

continued to the prefent day; but the former authority and political confequence enjoyed by thefe omrahs in the administration of the government, have long ceased, and at prefent Mahratta influence alone prevails in the dominions of Oudipoor.

The policy of the Mahrattas has of late been directed to diffrefs the people of Oudipoor with vexatious fines, rather than to difpoffefs them altogether, as they apprehend, if driven to defperation, the Rajepoots might not only unite in a common caufe, but by deferting the level country and taking refuge in the mountains, render their complete fubjection extremely difficult.

The nobility of Oudipoor are rajepoots of the tribe called Sefodia. This tribe among them is effected the pureft and most noble; a few are Rahtours. In their performs the Oudipoor Rajepoots are not fo comely as the neighbouring rahtours, nor are they fo courageous, although they frequently intermarry with that tribe. This distinction in the raje-

poot blood, in Mr. Thomas's opinion, any be traced to the unhealthiness of the climate. Though affable in their manners and civil to strangers, the rajepoots of Oudipoor do not posses an equal share of sincerity with their brethren in other parts of Rajepootana.

The military force of Oudipoor may be eftimated at twelve thousand cavalry; the infantry, which is retained by the different omrahs in their respective forts to guard against Mahratta invasion, is very inconfiderable. The arms of the Oudipoor rajepoots confiss of a matchlock, a lance, and a fabre, though the former are not fo much used as the two latter.

They are fond of glittering armour; and clothe their horses with a thick quilting, which it is faid will result the stroke of a sabre.

Mr. Thomas moreover confiders the inhabitants of Oudipoor as more inclined to pomp and luxury than the other tribes.

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It is however to be remarked, that when the honour of their women is concerned, or they are afraid of their being infulted, the Rajepoots of Oudipoor, in common with their brethren in the other ftates, not only make a defperate refiftance, but if unfuccefsful feldom furvive their difgrace.

If the natural strength of this country, its internal refources, and, above all, the spirited and warlike character of its inhabitants, be confidered with attention, it can surely, concludes Mr. Thomas, be no matter of wonder, that the subjugation of a country so difficult of access schould be attended with innumerable obstacles; or that the hardy and independant chiefs, immured within their native fastnesses, should not only still be enabled to preferve themselves from the Mahratta yoke, but continue even to the prefent hour to enjoy their patrimonial estates in an undisfurbed tranquillity.

We must now carry back our narrative to the commencement of Mr. Thomas's expedition against Luckwa; who, as before stated, had MENOIRS OF

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taken a strong polition on the frontiers of Oudipoor.

While on the march towards that country, Mr. Thomas was alarmed by a mutiny which broke out among his troops, occasioned by delay in the payment of their arrears. As an apology for a conduct fo unmilitary, they urged, that as they were now marching towards the Deccan\*, their families who were left behind would fuftain much inconvenience. Although there appeared fome reafon for the demand, Mr. Thomas deeming it a dangerous precedent to yield compliance, therefore gave them a denial. The mutineers, growing outrageous, wished to furround and take him prifoner.: this he evaded by encamping apart from them with the foldiers who were fift faithful. He then called in a body of cavalry to his affistance, when the mutineers advanced with their guns to attack him. Refolved to reprefs their infolence or perifh in the attempt, Mr. Thomas now mounted his horfe, and went to meet them. Several fhot were fited

\* This word implies the south, in opposition to enter or the north : poor is the east, and puchum the west

A. D. 1700.] GEORGE THOMAS. at him : but having refolutely feized on the ringleaders, he expelled them from the camp; and the remainder, perceiving the fate of their comrades, returned to their duty,

He then proceeded against Luckwa. On the road he was joined by vakeels from the rajahs of Joudpoor, Jypoor, and Kishen Ghur, each of whom brought prefents from their refpec-It was now represented to Mr. tive masters. Thomas, that Scindiah having pardoned Luckwa, it was therefore improper to proceed to hostilities with that chief; but Mr. Thomas. who only confulted the interests of Ambajee in whole fervice he was now engaged, and from whom he had received politive orders to fight Luckwa wherever he came up with him, did not, from these confiderations, think himself at liberty to defift. But the former mutiny among his troops, not having been properly quelled, from a mistaken lenity in Mr. Thomas, and unwillingness on his part to push matters to extremities, now broke out again with redoubled violence. With his usual prompitude, he feized on the ringleaders, and instantly caufed one of them to be blown from the

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mouth of a cannon; the others were fecured by putting them in irons: this prompt feverity was attended with the happieft effect, the mutiny was entirely fubdued, and was the laft he ever experienced.

He was now joined by a brigade of troops under Mr. Sutherland, who came for the avowed purpofe of oppofing Luckwa. On uniting their force, they advanced towards Luckwa.' That chief, as yet unable to make an effectual refiftance, encamped near the pafs leading to Oudipore, the nature of which has been before deferibed. Into this pafs he threw his heavy baggage and ftores, a measure which on any other occasion would have proved his ruin; but Luckwa had previously received information that the rana of Oudipore, being favourably inclined towards him, was ready to afford protection to himfelf and followers.

A plan of attack was now concerted by Mr. Thomas and Mr. Sutherland, and the enfuing morning named for carrying it into execution. That very night, however, Mr. Sutherland, without affigning any caufe, to Mr. Tho-

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decamp, and leave him to conduct the operations against Luckwa with his own troops.

This circumstance inspired Luckwa with confidence; and he, who from the untoward fituation of his affairs, had before been humble, now became haughty in proportion to their alteration. He fent letters to the different chiefs in the neighbourhood, commanding them to join his standard. Three days after Mr. Sutherland's retreat, Mr. Thomas, leaving Ambajee with his troops to protect the baggage, advanced against Luckwa in order of battle; but the action was at that time prevented by the coming on of a most tremendous ftorm of rain, thunder, and lightning, which induced Luckwa to halt. Mr. Thomas's position being favourable for cavalry to act, of which the enemy's force chiefly confifted, and far fuperior in number, he was defirous of changing it; and accordingly, moving more to the left; he took post on a rifing ground from whence he could have nothing to apprehend from an attack of horfe. When the ftorm was over, Luckwa again advanced towards Mr.

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proach from the fire of Mr. Thomas's artillery, he thought proper to draw off the field. Mr. Thomas, after a fevere and fatiguing fervice during the day-time, returned in the evening to his own camp.

At midnight, vakeels from Luckwa arriving in the camp, produced letters from Scindiah, in which that chief repeated his commands for hostilities to cease on both sides. he having nominated Luckwa to the government of all his poffeffions north of the Nerbuddah. In the morning a council of war being held, the different firdars each delivered his own opinion. Mr. Thomas, on his part, observed, that being employed by Ambajee for the express purpose of reducing the province of Mewar to his authority, he could confent to no terms in which the evacuation of that country by Luckwa was not a leading article.

After much negotiation, a propofal was made for both armies to march to the northern frontier, and there wait for fresh instructions from

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Scindiah on the fubject. Mr. Thomas, well apprifed of the infincerity of Luckwa, knew that he only wifhed to gain time, in order to form a junction with a body of troops now on their march to join him from Ajemere, and to get that country in his rear, which, as the fort and city of Ajemere belonged to him, would enable him to receive a conftant fupply of provitions; for thefe reafons, therefore, he was averfe to the propofal. He knew alfo, that their prefent fituation near Oudipore would be much benefited when the periodical rains, which were now daily expected, fhould fet in, as he would then be able to procure a fupply of forage, of which they were in great want.

These points he submitted to Ambajee's confideration, but in vain, for that chief's principal officers having been gained over by bribes, declined acting against Luckwa, until answers to the propositions referred to Scindia should be received.

In those resolutions Mr. Thomas unwillingly acquiesced. The armies commenced their march, and although only at a distance of fifty

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cofs (the rains having overtaken them in their route) fifteen days had elapfed before they reached the northern frontier. Luckwa having by this time been reinforced by the troops which he expected, as also by fome from Oudipoor, peremptorily refused to evacuate the country. He accordingly recommenced hoftilities, and marched against Mr. Thomas, Ambajees's troops, who were encamped on an extensive plain, were in confequence open to attacks of cavalry; Mr. Thomas with his ufual prudence had taken post on the spot of ground furrounded on all fides by nullahs and ravines. In a council of war held on the occasion, it was determined that Ambajee's force should encamp in Mr. Thomas's rear, by which means they would be fecure from any attempt of the enemy's horfe. Prior to this determination of the council being known, a battalion who had began to drefs their victuals, could not be perfuaded to move off until they had finished their meal; the confequence of this delay proved fatal; Luckwa, too late fenfible of his error in not possessing himself of the ground occupied by Mr. Thomas, nevertheless attempted to take a redoubt that lay in his front; for

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this purpose he advanced with resolution, but being foon compelled to retreat, he directed his infantry to remain on the defensive; and eager to revenge his ill fuccefs, at the head of a ftrong detachment of cavalry, he fell fuddenly upon the battalion before mentioned. who in their defenceless state were almost cut to pieces. Mr. Thomas, leaving two battalions to cover Ambajee, now proceeded with the remainder to the attack of Luckwa's main body, but a heavy shower of rain falling, and the fudden fwelling of the nullahs, prevented further hostilities on that day. The rain continued without intermission for eight days, during which time no opportunity occurred of renewing the contest; frequent skirmishes however took place. It was cuftomary for Luckwa and fome of his principal Sirdars, attended by a felect body of horfe, to pay daily vifits to Mr. Thomas: they usually posted themselves between the camp and the town of Shahpoora, from whence he received fupplies of grain.

To deceive the enemy on this occasion, Mr. Thomas was accustomed to change the

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uniforms and colours of his own people; and having by feints got within fhot of the enemy, he frequently opened a smart cannonade; one in particular, the enemy approaching fo near, that Luckwa himfelf could be eafily diftinguished. Mr. Thomas, by a brifk and welldirected fire, compelled them to a speedy retreat, after a confiderable lofs in men and horfes. These skirmishes, though haraffing to the troops, did not occasion much loss to either party, who were now in daily expectation of receiving orders from Scindiah to defift from hostilities. Intelligence now arrived that Perron, taking advantage of Mr. Thomas's absence, had invaded the purgunnah of Jyjur, and was moreover committing depredations on other parts of his posses of his intelligence he wifhed to keep fecret, but Luckwa, who had previoufly received fimilar intimation, now made Mr. Thomas very handfome offers to induce him to join his standard, but these were refolutely rejected. Mr. Thomas moreover acquainted Luckwa, that though he might poffibly leave the fervice of Ambajee at the termination of the prefent campaign, he could never become his enemy, nor connect himfelf

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with those who were. This answer displeased Luckwa; he complained much in his durbar of Mr. Thomas, who he faid was a man of a most unaccountable character; that although repeated orders had been received from Scindiah to cease hostilities, he could not be prevailed on to obey them; and finally charged him with nothing less than aiming at the expiration of Scindiah's authority, and the establishment of his own.

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Not content with the falfeness of these accusations, Luckwa privately sent emissaries into Mr. Thomas's camp to sow diffensions among his troops, but they being discovered by his hircarrahs,\* were seized, put into confinement, and there detained during the remainder of the campaign.

The arts used by Luckwa on this occasion having failed, Mr. Thomas conciliated the good opinion of his foldiers, by an affurance of fpeedily reconducting them to their own country. The force of Luckwa at this period

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amounted to nine thousand cavalry, fix thoufand regular infantry, two thousand Robillas, and about five or fix thousand mercenaries, together with ninety pieces of artillery.

Mr. Thomas had only fix battalions, by defertion much reduced, one hundred and fifty cavalry, three hundred Rohillas and twentytwo pieces of artillery.

With this force comparatively fo fmall, he was compelled not only to provide for the fafety of Ambajee, but the fecurity of the camp, to effort provisions, and procure fupplies of forage for the whole.

Several actions took place, in which Mr. Thomas was ufually fuccefsful, having frequently driven his antagonift back to his camp. On one occafion Luckwa narrowly escaped a total defeat: he drew out his whole army, and advanced upon Mr. Thomas, who, at the time having only two battalions, was compelled to retire; Luckwa followed in his rear to the fkirts of his encampment, when, being fuddenly joined by three additional battalions and a fupA. D. 1799.] ply of ammunition, unexpectedly turning on his purfuers, gave them a most fevere check.

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Luckwa returned in confusion with the loss of a great many men; and fo great was the confternation, that the darkness of the night alone faved him from a total defeat. Between the camps there ran a nullah, the north fide of which was occupied by the army of Luckwa; and the troops of Ambajee and Mr. Thomas were stationed on the south. Ambajee, in order to prevent the advance of Luckwa's artillery, who endeavoured to open upon him, fortified an advanced redoubt on the north fide of the nullah; but too far detached from his main body to receive fuccour in cafe of an For its defence, were stationed three attack. battalions of fepoys, fix pieces of cannon, and one thousand Ghosseins. To support these, three battalions were posted at a short distance in the rear. A heavy rain had fell for twenty four hours, which caufed two large refervoits to overflow their banks, by which means the nullah tifing to a great height, became impaffable, and thereby intercepted the communication between the camps. Luckwa availed

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himfelf of this opportunity, and attacked the post before-mentioned with great vigour and refolution; his men in advancing to the affault were up to their necks in water, which refolute conduct infused such terror into the men in the redoubt, that being panick ftruck, they furrendered without firing a fhot. The Ghoffeins alone refused to submit; and. after a brave though fruitless refistance, were cut to pieces. Ambajee's troops, who before this difafter refused to fight, now deferted in great numbers. Luckwa alfo had by his intrigues induced the Shahpoora Rajah to join in hoftilities against Mr. Thomas, whose supplies by this means were entirely cut off. Although he had provisions fufficient for the confumption of twenty days for his own troops, those of Ambajee had not more than three. Should they be compelled to retreat unfupported by him, they would most likely be cut off by their active and vigilant enemy. Mr. Thomas was diftreffed for ammunition ; his superfluous ftores having been left at Singanah, a place twenty cols diftant from their prefent encampment: the diftance did not permit his fending a fmall force to efcort the ftores, and from prç-

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fent circumstances he was unable to detach a larger party. For these reasons, he thought it more advisable to march himself, and having procured the necessary supplies, to return to his former ground; but Ambajee's fick and wounded men having been left on the ground, Mr. Thomas, with his accustomed humanity, generoufly advanced money to procure them carriage to the place. In his retreat he was purfued by a party from Luckwa's army; but after feveral ineffectual attempts the enemy defifted, and he completed the remainder of his march unmolefted. We have before had occafion to remark that Ambajee was fenfible of his ill conduct in authorifing an attack on Mr. Thomas's poffeffions, who had ever ferved him with fidelity; that chief now wrote letters excufing thefe attacks, and laying the blame on the enmity of Mr. Perron.

In fact, both Ambajee and Perron, fuppoling that Luckwa had been compelled to evacuate the Mewar, concluded there was no further occasion for Mr. Thomas's fervices; the prefent time, therefore, appeared to them most

favourable for feizing his country; but perceiving his refolute conduct and fleady adherence to their interefts during the late conflict, they ultimately grew afhamed of their proceedings, and defifted.

Mr. Thomas, though diffatisfied at the treatment he had experienced, nevertheless resolved, from prudential motives, to appear content; and the diffricts which had been taken from him having been restored, the matter was finally dropped.

Arriving at Singana, he completed his ammunition and other requifites, and immediately recommenced his march againft Luckwa; that chief had invefted a fort about thirty cofs to the north eaft of Singanah. Advancing by flow and eafy marches through the diftricts occupied by Agagee Mirtha, Mr. Thomas thought proper to punifh that chief for his conduct on a late occasion, in having invited the country people to declare againft him.

In a few days he arrived within twelve

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miles of Luckwa's camp, which he intended to attack the next morning; but Luckwa, deeming himfelf unequal to the conteft, fuddenly decamped from the fort he was befieging, and having quitted the boundary in difpute, he in two marches reached his own diftricts in the province of Ajemere.

Letters had lately been received from Dowlut Rao Scindiah, enjoining Mr. Thomas to obey Luckwa, and put an end to the contest. To these he had uniformly replied, that being in the service of Ambajee, he could only pay obedience to the orders of that chief; and in this he was justified by express and repeated commands not to cease from hostilities until Luckwa had quitted the dominions of Oudipoore.

That object being now happily accomplifhed, Mr. Thomas employed himfelf in levying contributions to reimburfe Ambajee for the expences incurred during the campaign. He collected near four lacks of rupees, a fum confiderably beyond the actual expenditure, and

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could have raifed a great deal more, had not Mr. Perron about this time broke the treaty into which he had lately entered with Ambajee.

This treaty ftipulated, that fhould Scindiah hereafter think proper to reinftate Luckwa in his authority, they were to act in concert, a meafure by which fecurity in their respective pofferfions would be established.

In this agreement it was also flipulated that Mewar should remain in Ambajee's possible. Mr. Perron, who now began to entertain a jealousy against Ambajee, entered into a private and separate treaty with Luckwa, whom he had gained over to his interest. The letters from Scindiah were produced, requesting Ambajee to withdraw his troops from the Mewar, and put Luckwa in possible of his country. Perron advised compliance with the order, and in case of resulta threatened to affiss Luckwa in taking possible of the business, Ambajee wrote letters to his collectors and to Mr. Thomas, ordering them to

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deliver over the country in difpute, and withdraw the troops. Mr. Thomas, on receiving a cypher from Ambajee, complied.

Mr. Perron now marched to Jypore; Ambajee remained behind; and not long after the transaction above related, defired Mr. Thomas to march to Duttiah. He was preparing to obey, when a contrary order arrived, defiring him to join the united force of Ambajee and Luckwa. Mr. Thomas, from such contradictory orders, suffected treachery, and that Luckwa wished only for this opportunity to effect his ruin.

