

OF THE
CONQUEST OF THE MYSORE,
EFFECTED
BY THE BRITISH TROOPS AND THEIR ALLIES,
IN THE CAPTURE OF
SERINGAPATAM,
AND THE DEATH OF
TIPPOO SULTAUN;
MAY 4, 1799.

WITH
NOTES, DESCRIPTIVE AND EXPLANATORY.

COLLECTED FROM AUTHENTIC MATERIALS.

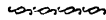
THE THIRD EDITION.

EDINBURGH

Printed by J. DENOVAN, for the PROPRIETOR;
AND SOLD
AT THE EXHIBITION ROOM OF THE GREAT HISTORICAL
PICTURE.

1801.

ADVERTISEMENT.



THE materials from which these Sketches have been produced, were collected to assist the design, and regulate the execution, of an extensive Historical Painting which the artist has recently submitted to the public eye, on a scale of magnitude hitherto unattempted in this country--- the *Storming of Seringapatam*, painted by Mr. R. K. Porter.

From the flattering and popular acceptance of the great work, it was presumed this lesser one might not be uninteresting to the public, either as a kind of accompaniment to the picture, in the lounge of the Exhibition Room, or as a comprehensive view of the subject, for the loungers of any other place. The rapid sale of two large editions, has fully realized the expectations under which it was first published.

The compiler of the following pages has not attempted to *write* a book---he has only endeavoured to *make* one, such as he was led to believe would be acceptable to a very numerous class of readers. He has collected facts from all available sources of information; and the only merit he claims, is that of having connected them into a series of short narratives, unencumbered with dry details, and unmixed with fiction.

Many particulars of these Sketches are personal communications from gentlemen who were actors in the scenes described; many others are extracted from original and unpublished correspondence, of which the compiler has been favoured with a transcript; and a variety of articles are drawn from the Gazettes, public Journals, and other authentic accounts printed in India. But, for the most material part of its contents, this work is indebted to the valuable dispatches of Lord Morning

ADVERTISEMENT.

ton, transmitted to the Court of Directors of the Honourable East India Company---a series of papers, which for perspicuity of arrangement, and manly elegance of language, have been rarely equalled, and never exceeded, by the official productions of any age or country.

The notes, it is presumed, will be found to contain not only a variety of explanatory matter, but many descriptive and interesting articles, either extracted from works of known credit, or furnished from correct information, and which could not be given in any other form, without breaking the narrative interest of the page.

The subject having experienced, in this little performance, nearly the same encouragement it has been honoured with on the canvas, the *collector of the materials for both* feels himself amply repaid for his trouble, and presents to the public this Third Edition of his Narrative Sketches, under the flattering assurance that it will be honoured with a portion of that popularity so universally attached to the *enterprize of the Soldier*, and the *labours of the Artist*, in 'THE STORMING OF SERINGAPATAM.

LYCEUM, STRAND.

Jun. 10, 1801.

INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.

THE ORIGIN OF THE WAR,

SINCE the peace of Seringapatam, concluded with Lord Cornwallis, and more especially since the year 1796, the destruction of the British power in India had formed the favourite and unremitting object of Tippoo Sultaun's hopes and exertions. His haughty mind never could be reconciled to the sacrifices which he was compelled to make for the purchase of the peace in 1792; and his increasing eagerness to recover the extensive portion of his dominions then ceded to the Allies, urged him to pursue a systematic course of intrigue against the British power among all the Native States, and to revert to his ancient and hereditary connexion with France, as the only effectual means of gratifying either his ambition or his revenge.

The proofs which had been obtained previous to the war, were sufficient to satisfy the judgment of the Governor-General (Lord Mornington) as to the nature and objects of

his machinations : they have since been corroborated by the voluminous records discovered in the palace at Seringapatam, which furnished a clear exposition of his intrigues at Poonah * and Hyderabad † ; his embassy to Zemaun Shah ‡, (to encourage that prince
in

* The seat of the Mahratta government, (about one hundred miles eastward of Bombay), under the Paishwa, or Prime Minister, Row Pundit Purdhan, one of our allies, whose office is hereditary, and invests him, in fact, with the entire sovereignty of the Mahratta empire, as the Ram Rajah, or hereditary king is, from a very common policy among the Asiatics, a mere nominal ruler, kept a prisoner at large in one of his own forts, and his name seldom heard of or recognised, except on the great seal of the state, annexed to the arbitrary acts of his Highness the Paishwa ! The territories of the Mahrattas are computed to extend about one thousand British miles in length, and seven hundred in breadth : they are governed by a number of separate Chiefs, or Rajahs, all of whom acknowledge the Ram Rajah as their sovereign, and the Paishwa as his vicegerent.—See SKETCHES OF THE HINDOOS.

† A city and fortress of the Deccan, (between three and four hundred miles to the northward of Madras) the court of his highness the Nabob Nizam ud Dowlah Asoph Jah, or Nizam Ally, a prince in alliance with the British government.

‡ An ambitious and enterprising prince, whose dominions (the kingdom of Candahar and Cabul) comprize all the countries that are situated between the river Indus and the southern extremities of the Caspian sea ; and between the eastern confines of Persia, and the country of the Usbeck Tartars, besides Lahore, and the celebrated province of Cashmire : This prince can bring one hundred and fifty thousand effective fighting men into the field, chiefly cavalry, all excellently mounted, and much deadened by the Mahrattas, whose united powers subjected a dreadful overthrow from Ahmed Shah, the grandfather
ther

ORIGIN OF THE WAR.

in the prosecution of his long threatened invasion of Indostan); his correspondence with the Executive Directory at Paris; with the French at Tranquebar, and the Isle of France; and with M. Raymond, the commander of a body of native troops in the Nizam's service, amounting to fourteen thousand men, disciplined and commanded by French officers. From the evidence of these papers, it is now incontestible, that Tippoo Sultaun's thoughts were perpetually intent upon the ruin of the British power, and the restoration of his own empire to its former splendor and strength; that he trusted to have accomplished our expulsion, by instigating the French to invade India; and that his antipathy to the English was the ruling passion of his heart, the main spring of his policy, and the fixed and fundamental principle of his councils and government.