Refusing therefore compliance with the demand, he commenced his march north-ward.

Luckwa now throwing off the mafk, withed to fend a force after Mr. Thomas in order to punish him, but was not able to raife a supply of money sufficient for the purpose. Mr. Thomas continued to levy contributions in the Ajemere province, through which he directed

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his march, and now confidered himfelf in a flate of actual hoftility against Luckwa.

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His fituation had by this time become critical: the army of Luckwa was but twenty cofs to the eaftward of him; that of Jypore lay in his front; and Perron himfelf was endeavouring to hurt him at the court of the Rajah. The bad water of the mountainous country of Mewar having affected his army, a third part of the troops were fick, but Luckwa's troops were in a ftate of infubordination; and the Rajah of Jypore and Mr. Perron were at prefent overawed by the prefence of Colonel Collins, the British Ambassador at that court, who about the latter end of 1799 had arrived at Janaghur, to demand the delivery of the perfon of Vizier Alli, the spurious Nawaub of Oude.

In this state of affairs, Mr. Thomas, after eluding every attempt to oppose his progress, and having raised contributions to the amount of two lacks of rupces, arrived in his own territory, defirous of obtaining some repose from the fatigues of his late perilous campaign.

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His repose however on this occasion was not of long duration; the force which he had left behind to collect the revenues having accomplifhed their purpofe, now joined him; and finding himfelf at eafe with regard to the Mahrattas, he refolved to make an incursion into the Punjaub, in order to punish Sahib Sing of Puttialah, who had undefervedly ill treated his fifter for entering into the negotiations with Mr. Thomas the preceding year. That chief had, moreover, during Mr. Thomas's absence in the Mewar country, authorifed depredations among his diffricts; but hoftilities were for the prefent prevented by the Seik chief agreeing to furrender certain villages, and paying a fum of money as a compenfation for those depredations.

Mr. Thomas next turned his arms againft the Rajah of Beykaneer, who, as we have before had occafion to remark, on the termination of his late difpute, had given him falfe bills on the merchants of Jypore. That Prince had lately obtained fome advantages over his neighbours the Battees, an extraordinary race with

MEMOIRS OF [A.D. 1799. whom he had long been at variance, and whofe country, from its fingularity of fituation, as well geographical as statistical, merits a digreffion from the ordinary course of Mr. Thomas's narrative.

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## CHAPTER XI.

Descriptive account of the country of the Batties —fingular manners and customs of the inhabitants—military operations against the Rajah • of Beykaneer—Mr. Thomas returns to Jyjur.

THE country of the Batties is bounded on the north by the Punjab and the river Sutledge, eaft by the diftrict of Hurrianah, weft by the defert, and fouth by Beykaneer.

It is fifty cols from east to welt, and about one hundred from north to fouth.

That part of the country beft adapted for the purposes of cultivation is along the banks of the river Cuggur, extending from the town of Futtahbad to that of Batnier. The soil is uncommonly productive, which arises in a great measure from the immense body of water descending from the mountains during the rainy season; this causing the banks of the

river to overflow to an extent of feveral miles, leaves on the retiring of the waters a loamy earth, which rewards the labours of the peafant in the produce of an abundant harveft.

Where the river overflows, wheat, rice, and barley are plentiful, and in the higher parts of the country are likewife to be found those different species of grain which are common throughout India. The remainder of the Battie country, owing to a scarcity of water, is unproductive.

The course of the Cuggur river has already been laid down in our detail of the Punjab. It is here, therefore, fufficient to remark that during Mr. Thomas's refidence at Batnier, he could perceive little veftige of what was called the ancient bed of this river; but from the fcanty information he procured, it appeared to him that the river, though it formerly ran along the north fide of the fort, its channel had been choked up by vast quantities of earth forced down from the mountains; and, according to the prevailing opinion of the natives, though now lost in the fands west of the city,

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it formerly extended as far as the Sutledge, which it joined in the vicinity of Ferozepore.\*

Batnier, the capital of the diffrict, and refidence of the Rajah, is two hundred miles weft of Delhi, and about forty fouth of Batinda. The towns of Arroah, Futtahbad, Sirfah, and Ranvah, constitute the other places of note in the Battie country; thefe towns, together with the numerous villages, afford a population fufficient to bring into the field an army of twenty thousand men, without detriment to the cultivation of the lands. Of late years, however, many of the Batties, migrating from their native country, have fixed their refidence in the western parts of the dominions of Oude, and at the prefent day feveral families of this fingular tribe are to be met with in the vicinity of Chandowfy, in Rohilcund.

As peculiarity in manners more diffinctly ferves to differiminate the genius and character of a people, a few of the fingularities observ-

\* Consult the map.

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able among the Batties may perhaps not be deemed unworthy of our notice. A defert feparates them from any communication with the countries to the weftward; parties are often formed for croffing this defert, in order to invade the neareft diftrict. They fet out numerous and well equipped; intelligent perfons amongft them are felected by the reft as guides to the party, to whose orders, during the journey, they pay the most implicit obedience, and on arrival at the frontier of the enemy's country their authority is at an end.

For the performance of these journeys, they have camels, which are loaded with bread, water, and other necessary articles of provisions. This stock being previously sent off, is deposited at different parts of the desert, which extends from fixty to seventy coss. These places are considered as points of rendezvous to meet with their supplies; not a drop of water, or provisions of any kind, being otherwise procurable; and strould these supplies fail by any accident, inevitable death awaits them all.

The guides, whom we have before men-

tioned, become skilful by long experience and constant practice. Without the aid of a tree, or land mark of any description, to direct them in their march over this dreary desert, they feldom fail not only to ascertain the place where the provisions are deposited, but likewife to conduct the intrepid adventurers to the destined spot. It frequently happens, moreover, that individuals of the party, who, from heedlessness and inattention, stray from the caravan, oppressed by the multiplied evils of thirst, hunger, and fatigue, perish miserably in the desert.

So where our wide Numidian wastes extend,
Sudden th' impetuous hurricanes descend,
Wheel through the air, in circling eddies play,
Tear up the sands, and sweep whole plains away.
The helpless traveller with wild surprise,
Sees the dry desert all around him rise,
And, smother'd in the dusty whirlwind, dies !"\*

In their progress during this fingular march, the guides are directed by the Sun by day, and the North Star by night; and with these unerring marks they are enabled to perform journeys which appear almost incredible.

\* See Addison's Cato.

These journeys are moreover performed with accuracy and exactness. Departing at night from a fixed or given point, and often freering different courses, by the aid of the figns abovementioned, they will, after a march of thirty, forty, and even fifty cofs, return to the fpot from whence they fat out, and, with the exception of rain or cloudy weather, fcarce ever deviate from their point of deftination. Should they be preffed for provisions on their journey, or have confumed their ordinary ftock, a bullock or calf, belonging to the party, is killed, roafted, divided, and eaten on the fpot; and at the conclusion of this primitive meal, the company refume the journey with their accustomed alacrity.\*

We have hitherto feen the faireft fide of the character of this extraordinary people. Candour requires us to ftate that they are cruel in their nature, favage and ferocious in the higheft degree; that they have an utter abhorrence

\* Are not these traits the Scythian characteristics ? and do we not in the foregoing description recognise the pastoral lives of the Nomedes of antiquity ?

of all the usages of civilized life, are thieves from their birth, and fcruple not, in their predatory incursions into the neighbouring diftricts, though unresisted, to add murder to robbery.

This thievish spirit may be faid to have reached even the throne itself, as the Rajah has not been ashamed to declare, in Mr. Thomas's bearing, that he willingly participated in the fboils thus collected by his own fubjects. This fact was afcertained by Mr. Thomas from the Rajah himfelf, during a refidence of two months in his camp : in other respects, a good and humane character. The Rajah spoke without the least appearance of shame of the depredations committed by his fubjects. When it was remarked that the foil and climate of his country were fufficiently fertile to fupply the wants of the inhabitants by the honeft labours of the plough, he replied, that the fmall number of Rajpoots in his fervice, compared with the mass of the country people, did not allow him to reftrain the latter in those unlawful acts, as any interference with fo old and eftablished a

cuftom would, in all probability, prove fubverfive of his own authority.

A people to enterprifing muft, no doubt, appear formidable to their enemies; yet if their utter contempt of fubordination, and the weakness of their means of defence be duly confidered : that they are a tumultuous rabble, void of order and discipline, it is matter of wonder that fome of the neighbouring nations have not taken advantage of their weaknefs, and prevented this neft of banditti from interrupting their tranquillity. In their wars, or rather their depredations with the adjoining countries, they have been in general fuccefsful, and the territories of Sahib Sing, Loll Sing, and Baug Sing, chiefs of eminence among the Seiks, have frequently fuffered by the inroads of this daring people, and been moreover not unfrequently compelled to purchase peace.

To these may likewise be added the country of the Balooches, west of the Sutledge; the district of Hurrianah; and the province of Beykaneer; all which have in turn fustained

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their ravages, and by which means, more than two thousand villages, which were once populous, highly cultivated, and produced a revenue of from twenty to thirty lacks of rupees, have now become a barren waste.

Another trait in the character of the Battica is their permitting their women to appear in public unveiled, and without any fpecies of concealment, though common in other parts of India. On the contrary, with the exception of the wives of their chiefs, who are in general Rajpoots, the females are univerfally admitted to move about in company with the men, tending their flocks and herds, and, like the Scythians of old, traverfing from place to place in fearch of forage and water.

" At th' approach of night,

On the first friendly bank he throws him down,
Or rests his head upon a rock till morn,
Then rises fresh, pursues his wonted game;
And if the following day he chance to find
A new repast, or an untasted spring,
Blesses his stars, and thinks it luxury.\*

\* See Addison's Cate.

The Batties are of the Mahomedan religion. In common with other Muffulmans, they are fond of tobacco to excess; and whether on horseback in the field, at the plough, or in their domestic avocations, are never seen without the hookha.

It has been remarked that this people can bring into the field from twenty to thirty thoufand men, but they are ill-armed, and without difcipline.

The revenues of the Battie Prince arife chiefly from the plunder acquired by the incursions of his subjects into the neighbouring states, though it is difficult to ascertain the exact receipts, but they do not in general amount to more than ten lacks of rupees.

The trade of the Batties is very circumfcribed, with the exception of the fale of their furplus grain, ghee, and cattle of different kinds: they have little interference with other flates, and that chiefly with the petty merchants of Nohur and Behadra already mentioned, and with whom alone they hold a correspondence

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from motives of religious veneration to the memory of Shaick Fereed, an eminent Mahomedan faint, who flourished about the eighth century of the Hijerah.

This veneration is carried fo far as to claim protection in his name. Though deaf to the voice of mercy in other respects, and cruel from their natural disposition, yet in this in stance the Batties restrain themselves with a moderation truly singular.

Such is reprefented by Mr. Thomas to be a faithful portrait of the mixed character of this extraordinary people; and if the leading features of it be confidered attentively by a reflecting obferver, a comparifon with their barbarifm, and the happy refult arifing from the advantages of civilifed life in other parts of the world, may be made to advantage, though it ftill affords an impreflive leffon of the mutability of human nature, and the caprice and inftability of all human inftitutions.

The chiefs of the Batties were originally Rajpoots, but are now Mahomedans. About fix hundred years ago their anceftors migrated from the province of Jeffelmere; and after feveral viciffitudes of fortune, at length fettled as cultivators of the foil in the diffrict at prefent called the Battie country.

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The majority of the prefent inhabitants, who acknowledge the authority of the defcendants of the chiefs aforementioned, were originally Jauts, inhabiting the weftern banks of the Sutledge, in the 20th degree of north latitude. They embraced the Mahomedan religion, and about one hundred years fince were invited by the anceftors of the prefent rajah to crofs the Sutledge, and fettle in the vicinity of Batnier, where their defcendants ftill continue to refide.

Refuming our narration, after this digreffion, it must now be remarked, that the local advantages possessed by the rajah of Beykaneer had induced him to erect a fort fix coss to the fouth-west of Batinda, the capital of the Battee tribe, which ferved in fome measure to overawe those desperate marauders, or at least to check their predatory incursions into his own

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country. In this fort, exclusive of the garrifon, he stationed a large body of cavalry, who fo annoyed the Batties by frequent fallies, in which they took such numbers of cattle, that the inhabitants entertained thoughts of emigrating from their own country altogether.

When Mr. Thomas reached the frontiers of Beykaneer, the chiefs of the Batties, hearing of his arrival, were defirous of entering into a treaty with him; and, in order to fecure him in their interefts, offered the fum of 40,000 rupees, if he would reduce the fort abovementioned, and liberate them from their unpleafant fituation.

The offer being accepted, after a march of ten days, Mr. Thomas reached the city of Batnier, the most western habitation in that part of India.\*

This city, occupied by the troops of Bey-

\* In this sense at least it is understood at present, there being no habitation west of it until you pass the Sutledge, from whence commences the country of the Balooches, who are at present tributaries to Zemaun Shah, king of Cabul.—Consult the map.

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kaneer, was, from its natural position, almost inacceffible to an enemy, there being no water to be procured nearer than twelve miles. The garrifon being numerous, Mr. Thomas thought it most eligible to batter in breach, which he did, and was making the neceffary preparations for storming, when the enemy capitulated. He allowed them to march out with the honours of war, and immediately put the Battie chiefs in posseficient of the place.

Several other places were then taken poffeffion of, and various actions took place, by which, and the unhealthiness of the climate, Mr. Thomas's troops were reduced to one third only of their original strength. This was the more unpleasant, as the brother of one of the chiefs abovementioned, who was at variance with him, commenced hostilities against Mr. Thomas, who, on account of the deficiency of his force, from the causes above stated, being fcarcely equal to the encounter, was compelled to fortify his camp.

By night the enemy made frequent attacks; but, unfuccefsful in all attempts, at length gave up the point, and withdrew their army.

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Mr. Thomas then marched and took poffefion of the town of Futtahbad, which with feveral others he burnt, and would now, in all probability, have got poffeffion of the whole country, had not the enemy at this time received affiftance from their neighbour, the Seik chief of Puttialah. That chief, having fent one thoufand cavalry to their aid, and concluded a treaty of alliance, Mr. Thomas did not deem the prefent moment favourable for a profecution of hoftilities. He therefore returned to Jyjur, in order to afford fome relief to his people from the diftempers they had contracted in the courfe of the campaign.

About this time, Luckwa, through the intrigues of Mr. Perron at Scindiah's durbar, had been again fuperfeded in his command. To haften his downfall, and if poffible take him prifoner, Perron marched against him with his whole force.

But Luckwa, leaving his camp and baggage a prey to the enemy (who on their arrival were too much taken up in plundering to follow in the purfuit), and having previoufly fent

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off his family to feek an afylum in the dominions of Joudpore, thus effected his own efcape.

Among the Rajpoot states, the situation of Joudpore is deferving of particular attention; and we shall therefore, as on similar occasions, turning asside from the detail of military transactions, embrace the opportunity thus afforded of taking a retrospective sketch of the resources of the country, as well as present our readers with an account of some of the manners and customs peculiar to this singular people.

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# CHAPTER XII.

Geographical defcription of Joudpoor or Marwar —Manners and customs of the inhabitants— —History—Mr. Thomas's military operations —Capture of Bhaut—Transactions in the territories of Roy Kellaun.

JOUDPOOR or Marwar is bounded on the north by Beykaneer, north-weft by Jeffelmere, and weft by the defert; on the fouthweft by the country of the Sindys, fouth by the province of Guzurat, fouth-eaft by Mewar, and eaft by the dominions of Jypoor.

It is in length two hundred and twenty cofs, and in breadth one hundred and eighty, at the computation of two British miles to the cofs.

This extent of country is fuppoled formerly to have contained from eight to ten thousand villages, including the capital towns within its range. The population was then great, but at prefent it posseffers not more than five thoufand inhabited villages, with a confiderable decreafe of population. The fouthern, foutheastern, and eastern frontiers of Joudpoor are abundantly fertile. The land is well watered by ftreams, which, as in Mewar, flow from the mountains. It yields wheat, barley, and other kinds of grain common in India. Exclusive of these advantages, lead mines are found, which confiderably add to the revenues of the state. The imports into Joudpoor confist of cloths, shawls, spices, opium, rice, fugar, steel, and iron. They export falt, camels, bullocks, and horfes: the latter are ftrong, boney, and of high ftature. The bullocks are of a very large fize, as are likewife the camels. In fhort, the breed of cattle in general is fuperior to that of the neighbouring states.

The inhabitants of Joudpoor are Rhatore Rajepoots. They are not only a more comely race of men as to perfon, but are braver, poffefs a higher fenfe of honour, and are more independant than their furrounding neighbours. Mr. Thomas afcribes thefe diffinguithing characteriftics to phyfical caufes, to the influence of climate, and to their intermarrying with the

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purest cast of the Rajepoot tribes. These are the Seefodyah, the Kutchwah, the Adda, and the Bawtee. To these causes may be added the good examples fet them, both as to manners and morals, by a succession of wise and prudent princes, who, first by their achievements in war abroad, and afterwards by the care they took of their affairs at home, in the internal regulations of their country, have contributed in a very high degree to ameliorate the character and dispositions of their subjects.

The Rhatore Rajepoots are mild in their manners, and are posseful of a natural politeness which renders their fociety extremely agreeable. When a Rhatore has passed his word for protection, it may strictly be relied on. They are averse to litigious controvers. In their focial conversations they carefully avoid disputes, and pay the greatest attention to the person who is speaking. In their hospitality they exceed the bounds of more civilised nations: for so attentive are they to the performance of this duty, that, in the interior parts of the country, the head of a village will not fit

down to eat his own meal until he has been fatisfied that travellers and ftrangers have received every accommodation which his village affords. A rare and fingular inftance of primeval fimplicity of manners!