The degree of danger with which the Nizam and the Paishwa were threatened, by the impending storm, exceeded that which
menaced

ther of the present monarch, on the plains of Paniput, in the year 1761. So strong is the prevalence of this dread, that a Mahratta is not ashamed, if his horse should happen to start when drinking water, to exclaim,—“Dost thou see the shadow of an Abdalli!”—the subjects of Zemaun Shah being thus distinguished, from the name of the founder of his empire, Abdallah.—See the ASIATIC ANNUAL REGISTER for 1799.

ORIGIN OF THE WAR.

menaced the British possessions. It is true, that Tippoo Suldaun's views against the courts of Poonah and Hyderabad, were ostensibly limited to the recovery of the cessions made by him to those powers in 1792; but it cannot be doubted that his ambition and rapacity would have augmented with the progress of his victories; and that his revenge was not of a temper to be mitigated by success.

The distribution and condition of the British force on the Southern coast, in the month of June 1798, offered but too strong a temptation to the enterprize of a faithless and active enemy; it was therefore judged necessary, by the Company's government, to issue an order for assembling the armies on the coasts of Coromandel and Malabar, without delay; and, adverting to the fatal consequences which have formerly been experienced in the Carnatic, by neglecting to keep pace with the forwardness of hostile equipments in the Mysore, it was resolved to intrust the protection of the British possessions to no other security than a complete and early state of preparation for war.

With this view, while the armies were forming on the two coasts, under circumstances of peculiar difficulty and much unavoidable

voidable delay, the early attention of the Governor-General was directed to strengthen and improve the defensive alliances between the Company and their Highnesses the Nizam and the Paishwa. Both these powers were reduced to the lowest condition of depression and weakness: the latter, by the intrusion of Dowlut Row Scindia*; the former, by the threatened hostilities of the same chieftain, and the establishment of a numerous and active French faction in its army; and while the internal convulsions of each state had diminished the resources of both, their co-operation against Tippoo Sultaun had become impracticable, by the progress of their mutual animosities and dissensions.

The intentions of the Governor-General were unfortunately dissappointed at the Court of Poonah: he had, however, the satisfaction

* One of the most bold and aspiring of the Mahratta chiefs, pretending to be descended from the ancient kings of Malva: the seat of his government is at Ougein, near the city of Murrda, once the capital of these kings; and his possessions join the northern boundary of the country immediately subject to the Paishwa, comprehending the greatest part of the extensive soubadary, or government of Malva, and part of the province of Candeish. The intrigues of the late Madajee Scindia had carried him to Poonah some time before his death, where his unworthy successor, Dowlut Row Scindia, has since remained, occupied in general extortion and encroachments on the authority of the Paishwa.—WOOD'S REVIEW OF THE WAR.

tisfaction to ascertain, that the disposition of the Mahratta government continued perfectly favourable to the British interest, and that want of power would be the sole cause of its inaction, in the event of a war with Tippoo. At the Court of Hyderabad, co-operative measures were adopted with the wished for alacrity; a new subsidiary treaty was concluded with the Nizam, which had for its objects the admission of an additional British force into his Highness's establishment, and the total expulsion of the French party, then under the command of M. Ferrou; and by a fortunate coincidence of events, the proposed reduction was effected without bloodshed, and without contest; the obnoxious ranks of the Nizam's army being surrounded and disarmed by a detachment of British troops, aided by a body of the native cavalry, and the French officers put under arrest, in order to their being sent to Europe*.

About

* A mutiny having broken out in the French camp, and the Sepoys having imprisoned their officers, the English resident at Hyderabad, with the consent of the Nizam, so judiciously and opportunely employed a British detachment, under Colonel Roberts, that the greatest difficulty they had to encounter was that of rescuing the imprisoned French from the violence of their own Sepoys. The amount of the force disarmed on this occasion was about eleven thousand men; a part
of

About this time the invasion of Egypt, by the French, and the progress of their arms in that country, were facts fully ascertained in India ; and soon afterwards intelligence was received of the glorious victory gained by his Majesty's squadron, under the command of Admiral Nelson. But it appearing to Lord Mornington, that the fate of the French army in Egypt was still uncertain, and that an additional force might have been intended to combine operations with it in India, by the ordinary passage round the Cape of Good Hope, his Lordship did not relax any part of the military preparations he had ordered to be commenced : the Government of Bombay had, with the utmost promptitude, attended to the collection not only of their troops, but of the largest possible supplies on the coast of Malabar ; and the Madras army had peremptory orders for completing the equipment of their battering train, and for advancing it with all practicable despatch to the most eligible station on the frontier of the Carnatic, with a view of proceeding towards Seringapatam at the earliest possible period, if such a movement into Mysore should become necessary.

The

of the French corps being then absent on detachment.—*See*
LORD MORNINGTON'S DISPATCHES.

The opportunity now appeared favourable for opening a negotiation with Tippoo Sul-taun, and a correspondence commenced, in which Lord Mornington carefully avoided every hostile expression ; merely premising to the Sul-taun, that he was acquainted with the nature of his intercourse with the French nation, and proposing to him to receive Major Doveton, on the part of the Allies, for the purpose of proceeding to an amicable arrangement of subsisting differences. This was the uniform tenor of several and successive letters to the Sul-taun ; who, on his part, returned a few reluctant communications, containing statements full of pravarication and falsehood, and professions made up in terms of the most palpable deceit ; finally informing the Governor-General, that being about to “ proceed upon a hunting excursion *,” he would receive Major Doveton, without the retinue, or attendants of a formal embassy †.

The

* The hunting party of an Asiatic Prince is, in fact, a regular military expedition against the antelopes, elephants, and tigers ! accompanied by all the great officers of the court, and an immense retinue of soldiery. The movements of such an army, ostensibly called into the field for the warfare of the chase, are often made subservient to the more hostile views of its leader ; but, in this instance, the penetration of the Governor-General was not so easily to be deceived.

† The two following letters will give a clear idea of the Sul-taun's

The design of this tardy, reluctant, and insidious assent to the admission of an official

Sultaun's language, in his correspondence with Lord Morington; furnishing a curious sample of the pompous duplicity of an eastern despot——

From Tippoo Sultaun. Received the 11th of Jan. 1799.

(in official translation.)

“THE agreeable arrival of your Lordship's two letters, denoting your welfare, rejoiced and gratified me. A Khereta, in reply to your Lordship's former friendly letter, has been written and dispatched; it will, no doubt, by this time, have been received, and the sincerity of my friendship and regard will have been made apparent, together with proofs of my solicitude for tranquillity and peace; my friendly heart being bent upon their increase. Continue to rejoice me with happy letters!”

It may be necessary to observe, previous to a perusal of the letter which follows, that the “King of Room,” *i. e.* the Grand Seignor, had written a dissuasive letter to Tippoo, on the subject of his anti-anglican connexion with the French; which letter was officially transmitted to him, with a suitable comment, by the Governor-General, on the 16th of January——

From Tippoo Sultaun. Received the 13th Feb. 1799.

(An official translation.)

“I have been much gratified by the agreeable receipt of your Lordship's two friendly letters; the first brought by a Camel-man, the last by Hircarrah, and understood their contents. The letter of the Prince, in station, like Turnshied wach angels as his guards--with troops numerous as the stars--the sun illuminating the world--the heaven of empire and dom-

cial negociator from the British government, could be considered in no other light than that of a new artifice, for the purpose of giving time until a change of circumstances and of season might enable the Sultaun to avail himself of the assistance of France ; and this conclusion was confirmed by the actual embarkation of Mr. Dubuc (one of the leaders of the French force recently raised in the Isle of France) and two native Vakeels, on an embassy from Tippoo to the Executive Directory of France ; an event which took place at Tranquebar on the 14th of February. The season for negociation through the pacific channels so often offered by Lord Mornington was therefore now elapsed, and the reply to Tippoo's last proposal informed him, that General Harris was the only person authorized to receive and to answer any farther
 communi-

nion--the luminary giving splendor to the universe--the firmament of glory and power--the Sultaun of the sea and land--the King of Rome--he his empire and his power perpetual!--addressed to me, which reached you through the British Envoy, and which you transmitted, has arrived. Being frequently disposed to make excursions and hunt, I am accordingly proceeding upon a hunting excursion. You will please to dispatch Major Doveton (about whose coming your friendly pen has repeatedly written,) slightly attended. Always continue to gratify me by friendly letters, notifying your well
 LORD MORNINGTON'S DISPATCHES.

communications he might think fit to make. This letter General Harris was directed to forward to the Sultaun, on the day on which the army under his command should pass the frontier ; and a declaration was ordered to be issued at the same time, in the name of the Allies, clearly stating and explaining the grounds upon which their military movements were to be justified.

The forces of the Allied Powers were, in the mean time, assembling at Ryacottah, on the confines of Mysore, under General Harris ; the Nizam's contingent formed a rapid junction with the British army, and consisted of above six thousand of the Company's troops subsidized by his Highness ; of about the same number of his own infantry, (including a portion of the French disciplined Sepoys, commanded by British officers), and of a large body of cavalry ; the whole in an improved state of military equipment, and under the general command of Meer Allum. From the last-returns of General Harris's army, previous to his passing the frontier, it was allowed that a body of troops more completely appointed, more amply and liberally supplied in every department, or more perfect in its discipline, and in the acknowledged experience, ability,

and zeal of its officers, never took the field in India. The army on the coast of Malabar, under Lieutenant-General Stuart, was in an equally efficient and respectable condition ; and a considerable force under the command of Lieutenant-Colonels Read and Brown, intended to co-operate with General Harris in the Southern districts, was not less ably equipped for service.

Thus did the consummate ability, and the inflexible perseverance of a British Governor in India, prepare for the operations of a campaign, on which hung the fate of European possession on the plains of Hindostan. The result of those operations has been glorious beyond all calculation, and the names of MORNINGTON and HARRIS will, no doubt, be inscribed to their grateful country, on the same tablet which perpetuates those of a CORNWALLIS and a HASTINGS.

NARRATIVE

NARRATIVE SKETCHES.

THE MARCH OF THE ARMIES

AND THE ACTION AT SEEDASEER.

THE Bombay army marched from Cananore on the 21st of February, arrived at the head of the Poodicherrum Ghaut *, on

* The Mysore country is guarded by a range of celebrated mountains which rise to a surprising height, and oppose to the eastern borders of the Carnatic, a mural front with Ghauts, i. e. passes. From the word Ghaut, the whole chain derives its name: they give entrance into the lofty, fertile, and populous plains of boundless view, which they support as buttresses do a terrace formed on an immense scale. The Mysore country being at least two thousand feet higher than the level of the Carnatic, is thence called the Table Land; the ascent to which is not to be accomplished, even by a single traveller, without the fatiguing labour of many hours. The pathways up the Ghauts are worked by the hand of man along the deep-worn channel of some rapid torrent, or skirting the hollow ravines and winding excavations, which have formed themselves on the face of this mountain precipice, and in many of these passes, the obstructions of art, as well as their natural ones, are opposed to the progress of an invading army. After the sacking of Cananore in 1783, General Matthews (flushed with the expectation of further successes on his march to the attack of Bedanore, ascended the Hussein Ghurry Ghaut, a deep defile, only eight feet wide; with all its windings not less than three miles

stance which Tippoo was then unacquainted with.

From the nature of the country in the Coorga districts *, being almost every where covered by thick jungles, General Stuart had been compelled to place his army in several divisions at some miles distance from each other : the right brigade, consisting of three native battalions under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Montresor, formed the advanced post at Seedaseer, on the boundary of the Coorga territory, about seven miles distant from Periapatam ; and the main body of the army, with the park of artillery and provisions, remained at Seedapoor, and Ahmootenaar ; the first eight miles, and the latter twelve, from the advanced position. By occupying the post at Seedaseer, General Stuart was enabled to preserve a more ready communication with General Harris, as it gave him access to a high hill which commanded a view of the Mysore, almost to the environs of Seringapatam, and was the only

* The Coorga country is a small dominion of the Malabar coast, extending beyond the Ghauts into the Mysore. It consists of mountains and vast jungles, or forest tracts, sheltering tigers and elephants innumerable, being one of the few places in which, at this time, the last are found in a state of nature. Enjoying a fertile soil and temperate climate, this country is a fund of wealth that requires only peace and commerce to render inexhaustible.---See MAJOR DIROM'S CAMPAIGNS.

only spot from whence the signals established between the two armies could be observed.