They delight in warlike exercise, are fond of the chase, and firing their matchlocks. Retired after the fatigues of hunting, they are accustomed to hold social affemblies. They listen with great earnestness and eagerness to the *bauhtee*, or poets, who, like the bards of of old, recite in heroic numbers the warlike deeds of their ancestors.

In the administration of justice they are alike fingular. Murder, the foulest of crimes, is feldom punissed with death; and for this reason, that it scarcely ever occurs, except when occasioned by a spirit of revenge for personal injuries: and for this they have the sanction of custom from time immemorial.

Theft is punifhed by banifhment; fmaller crimes by a reprimand, which, from the fpirit of the Rhatore Rajepoot, generally terminates

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in a voluntary exile from his native country, where he cannot endure to live after being fubjected to reproach. In this, likewife, the fpirit of this extraordinary race is confpicuous: a man who goes into voluntary exile may if he pleafes, after a ftated period, return to his native place; whereas the poffibility of return is rigidly precluded to him who is banifhed for the degrading vice of theft. Although the Rajepoot chiefs, in their respective diftricts, affume to themfelves an exclusive and arbitrary right over the lives and property of their fubjects, yet it is not confidered by the natives as a hardship, as their mild, conciliating fway renders eafy the condition of the peafantry.

Fugitives of all descriptions from the neighbouring countries are received without diffinction; and, except in cases of theft and murder, are fure of protection and support. So high a fense do they entertain of the laws and rights of hospitality, that they not only refuse to deliver up the delinquents, but are even accustomed to affist in forwarding them through the country to the confines of the neighbouring ftate.

It does not appear that a cuftom fo fingular obtains in any other part of Hindooftan. In the management of their domeftic concerns, the Rhatore Rajepoots are no lefs remarkable for their attention to the female part of the family.

A plurality of wives, though admitted by the laws of the country, is feldom practifed, except among the princes and great men, who on these occasions are actuated by motives of policy and ambition. Among this tribe of Rajepoots, the mother of the eldest fon is held in most respect.

Females, on the death of their hufbands, often refign themselves to the flames with the most heroic fortitude.

This act is however voluntary. But, in the opinion of the Rajepoots themfelves, those females would be dishonoured in the estimation of their countrywomen who preferred dragging on a reproachful existence. They would be shunned in society; and at the house of their father, or that of their father-in-law,

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generally be compelled to pass the remainder of their lives in solitary widowhood.

From the early period of fix years of age, all Rajepoot females are concealed from the fight and conversation of men, except their nearest relations. In the table of confanguinity on this occasion are included fathers, uncles, brothers, and coufins.

With these exceptions, a Rajepoot lady would confider her reputation as fullied by exposure to the fight of a man. To fo high a pitch indeed do they carry their proud fense of honour in regard to the female character, that it not unfrequently terminates in a manner most ferocious and lamentable.

When an honourable Rajepoot, whole family is with him, finds himfelf furrounded by the enemy, and a force fo fuperior that the hope or poffibility of efcape is utterly excluded, he first enquires whether, if by furrender, he can fecure the honour of his family. Should this be found impracticable, or even doubtful, he forms and immediately executes his defperate

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project. Clothing himfelf in a yellow drefs, which is the fymbol of defpair, he, in company with others of his neareft relations, repairs to the apartments of the women, when the whole of the females are involved in a promifcuous and indifcriminate flaughter; the women themfelves, on this occasion, not unfrequently raising their hands against their own lives!

On the completion of this horrid deed, the furious Rajepoot, rushing out like a lion, bears down every thing before him : it is death alone that can fatisfy him for the lofs of his tendereft and dearest connections. In this instance alone will he ftrike a falling foe. The act which he has lately committed works him up to a state of abfolute infanity. Defpair gives him courage more than mortal; and if, by his enthufiaftic and furious onfet, he should chance to overcome the enemy, though ever fo fuperior in point of numbers, when opposition is abfolutely at an end, and his frame exhausted with fatigue, is on the point of yielding to nature, he difdains to furvive the lofs of his family, but terminates the awful fcene by generoufly plunging his fword into his own bofom!

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For these and other obstinate prejudices, the Rajepoots have been accused of cruelty; but it must be confidered, in extenuation of the act, that this resolution is founded on principle; it is imbibed in their infancy, and almost sucked in with their parent food; that it is justified by custom and precedent, and that a Rajepoot who should survive the dishonour of his wife and family, would be treated by his brethren to the remainder of his life with contempt and never-ending reproach.

Although the circumftances above related do fometimes occur, it is by no means frequent, fince the fpirit of this people being known, it is not difficult to be avoided.

Throughout Hindooftan the fanctity of the haram is in general respected; and, except in cases of resistance, hostility is feldom carried to extremity; while on the contrary it not unfrequently happens that, by a previous stipulation between the contending parties, the females of either family are accustomed to assure the protection of their enemies.

The Rhatores intermarry with other tribes, but of the pureft blood, though they will not give their children either to the Bundeelahs, Scindiahs, or Holkars, whom they confider of inferior caft and impure blood.

The cuftom of putting to death the females of the family, as remarked on a former occafion, likewife obtains among the Rhatore Rajepoots; although one of their late princes, rajah Beejah Sing, by prohibiting the fhedding of blood of any kind throughout his dominions, endeavoured to reclaim them from this fanguinary prejudice; the prefent fovereign of Joudpoor, by name Becun Sing, being a weak prince, effeminate, and luxurious, his fubjects have already relapfed into their ancient and most abhored custom. The chief force of Joudpoor is in cavalry, and has always been confidered as formidable.

Their horfes are good; and their ftrength in cavalry Mr. Thomas computes at twenty-five thousand men; though, fince the accession of the late rajah, and in their wars with the Mahrattas, they have feldom been able to bring into

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the field more than twenty thousand Rhatore Rajepoots.

The rajah of Joudpoor has generally in his pay from four to fix thousand mercenaries, two thousand of which are cavalry; and in cases of emergency he might expect to be joined by the troops of Beykaneer. His force in cavalry may on the whole be estimated at thirty thousand men.

On their infantry, like many others in the interior parts of India, they place but fmall reliance, being feldom employed except in the garrifons.

The artillery is numerous, and confifts of feveral hundred pieces of cannon, most of which were taken by the ancestors of the prefent rajah, when that prince surprised the camp of the emperor Aurung Zebe, in the defiles of the Rhatore mountains, on the return of the imperial army from the Deccan.\*

\* Consult Dow's History of Hindoostan, vol. iii.

This artillery however, feveral of the pieces being fo much honeycombed from age, and almost all of them destitute of carriages, cannot excite much apprehension. The arms of a Rhatore Rajepoot consists of a scimitar, made of a species of iron called *farohee*, which, though well calculated for cutting, is brittle in substance; a spear, and some of them have matchlocks, though in general the Rhatores trust to their swords.

Of their bravery we have before fpoken;but their fingularity of character extends even to their method in fighting, as they will not kill a flying enemy, or fhed blood when refiftance ceafes.

Averse to plunder, though even in the enemy's country, they will not indulge themselves in predatory warfare; a practice so common with the Mahrattas and other of their neighbours. It is in actual combat alone they are truly formidable. In the charge of cavalry in particular, Mr. Thomas thinks they are superior to most of the horsemen in India; but

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when headed by their prince in perfon, or by a favourite and fuccefsful general, they are in his opinion irrefiftible.

The revenues of Joudpoor chiefly arife from the *rah darees*, or road-duties. There is likewife a duty levied on merchandife of all kinds, the exclusive revenue produced from the polltax in capital cities, which is confidered as a kind of privy purfe to fupply the expences of the fovereign, and a ftipulated annual tribute from those chiefs who hold their lands in Jaiedad, for the payment of the troops.

These together may amount to about twenty lacks of rupees, which is the fole property of the rajah. With regard to other funds, especially the tribute which is paid to the Mahrattas, the extra expences incurred by government in raising additional troops in times of emergency, and various other contingencies, these are subscribed for by the principal landholders; and the money thus confolidated is thrown into the general treasury of the state.

The Rhatore Rajepoots attribute their origin

and first settlement in Joudpoor to the following tradition, as handed down in regular succession from father to fon.

About feven hundred years fince, three brothers of a noble family at Kinnouge quitted that city by mutual agreement, and travelled weftward towards Jeffelmere.

Their names were Joud Sing, Kundal Sing, and another whose name Mr. Thomas has forgotten.

In their route to the place above-mentioned they paffed by the town of Joudpoor, at that time an inconfiderable place, inhabited by Bramins; who, happening to be at variance with their neighbours, folicited and obtained the affiftance of the three brothers, and were, in confequence, foon put in poffeffion of their rights. On the performance of this fervice, the Bramins would gladly have got rid of their powerful allies; but they liking the country were defirous of fettling in it altogether, and for this purpofe they fent for their refpective families, who had been left at Kinnouge.

The Bramins, however, at first refisted this intrusion, but in the end being detected in a confpiracy to affassinate the Rajepoot chiefs, they fell a facrifice to their own treachery, and were themselves, without mercy, put to the fword.

From that period the authority of the Rajepoots commenced in Joudpoor, and Joud Sing, as the elder brother, gave his own name to the place where they had first stopped. He founded the prefent city of that name, which in process of time became the capital of the Rhatore Rajepoots.

Kundul Sing, the fecond brother, took poffeffion of the neighbouring territory of Beykaneer, where he fettled with his family : and the defcendants of the third brother at prefent occupy the diffrict of Behadra.

Mr. Thomas not choofing to remain inactive, and arrears to a large amount being due to him from his northern diffricts, he refolved to march thither. In his route he punished a numerous and daring banditti, who had frequently an-

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noved him by their predatory attacks; and who, having been joined by numbers of the peafantry who were affembled in confiderable force at the village of Seefana, now confident in their numbers, iffued forth from their ftrong hold to give battle to Mr. Thomas on the plain. But their temerity proved their destruction; for his troops, after a desperate conflict, not only completely defeated the enemy by driving them off. the plain, but followed to clofe at their heels as to enter the town along with the fugitives, where they killed'and wounded upwards of feven hundred men. His own lofs on this occasion was confiderable; but the capture of this place ftruck fuch terror throughout the country, that the remainder fubmitted without a ftruggle.

Mr. Thomas having raifed the neceffary contributions, and being fatisfied in regard to the arrears due to his troops, next levied contributions on the diftricts held by Simbonauth, one of Luckwa's collectors in the neighbourhood of Sehaurunpore. Simbonauth was at that time in the Doo Ab, with a numerous though confuifed and diforderly rabble. He had lately fuftained fome fmart fkirmifhes with the troops

fent against him by Mr. Perron; but his troop having been corrupted by means of a large sum of money, which Perron sound means to distribute, Simbonauth was at length necessitated to submit, and give up part of his districts, to secure the remainder from the grasp of the Mahrattas.

Mr. Thomas having thus raifed the fum required, returned to Hanfi. About this time Mr. Perron, who had in vain exerted himfelf to obtain poffeffion of the perfon of Luckwa, or his family, returned from the army. Well aware that little was to be gained by open hoftilities with the Rajepoots, he marched back to Delhi, " in order," fays Mr. Thomas, " to " gather eafier laurels from the grain merchant, " Simbonauth who was by this time once " more ready to attempt the recovery of the " diftricts which he had been fo recently com-" pelled to refign."

Soon after his arrival at Delhi, Mr. Perron with a confiderable body of men, having croffed the Jumna, paffed into the Dooab, to act against Simbonauth; at the fame time he difpatched

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letters to Mr. Thomas, which he pretended to have received from the Paishwa, containing orders enjoining him to affift Luckwa, who was declared to be the protector of the family of the deceased Scindiah, and directed to remain in the fervice of his widow. These letters Mr. Thomas knew to be forged, and was moreover well aware that Luckwa was at this time, as he had ever been, his declared and inveterate enemy; and on feveral occasions had endeavoured to overthrow his authority, by promifing grants of his country in the Paishwa's name to other people. This behaviour induced Mr. Thomas to regret not having afforded aid to Simbonauth; as he might at this juncture not only have faved him, but crushed those who not long after effected his downfall.

Simbonauth had requested Mr. Thomas to come to his affistance, but without success.

Mr. Thomas however offered him an afylum within his own diffricts. He advifed him not to think of refifting Mr. Perron with his prefent confused and diforderly force. This advice, though falutary, was of no avail; for

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Simbonauth, confiding in the protestations of his followers, refolved to remain in the Dooab, and wait the approach of the enemy. The event manifested the truth of Mr. Thomas's prediction; as on the actual appearance of the enemy, the troops of Simbonauth not only deferted, but actually endeavoured by treacherous means to feize his person, and deliver him up a prisoner. Disappointed in their treacherous designs, they went over to the enemy; but not before Simbonauth had fortunately effected his essention.

Repairing to the Punjab, he there fought and obtained an afylum in the diffricts of Baug Sing, chief of Booreah.

At this time Mr. Thomas received intelligence that feveral of his diffricts, particularly those in the vicinity of Hansi, were in a state of actual rebellion, and had plundered the merchants resorting to that place of a very confiderable sum of money, and other valuable effects. Among others concerned in this revolt, were the zemindars of Bulhalli, Sorani, Jumalpore, and Bhuwaul.

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This laft mentioned town is computed to contain ten thousand inhabitants, who retain a character fo remarkable for bravery, that several armies have been defeated in attempting the reduction of that place. Among others, the late Ismaeel Beg, with sixteen thousand men, and one hundred pieces of cannon, besieged it for a long time in vain. The inhabitants are Rahtore Rajepoots, and posses the accustomed valour of that tribe; although this character has in fome instances been fullied by a cruelty not usual among the rest of their brethren.

It being the rainy feafon when this rebellion broke out, and Mr. Thomas apprehending the most ferious confequences if the cultivation of the lands was prevented, marched with all poffible expedition towards the rebels, and first appeared before the town of Bulhalli.

In that place were three thousand men, who, although well armed, were badly supplied with provisions. He might, according to his usual custom, have stormed, but thinking from the number and bravery of the garrison the event might prove doubtful, had recourse to the surer means of reducing it by a blockade.

Having erected a chain of redoubts, well fortified and fupplied with artillery, he completely encircled the place, encompassing the whole by a ditch twelve feet in depth. As no provifions could enter the town, the garrifon after fome days experienced diffrefs; they made repeated fallies, but having to crofs the ditch before they could reach the redoubts on the plain, they became exposed to the whole fire of the trenches, and were in confequence defeated in every fucceffive attack. To increase their annoyance, Mr. Thomas began to draw off the water from a neighbouring refervoir, which reduced them to the necessity of drinking the water from the wells within the fort; this being bitter in its quality rendered it unwholefome, and caufed ficknefs within the garrifon. Provisions now became to fearce that nothing remained but damaged grain.

During the fiege of this place the inhabitants of Bhowanee, a neighbouring town, had made feveral attempts to throw in fuccours, but in vain. To retaliate upon them, Mr. Thomas ordered his cavalry to make efficiency curfions in the neighbourhood of Bhowanee,

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and plunder the country. Their exertions were attended with fuccess: upwards of one hundred and fifty perfons were killed in refifting, and the cavalry brought away with them three thousand head of cattle, which they deposited fafely in Mr. Thomas's camp. This last attack having deterred the people of Bhowanee from any further interruption, and no fuccours as yet having arrived from Mr. Perron, the garrifon, feeing no likelihood of affistance from without, consented to capitulate. Composed of people belonging to different villages, and having separate interests to adjust, they could not come to any determination among themselves. By this time, from the want of provisions, from disease, and other causes, they were reduced to one third of their original number; even of the few that remained feveral were then ill. Mr. Thomas. defirous of putting at end to these altercations, drew out his troops with intent to ftorm the place; but the enemy perceiving his refolution, at last confented to capitulate; they agreed to pay him the fum of 30,000 rupees, and to deliver up the fort with the property contained therein. Hoftages having been

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taken for the performance of these articles, Mr. Thomas returned to Hansi, where he employed himself in completing ammunition and stores, fully determined to invade the Punjab, and punish the rajah of Pattialah, for his treacherous conduct in breaking the treaty, by affording aid to the Batties in the preceding year,

That chief (whole force confifted of fifteen hundred cavalry and one thoufand infantry) was at this time belieging his fifter in her fort. Affured of fpeedy relief, this gallant lady ftill continued to hold out; and Mr. Thomas's preparations being at length completed, he first marched to her relief. On his approach the rajah thought proper to raife the fiege, and retire within the fortifications of Sonaum.\* Thither he was followed by Mr. Thomas, who intended to have stormed the place; but the unexpected arrival of Tarah Sing, an ally, and fon-in-law of the rajah, with a very confider-

\* Sonaum, a large town, situated 22 coss to the westward of Pattialah.

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able force, for the prefent prevented the attack.

By this time also the neighbouring peafantry having joined the rajah's standard, determined Mr. Thomas to relinquish his intention until a more favourable opportunity. Numerous bodies of cavalry continued daily to hover round the skirts of his army during the march, by which he suftained great annoyance. After a fatiguing march of four-and-twenty miles, on coming to the ground, he was surprifed by the sound of the Thamuck.\*

He encamped near the town of Bellud. A large body of the enemy, who were concealed in a neighbouring jungle, waited the event with impatience, and hoped to take advantage of the diforder of Mr. Thomas's troops, whilft attacked by the town's people, and cut them to pieces. It is here neceffary to remark, that

\* Thamuck, a large military drum, in common use in the north-west parts of India, the sounding of which is always considered as a prelude to hostilities.

in confequence of the continued state of warfare in those parts, the villages and towns are strongly fortified, and capable of making a defperate resistance against the attacks of their predatory neighbours.

The walls of the town aforementioned were nine feet thick, with a ditch twenty feet in depth, and the garrifon numerous. Mr. Thomas, therefore. without loss of time, made preparations for ftorming before he could be attacked by the enemy. By a vigorous affault, he carried the place with the lofs of only eighty of his own people, though with upwards of five hundred of the enemy; and though he exerted every means in his power to prevent a continuance of the flaughter, he was unfuccefsful: the rancorous enmity which fubfifted between his own troops, who were moofulmauns, and the Seiks being fo great, that the former never omitted any opportunity of revenging themfelves on the latter in the fevereft manner.

The town's people who furvived the affault were ranfomed by a large fum of money. Mr. Thomas's views were now directed to dividing the enemy's force, which confifted of ten thousand men, to raise contributions in the neighbouring districts, and also to explore the To effect these objects, he encountry. camped in a centrical polition between the towns of Pattialah and Sonaum. Defirous however of punishing Tarah Sing, whom, as we have before feen, had come to the affiftance of the rajah, Mr. Thomas now determined to advance towards Malhere Kotela, the enemy's principal refidence. This town is fituate on the Punjab frontier; the road lay through a thick jungle, well adapted for an ambufcade. He was marching quietly along, when a fmart firing was heard in the front of his line. Infantly repairing to the fpot, he found that a party who had advanced to reconnoitre were attacked by a fuperior body of the enemy. By the time Mr. Thomas arrived, the party attacked had got out of the jungle to the entrance of an extensive plain; and he now perceived that the prefent affault had been made only with a view to call off his attention from he large and populous town of Bhaut.

This town was garrifoned by the troops of Tarah Sing, to the amount of three thousand men.

Mr. Thomas neverthelefs refolved to ftorm it. The walls of the fort were twelve feet thick and thirty in height; four ftrong baffions, well fortified with cannon, commanding the town below,, as well as the plain adjoining, it was in all respects a place difficult of access. Mr. Thomas himfelf, at the head of a felect body of his troops, entered nearly opposite the centre of the town; whilft Mr. Hopkins, the fon of a field officer in the East India Company's fervice, now in Mr. Thomas's employ, led on his party to ftorm the eaftern angle. The affair was defperate; and though the town was foon fet on fire, the enemy made a brave and determined refistance. Mr. Hopkins gallantly advancing to the attack, formed in the quarter affigned him, though at the moment of fuccefs he was unfortunately fhot through the body, and feveral other officers were killed or difabled, the enemy ftill keeping up a tremendous fire from the fort. The affair presented a doubtful aspect. A large

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body of cavalry making their appearance without the town, Mr. Thomas's troops, though in poffeffion of the place, whether from the exceffive heat occafioned by the furrounding flames, or the fevere fire they fuftained from the enemy in the fort, were inclined to retreat. At that critical inftant Mr. Thomas, having with the greateft prefence of mind brought up a fix-pounder clofe to the gate of the fort, by repeated difcharges almost demoliss list of the enemy then gave up the contest, and by submission faved a further effusion of blood on both fides.

The lives of the people within the fort were granted, but Mr. Thomas compelled them to pay him fifty thousand rupees.

The chief of Malhere Kotelah now thought proper to change fides; and being like other Patans, adopted the practice of his countrymen by connecting himfelf with the party from whom he expected to derive most advantage.

He agreed to pay Mr. Thomas a fum of

money, and moreover fent a body of troops under the command of his nephew to join him.

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Kurrum Sing a Seik chief, and ruler of the district of Shahabad, had for fome time been hoftile towards Mr. Thomas; and though at his first settlement he had made professions of friendship, very foon altered his conduct. To encourage his enmity towards Mr. Thomas, the rajah of Pattialah offered his daughter in marriage to the fon of Kurrum Sing, and their union was followed by an open declaration of war. The troops of Pattialah were reinforced with five thousand Seiks. On the junction of these troops, a grand council of war was held; and it was there refolved that a general combination of the Scik chiefs should be formed. to expel Mr. Thomas from the country. They confidered him as a dangerous perfon, and well knew that if he was fuccefsful on the prefent occasion, they might hereafter expect the most ferious ill confequences to their tribe from his future incurfions.

Mr. Thomas, by his fpies in the enemics'

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camp, received correct information of all their deliberations, but had no apprehension for the event; being well convinced, that a body of men, though ever so numerous, being under the command of so many different leaders, each of them influenced by their own separate interess, were incapable of executing any plan with that degree of promptness which in military transactions can alone ensure success.

A circumstance now arose that turned the fcale much in the enemy's favour.

Roy Kellaun, an independant chief on the north-western frontier of the Punjab,\* and whose revenue amounted to five lacks of rupees, had lately died, and was succeeded by his eldest fon Roy Elias, then a youth.

The Rannee, his mother, in confequence of the tender age of her fon, thought proper to affume the reins of government; and though defirous of doing all the justice in her power, was, from inexperience, wholly unfit to transact

\* Consult the map.

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the affairs of her country. The neighbouring Seiks, who, during the life-time of the late rajah, had, through his policy and good management, continued on friendly terms, now perceiving the unprotected state of his infant fon, joined in invading his territories; which having plundered and overrun, they foon, with the exception of a few forts (from their natural ftrength deemed inacceffible) brought under subjection the greater part of the country. About this time Zemaun Shah, king of Cabul, arrived at Lahore, a city fifty cofs diftant from the young rajah's capital. This proximity induced the prince's regent to implore the affiftance of that monarch, in reinstating her fon in his authority; and for that purpose the accordingly dispatched a vakeel to Lahore.

The Sieks, whether it role from a dread of being attacked by Zemaun Shah, or they were apprehensive that affistance would be brought from another quarter, shortly after this event thought proper fuddenly to evacuate the country, when the peasantry returned to their alle-

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giance. But now a new obstacle arose, which not only prevented for the present a continuance of the Rannee's tranquillity, but plunged her into still deeper missortunes than those she had before experienced.

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# CHAPTER XIII.

Singular account of an impostor among the Seiks-His pretensions; he is detected by a Seik chief—Threatens Mr. Thomas—is compelled to fly—reduction of Kanhori—attack of Sefeedoo—termination of the campaign.

TN the Seik army was a man of the Cuttry tribe, ambitious, artful, and intriguing, and whofe knowledge of mankind, from long and deep reflection, had convinced him it was no difficult matter to render his countrymen the dupes of his own artifices : this man, who pretended to trace his lineage from the great prophet Nanick, the founder and lawgiver of the Seiks, had a regular correspondence with some of his creatures in the Abdali camp, and from time to time received intelligence of the motions and intentions of Zemaun Shah. Informed by his emiffaries that the Shah had determined to return to his own dominions, and the exact time being specified for his setting out,

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this artful impostor affembled the chiefs of the Seik army, and pretending to the gift of infpiration, acquainted them that during the preceding night he had been favoured with a visit from their prophet; who after lamenting the hardships under which his favourite tribe had laboured by the invasion of Abdallis, he had, through the permission of the Almighty, been enabled to prevail on Zemaun Shah to return to his own country, and that at the moment they were now discours that prince had actually commenced his march.

Surprifed at the apparent abfurdity of this declaration, many of the chiefs treated the information with deferved ridicule; but when at three o'clock in the afternoon of the fame day, intelligence arrived of the actual march of the Shah, as predicted by the impostor, the whole army appeared struck with contrition for their error, and insisted on their chiefs deprecating the anger of this descendant of Nanick, by expiatory offerings, and prefents of all kinds.

Fully fatisfied with the fuccefs of his ftratagem, he now affected a lofty deportment, and

it was with great difficulty that the chiefs prevailed on him to accept the proffered offerings; nor did he wholly relent until they offered to return with an army to Lodhana, and put him in poffeffion of the country of the unfortunate Roy Elias; to this he not only yielded a ready affent, but added a falfehood to his former deceit, by informing the chiefs that the late invation of the Shah had been folely owing to the intrigues of the Rannee, aided by the machinations of her neighbour the Patan chief of Malhere, who had invited the Abdalli Prince to take poffeffion of the Punjab.

The Seik army daily increasing in numbers by acceffions of the peasantry, who joined them from all quarters, now directed their march to Malhere, and resolved to begin their operations with the fiege of that place.

The Patans who were in Malhere came out of the city to encounter the Seiks on the plain, but the prefence of their pretended prophet infpiring them with more than ufual confidence, the Patans were repulfed, and driven

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from the field with great flaughter; and the Seiks entering the town along with the fugitives, the place was quickly taken, while the few who remained, having quitted the city, fought refuge in the fort of Kotelah.

The Seiks prepared to follow up their victory by laying fiege to that place; and fo great was the confternation of the Patans, that though it was defended by a very high wall, a ditch, and contained a garrifon of 600 men, they were utterly unable to refift; and had it not been for the affiftance of their ally, the rajah of Pattialah, who fent a body of his own troops for their protection, they muft have furrendered at difcretion.

This addition of force however rendered abortive all attempts of the Seiks to reduce Kotelah; they therefore feparated, though a confiderable body, who to all appearance ftill adhered to the impostor, dispersed themselves over the Rannee's country, of which, after much predatory warfare, they got possefilion.

Reduced to a fituation truly deplorable, that

princefs had now recourfe to negotiation; and through the mediation of the chief of the Pattialah concluded a treaty with the Seiks, by which fhe agreed to pay the fum of two lacs of rupees, a part of which was deposited in cash, and the remainder in jewels, horse, and warlike stores.

The impoftor however, who ftill had a large force, would agree to no terms but the actual furrender of the whole of the country; and though the young rajah, with a view to mollify the feverity of his demand, waited in perfon upon him, threw himfelf at his feet, and in terms most fubmiffive implored an abatement of his former refolve, he continued inexorable.

In this ftate of affairs the impostor, who had now got possession of the person of the young rajah, refused to let him return to his mother, and declared he should remain a prisoner until he complied with the terms proposed.

But Kurrum Sing, one of the chiefs who had hitherto been in the fervice of the impoftor, now repented of his credulity, and refolved to protect the perfon of the rajab, and conduct him in fafety to his own refidence. This he refolutely effected, in fpite of every effort to the contrary, he conducted the youth to Malhere, and there left him in quiet possefion of his capital

This conduct excited much indignation in the impoftor, who now took upon him to cenfure the behaviour of Kurrum Sing on all occafions, and to threaten him with the vengeance of heaven for thus oppofing the views of an infpired perfon. Kurrum Sing however only waited for an opportunity to detect his hypocrify, and expose him to the world, which fortunately foon happened.

To preferve the reputation he had thus acquired for fanctity, the impostor, among other tricks, used frequently, at night and by stealth, to deposit a vessel filled with sweetmeats under ground. This in the morning was produced to his followers as a present from the divinity, declaring at the fame time that

none fhould partake of the contents but fuch as vowed, to the utmost of their abilities, to join in the extermination of the Mooffulman, race, as enemies to their own prophet and his religion.

This farce was for a long time continued, and had ferved to imprefs the minds of his followers with the higheft refpect and veneration for his character, but the time was now arrived for his detection. Kurrum Sing, who was well verfed in the arts and deceits practifed by *fakeers* \* upon the vulgar, directed fome of his own people to repair privately to the place where the veffel was deposited; and after having throwu away the contents, to give a more effectual air of ridicule to the discovery, to replace them by a quantity of horfe dung. In the morning, when as usual the veffel was brought out, the company affembled shewed marks of the utmost horror and aftonishment.

But the pretended prophet, not difmayed by the accident, replied to their enquiries with a

\* Itinerant mendicants.

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fedate and unruffled countenance, that the reafon of this extraordinary change was manifeft, as the great founder of their religion had chofen this method to evince his refentment of their late impious conduct, in concluding a treaty with Mooffulmaun chiefs, who were the acknowledged enemies of their own faith.

This harangue, however impudent, would have been attended with the defired effect, had not Kurrum Sing at that inftant ftepped forth from the crowd of chiefs, by which the impoftor was encircled, and in the most public manner, accompanied with farcastic observations and much levity, exposed the whole of the deceit which he had caused to be practised the preceding night.

The charm was now diffolved; the remaining chiefs, afhamed of having fubmitted to an impofition fo grofs, now abandoned him to his fate, and he was left with only about 1000 of his own people; but the peafantry of the country, who from reftleffnefs of fpirit are

always ready to change their rulers, ftill adhered to his interefts, and having joined him in great numbers, brought with them an abundant fupply of provisions and other neceffaries.

The Rannee, without protection, was in no condition to refift; and the Seik chiefs, although they would no longer embrace the infpoftor's caufe, were neverthelefs unwilling to fight against him; he, therefore, soon got poffession of the Rannee's country, and had formed the fiege of Lodhana,\* about the same time that Mr. Thomas, as we have before related, made himself master of the fort of Bhaut.

It was in this fituation of her affairs, when reduced almost to extremity, that the Rannee determined to apply to Mr. Thomas for his affistance in expelling the impostor from her territories. With this intention she dispatched a confidential fervant to his camp, who, on her part, promised him a remuneration of a lack of rupees, if he would espouse her cause, and re-

\* Consult the map.

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She promifed moreover to fend him an annual tribute of 50,000 rupees, if he would guarantee her fon in the undifturbed poffeffion of it.

'Mr. Thomas, though well aware that by accepting the prefent offer he fhould draw on himfelf a procrastinated war, nevertheless obferves with that humane confideration which always marked his character, that the fallen condition of an ancient and honourable family had great weight with him in forming his refolution on this head.

In the mean time the impostor, hearing of the negotiations betwixt the Rannee and Mr. Thomas, fent the latter a letter, in which he stated, that having called to his affistance Runjeet Sing and others, the most powerful among the Seik chiefs, he was now on his march against Mr. Thomas, and advised him, if he wished for quarter, to fend a vakeel directly to

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his camp. In this letter, arrogating to himfelf the title of fucceffor of Nanick, and fovereign of the Seik nation, he recommended implicit obedience to his commands. Equally indignant at the ftyle of the impostor's address, as he was regardless of his menaces, Mr. Thomas replied, that had he feared the power of the Seiks he would not have penetrated thus far into the Punjab; that he was accuftomed to receive and not to fend vakeels; and that if the impostor wished to live on amicable terms, he must not only pay a fum of money, as others had been compelled to do, but likewife immediately evacuate the territories which he had fo unjustly usurped from the infant rajah.

The boldnefs of this answer only contributed to incense the impostor, and he prepared to attack Mr. Thomas.

Meanwhile the young rajah, defpairing of profiting by a longer ftay with the chief of Pattialah, of his own accord took leave, and came ftraight to Mr. Thomas's camp. "The "comely appearance (fays he) of this youth, "his fallen condition, and, above all, the con-

" fidence he shewed in placing his whole re-" liance on one against whom he was so lately " leagued in enmity, altogether influenced me " in his favour, and determined me to use " every exertion in support of his cause."

The impostor, who by this time had reinforced his army with the troops of Pattialah and others, was encamped in the neighbourhood; but, on Mr. Thomas's advancing, he thought proper to retreat; and his people having no artillery, evacuated the different posts much faster than Mr. Thomas could advance to take posses of the impose of the second the bed, palankeen, that in one place he found the bed, palankeen, tent, and baggage, belonging to the impostor, who by a timely retreat faved himself from being made prisoner, and never afterwards occasioned any disturbance.

The Rannee and her fon were put in poffeffion of their country, the most active of the rebels were feized, and it was not long before the rajah's authority was completely re-eftablished.

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During these transactions, the chief of Pattialah, having been joined by others, advanced to attack Mr. Thomas, with a determination to expel him the country. Several fkirmifnes enfued between the armies, but without much effect on either fide, neither party being defirous of risking a general engagement. The war was therefore carried on in a defultory manner. The Seiks wifhed, by annoying his foraging parties, to cut off the fupplies from his camp. This mode alfo prevented him from making collections; and though nothing ferious occurred, yet the fcene of action being on the borders of the young rajah's country, occasioned great loss to the cultivation of the lands. Mr. Thomas, therefore, would willingly have carried the war immediately into the enemy's territories. To this, however, neither the rajah or his mother would confent; but, with the most prefling intreaties, requested him to remain, while the Seiks continued in that neighbourhood.

So long as prudence allowed, Mr. Thomas willingly liftened to the folicitations of his allies; but his ammunition beginning to fall

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fhort, he was reluctantly compelled to march toward his own country to procure a fupply.

The Seiks, as he had forefeen, haraffed him on the march; but their attempts proving ineffectual to do him any effential injury, only incited him to retaliate, by deftroying their villages as he paffed along. Directing his march towards Hanfi, he perceived, not without fatisfaction, that the whole of the Seik army were following him, by which means the country of his youthful ally would, at leaft for the prefent, be free from their depredations.

It must now be remarked, that previous to Mr. Thomas's fetting out for the Punjab frontier, the chiefs of Keithul and Jeind, two of his most powerful neighbours, had concluded a treaty, by which they agreed to a ceffation of hostilities during his absence, to abstain from the invasion of his territories, and allow him to profecute the war against his enemies. Those chiefs, perceiving the strong combination which had been formed against Mr. Thomas, now joined themselves to his other enemies. He therefore prepared to punish thema.

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Having, by forced marches, got ahead of the Seik army, Mr. Thomas first led his troops against the fort of Kanhori, which he took by ftorm, and put the garrifon to the fword.