On the 5th of March, a party of observation on the summit of the hill, unexpectedly discovered an extensive encampment of the enemy forming itself, in which several large tents were distinguishable, and particularly the green pavilion, denoting the presence of the Sultaan. On the morning of the 6th, Major General Hartley went forward to reconnoitre; and at break of day, from the hill of observation, the whole of the enemy's army was discovered to be in motion; but their movements were so concealed by the woodiness of the country, and the hazy state of the atmosphere, that it was impossible to ascertain their object; nor, in fact, was this discovered, till they had penetrated a considerable way into the jungles, and attacked the rear and front of the British line almost at the same instant. This was effected with such secrecy and expedition, that it prevented more than three corps being engaged; as the fourth, posted two miles and a half in the rear, was unable to form a junction, from the enemy's having cut in between them and Seedapore. with a column of three thousand men under the
command

command them ; and under a failure of the means of defence in certain cases, it requires no little address to prevent them from laying down their arms. In this instance, however, the endeavours of Colonel Montresor, aided by the activity of Col. Mignan, and Capt. Brown, (almost the only officers who could speak to, or be understood by the men) the Sepoy battalions were kept in perfectly good order till the fortunate arrival of Gen. Stuart

The Sepoys are all predestinarians (an excellent doctrine for a soldier, and often supplying the place of genuine courage in the field) : three things must be observed to render them serviceable ;---to pay them regularly, never to infringe on their religious superstitions, and not to interfere with their women. A foolish subaltern officer, during the march of a party in a former war *would* touch the pots in which the Sepoys were cooking ; the consequence was, that though they marched a day and night without halting, they threw away their victuals, and turned out with loaded pieces, and with tears in their eyes threatened to leave their officers in the woods ; nor would any thing but the immediate confinement of the offender appease them ; yet in a quarter of an hour they petitioned for his release. They are passionate, but affectionate : some discontent having been on a particular occasion fomented among them concerning the distribution of donation money, the Sepoys turned out to fight the European battalion, and both parties drew up, ready to engage : this however subsided, but the next day they seized a great gun and marched off ; about noon they all sat down and wept, and tired of drawing the gun, peaceably returned into camp.---See HADLEY'S VOCABULARY.

It is necessary to observe, that the word Sepoy means literally a soldier, in the language of the country, and of course applies to any description of troops, though used almost exclusively, by Europeans, for distinguishing the native infantry in the Company's service.

Stuart relieved and reinforced them. Having received intelligence of their situation, he marched up with the flank companies of the 75th Highland regiment, and the whole of the 77th under Lieutenant-Colonel Dunlop, and, after a smart fire of musquetry on both sides, for nearly an hour, the enemy were completely routed, and fled with precipitation through the jungles to regain their column, which still continued the attack in front: in twenty minutes more, Tippoo's troops retreated in all directions*.

To the gallant resistance of the advanced brigade at Seedaseer, must the British army stand indebted, not only for its subsequent conquest of the Mysore, but for its very existence in that country, as an offensive power. Had the advanced posts been carried, the whole of the Bombay force must have been driven back, and its junction
with

* The situation of Colonel Montresor's brigade in this action, offers in many points so strong a parallel to that of Colonel Baillie's detachment, in the affair of Tricoallum, on the 10th of September 1780, that it might not be uninteresting to trace the gallant struggle of that day to its fatal and melancholy termination; more especially as General Baird, the successful commander at the assault of Seringapatam, was a captain in the detachment, and shared its misfortunes. The reader will find that eventful business feelingly and elegantly narrated in MONRO'S ACCOUNT OF THE MILITARY OPERATIONS IN 1788, p.

with that under General Harris either totally prevented, or rendered ineffectual; while the boastful triumph of an inveterate army of Asiatics, alluring to their standard the inhabitants of Malabar, then ripe for revolt, would have increased the resources of the Suldaun in proportion as those of the British army were diminished.

The loss sustained by the Bombay army, on this occasion, amounted to twenty-nine killed, ninety-eight wounded, and sixteen missing; a trifling loss, when we consider the numbers by which it was assailed.— That of the enemy is known to have been very heavy, as, in the course of the action, they were frequently exposed in crowds to the fire of grape-shot and volleys of musquetry; the amount of their loss, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, was near two thousand men, including some officers of considerable distinction. Mahommud Rezza, (the Binky Nabob) who led the attack, is mentioned among those who fell.

After this signal defeat, Tippoo retreated precipitately to his camp at Periapatam, and remained there until the 11th of March, without making any farther attempt to molest the army of Bombay. He afterwards retired into Seringapatam, where he arrived
on

on the 14th; but the circumstances of the opening campaign soon induced him again to lead his troops into the field.



THE PROGRESS OF THE MADRAS ARMY,
AND THE BATTLE OF MALAVELLY.

THE operations of the army of Madras had commenced by the reduction of several forts upon the frontier; some of these surrendered without any resistance to a few battalions of Sepoys sent to take possession, and none of them were defended with vigour, although the Suldaun, from the improved establishment on which he had placed their garrisons, had apparently provided for a different result.

The cumbrous baggage and numerous attendants on the Nizam force, as well as those attached to the Company's troops and the European regiments; the immense quantities of public stores and provisions, and the long train of ordnance necessary for the siege of Seringapatam, with above forty thousand Benjaries *, rendered the pro-

C 2

gress

* A class of people that do not belong to any cast, or any particular part of Hindostan: they live in tents, and travel in separate

gress of the army unavoidably slow * : its movements, however, were but little impeded

separate bodies, each of which is governed by its own regulations. Many of these parties have some thousands of oxen belonging to them, which they frequently drive to the sea-coast towns loaded with rice, wheat, and other articles, for sale or barter. They are rarely otherwise molested, even in war, than by being sometimes pressed into the service of an army to carry baggage or provisions; but, as soon as their services are no longer wanted, they are paid and dismissed---SKETCHES OF THE HINDOOS.

* The following extracts from the highly descriptive letters of Capt. Monro, will give a just idea of the usual incumbrances attached to an eastern army on its march; without some knowledge of which, it is impossible for any one properly to judge of military operations in India.