The acquisition of this fortrefs, which was only thirty cofs diftant from Pattialah, was of great confequence to him. Situated on the borders of his own territory, and near the Cuggur river, it appeared fo well calculated for a deposit of stores and ammunition, that he repaired the fortifications, and placed in it a strong garrison. Then collecting hoftages from the neighbouring diffricts, as fecurity for their future pacific intentions, he marched to Retara, another strong place on the frontier, belonging to Lall Sing. The garrifon confifted of five hundred men; but before a breach could be effected, dreading the fate of the inhabitants of Kanhori, they asked for quarter, and were allowed by Mr. Thomas to march out with the honours of war.

From this place he profecuted his route towards Hanfi. The hot feafon being now far

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advanced, the Seiks, through want of water and forage for their cattle, were compelled to relinquish the pursuit; and, drawing off their force, encamped in the neighbourhood of Keithul, there to wait until the approaching rains permitted a renewal of hostilities.

Mr. Thomas next marched into the diffrict of Jeind, from whence he exacted tribute, and took hoftages; but, from a dearth of water in this neighbourhood to fupply his troops, he did not think proper at that time to attack it.

During his abfence in the Punjab, Bappoo Scindiah, agreeably to inftructions received from Mr. Perron, invaded Mr. Thomas's poffeffions; but hearing of his return, thought proper to fall back upon the main army, at this time encamped near Delhi.

Mr. Thomas next marched, and laid fiege to Sefeedoo, a town dependant upon the chief of Jeind. This place was built of brick, and the walls of uncommon height. Having erected three redoubts, in which he placed eighteen

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cannon, twelve and fix pounders, he began to batter the fort, and kept up an inceffant fire until three o'clock in the afternoon. At this time. fearing that the place might be reinforced during the enfuing night, Mr. Thomas determined on an immediate affault. The garrifon confifted of feven hundred men, three hundred of which remained within the fort; and the reft fallying out, descended into the ditch, which croffing with rapidity, they commenced an attack upon Mr. Thomas's advanced posts: but most of the party, among whom were fome chiefs of diffinction, were put to the Mr. Thomas's foldiers in their turn fword. attempted to mount the breach; but the fcaling ladders being found too fhort, and the forming party at the fame inftant affailed by the remainder of the troops within the garrifon, thefe gallant men were involved in the greatest difficulty, and entirely exposed to the enemy's fhot, which fell fo thick among them, and did fo much execution, that, after a defperate and hard fought conflict of two hours, Mr. Thomas was compelled to retire, with the lofs of four hundred and fifty of his best men.

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The gallant Mr. Hopkins, who had been confpicuous for his ardour throughout the attack, on this occasion received another fevere wound.

The enemy, who had likewise suffered greatly, now attempted to escape from the fort, and to cut their way through Mr. Thomas's troops. This, notwithstanding every exertion on his part, they effected; and having taken shelter in a thick forest in the neighbourhood, Mr. Thomas thought it useles to pursue them any longer, but returned to take possession of the fort.

During this transaction, the Seik army lay within eighteen cofs, and that of Bappoo Scindiah only nine, though both, happily for Mr. Thomas, remained quiet.

He next marched to Kythul. Here the rajah of Pattialah and others of the Seik chiefs, fent vakeels into his camp to negotiate a peace. Mr. Thomas, on his part, was fincerely inclined to put an end to the war, as he was well in-

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formed that the army of Mr. Perron was now on its march from Delhi, for the avowed purpose of affording aid to the Seiks. They likewife had recently been informed that diffurbances prevailed in their own country, and therefore haftened to conclude the prefent negotiations. It was agreed, therefore, that the Seiks should pay the fum of 1,35,000 rdpees, and renounce all pretenfions to the country of Roy Kellaun; that the rajah of Pattalah fhould be reconciled to his fifter, with whom he had been to long at variance; that this lady should be reimburfed for the property that had been confifcated: that certain districts should be ceded to Mr. Thomas; and finally, that the rajah of Pattialah should keep two battalions of infantry in conftant pay, who were to be stationed for the defence of the Punjaub frontier, as a mutual fafeguard to either party.

"Thus (fays Mr. Thomas, in his ufual man-"ly and energetic ftrain,) ended a campaign of feven months, in which I had been more fuccefsful than I could possibly have expected

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"when I first took the field with a force confisting of five thousand men, and thirtyfix pieces of cannon. I lost in killed, wounded, and disabled, nearly one third of my force; but the enemy lost five thousand perfors of all descriptions. I realised near two hundred thousand rupees, exclusive of the pay of my army, and was to receive an additional one hundred thousand for the hoftages which were delivered up. I explored the country, formed alliances, and, in short, was dictator in all the countries belonging to the Seiks, south of the river Sutledge.\*

\* Before we take leave of this interesting country, it may not be improper to advert to two of the desiderata of Major Rennel, which, from a perusal of his excellent Memoir accompanying the map of Hindoostan, appear to be as follow:

First, to ascertain the existence of a canal, which was to have been cut by the order of the emperor Firose, from the river Sutledge to the Jumna, the execution of which design would have opened a communication by water from Cabul to Assam.

Second, the altars of Alexander, which, according to Arrian, must have been situated between the Beyah and the Sutledge, near the modern city of Ferozepore.

It is much to be regretted that the spirit of modern travel has not yet reached these distant, though, to the British nation, not wholly inaccessible regions, as no doubt many very curious particulars in ancient history, which have hitherto remained in obscurity, might, by diligena and accurate investigation, be brought to light. GEORGE THOMAS. [A. D. 1801.

## CHAPTER XIV.

Reflections—Combination formed against Mr. Thomas—commencement of hostilities—battle with Captain Smith—death of Mr. Hopkins —Mr. Thomas's opponents become more and more formidable—treacherous defigns of his officers—multiplied difficulties—Mr. Thomas is compelled to fly—reaches Hansi—he capitulates —arrives at the British frontier—his death and character.

L IKE a fea-worn mariner, who, after encountering the dangers and hardfhips of a long and tedious voyage, is at length gratified with the fight of land; or as a benighted traveller on his road after a weary journey, lofing himfelf in defert wilds, or betrayed by falfe tracts in the treacherous fnow, looks forward to the enjoyments of his peaceful home; fo are we happy to perceive a profpect of terminating our labours, in view of a defired haven.

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To this haven, after a little more toffing on the tempeftuous ocean of life, and a few more viciffitudes of fortune, we are anxious to conduct our friend and hero; and, after fharing with him the perils and dangers of the voyage, finally to place him in that Afylum, where every trouble is forgotten, and where every forrow ceafes to exift.

However flattering might appear the termination of the campaign, Mr. Thomas's good fortune may, at this period, be faid to have attained its meridian fplendour; fince a dark cloud, which had long been gathering over his head, was now preparing to discharge its malignant contents: its baneful influence threatened even the utter extirpation of those hopes of fortune and independance by which he had so long been buoyed up, and which had therefore taken deep root in his aspiring mind.

But as the combination which was about to be formed against him was in the end productive of his downfall, and the death blow to his hopes, it will be neceffary in this place to take a retrospective furvey of the ftrength and

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Seiks and Scindiah, was of itfelf fufficient to aftound and overwhelm him.

To counteract the defigns of his enemies, Mr. Thomas, at the period we are fpeaking of, had an army whofe utmost force confisted of eight battalions of infantry, amounting in all to fix thousand men, fifty pieces of cannon, well appointed and well ferved, one thousand cavalry, and fifteen hundred Rohillahs, with about two thousand men, who garrisoned his different forts; but with this force, comparatively fo fmall, he had a fpirit and elevation of mind not to be fubdued by accident, or depreffed by ill fortune; and not only waited the event with firmness, but declared previous to the commencement of hostilities, that if his resources in money did not fail, he doubted not with his prefent army to hold out againft the efforts of all the native princes of India.

To preferve, however, the thread of our narration, it will now be neceffary to remark, that repeated letters had lately been fent by Scindiah to Mr. Thomas, to induce him to act in

A B. 1801.] GEORGE THOMAS. 299 conjunction with Mr. Perron against their common enemies.

In answer, he represented that Mr. Perron and himfelf being fubjects of different nations, then in a flate of actual hoftility against each other, it was impossible they could ever act in concert, or with cordiality. He was moreover convinced, that as a Frenchman, and poffeffed of a national enmity against him, Mr. Perron would always be induced to reprefent his actions in a light most unfavourable to his interefts : that principles of honour, on the prefent occafion, forbad his acting under the command of a Frenchman: but if Scindiah was really defirous of employing him to the advantage of the ftate, or to his own benefit, he might beftow on him a feparate command, under the control of a Mahratta general; or, concludes Mr. Thomas with much fpirit, "fhould you "think proper to appoint me to the ma-" nagement of operations, either offenfive or " defensive, in any part of the Dekan, Hin-" dooftan, or Punjaub, I am ready and willing " to undertake the charge, fo foon as the ne-

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" ceffary arrangements for the payment of " my troops can be completed."

In reply to this representation, Scindiah, who had been tutored for the occasion by Mr. Perron, urged in the strongest manner the impossibility of consenting to Mr. Thomas's requess, as it would serve as an unfavourable precedent; he recommended moreover, that in the present; he recommended moreover, that in the present instance the national enmity of these commanders should be laid asside; and their mutual exertions made for the general benefit of the fervice, but at all events desired Mr. Thomas to suffered his resolution until his own arrival in Hindoostan.

Some time after the above correspondence, Mr. Perron wrote to Mr. Thomas, requesting him to fend a vakeel to confer upon the subject, for the mutual benefit of either party.

This requeft was inftantly complied with; and Mr. Thomas's vakeel, having received the neceffary inftructions, was difpatched to Delhi. Arriving at Mr. Perron's camp, which was

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pitched in the neighbourhood of that city, he was received in a manner the most cordial and flattering.

The affairs of Scindiah were at this time in a fituation that by no means justified a protracted war in his posseffions in Hindoostan, being himself engaged in an eventful and difficult contest with his ancient enemy Jesswunt Row Holkar.

The cautious chief therefore thought that to temporife with Mr. Thomas would be the most eligible method; as he might, in the course of his present warfare, have occasion for the fervices of Mr. Perron's troops.

In his mafter's name, therefore, Mr. Perron requested an interview. The fort of Behadur Ghur was the place named for the meeting. On his approach to that place, Mr. Thomas was informed that Perron had put to death a Seik chief, who had lately revolted from Scindiah, and of whose person he had got possession by treacherous means.

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This intelligence induced Mr. Thomas to obferve the greateft circumfpection in the approaching interview. Captain Smith, the fon of an officer in the honourable Eaft India Company's fervice, was difpatched by Mr. Perron to meet and conduct him to the Mahratta camp. Mr. Thomas took along with him on this occafion 300 cavalry, and two of his moft approved battalions; being determined to afford no opportunity to his enemies to effect his ruin by treacherous means.

In the month of September, after fome previous negociation between the parties, Mr. Perron and Mr. Thomas met for the first time at the town of Behadur Ghur. Mr. Thomas having received recent information that the affairs of Scindiah prefented an unfavourable afpect, and that that chief was unequal to the contest with Jeffwunt Row Holkar, hoped the prefent interview would be productive of an amicable adjustment of all former differences, and establish the future tranquillity and good understanding of both parties.

In this, however, he was deceived; for at the

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fecond day's meeting he was much furprifed by a demand, equally fudden as unfulpected, from Mr. Perron, requesting him to give up the district of Jyjur entirely to the Mahrattas; in lieu of this he was to receive for the fupport of his battalions the monthly fum of 50,000 rupees, and henceforth to be confidered as the immediate fervant of Dowlut Row Seindiah.

Although this propofal might have been forefeen, Mr. Thomas gave it a positive denial; and perceiving the nature of the defign formed against him, was aware that he should be required to act against Holkar in the present war; and if it proved unfavourable to the interests of that chief, and his authority was subverted, Scindiah would not only discontinue the payment of the monthly sum now offered to Mr. Thomas, but compel him to accept of any terms the Mahratta Government might think proper to impose.

For thefe reasons Mr. Thomas, without further discussion on the subject, abruptly broke up the conference, and marched away in disgust.

Pacific measures being now at an end, Mr. Perron, to begin the war with advantage, repaired directly to Jyjur, of which, being unfortified, he immediately took posseful of Mr. Thomas had still left the fort of George Ghur, in which having stationed 800 men, he expected it would hold out a considerable time, nor was he deceived. La Fontaine, a commander in Mr. Perron's fervice, having approached that place in the hope of taking it by associated that pelled to retreat with considerable loss.

The period, however, of Mr. Thomas's final difcomfiture was not far off. His enemies preffed on him on all fides with accumulated vigour; and private treachery coming in aid of public misfortune, he was foon reduced to a fituation the most painfully diftreffing.

The force of Mr. Perron at this time confifted of ten battalions of infantry, fix thoufand horfe, a body of Rohillas, and fixty pieces of heavy artillery. The Seiks were likewife preparing to fend against him a confiderable force; and in addition to these threatened

305 evils, feveral of his own diffricts perceiving the difastrous situation of his affairs, joined their efforts to those of his enemies.

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A part of Mr. Perron's forces was commanded by Captain Smith, whom we have before had occasion to notice, while a second divifion was led by Mr. Lewis.

- On his arrival at Hanfi, Mr. Thomas loft no time in completing his ammunition and other ftores; his intention was first to attack Mr. Lewis, but Captain Smith having lately invefted the fort of George Ghur, by which means the collections in that diffrict were interrupted, he refolved to proceed to its relief.

George Ghur\* is a fmall fort erected by Mr. Thomas, when he first took possession of the pergunnahs made over to him by Appakandarow; it is fituated four cofs fouth of Jyjur, and thirty distant from Delhi. The unquiet state of the pergunnahs had induced Mr.

\* For this account of the position of George Ghur, I am indebted to the kindness of my friend Captain Salkeld of the cavalry.

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Thomas to creet this fort with a view to overawe the neighbouring villages, and when finished he placed a firoing body of troops in it for its defence.

Mr. Thomas having left a body of Rohillas to defend Hanh, advanced towards Captain Smith, and after a march of eleven cois, encamped at the town of Mahim; Mr. Lewis at this time being reventeen cois to the northwell of that place.

Here he Was informed that Captain Smith, who had got imperfect intelligence of his advance, had withdrawn his gons from the bacteries and flruck his camp.

Mr. Thomas having ordered the cavalry to proceed with all expedition, continued his march with the Hifantry towards George Ghur, where, on his arrival late in the evening, he learnt that Captuin Smith had retreated.

Early on the enfuing morning Mr. Thomas commenced the purfuit, but Murtuza Khawn, the commandant of his fecond regiment, who

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had received orders to proceed in advance, and cut off the retreat of Captain Smith, most unaccountably loft his road, and the foldiers being fatigued, did not come up with their colours; with the only battalion that remained Mr. Thomas, on reaching the rear of Captain Smith's line of march, commenced the attack. Captain. Smith in order to cover the retreat of his artillery and baggage, drew up to receive Mr. Thomas, and after a flight cannonade continued his route; set this time Mr. Thomas's fecond regiment made its appearance, of which, from the caules before stated, not more than feventy men had yet come up, and they ad+ vancing incautioully into a field of joar\* on the right, without having previously reconnoiced, were fuddenly attacked by a battalion of the enemy; his men being to few in number made but a feeble reliftance, and before they bad time to unlimber, the enemy took poffellion of four of their guns.

Mr. Thomas hearing of this difatter, immediately advanced to the relief of his troops ; he

\* A grain very common in India.

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was attended on this occasion by Afalut Khawn, a native officer, formerly in the fervice of the East India Company; they charged the enemy with vigour sword in hand, and after a fevere conflict, in which the commandant of the enemy was taken prisoner, gave them a complete defeat.

Mr. Thomas's men, thinned in their numbers, and exhausted with fatigue, were unable to continue the pursuit; he sent his cavalry however after the fugitives, who picked up several stands of colours and small arms, which had been thrown away in the retreat.

In this encounter the enemy loft feven hundred men, while that of Mr. Thomas did not exceed one hundred; and had it not been for the foldier-like precautions taken by Captain Smith in fending forward his artillery and baggage, while he made head againft Mr. Thomas with his infantry, the whole would inevitably have been captured; as it was, he loft the greater part of his ammunition and baggage.

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Captain Smith on his defeat returned to Jyjur, and Mr. Thomas pitched his camp about two miles diftant from that place.

In the morning he was preparing for a fecond attack, when his hircarrahs, who had been on the look-out, brought intelligence of the approach of Mr. Lewis from an oppofite direction, and his own troops being not only fatigued, but many of them difperfed in fearch of plunder, he did not think it advifable at that time to hazard an engagement.

Mr. Thomas now returned to George Ghur, but had fcarcely reached that place when he received intelligence of Mr. Perron's army having arrived at Byree, three cofs from his own encampment.

On the enfuing morning the enemy prepared to attack him. His fituation was at this time critical; the battalions who had before retreated from George Ghur now came back, and took post within cannon shot to the eastward of his encampment; the force under Mr. Lewis was stationed to the fouth-weft;

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while the enemy's numerous cavalry attacked him in front.

About four o'clock in the afternoon the action commenced by a heavy cannonade on both fides; the motions of the enemy had induced Mr. Thomas to divide his army according to the ground he occupied, the advantage of which, allowing for the quality of the troops, was much in his favor; but his battalions not being accuftomed to be exposed to a cannonade, he drew up his army on a loofe fand, which thereby deadened the fhot and prevented their rifing after the first graze.

His force confifted of ten battalions of infantry, fifty pieces of cannon, fix hundred Rohillas, and about five hundred cavalry, not exceeding in the aggregate five thousand men; of which number only four thousand could be brought into action.

Of this force five battalions were opposed to Mr. Lewis, two were affigned for the battalions opposite the centre of his line, and three to fustain the shock of the enemy's horse. On

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the commencement of the action Mr. Lewis's division came on brickly, having their guns at the drag ropes; Mr. Thomas, by a rapid difcharge of round and grape shot from his artillery, at first threw them into confusion, and had he been able at this moment to prevent his troops from giving way, would have entirely defeated the enemy; but the centre of his line at this time being hard pressed by the enemy's cavalry, gave way, and no effort could prevent the remainder from following their example.

This rendered an immediate and fpirited advance necessary to support. For this purpose Mr. Thomas ordered Mr. Hopkins, with the right wing, and Mr. Birch with the left, to advance and charge with bayonets in their refpective wings; which fervice they performed with no lefs gallantry than success.

The enemy halted, and began to retreat ; but a heavy fire being ftill continued from their numerous and well-ferved artillery, Mr. Thomas's people fell in great numbers, which the enemy's cavalry perceiving charged a fecond time,

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They were not only repulfed with lofs, but purfued by Mr. Thomas's horfe to a confiderable diftance from the field of battle. At this time intelligence was brought to Mr. Thomas, who was on the left wing, that Mr. Hopkins had received a fevere contufion by a cannon fhot, which broke his leg. This circumftance fo difheartened his men, that they fell back in diforder, and increafed the confusion in the centre of his line.

A ftrong detachment of the enemy, who were ftationed in Mr. Thomas's rear, prevented his receiving any fupport from the troops oppofed to them, and he could only fpare one battalion to fupport the centre. This body, however, conducted themfelves with fo much gallantry, that could Mr. Thomas have afforded the additional aid of one hundred refolute men, they might have advanced, and would in all probability have decided the fate of the day.

Night approaching, and his people being fatigued with the fevere fervice they had undergone, deferted their colours, and took shelter in the neighbouring ravines.

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Mr. Thomas exerted every effort to rally them, but without effect. In this exigency he called in a body of Rohillas, who had been ftationed in an adjoining village, for the protection of the baggage; and to ftimulate their exertions to a renewal of the attack, proffered, but in vain, a large increase of pay.

Both armies now drew off, and during the night lay on their arms; and the next morning, after a fhort and but diftant cannonade, the enemy left Mr. Thomas mafter of the field of battle.

In this action, the enemy loft two thousand men, and thirty pieces of artillery. Mr. Thomas's loss was seven hundred men, and twenty pieces of cannon rendered unfit for further fervice. The cause of this loss in artillery was occasioned partly by his cannon being difmounted by the enemy's shot, and partly by the breaking of their axle-trees, as the carriages of the guns, instead of recoiling as usual after the discharge, from the nature of the sol, being a deep and heavy fand, stopt short and broke.

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A few days after this action, the gallant Mr. Hopkins died of his wounds. The death of this young man was a great loss to Mr. Thomas's interests; and the firmness of his behaviour during the whole of his fervice, as well is the manly refignation which he exhibited at the close of life, stamps his character as an amiable man, a brave and gallant foldier.\*

The enemy were daily reinforced by confiderable numbers; among the first of whom were the troops under Bappoo Scindiah. Goordut Sing, Bunga Sing, Jonde Sing, and feveral other Seik chieftains, added their forces on the prefent occasion, Runjeet Sing, also ruler of Burtpoor, the Hattras Rajah, Ramdeen of

\* To do justice to the memory of my friend, I cannot, on this occasion, forbear to mention, that after the death of the gallant youth, Mr. Thomas, with a liberality of spirit which reflects the highest credit on his character, sent the young man's disconsolate sister (then become an orphan by her father's death) a present of two thousand rupees; with a promise if that sum was not thought sufficient to supply her wants, to extend his benevolence, though out of the remains of a ruined fortune of his own.

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Katheler, and the troops of Rajah Ramdial, and Neen Sing, from the northern parts of the Dooab, completed this formidable aggregate.

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Thirty thousand men, and a train of one hundred and ten pieces of artillery, had now furrounded Mr. Thomas on all fides: they fo much overawed the neighbouring' peasantry, that they not only immediately submitted, but discontinued their usual supplies of provisions for his camp, by which means his difficulties were so severely augmented, that all he could hope for, was an immediate attack on his camp, thereby to afford him an opportunity of evincing the bravery of his small force, by a vigorous and decisive encounter.

But being too weak to draw out his force in the open field, he was compelled to remain within his lines, and fortify the camp in the beft poffible manner, by drawing round it a hedge of the fame kind of thorn-trees he had made use of when under fimilar embarraffment in the Jypoor dominions.

Having provided for the fecurity of his camp,

and poffeffing a flock of provisions fufficient for a month's confumption, he determined to remain in his prefent polition until affiftance could arrive from Luckwah, who, on the commencement of hostilities, had given him affurances of coming to his fupport.

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On the right of his encampment, a division of Mr. Perron's force had thrown up fome entrenched works; but Mr. Thomas, by a brifk fire from his guns, quickly compelled them to abandon it, which, favoured by the darkness of the night, they accomplished.

Skirmishes between the armies daily took place, in which the troops of Mr. Thomas, though much inferior in point of numbers, had manifestly the advantage.

The enemy's cavalry conftantly hovered round his camp to annoy his foraging parties, and prevent fupplies of provisions from getting in. Though inferior to the enemy in point of numbers, Mr. Thomas's cavalry, from active and conftant fervice, had a decided advantage; and fo very alert were his people, that two of

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the principal commanders of the enemy narrowly escaped being made prisoners in an attempt to surprise his camp.

Warned at length by experience that nothing was to be gained by thefe defultory attacks, and that Mr. Thomas ftrenuoufly perfevered in his fystem of keeping close within his lines, they endeavoured to effect by corrupt and treacherous means, what they had vainly hoped to accomplish by open and manly warfare.

It must here be remarked, that the families of feveral of Mr. Thomas's officers refided within Mr. Perron's districts. He, in order to avail himfelf of their dependant fituation, and accelerate Mr. Thomas's ruin, had, at the commencement of hostilities, placed a guard over their respective houses. Among the principal were the families of Shah Tab Khawn and Khirrate Khawn, the former a collector of Mr. Thomas's revenue, and the latter the commandant of his first matchlock regiment.

These men, who had been at first confined

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him in a fcanty fupply in the morning, though not without frequent diminution of his fmall force in cavalry.

In this diftrefs Mr. Thomas had no refource but either to attack the enemy by night, to fally forth and try the event of a contest in the day, or, attended by his cavalry, to attempt his retreat, leaving the infantry to make the best terms they could with the enemy.

After mature deliberation, he refolved to attack the enemy, and force his way to Hanfi, which if he could reach in fafety, he hoped to be able to continue his refiftance with effect, until affiftance fhould arrive from Luckwah.

He accordingly gave the neceffary directions for carrying this refolution into effect: but his people, fufpecting his intention of returning to Hanfi, now began to pack up their baggage and openly to defert the camp.

On receiving intimation of this defign, Mr. Thomas affembled the officers; and enquired of them the caufe of this commotion. He was

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informed that no reliance could be placed on the foldiers, who, disheartened at their fituation and the diftrefs they daily endured, would no longer remain with their colours.

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To quiet their apprehensions, and reftore confidence with regard to his supposed march to Hansi, Mr. Thomas himself remained within the lines; and to encourage the drooping spirit of his people gave orders for an attack to be made on one of the enemy's advanced posts, which from its situation appeared easy to be taken.

At this moment a difficulty arole regarding the bullock-drivers, who had deferted the camp. Some fepoys however, encouraged by the promile of liberal reward, undertook the office, and a felect detechment quitted the camp.

But whether from being infected with the general depretiion of fpirits that prevailed throughout the troops, or that they were really unfit for the occupation, the fepoys conducted themsfelves in fo aukward a manner, and made fo little exertion in getting on the guns, that

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## A. D. 1801. MEMOIRS OF Mr. Thomas thought it more prudent to recal the detachment altogether, and it accordingly returned to camp.

Shortly after his hircarrahs brought information that the enemy, having been apprifed of his intention to force his way to Hanfi, had got their line under arms ready to oppofe his progrefs; and which, if he had attempted it in the prefent difcontented state of his troops, would in all probability have terminated in his difgrace.

Deftitute of forage, in want of ammunition, there being no poffibility of any fupply arriving from without, his foldiers daily deferting, and the few who remained even refusing to fight, except in the actual defence of the camp, in this fituation Mr. Thomas affembled a council of his officers, who, on his fubmitting to them the circumstances, gave it as their unanimous opinion, that there was nothing to be done but by an unconditional furrender to the enemy.

Mr. Thomas endeavoured to perfuade them that a retreat to Hanfi was still practicable;

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For the laft three days no grain had been ferved out in the garrifon; but as many of the foldiers had been provident in times of plenty to fave from their refpective allowances, there exifted no real want of that article in the camp, and falt and fugar were ftill to be had in great abundance. A fmall quantity of wheat ftill remained, which Mr. Thomas humanely appropriated to the ufe of the fick and wounded. The fcarcity of provisions operated more feverely upon the Hindoo than the Mooffulman foldiers, as the latter could fubfift upon the cattle that were daily deftroyed by the enemy's fhot.

A body of Rohillas, who were flationed in the pofts that commanded the water used for the fupply of the camp, fuddenly went over to the enemy. Mr. Thomas inftantly appointed others to guard the posts thus abandoned; but to his forrow foon found that the spirit of defertion had feized on the Mooffulman troops in general, the cavalry alone excepted. At MEMOIRS OF

feven o'clock in the evening information was brought that the whole of the troops flationed at the out-pofts of the camp had deferted; that the enemy were making preparations for a general affault; and at the inftant of receiving this intelligence, Mr. Thomas had the additional mortification to perceive the laft flack of his hay in flames by the incendiaries. This, as it afterwards appeared, was a preconcerted fignal between the enemy and the traitors in his own camp.

Diftreffed at this intelligence, Mr. Thomas demanded of the perfon who informed him wherefore he had fo long delayed the communication; but received in reply only a vague and unfatisfactory excufe. The fcene of treachery now began to difclofe itfelf.

Shortly after Mr. Thomas's hircarrahs brought word that Shah Tab Khan, who commanded George Ghur, had already mounted his horfe, attended by his people and all their effects, and was preparing to leave the fort, being at that inftant in conference with a party of the enemy, who had approached the walls with a

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determination to efcort the traitor to their own camp.

His escape was eafily effected, Mr. Thomas being in no condition to punish him; and on his departure, a party from camp was ordered to take possession of the fort; but by the defertion of Shah Tab Khan the face of affairs was altered considerably for the worse. The matchlock men were now deferting the camp in crowds and in all directions; a few of the officers of the whole regiment being the only persons who remained.

Mr. Thomas's fole reliance was now on the attachment of the regiment which had been commanded by the gallant but unfortunate Mr. Hopkins, at the commencement of the campaign. It was feven hundred ftrong; but during the late fevere fervice had been reduced to one third of the original number. "Thefe " (fays Mr. Thomas, in the bitternefs of his " anguith, occafioned by fo many defertions) " were the only men that flood true to my " interefts,"

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But even with this force, though comparatively fo infignificant, had there been provifions and forage in the place, he might ftill have defended the fort of George Ghur; but excepting the fmall portion allotted for the fuftenance of the fick and wounded men, not a feer of rice or grain could be procured; to complete their diffrefs, the enemy, perceiving their forlorn fituation, prepared to advance and overwhelm them with numbers; nothing now remained for Mr. Thomas but to attempt a retreat, and, if poffible, carry into effect his former determination of throwing himfelf into Hanfi.

Agreeably to this determination, having ordered the cavalry to hold themfelves in readinefs, he about nine o'clock in the evening quitted his camp.

Not long after, he fell in with a party of the enemy, who attacked him with vigour: his men, difheartened by the late events, having loft their accuftomed fpirit, gave way on all fides, and he was compelled with a few followers to fly for his life.

### A. D. 1800.] GEORGE THOMAS.

The enemy continuing the purfuit, he was compelled to make a circuitous route in order to avoid falling in with ftraggling parties, by which means, though Hanfi was not more than forty cofs from George Ghur, he was compelled to travel nearly double that diftance.\*

Arrived at length in fafety at Hanfi, Mr. Thomas's first care was directed to its defence.

• In this retreat Mr. Thomas rode a favourite Persian horse of a very superior breed and the highest spirit. On this generous animal, without allowing any intermission on the road, he performed a journey of one hundred and twenty miles within twenty-four hours. This horse, which Mr. Thomas brought with him down the country, is now in the possession of Sir Frederick Hamilton, Bart, of Benares.

† Hansi, according to the Ayeen Akberi, is included in the Soobah of Delhi. Speaking of the rivers contained within this Soobah, the author of the Ayeen Akberi observes, "There are also many lesser streams, and amongst "them the Kenkkar, vulg. (Cuggur). Hansi is an ancient "city, where reposes Sheik Jumal, successor of Sheik Fe-"reed Shuker Gunj (of whom we have spoken in our de-"tail of the Battee country). The city of Hissar was "founded by Sultaun Ferose, who dug a canal which

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Warned by past experience of the treacherous disposition of the Moossfulmans, he committed the charge of the fort and city to his faithful Rajepoots, whom on all occasions, and in the most trying situations, he had ever found worthy his confidence.

He was not miftaken in his conjectures, as daily inftances occurred during the fiege of the inconftancy and treachery of the others.

Two pieces of artillery were all that remained in the fort fit for fervice. The dilatory march of the enemy to inveft the town afforded Mr. Thomas fufficient time to caft and mount eight additional cannon. The enemy advancing by eafy ftages poffeffed themfelves of the wells in the neighbourhood of Hanfi, and at length commenced the fiege.

" brings the water of the Jumna near this city. This ca-" nal passes the town of Sersah. Hissar has very few ri-" vers, and in order to make wells, the inhabitants are " obliged to dig to a great depth."—See Mr. Gladwin's Translation of the Ayeen Akberi, Calcutta edition article Delhi, vol. ii. A. D. 1801.]

### GEORGE THOMAS. .

The Rajepoots who still adhered to Mr. Thomas, by this time reduced in their numbers to three hundred men, were stationed within the fort; the remainder of his force, confisting of about nine hundred men, were distributed for the defence of the city and the out-posts, Aware of his very critical situation, Mr. Thomas himself remained within the fort, taking care to keep a strict guard during the night.

The troops defined for the fecurity of the put-pofts had fcarcely occupied their respective stations, when, in a manner most dastardly and treacherous, they delivered them over to the enemy; and the fort and city were thus left to be defended by a handful of men.

This even was rendered impracticable by the treachery of fome Rohillas, who invited the enemy to advance to the attack. The affault was accordingly made : on the entrance of the enemy into the town, a defperate conflict was maintained on either fide, Mr. Thomas's remaining troops fighting with the most determined valour : three different times the enemy were repulfed with lofs, but numbers at

MEMOIRS OF ' [A. D. 1801. length prevailing, Mr. Thomas could no longer perfuade his men to continue the conflict; he was therefore reluctantly compelled to take fhelter within the fort, and abandon the town, of which the enemy took immediate poffeffion.

Of his whole force, feven hundred men now only remained. The enemy having crected their batteries, commenced the fiege of the fort, which, notwithstanding its fiege and the small garrifon which it contained, had there been a fufficiency of provisions, could still have made a fuccessful reliftance; but provisions were scarce, the Mahomedan troops were clamorous for their pay, and receiving no fatisfactory answer on this head, they made offers to Mr. Perron of joining his army on condition of payment of their arrears, and an advance of money as a reward for their treachery.

Mr. Perron would readily have agreed to this propofal, had he not conceived Mr. Thomas could ftill defend the place with his remaining Rajepoots, in which cafe he might lofe many of his own men; he accordingly

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made Mr. Thomas acquainted with the treachery that was carrying on within the garrifon, and advifed him to be upon his guard.

"Confidering, therefore, (concludes Mr. "Thomas) that I had entirely loft my party, and with it the hopes of at prefent fubduing "my enemies, the Seiks and the powers in the French interefts; that I had no expectation of fuccour from any quarter, Luckwah having gone to Joudpore; that if hoftilities continued, my refource in money would have failed; in this fituation, I agreed to evacuate the fort; and the neceffary arrangements being completed, I ftipulated for a battalion of fepoys to effort me to the Englifth frontier, where I arrived in the middle of January, 1802.

#### DEATH AND CHARACTER

OF

# GEORGE THOMAS.

NOT long after his arrival on the Britifh frontier, Mr. Thomas infpected his affairs; and on collecting the wreck of his fortune, acquired with fo much toil and labour, he found himfelf poffeffed of a fum not more than fufficient to procure the comforts of life in his native country; with this he determined to retire from public life to the enjoyment of domeftic cafe and quiet; and with this intention was proceeding to Calcutta, when death arrefted his progress, near the military cantonments of Berhampoor, on the 22d of August, 1802. He was interred in the burying-ground of that place, and a monument is now crecting to his memory.

George Thomas was a native of Tipperary, in Ireland, about forty-fix years of age, tall in

# A. D. 1Sol.] GEORGE THOMAS.

his person (being upwards of fix feet in height) and of a proportionate ftrength of body; his countenance was bold and erect; but from the constant and active use of his limbs, during his long and arduous warfare, he had contracted an elevation of the head which gave him the appearance of stiffness; though in consequence of this elevation his look was more martial, and indicative of the intrepidity of spirit which reigned within, and which wholly posfessed his life.