“ Bullocks of the stoutest kind (says the writer) are substituted in the Indian armies instead of horses, to drag the cannon---there being allotted to each piece of ordnance, upon an average, one ox to every pound weight of metal in the ball, and a few spare ones to serve upon emergencies, with a proper proportion of drivers. Bullocks to the number of some thousands are also used for carrying the immense ammunition stores of an army, such as casks of gunpowder, shot of every description, &c. and a few thousands more of these draught cattle are necessary to convey the provisions, rice, grain, and forage of every kind, so essential to the progress of the whole army.

“ Three bullocks are allowed for the carriage of each marquee, and one for that of each private tent; but those of a field officer require a camel or an elephant to convey them. Two lascars are also sent to camp with each marquee, in order to pitch and give it occasional repairs.

“ There are generally two *buccalies* attached to each company: these are large leathern bags for holding water, slung upon the back of a bullock, (each pair of which have a man to attend them) for the convenience of the soldiers in camp, or upon the line of march.

“ The

ed by the enemy: considerable bodies of horse hovered about its line of march, but without

“ The surgeon, of an European corps particularly, has a great deal to attend to, if he does his duty. There is delivered into his charge a set of doolies, or sick beds, which are a mean and scanty representation of a palanquin, about three feet and a half long by two feet and a half wide: the number attached to a corps is in the proportion of one to every ten men, with four bearers to each; and in these vehicles every valetudinarian of the regiment is conveyed along with the camp.

“ A bazar is also an indispensable appendage to an Eastern army; it consists of a whole camp of native sutlers. They provide and sell to the best advantage all those necessaries of life, which it would be highly inconvenient for the soldiers to carry about with them; such as curry-stuffs, tobacco, rice for the superfluities of the army, meat, cotton-cloth, gram for the officers horses--in short, they furnish out an excellent market, where one may get any thing at a certain price.

“ In addition to the superabundant multitude of attendants already described, every Sepoy in the army carries with him to camp his whole family, be they ever so numerous, who live upon his pay and allowances of rice from the Company. This practice, when properly considered, is really justifiable in them, for an Asiatic must have his wife, whatever may be his circumstances; nor is it customary upon any occasion for man and wife to be separated. The wife shares the hardships of war with her husband in the most chearful manner, let them be ever so perilous, and follows him wherelover he goes.

“ The cavalry, especially the native corps, necessarily bring along with them a vast number of attendants: every trooper, besides his family, has a grass-cutter attached to him; for the grass is in this country dug up by the roots, being washed from the sand and dried in a net: and it is a sufficient day's work for one person to root out twenty-four hours' food for a single horse. Each troop is also furnished with a large copper kettle for boiling the gram or beans for the horses, as it is reckoned unwholesome to let them have it raw. A quantity of this grain,

without any other effect than that of a few skirmishes with the Nizam's contingent, in which his Highness's cavalry conducted themselves with a spirit and regularity which

sufficient to serve the regiment for a certain time, must also be conveyed upon bullocks, allowing each ox to carry about a month's store for a single horse.

“ It would be absurd for a captain to think of taking the field without being attended by the following retinue, viz. a durbash, or valet,, a cook and boy ; and, when bullocks are not to be had, he must assemble fifteen or twenty coolies, or porters, to carry his baggage, who, with an horse-keeper and grass-cutter, and sometimes a dulcinea and her servants complete his train—having occasionally the assistance of a barber, washer-man, and ironer, in common with the other officers of his regiment. His tent is furnished with a good large bed, mattress, pillows, &c. a few camp stools or chairs, a folding table, a pair of shades for his candles, six or seven trunks, with table-equipage ; his stock of linens, (at least twenty-four suits) some dozens of wine, brandy, and gin ; tea, sugar, and biscuit ; an hamper of live poultry, and his milch-goat : a private's tent, for holding his servants and the overplus of his baggage, is also requisite ; but this is not at the Company's expence. Every other necessary of life may be found in the public bazar.”

Thus every officer in the line equips himself according to his abilities and rank ; and thus usually accompanied is the march of an army in India ; but it by no means follow, that the captains of Seringapatam attended to all this kind of preparation for personal conveyance. Apologies, however, are to be made for carrying such an ample stock into the field :—no supplies of any kind are to be found in the country towns through which the army marches, as in Europe ; for, whenever an Indian war breaks out, the villages are instantly desolated, so that there is scarcely a chance of making the smallest acquisition towards the comforts, or even the necessaries of life, from the beginning to the end of a campaign.

which strongly implied an intimacy with the discipline of their European allies.

In order to keep up the supplies of forage and provisions during the march, General Harris found it necessary to use every precaution which his experience of the enemy's mode of warfare had furnished him with; and by frequently and unexpectedly quitting his obvious route for a circuitous one, or by other disguised movements, he often succeeded in deceiving the Sultaun's advanced parties, and recruited the strength of his army by getting possession of every article of subsistence the country afforded. By one of these feints General Harris approached Bangalore, and taking up a position between that place and Severndroog, under every appearance of preparation for a vigorous attack on the former, drew a large body of the enemy's troops to a remote line of action, and thereby obtained a rich prize of forage and grain for the cattle of his army, at that time half famished and nearly exhausted.

Notwithstanding the uncommon attention paid to the supplies for the cattle, their continual fatigue so increased the consumption, that a positive scarcity was often unavoidable, and for a short time without remedy

medy :—on those occasions many of the bullocks were obliged to be left to their fate on the road ; and when it happened that any part of the ammunition was thereby deprived of conveyance, it was blown up, or otherwise destroyed, to prevent its falling into the hands of the enemy. These explosions were frequently a source of alarm to the remote columns of our army during its progress, and more than once put to flight parties of the enemy's Looties, or irregular cavalry, which continually infested the line of march.

As the army approached the village of Malavelly on the morning of the 27th, an unusual number of Tippoo's horse appeared in sight ; and in passing a high ridge of ground, near the fort, an extended line of infantry and artillery were plainly perceived to occupy another height about four miles beyond. General Harris having for some days expected an onset from the enemy, usually marched with one wing of the army ready to move out and attack, whilst the other covered the park of artillery and baggage. About ten o'clock, a cannonade commenced in front from several heavy guns, but so distant, that General Harris ordered the ground to be marked for encampment, while Tip-
poo's

poo's artillery, encouraged by the circumstance of their not being immediately attacked when first discovered, advanced their guns so near, that several shot fell within our lines : this made it necessary to dispose the troops for an attack, which was effected in a very masterly manner by echelon of corps ; our line gaining the left flank of the enemy, and then closing to the right. An action now commenced, in which the right wing of General Harris's army engaged the whole force of Tippoo Suldaun ; and after a brisk onset, their line of infantry on the right was broken by the thirty-third regiment, and being cut down by our cavalry, they were literally trodden under the horses feet. Their left wing, extending itself among the ruins of an old village, waited only till the Europeans were within twenty yards, and then quitted its ground with precipitation.