Mr. Thomas appeared formed by nature to execute the boldeft defigns; and though uncultivated\* by education, he poffeffed a native and

\* On his first arrival at Benares, after having obligingly promised his Excellency the Marquis Wellefley to afford every information within his power of the state of the western countries, Mr. Thomas proposed to the compiler of these memoirs to deliver his information in the Persian language; adding, that from constant use it was become more familiar to him than his native tongue. This offer, for obvious reasons, was declined; but it proves Mr. Thomas's capacity, under every disadvantage arising from a want of regular education; and I have no hesitation in declaring my opinion, that if Mr. Thomas had found leisure to cultivate his mind, his progress in the most useful

TA. D. 1801. MEMOIRS OF 334 inherent vigour of mind, which qualified him for the performance of great actions, and placed him on a level with diffinguished officers of the prefent day.

That he possessed fuperior military talents has, we truft, been evinced ov the relation of the transactions in the preceding pages; and in reviewing his conduct, during a long and multifarious warfare, a more competent eftimate may perhaps be formed of his abilities. if we reflect on the nature and extent of one of his plans, which he detailed to the compiler of these memoirs during his residence at When fixed in his refidence at Benares. Hanfi, he first conceived, and would, if unforeseen and untoward circumstances had not occurred, have executed the bold defign of extending his conquests to the mouths of the Indus. This was to have been effected by a fleet of boats, constructed from timber procured in the forefts near the city of Ferofepoor, on the banks of the Sutledge river, of · branches of literature would have been surprisingly rapid. He spoke, wrote, and read the Hindoostany and Persian languages with uncommon fluency and precision.

### A. D. 1801.] GEORGE THOMAS.

proceeding down that river with his army, and fettling the countries he might fubdue on his route: a daring enterprife, and conceived in the true fpirit of an ancient Roman. On the conclusion of this defign it was his intention to turn his arms against the Punjaub, which he expected to reduce in the course of a couple of years; and which, confidering the wealth he would then have acquired, and the amazing resources he would have possefield, these fuccesses combined would doubtless have contributed to establish his authority on a firm and folid basis.

Apprehensive, however, of the ultimate fuccess of his arms, when he confidered the number and strength of his enemies, Mr. Thomas, about the time he was occupied in the contemplation of the aforementioned plan, made an offer\* of his fervice to the British government; which, though circumstances of political confideration might not have inclined govern-

\* Correspondence with Captain H. V. White, to whom the compiler begs leave to offer his kindest acknowledgments for several interesting anecdotes in the latter part of Mr. Thomas's career.

ment to adopt, is nevertheless fufficient to prefent a correct idea of the enterprising fpirit of the man. Having offered to advance and take pofferfion of the Punjaub, and give up his army to the direction and control of the English; to take the country, and, in fhort, to become an active partifan in their caufe: he thus, in a patriotic and truly loyal fitrain, concludes his remarks on the interesting fubject : "\* By this " plan," fays he, " I have nothing in view but " the welfare of my king and country. It could " not be concerted foon enough to be of any " use in the approaching conflict; (his dispute " with the Mahrattas); therefore it is not to " better myfelf that I have thought of it; I " shall be forry to fee my conquests fall to the "Mahrattas, I wish to give them to my king, " and to ferve him the remainder of my days; " and this I can only do as a foldier in this part " of the world."

His knowledge of the spirit and character of the different tribes and nations that compose the interior of the vast peninsula of India,

\* Captain White's correspondence.

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GEORGE THOMAS.

was various, extensive, and correct; and no man perhaps ever more thoroughly fludied, or more properly appreciated, the Indian character at large. In his manners he was gentle and inoffenfive, and poffeffed a natural politenefs, and evinced a difpolition to pleafe fuperior to most men. He was, as we have already feen, equally a loyal fubject to his king, as a real and fincere well wisher to the prosperity and permanence of the British empire in the caft. He was open, generous, charitable, and humane: and his behaviour towards the families of those perfons who fell in his fervice, evinces a benevolence of heart, and a philanthropy of fpirit, highly honourable to his cha-. racter.

But with these good qualities, the impartiality of history demands that we should state his errors, and endeavour to discover some shades in a character otherwise splendid. A quickness of temper, liable to frequent agitations, and the ebullitions of hasty wrath, not unfrequently rendered his appearance servergus; yet this only occurred in instances where

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the conviviality of his temper obfcured his reason; and for this, on conviction, no man was ever readier to make every acknowledgment and reparation in his power.

Perfect correctness of conduct cannot be expected from a character like the one now under confideration, as a feclusion from civilized life, and long absence from the exercise of those duties which constitute the chief enjoyment of social happiness, must necessfarily have tinctured the manners of the man with some portion of the spirit of the barbarians with whom he was so long an inmate.

Upon the whole, however, we may be juftified in remarking, that on a review of the life and actions of this very extraordinary man, it is difficult which most to admire, whether the intrepidity of spirit by which he was incited to the performance of actions which, by their effect, raifed him from the condition of a private subject to rank and distinction among princes; or the wonderful and uncommon attachment generally exhibited towards his per-

# A. D. 1801.] GEORCE THOMAS. fon and interests, by natives of every description, who fought and conquered with him in his long and arduous career, and whofe affiftance exalted him for a time to a height of refpectability and confequence that feldom falls to the lot of an individual.

### FINIS.

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1. Of the trade in general carried on in the countries north-west of Delhi.

2. Prospectus.

- 3. Statement of the forces of several of the native princes in the western parts of the peninsula.
- 4. General abstract of the countries to the north-weft of Delhi, with their relative distances from that city in British miles.

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# APPENDÍX I.

Of the Trade in general carried on in the Countries to the North-Weft of Delhi.

### I. PUNJAUB.

A N open trade with this country from every part of Hindoostan has long fince ceased; but petty merchants, by applying for passports from the respective chiefs of the Seik territories, previous to entering their boundaries, are generally supplied with them, and by this means still continue a trifling commercial intercourse.

Their exports to the countries weft of the Attock, confift of fugar, rice, indigo, wheat, and white cloth. Their imports from those countries are fwords, horses, fruit, lead, and spices. Their exports to Cashmere may be

### APPENDIX I.

confidered nearly the fame as into Persia; their imports from Cashmere are shawls, and a variety of cloths, fassion, and fruit.

With the inhabitants of the mountains they exchange cloth, matchlocks, and horfes, for iron, and other inferior commodities. From the Deckan are imported fulphur, indigo, falt, lead, iron, Europe coarfe cloth, and fpices: their exports are horfes, camels, fugar, rice, white cloth, matchlocks, fwords, and bows and arrows.

This trade is not carried on by any particular route, but depends on the character of the chiefs of those districts through which they pass. The most confiderable part of the trade is, however, carried on from Amrut Seer, by way of Machaywara, to Duttyala; fouthward by way of Machaywara, to Duttyala; fouthward by way of Hansi, Rauge Ghur, and Oreecha, into the western part of the Rajepoot country by way of Kythul Jeind, and Dadery, and finally by Karnaul towards Delhi and the Ganges.

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# II. BATTIES.

The exports of the Batties, confift of horfes, camels, bullocks, buffaloes, and ghee; their imports are coarfe white cloth, fugar, and falt; but the trade is very inconfiderable, and is carried on by petty merchants of Bahadra, Noher, and other towns, through the means of the difciples of Shiekh Fereed. The Hifar, or Harriana diftricts import matchlocks, fwords, coarfe white cloth, falt, fugar, a fmall quantity of rice, wheat, and fpices, their exports are horfes, camels, bullocks, and ghee.

# III. BEYKANEER.

Beykaneer imports coarfe and fine rice, fugar, opium, and indigo. The former articles they import from the Punjaub and by: Rauge Ghur and Churoo; falt they get from Samber, and wheat from the Jypoor country; fpices, copper, and coarfe cloth, from Jeffelmere. They have no exports but cattle, and those are of an inferior breed.

#### APPENDIX I.

From the abundant production of those countries, a perfon would naturally think the inhabitants were in want of few importations; but they are extravagant in their mode of living, and fond of foreign luxuries.

Their imports and exports correspond with those of Jypoor; European and Persian articles come by the channels of Gujerath, Jefelmere, and Pawlee. From the Deckan, by way of Bapaul Soronge, Udjeen, and Endore, to Kota and Beelwara, in the Mewar district.

The Ghoffeins of Nathdorah, a place twelve cofs north from the city of Oudipoor, carry on a confiderable trade with the provinces of Gujerath, and Tatta, and with Rajepootana, Punjaub, and Hindooftan.

This trade confifts of pearls, precious flones, arms, fhawls, cloth of every fort, and in fhort the production of all nations that trade to India. Kota being in a central polition, and the rajah a man of good character, is a place

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of great trude, and ferves as a general deposit for merchandize.

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and a **VI. JYPOOR.** By all the left

The Jypoor country producing in itself almost every necessary article, does not stand in such real want of foreign commodities. The rajah is in part posselfor of Samber, which produces plenty of falt, as likewise do the districts of Senganah and Berath. To these may be added copper, mines, alum, blue stone, and verdigrise. There are likewise in most parts of Jypoor good cattle, though not in quality equal to those of Joudpoor.

In all parts of the Jypoor dominions are manufactories of cloth, of fwords, and of matchlocks.

Its imports are, fine cloths, the tiffue manufactures of Benares, and fhawls from Cafhmere. From Guzzerath and Tatta are fupplied opium, lead, and fheet copper; horfes and fruits from Perfia were formerly introduced by the route of Beykaneer, but at prefent the Karwans pafs through Jefelmere, and Joudpoor. The court of Jypoor being fplendid and luxurious, fo is the confumption of the productions of other countries confiderable. This encourages trade, and leads to an intercourfe with all parts of India.

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# APPENDIX II.

THE following prospectus, drawn up about eleven years ago, when the compiler of these memoirs was employed on a furvey ordered by government through the Dooab and the countries adjacent, will exhibit to the reader the outlines of a plan, the greater part of which is now, by God's blessing, happily accomplished.

It is here, therefore, that he wifnes to pay the tribute fo defervedly due to the memory of that illustrious luminary, the father of oriental 'literature, his honoured and revered friend, Sir William Jones, whofe kind encouragement firft infpired the compiler with an ardour for eaftern literature, and whofe bright example and uncommon acquirements in every branch of polite learning, must ever prove the best and ftrongest incentive to the exertions of British youth.

#### AAPENDIX II.

## PROSPECTUS.

Having been appointed in 1792 to accompany an effort ordered to attend captain Reynolds, of the Bombay eftablishment, on a furvey through the Dooab and the adjoining countries, it appears to me, that in the course of this expedition, much information may be gained on fubjects not hitherto fufficiently investigated and developed; what I conceive to be most useful in the refearches above alluded to, may be reduced under the following heads:

1ft. The natural productions of the Dooab, with its commercial advantages, and a comparative view of its former and prefent revenues, with as accurate a calculation of its inhabitants as can be procured.

2nd. The places of note, and the monuments of Mahamedan grandeur fince the conqueft of the Moguls.

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3d. An account of Calpee and Etyah, and of the improvements that may be made in the inland commerce with the neighbouring countries.

4th. The cities of Agra and Delhi, and their environs, notwithstanding their present ruinous state, will nevertheless yield materials for many interesting remarks. The history of the revolutions at Delhi, and the unfortunate catastrophe of the present descendant of Timoor, would, I am persuaded, be interesting to my countrymen at home, and great and accurate information on this subject may be gained by personal conversation with several of the actors in this revolution, who are now living at Delhi.\*

5th. The celebrated city of Mathura, and the plains of Bindrabund, prefent a field for the investigation of the ancient government of the Hindoos; for, on this fpot, confecrated for ages by the fuperstition of their ancestors, we may hope to find those primitive manners

\* See the History of Shah Aulum, and present work.

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and cuftoms defcribed in their Sanfcrit manufcripts; and their religious opinions being clofely connected with their civil ordinations, we may be able to form a more correct idea of the fpirit of their ancient government.

oth. On the fouth and fouth-weft of the Jumna, the provinces of Boottdeelcund, and Gohud, which have lately been reduced by the Mahratta government, with respect to their fatuation towards the Vizier's frontier, are objects of confequence to the British nation, and demand an attentive investigation.

7th. From the late facceffes attendant on Scindiah's arms, we must naturally conclude it has been owing in a great degree to the attention he has paid to the internal difcipline and economy of his military fystem; it is therefore my intention to obtain as correct information as I can of the flate of the Marhatta armiss; together with an account of the Marhatta government.\*

\* The late maha-rajah Madajee Scindiah.

#### APPENDIX II.

#### THE SEIKS.

8th. This nation, so obscure as hardly to be mentioned even as a tribe, at the beginning of the present century, have, within these last thirty years, raised themselves in such reputation as not only to attract the notice, but excite the alarm of their neighbours on both sides of their government.

They poffers the whole of the Punjaub, and it is very probable will one day or other have an eye to a participation of the Vizier's provinces. I propose, therefore, to obtain every poffible information of their tribe, manners, customs, and spirit of government, and, should we be able, to penetrate into the Punjaub, to defcribe the face of that country, and the natural and commercial productions.\*

9th. The defiderata of Major Rennel, which from a perusal of his most excellent memoir I

\* See the History of Shah Aulum, and present work.

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#### APPENDIX IN.

find to be, first, the afcertaining the existence of one of the grand designs of the Emperor Feroze; which was, to have cut a canal from the Sutledge to the Jumna, which would have opened a communication by water from Cabul to Assart. Major Rennel observes, he takes it for granted this canal was never completed, as no farther intimation has been obtained on that head. The remains \* of fuch a magnificent work, if any still exist, must doubtles be difcovered by an inspection on the spot.

10th. I have in my poffeilion a history of the celebrated Timoor or Tamerlane, faid to be written by himfelf. This work contains the whole of Timoor's expeditions, from an early period of his life until near his death. The Indian expedition in particular is detailed in a very accurate manner.

### 11th. THE ALTARS OF ALEXANDER.

I have been the more induced to prefent to the public the above profpectus, as an evidence

\* See the 14th chapter of the present work.

#### APPENDIX II.

that the leifure allowed to officers in the hours of relaxation from their profeffional duties, has not altogether been thrown away; and alfo in the entertaining a confident hope that the honeft purfuit of laudable fludies will ever meet with public approbation and fupport.

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# APPENDIX III.

General Statement of the Forces of several of the Natives Princes and States in the western Parts of the Peninfula.

THE prefent force of Dowlut Row Scindiah may be flated under the following heads.

1st. Cavalry, Marhatta, and Hindoostany, including the cavalry stationed with the different collectors that might be brought to act in a war 20,000

Ambajee's cavalry in the diffrict of Gualior 4,000

Mr. Perron might muster in Hindooftan, that is, Delhi, Agrah, Jauts, Bapoo Scindia, and Madhoo Row's cavalry, exclusive of Seiks or Rajepoots 7,000

Entire force of Scindiah's cavalry 31,000

#### APPENDIX III.

### Scindiah's Infantry.

2d. The number of battalions at prefent under the command of Mr. Perron amount to forty; each battalion generally confifts of five hundred men, gunners and fighting men of every defcription included. Each battalion is provided with four field-pieces, a carronade, or howitzer, and fome pieces of ordnance of large caliber, for the purpofe of throwing grape.

A brigade confifts of eight battalions; it has generally a feparate park of ten pieces of artillery attached to it. This park is composed of battering guns and spare field-pieces.

The ftrength of each brigade will confift as follows.

Strength in officers an	d fighting	
men of every description -		4,150
Pieces of artillery		50
Strength of five brigades		20,750
Pieces of artillery	· .	<b>2</b> 5Q

#### APPENDIX III.

The remains of Colonel Felose's bri-			
gade, fix battalions, men	3,000		
Ordnance — —	60		
Five battalions of Col. John Heffing	2,600		
Ordnance — —	30		
Ambajee's battalions may be com-			
puted at four hundred men each, of			
which he has fixteen battalions	6,400		
His artillery is not regularly attach-			
ed to his battalions, and therefore often			
varies; but, generally fpeaking, may be			
computed at four pieces to each batta-			
lion $-$	64		
The battering train likewife varies,			
but may be computed at pieces	20		
Total artillery of Ambajee's pieces	84		
Begum Somroo.			
*Five battalions of about fix hundred			
men each — —	3,000		
Pieces of artillery	24		

Cavalry - 150

\* I find by this, that the ftatement of the Begum's force, as given in the History of Shah Aulum, is partly incorrect.

#### APPENDIX III.

## Bapooh Scindiah .

Has two battalions	1,000
Artillery pieces	10
Total force of Scindiah in cavalry	31,150
Total force in infantry	<b>38,</b> 050
Grand total infantry and cavalry	69,200
Grand total artillery ditto pieces	518

#### REMARKS BY MR. THOMAS.

\* It is proper to obferve, that Mr. Perron and Ambajce are now levying troops, which may caufe a material error in this flatement a few months hence. Ambajce and Perron are poffeffed of artillery exclusive of the abovementioned; and Scindiah, by the artillery taken from Holkar, is able to add confiderably to his own part.

Prefent state of Scindiah's infantry. They are the worst in India; are not commanded by

\* This statement was made 1802.

officers of experience, nor well armed, nor cordially attached to the fervice of their mafter; they are in arrears of pay, and would be defeated by a finall force of regular disciplined troops, with a few pieces of well ferved artillery.

Mr. Perron's infantry are in appearance the best troops belonging to Scindiah: they are under better fubordination to their officers, and are more regularly paid, armed, clothed, and disciplined.

The troops of the late Colonel Felose and those of Colonel Hessing, ore equal to those of Mr. Perron.

Those of Begum Somroo are in a state of infubordination, and mutinous.

Those of Ambajee and Bapoo Scindia do not deferve the name of troops; they are undisciplined and ill-armed.

Their artillery is in general bad, and is frequently difmounted of itself in the usual

APPENDIX III.

course of firing in a field of battle. Mr. Thomas relates one instance where twenty-five pieces of cannon were rendered unfit for fervice, eight of which only were fruck by the enemy's fhot.