In the course of the action, a large body of cavalry made an ineffectual attempt upon the advanced picquet of our left wing, with a view of cutting in upon the park of artillery and baggage ; and a party of horse also charged the first European brigade, some of whom penetrating our line, there paid the forfeit of their temerity ; but most of them
were

were killed or wounded in front of it by a well-directed fire.

The loss to the British on this occasion^o was very inconsiderable, though the two armies were engaged nearly three hours and a half; seven rank and file only being killed, and about fifty men, including three officers, wounded; while the ranks of the enemy were considerably thinned*; but to what extent could not then be ascertained. Subsequent statements have made it one thousand, in killed and wounded.

After the affair of Malavelly, General Harris, by one of his happiest manœuvres, continued to march for two days in a direction to the right, as if he intended to approach Seringapatam on the same side Lord Cornwallis had done in the former war, and on which side all his information stated, that Tippoo was making preparations to receive him;

* It is a religious maxim with all the Hindoos, to carry off as many of their wounded and slain as they can: this they think of great importance, being persuaded that after the body is burned, neither the evil principle, or being, nor the *dæmons* of wrath *who* are subservient to his will, have any power over the emancipated spirit. The Mysoreans, the Mahrattas, the Polygars, and in general all the Gentoo warriors, have their loins begirt with girdles or belts, and the horsemen have a hook which they dart with dexterity between those belts and the dead bodies of their friends, and therewith carry them off from the field of battle.—See MEMOIRS OF THE WAR IN ASIA.

him ; but on the third day the route was suddenly turned to the left, and the army gained a flourishing and highly cultivated tract of country, which fortunately the destroying hand of the Sultaun had not touched. After a march of about fourteen miles, General Harris took possession of the town and fortress of Soccilly, commanding an excellent ford over the Cavery, which the army with all its equipments passed in one day, to the utter astonishment of the enemy, who far from expecting us there, had driven the inhabitants of the adjoining districts for many miles around to that very place for shelter and security, and had likewise collected, in the fort, large supplies of cattle, grain, and forage, the whole of which fell into our hands. A day's halt after crossing the river, enabled our army to advance to its ultimate point of action ; and on the 5th of April, General Harris, without interruption, encamped about two miles S. W. of Seringapatam.

The progress of a numerous army marching under a burning sky, amid suffocating clouds of dust and swarms of noxious insects, must naturally be attended with more obstruction and inconvenience than what arise from the skirmishings and attacks of the enemy ; and still more to increase the

fatigues of the march to our troops, they had to encounter the hazard of poison, by the diabolical policy of Tippoo's flying detachments, who not being able, from the peculiar construction of the tanks * to drain off the water they contained, had plentifully seasoned their contents with the bruised branches of the milky hedge-tree ; † and although

* Tanks are large reservoirs, abounding throughout the country of Hindostan, which being filled by the periodical rains of the Monsoons, afford a constant supply of water during the hot season, when all the inferior rivers are exhale'd by the sun. When these places are constructed in the neighbourhood of towns and villages to furnish a large district of country with water for agricultural purposes, they occupy a space of many acres, and are well embanked with earth. When dispersed along the highways for religious or domestic use, or for the refreshment of travellers, they form a rectangular figure from twenty to three hundred yards in length, and are neatly lined with masonry, having flights of steps to descend by on each side, and frequently a stone choultry, or covered colonade, in the middle, under which the tutelary deity, on some occasions, is conducted with great pomp. The water in these reservoirs is as freely and frequently used for bathing and washing cloaths in, as for drinking and culinary purposes, a custom which seems truly disgusting to an European: but the natives prefer this troubled composition to clear, or, as they term it, black water, which in their idea is very pernicious.—See GOLD'S ORIENTAL DRAWINGS.

† It was the infused juice of this deadly shrub, called also the Milk Bush, which seventeen British officers, captured with General Matthews, were compelled to swallow, by order of Tippoo Sultaun, and all miserably perished in the prisons of Kavel Droog and Seringapatam. The General himself did *not* expire by poison, but, horrid to relate ! had his head *wrung* from his body by the tiger fangs of the Jeties, a set of slaves trained up to gratify their master with this infernal species of dexterity.

although this was generally known, yet so strong a temptation is the sight of water to a weary soldier; that no prohibition, or bodies of guards, could prevent the men and cattle from slaking their thirst at these reservoirs. Luckily no very dangerous effect was produced from it, as the only sickness that appeared among the troops during their march arose from the heat of the sun, extreme fatigue *, irregular refreshment, and among

* If any European recruits or young corps should happen to do duty in the line, the march hardly commences before they get fatigued and overcome by the intolerable heat; they soon exhaust all their allowance of arrack, which is too frequently replenished by stagnant water, sometimes so muddy, rotten, and green, that it cannot possibly be drank without adding at least one half of spirits, and then it must be sucked or strained through a handkerchief; an expedient that in a short time knocks them entirely up. The veteran Europeans also, after a little while, begin to flag upon the march, being miserably scorched by the acute rays of the sun, which first dart upon the sand, and then revert with accumulated heat upon their faces. Notwithstanding that each soldier carries a small branch in his hand to fan off the myriads of flies by which he is constantly tormented, yet all his exertions yield him but little relief; for the battalion is so much covered by those insects, particularly if the weather be at all sultry and close, that at the distance of two hundred yards one would suppose they were actually clothed in black. It is really distressing to witness the severe struggles which the poor men often have, from the oppression of the weather, and the numerous diseases to which they are hourly subject. Some, from a redundancy of bile, drop down in a fit of insensibility, and are seized with a violent cholera morbis; others fall suddenly down in contortions with the
D...
cramp;

especially among the common men, from the intemperate use of every species of vegetable they could meet with, particularly the sugar-cane.

In attentively considering the circumstances of the Madras army on its march to the capital of the Mysore, it appears that Tippoo Sultaun

eramp; it runs acutely through every limb, and at last centers in the stomach, which kills the person afflicted upon the spot. But the *coup de soleil* is, of all others, the most fatal attack; it is in the crown of the head that this deadly blow is most commonly felt: the victim first finds his brains begin to boil, and a convulsive fit is the immediate consequence, of which he dies in a very few minutes; and so very violent is the effect of this disorder, that the body becomes quite putrid before a hole can be dug into which it may be thrown. The surgeons doolies, upon these occasions, soon get filled with sick men: those who are least affected being placed upon a gun or cart; and it is some time before many of them get fit for duty again, being often seized after these fatigues with the dysentery, a lingering and loathsome disorder, which carries off too many of our best soldiers. It is not, however, so much to be wondered at, that Europeans should be such sufferers by the climate, when even the native sepoys are unable to withstand the violence of the sun, like others frequently dropping upon the line of march; but it must be considered that they always carry their knapsacks, which the European soldiers never do, upon a march; the black boys and others who cook for them in the camp, easing them of that burden. It is always in the vicinity of some tank that the army halts, or encamps, as running water is seldom to be met with in this country, except during the monsoon season. The cattle and naked followers no sooner come up, than they promiscuously plunge into the water, in order to cleanse and refresh themselves; and after every filthy ablution is performed in it, the Europeans are forced to use the same liquid for drink, and other needful purposes, in common with the natives.--See MONRO'S MILITARY OPERATIONS IN INDIA.

Sultaun was by no means an able General. If, during the progress of the army, he had employed his powers with that military skill which he was supposed to possess, he might, (without hazarding an engagement) by desultory skirmishes, distant cannonades, and other hostile movements, have so harrassed the infantry, and weakened the cavalry, that a great part of the baggage, stores, and ammunition, would probably have fallen into his hands; the army would have been greatly impeded in its march, and the immediate object of the campaign eventually defeated by the setting in of the periodical rains. The Sultaun certainly was not inactive, but his activity was misguided, and became inadequate to its object: he destroyed and laid waste the resources in front of the army,* but by not sufficiently spreading

D 2 the

* When the army in its progress above the Ghauts was encamped under the hill fort of Auchittydurgum, (after taking possession of it) an officer ascended the summit of the rock from motives of curiosity, and describes the view of the surrounding country then under this destructive visitation, as exhibiting to the utmost reach of sight, an intermingled blaze of deserted villages, piles of straw and forage, and extensive patches of long grass, which the fertility of the soil every where produces on the face of these plains. Some of the inhabitants of these devoted districts had courage enough to defend themselves against the Sultaun's depredating parties, and delivering

THE MARCH OF THE ARMIES.

the tracks of devastation, the ultimate end was not answered, as General Harris by slight deviations from the common road, reached his destination at the time he wished, and without any material opposition or inconvenience.

While the Madras army was advancing towards Seringapatam, Lieutenant-Colonel Read was employed in reducing the country to the northward of Ryacottah. His operations were intended to have embraced a wide range, and he had made a considerable progress in them, when the more urgent service of conveying to the troops the large supplies which were collected in the Barra Mahal* made it necessary for him to change the

their hamlets up to our troops, were permitted to sell their cattle and dead produce to to the best advantage; after which they followed the British army for support and protection, and as long as they remained with it, experienced no want of either. From one of these poor fugitives, the officer above alluded to purchased a cow and calf for three rupees—about seven shillings and sixpence sterling!

* The Barta Mahal is a province to the north east of Dindigal; situated between the Carnatic and the Mysore country, and bordering on Coimbetoor: it extends in length north easterly about one hundred and twenty miles, and is a beautiful and fertile tract, more resembling the face of the country in England, than any other part of India. It was ceded to the Company's government at the conclusion of the last war, since which its population and cultivation have been much improved, and

THE MARCH OF THE ARMIES.

the direction of his march, by drawing together in the vicinity of Coveryporam, the numerous and detached convoys of store provisions intended for the army of Seringapatam: in this service he was joined by the detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Brown, who had successfully pushed his operations to the southward of the Carnatic and of Mysore by the reduction of Carroor, Errode, and Arravacourchy, and whose progress in the Coimbatour district was only interrupted by the necessity of forming with Colonel Read; a force sufficiently strong to protect the supplies above-mentioned.

The army of Madras having now taken up its position for the siege, Major-General Floyd with a strong detachment, comprehending the greatest part of the left wing, and nearly the whole of the cavalry, marched on the 6th of April towards Periapatam to secure the junction of the Bombay army under General Stuart, which was effected without difficulty, and both arrived at the camp before Seringapatam on the 14th instant, having been occasionally harrassed on their march by a large body of the enemy's cavalry under Kummer-ud-deen Khan, but

D 3

without

and the roads made in the English manner, wide and commodious, throughout the whole district.

THE SIEGE OF SERINGAPATAM.

without sustaining any determined attack; although it appears that Tippoo, from a dread of the junction of our armies, had given positive orders to his General to risk an action with the Bombay troops on this part of their march, be the consequence what it might. Kummer-ud-deen had probably foreseen the worst, for he has since acknowledged to our officers and men that he did not like their looks!

THE SIEGE OF SERINGAPATAM.

BEFORE the great operations of the siege could commence, it was found necessary to dislodge two strong parties of the enemy from an extensive tope, (or grove) and a deep nullah, (or water course) both in front of the camp, and protected by a thick hedge* and mud-wall. The thirty-third regiment

* In the Indian system of defence, the bound-hedge is a frequent concomitant, as a kind of advanced barrier; sometimes (when, on a large scale, planted round the fortresses of the woody districts) it is defended at certain intervals, or openings, by small redoubts, to interrupt the pioneers employed in cutting a breach through it, and is always formed of every thorny tree or caustic plant of the climate. Pennant enumerates near twenty different kinds of these, among which he says the milky-hedge, or poison-bush, emits a juice so caustic as to scald not

regiment commanded by Colonel Wellesly, and the twelfth under Colonel Shaw, were respectively ordered to perform this service, but it proved to be a work of more difficulty than the recollection of former occasions had led our soldiers to expect; as the enemy had purchased experience in the last war, and rightly judging that our attacks, as usual, would be made at night, were prepared with a mode of defence and counteraction more immediately in our own way. The fact is, that although these two posts were taken possession of, it was not without renewed and persevering bravery in our troops, and a very discouraging loss of officers and men in the course of more than one attack, perplexed by a pitchy darkness*, and on ground they

only the human skin, but the hide of a horse, in forcing through this infernal thicket work: several sorts of euphorbia unite their excoriating qualities, and the aloe and other spiky shrubs, armed with most dreadful thorns, intermix their annoyance. The rattan and the bamboo are interwoven with the rest, and present an entangled and binding mass of branches, equally effective in resisting the edge of the axe, or the stubble fury of Ere.—See PENNANT'S VIEW OF HINDOSTAN, and DIROM'S CAMPAIGNS.