## Force of Ali Behaudur.

Ali Behaustur, the Marhatta chief, who is in poffession of the open country, as likewife feveral of the strong holds in Boondeelcund, has four battalions, confisting of between five and fix thousand infantry, fix or seven thoufand cavalry, with forty or fifty picces of artillery, all of the very worst quality. The battalions, each about five hundred strong, are without discipline, or military regulation of any kind, and may be confidered as a rabble.

The infantry confifts of Rohillas, Boondeelahs, and Malwa Sebundys, who are armed with matchlocks.

The cavalry confifts of Marhatta Mooffulmans from Cuttair, (Rohilcund) and from the Doo Ab.

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The best troops in the interest of this chief are the cavalry of his affociate Himmut Behaudur, the Ghossen; they are in number about two thousand, and are chosen men.

Himmut Behaudur has likewife a body of infantry, amounting to about three thousand. We may therefore compute the collected force of Ali Behaudur at twenty-one thousand, chiefly rabble, and incapable, fays Mr. Thomas, of opposing a regular and disciplined force, though far inferior in point of numbers.

At the head of this rabble, these chiefs keep possession of a country capable of yielding a revenue of one crore of rupees.

Detail of th	e force of A	li Behaudur	• • ·
four battalions	, men	· `	2,000
Irregular int	fantry ditto	)	· <b>6,0</b> 00
Cavalry		-	7,000
Artillery			· 50

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### Force of Himmut Behaudur.

(In the fervice of Ali Behaudur.)

Irregular infantry	-		3,000
Cavalry —	<u></u>		2,000
Artillery pieces		. <b></b>	20

Combined force of Ali Behaudur and Himmut Behaudur.

Cavalry —	•		9,000
Infantry, —	- '	مىلىم	11,000
To which may be	added	infantry	·
attached to the guns		·	1,000

Grand total, men 21,000

Pieces of artillery — . — 70

# Prefeut Force of Kashi Row Holkar, and Jeffwunt Row Holkar.

The cavalry of these two chiefs may be computed at thirty thousand, exclusive of the Pindaries or irregular horse. In this statement, made from information received from writers and foldiers in their service, who seldom fail to add to the number, there may probably be fome error. But it is certain that Jeffwunt Row Holkar is actually at the head of a body of cavalry amounting to twenty thoufand men; Kashi Row Holkar has from four to five thousand cavalry at Indore, his capital; to which, if the cavalry of Ameer Khaun, a tributary, be added, as likewise that under the different collectors, the number will amount in the aggregate to thirty thousand. These chiefs occasionally receive the aid of from fix to ten thousand Pindaries, a banditti who lay waste the countries through which they pass, by predatory warfare.

### Force in Infantry.

P	Confifting of eig uted at four hun			
ta	alion, —	-		3,200
	Artillery men,	• -		600
	Rohillas,	·	<b>/</b>	10,000
			• •	<del></del>
	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	Total	infantry	13,800
÷		·	• •	
•.	Artillery pieces	· · · · · · · · · · · ·	· ·	59

Holkar's cavalry are fuperior to those of Scindiah, being better officered, and more correspondent with the real Mahratta custom of predatory warfare.

The infantry (observes Mr. Thomas) are very bad. They are ill paid, badly officered, and without fubordination; undisciplined, nor can they make use of their arms in action.

The Rohillas in Holkar's fervice are a faithleas rabble, who will fland true only as long as they find it their intereft; they are always ready to leave or ruin him, if not regularly paid; or when expected to move against an enemy of superior force; or if by any means they should have accumulated money.

# Detailed Statement of the collected Force of Kashi Row Holkar, and Jessiwunt Row Holkar.

Cavalry,			, 	~	30,00 <b>0</b>
Pindaries	or	Looties,	mounted	<b>on</b>	
imall horfes,			-		10,000

Total cavalry, 40,000

APPENDIX III.

# Infantry.

Eight battalions at four hundred men each, — 3,200 Artillery men, &c. — 600 Rohillas, — 10,000

Total infantry, 13,100

Artillery pieces,

Grand total, 53,800

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# APPENDIX IV.

A general Abstract of the Countries, and their Inhabitants in the north-west parts of the Peninsula af Hindoostan; with the Distance of the capital Cities from Delhi in British Miles.

1ft. THE Punjuab or country of the Seiks, is composed of the province of Lahore, and the chukla or division called Sirhind. The inhabitants in general are Seiks, though the cultivators of the foil are many of them Jauts.

Force. Cavalry 60,000. Artillery 40 pieces. Infantry 5,000. Revenue 5 crores.

Capital, Lahore, N. W. by N. three hundred miles.

A A

2d. The Hurrianah country is included in the Sirkar of Hiffar; it is called in the map the Leffer Baloochiftaun. The inhabitants are chiefly Jauts, with the exception of a few Rajepoot, and Rungur villages, which laft appellation is given to fuch of the Rajepoots who have embraced the Mahomedan religion. Does not Rungur imply coloured, or flained, or of mixed blood?

Capital, Hiffar, W. N. W. one hundred and eight miles.

3d. The country called Tahneffar confilts of the weftern parts of Tahneffar, Kernaul, Kythul, Panniput, Sefeedoo, Jeind, Kofohan, and Dehatarut. The inhabitants are chiefly Jauts, though fome have become Seiks, and a few are Rajepoots, but of a low caft.

No particular capital.

4th. The Battee country; the chiefs of which are Rajepoot Mooffulmans; the common people are Jauts who have become Moof-' fulmans, and the cultivators of the foil are

k

ï.

7

termed Ryis, and are a peaceable inoffenfive race.

Capital, Batnier, W. N. W. two hundred and nineteen miles.

5th. Beykaneer is governed by Rathore Rajepoots; the cultivators are Jauts.

Force. Cavalry 2,000. Artillery 30 pieces. Infantry 3,000. Revenue 5 lacks.

### Capital, Beykaneer.

6th. The Jypoor country is governed by Rajepoots of the Kutchwa tribe; the cultivators are Jauts, Bremins and Meenas.

> Cavalry 30,000, Artillery 40 pieces. Infantry 10,000. Revenue 60 lacks.

Capital Jypoor or Jynaghur, S. W. one hundred and fifty miles.

7th The Row Rajah is a Rathore Rajepoot;

the cultivators of his country are Jauts Mewattes, and Aheers, a favage tribe, approaching in their manners to the Jauts.

Cavalry	1,500.	Artillery	16 pieces.
Infantry	2,000.	Revenue	6 lacks.

Capital Alwur,\* S. W. by S. 90 miles.

• This place, the fort of which is situated on the summit of a high hill, is thus described in a work published some years since by Elias Habesci, but better known to the English reader under the name of Count Gika. "The "emperors had likewise kept Aloor, a country very fertile "in mines, and not at a great distance from Mattra. On "those mountains there is another distinct nation called "Mina, whose most splendid quality is that they excel all "others in stealing, and we are assured that they are the "most dexterous pilferers of India. They are capable of "carrying off a horse or a prisoner from the most vigilant "guard. All these countries produce infinite quantities "of cattle, in which their principal trade consists.

"The richest, most agreeable, and most commodious "place in those parts is the plain or valley of Tannagasi, "two leagues in length and one in breadth, which contains "now seventeen mines that are opened, and as they are "well explored, they may be reckoned to produce a crore "of rupees annually. The province of Aloar is dependant "on Jypoor, or should be. It is in general as fertile in "mines as the other, and is rich; but the little province

8th. Joudpoor, whofe ruler is called the Rhathore Rajah and Marwar Rajah. He is a

" of Tannagasi, which is subject to Aloar, is really the "most substantial part. Tannagasi lies at only four days "small journies from Mattra. The capital and only town "bears the same name. It is pretty large, trades consi-"derably, and is situated at the foot of a mountain, on "which there is a fort, with some pieces of artillery. In "1780 and 1781, a Frenchman commanding the artillery of Nadjifkan undermined this garrison; but it surren-"dered before the mine was sprung.

"If the English chose to seize on Aloar and Tannagasi. " their army, which I suppose to be encamped at Mattra, " must march to Deeg in a single day. Proceeding thence " they should leave Aloa ten English miles to the right: " they would find no opposition hitherto. It is only at " Sakmin Ghur that we find a fort, which commands the " plain that leads to a pass on the road to Tannagasi. At " that pass there is another small fort; and both together " could not hold out twenty-four hours against an attack " in form. Tannagasi is the terrestrial paradise of that " country: it is there that decent employment would be " found for two hundred individuals of the English nation; " and, aided by two battalions, they would be enabled to " explore peaceably all its mines, and make them produce " sixty lacks of rupees, clear of all expences, in each year : so but in the case two redoubts should be constructed on " the two banks of the Jumna to protect the passage-boats " for merchandize and minerals, they might send from " Tannagasi, escorted by a company of the battalions that

#### APPENDIX 14.

Rhathore Rajcpoot of the purest and most ancient blood of the Rajcpoots. The cultivators are Jauts.

Cavalry 27,000. Artillery 30 pieces. Infantry 3,000. Revenue 20 lacks.

Capital Joudpoor, S. W. by W. 350 miles,

9th. Karolee, whole Rajah is of the tribe of Rajepoot, called Jadoo. The cultivators are Jauts, Bramins, and Meenas.

Cavalry 0,000. Artillery 12 pieces. Infantry 2,000. Bevenue 5 lacks.

Capital Karolec, fouth 140 miles.

10th. The Kishen Ghur Rajah is of the tribe of Rhathore Rajepoots. The cultivators are Jauts.

\*\* would be stationed there. From Mattra the goods might \*\* pass on to Futty Ghur, or some other place on the \*\* Ganges, to be sent thence to a greater distance. The \*\* navigation of the Jumna as far as Allahabad might be \*\* attempted."——See Objects interesting to the English Nation, vol. ii. page 113 and 114, Calcutta edition, A. D, 1793.

Capital Kishen Ghur, S. W. by W. 200 miles.

11th. Oudipoor or Mewar, whose ruler is called likewise the Ranah of Chittore, from the celebrated fort of that name fituated with. in his dominions. Confult Colonel Dow's History of Hindoostan. This prince is also called Ursee Rannah, which was assumed by one of his ancestors, and adopted by his fuccessors. He is of the tribe called Sesodiah. The cultivators of Oudipoor are composed of Rajepoots, Jauts, Bramins, and Beils.

Cavalry	·	12,000
Infantry		0,000

# Capital Oudipoor, S. W. 350 miles,.

12th. The principalities of Kota and Boondee, whose chiefs are of the Chohan tribe, and are likewise denominated Addah Rajepoots. The cultivators are Rajepoots, Jauts, Bramins, Beels, and other classes.

# Force. Infantry 2,000

Cavalry	3,000
Artillery	20 pieces.
Revenue	30 lacks.

# Capital Kota and Boondee, S. W. 250 miles.

13th. The Burtpoor Rajah is a Jaut, the cultivators are chiefly Jauts.\*.

Force,	Cavalry	1,000	
	Infantry	2,000	
	Artillery	. 20	pieces.
	Revenue	15	lacks.

Capital Burtpoor, fouth 100 miles.

" Creten Sing, and that of the last chief was Naval Sing. "Since this nation has been defeated by Nadjuf Khan, "it has fallen into contempt and oblivion; for they "have loft their conquests, and are now confined "to Burtpoor, which is the capital of their little country; but it is very strong, its ditches are of a breadth more than is usual elsewhere, they are fifty-six feet deep, and are always filled with water that comes from a perennial spring. Their present chief, who now "retains the title of Rajah, is called Rengit Sing, who is at the same time the chief of their religion, which is that of the Hindoos."—See Objects interesting to the English Nation, yol. ji. p. 120 and 121.

# ( 378 )

# CONCLUSION.

IN the force above detailed, a flatement of the militia of the country is not included; their numbers are confiderable, and they in fact conftitute the chief fupport of their refpective flates.

Under the head revenue, that which is paid into the treafury of each prince is here defignated; the revenue arifing from lands granted to the different chiefs in Jaiedad, is not included in any ftate, excepting in the Punjaub, as more fully explained in our account of that country.

By the artillery here mentioned, is only meant what is capable of being brought into the field, few of which are in good order; fome of the chiefs have a numerous artillery in their

#### CONCLUSION.

forts, to which however they pay but little attention.

Confidering the furprifing fertility of foil, the abundance of all things neceffary for the fupport of the inhabitants, and the internal riches of thefe countries, and their capability of improvement, as well in regard to commercial as political reutions, it is matter of no fmall furprife to think they fhould for fo long a time have remained almost unknown to the British nation in India; and that, after being fovereigns of fo confiderable a part of this extenfive empire, we fhould now, for the first time, receive information, that the fairest part of the country is yet unknown to us.

This however is the fact, and it would appear that Great Britain might derive confiderable advantages from a clofer alliance and more intimate acquaintance with the countries in the interior parts of India; and more efpecially with the Rajepoot flates. These countries, as well from the advantages of natural fituation as from their immense internal

#### CONCLUSION.

refources, would be able to form the ftrongeft barrier against the entrance of our political rivals, the French, to the central parts of the peninfula, whenever a renewal of hostilities may induce the attempt.

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### POSTSCRIPT.

The compiler of these Memoirs has particular pleasure in delivering to his readers a letter lately received from an Officer of rank in the fervice of Scindiah, respecting Mr. Thomas's character, and which comes in a manner more peculiarly appropriate, as being the genuine effusions of a liberal mind, and the honourable testimony of a gentleman who, though an enemy from necessity, has, for the sake of justice alone, paid the tribute which he thought due to Mr. Thomas's merits as a man and a soldier.

DEAR SIR,

I AM happy to learn, from the public prints, that we are foon to have the pleafure of a life of the late George Thomas, from your pen; as he was a fingular character, which deferves to be refcued from oblivion, and as I was intimately acquainted with him, and was principally employed by General Perron, to perfuade him to enter with his troops into the fervice of Scindia. Moreover being concerned in arranging the capitulation of Hanfi, after he had the misfortune to lofe his army, and in conducting him to the British frontier; if you think I can fupply' any facts, or offer any materials which might elucidate or add to the work, I fhall be not only happy, but proud to contribute all in my power.

I had a fincere respect for his character; I regretted his misfortunes, and I did all in my power to obviate those misfortunes by my advice and my conduct; all my influence with General Perron was exerted to ferve him, and I did every thing in my power to meliorate the feverity of his misfortunes, after he had been unfortunate from the doubtful event of war; and I should be happy if I could afford the smallest matter towards the record of his same. With some oddities, and many singularities, he was an uncommon character; and his exertion towards station, power, riches, and glory, were still more uncommon; he was. uncommonly ambitious, which was the prin-. cipal cause that led to his ruin; he would beall or nothing. To ferve under the orders of another was an inglorious dependance, in his estimation of things; and the distraction which then prevailed in Scindiah's government, offered an enticing field to difplay his courage and his abilities; for courage he poffeffed in an eminent degree; and he certainly had abilities, if a clear head, a folid judgment, and acute difcernment, may be called by that name. Hoping you will pardon this intrufion, and view it in the light in which it is intended, to add my mite to transmit the name of George Thomas to posterity, fuffer me to remain with efteem.

### Dear Sir,

## Your most obedient servant,

### LEWIS F. SMITH

Burhanpore<u>,</u> 18th July, 1803.

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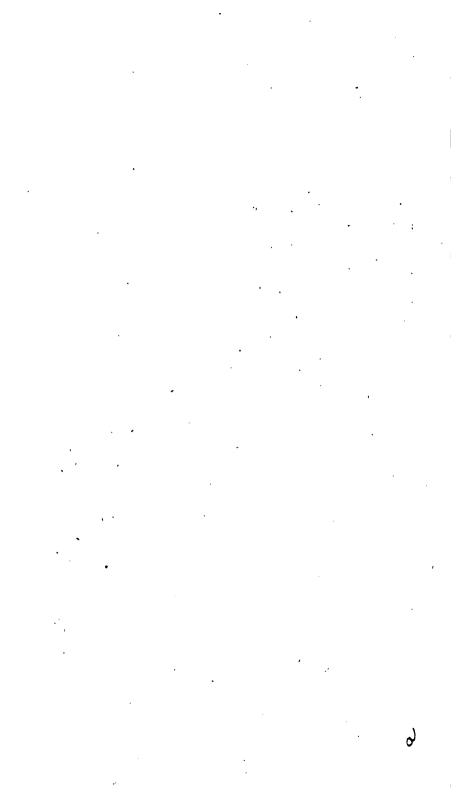
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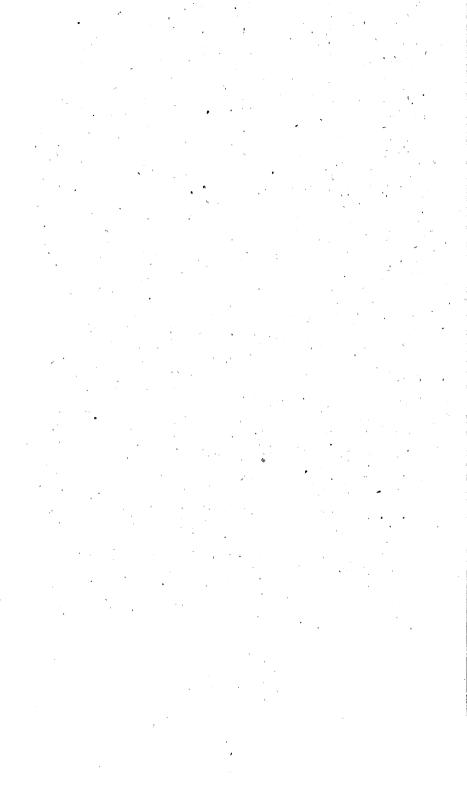
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