* Six grenadiers of the thirty-third regiment, losing their way in the night, were taken prisoners by the enemy; and on a subsequent advantage gained by our troops in the progress of the siege, these poor fellows were sacrificed to the infernal spirit of revenge which had always actuated the Sultaun's treatment.

they were as yet little acquainted with.— These hard-earned advantages were however the prelude to others gained with less trouble; and in the eager preparations for the siege, every advantage was made the most of: a deep water-course, attacked and carried by the twelfth regiment, formed a parallel for the commencement, and the tope supplied abundant materials for making up gabions and facines, which was a most convenient circumstance, as the country for miles around had been nearly stripped of all resources of that kind. The Madras army was occupied with these preparatory works, (not uninterrupted by the enemy) when the Bombay force arrived.

The Bazar which accompanied General Stuart's army being in a starved and impoverished condition, that of the camp before Seringapatam was proportionably affected by it, for the prices of every article of provision

ment of his English prisoners. After the capture of the place, the bodies of these men were dug up and inspected by our surgeons, who declared they had all been strangled—apparently by the cruel mode of twisting the neck, (*see the note at the bottom of p. 36*) and the fact was confirmed by some of the inhabitants, who stated also, that a number of other prisoners had been murdered during the siege; even a little drummer boy belonging to the Scotch brigade, who had fallen into the tyrant's hands, was made an object of this savage system of retaliation.

vision were soon raised to an alarming height, and it became necessary to procure temporary supplies without delay. This necessity, combined with another of some consequence, induced the commander in chief to order General Floyd's detachment upon a foraging excursion in the neighbourhood of Old Mysore*, nine miles from camp; where, having succeeded in procuring a quantity of concealed stores and provisions, they returned in a few days, and encamped over against the Loll-Baug Garden †, with an obvious design of attacking that

* The antient capital of the kingdom, situated about eight miles from Seringapatam. During the war of 1783, the fortress of this place was the living grave of many an unfortunate English officer, and the scene of many a foul and secret sacrifice accomplished by poison, or deliberate assassination, on the prisoners sent thither for the purpose, by the tyrant Sultaun.

† The Loll-Baug, or Garden of Rubies, fills the eastern end of the island of Seringapatam; it was the work of Tippoo Sultaun, and laid out by himself. The taste was the strait-lined rows of vast cypress trees of most refreshing shade, with parterres filled with fruit trees, flowers and vegetables of every variety. Before the war of 1792, the whole space between this garden and the fort was covered with houses, all of which, except the Dowlut Baug, were destroyed by Tippoo, in order to erect batteries to guard against the approaching attack. In this garden stands the magnificent Mausoleum, in which is deposited the body of Hyder Ally: it is a building indescribably rich in the Moorish composition of its architecture, with minarets and turrets of elegant but fantastic forms. This building

that part of the island of Seringapatam. This feint, for it was nothing more, drew a strong body of Tippoo's troops from the other part of the island, and the Bombay army having crossed over to the north bank of the Cavery, availed themselves of the manœuvre, by gaining possession, with a very trifling loss, of some strong advanced posts, on the scite of which their first battery was erected. General Harris thus secured the co-operation of the two armies on two opposite sides of the fortress by a diversion, which at the same time introduced a seasonable supply of provisions into camp, where the foraging detachment now took up its proper station in the line.

It was however still necessary to obtain without delay those supplies on which the army chiefly depended, and General Floyd again marched with the cavalry, a brigade of native infantry, and the Nizam's horse, to meet the detachment of Colonel Read, with the expected convoy of forage and provisions collecting near Coveryporam.

Exertion

is in the midst of a square, formed of handsome choultries, or colonnaded chambers, for the lodging of the faquirs, which, on the capture of the island by Lord Cornwallis, were converted into hospitals for the European sick.—See the PUBLICATIONS OF MAJOR DIXON, MAJOR ALLAN, MR HOME, &c.

THE SIEGE OF SERINGAPATAM.

Exertion of every kind was now called into its proper line of action before the walls of Tippoo's capital, as the process of the siege advanced ;—the extent of posts we were obliged to occupy on both sides of the river, required the whole force of the coast and Bombay armies ; whilst the troops necessary to dislodge the numerous swarms of the enemy from works and entrenchments thrown up for defence without the walls of the fort, were continually on duty ; and as their service was entrusted chiefly to European officers, who were appointed to the various branches of it, not by selection, but in regular succession, opportunities were given, as they were universally employed, to display the skill and bravery of the British military character. The fire of our batteries, as they were successively opened upon the enemy's works, was incessant and well directed, enfilading the long face of their ramparts, and dismounting and dismantling their guns and embrasures, while our shot, taking a wide and destructive range through the town, considerably damaged many of the buildings.

The enemy during the siege were not inactive, but contrived from their several cavaliers and outworks, to give us gun for gun ;

THE SIEGE OF SERINGAPATAM.

gun; they had also large bodies of infantry, (which they relieved every three or four hours) to keep up a constant fire of musquetry and rockets* on all our posts and on every battery we had erected,—and the rear of the Bombay army, which occupied a position on the northern bank of the Ca-very, was continually harrassed in this way from sun-set to sun-rise; some of these midnight attacks were made with uncommon and desperate exertion, being led by Frenchmen and Caffries†, and it was re-
marked.

* A weapon peculiar to the countries of Hindostan, combining the missile power of a javelin, with the impulse of gun powder. From the force and irregularity of their motion these flying plagues are difficult to avoid, and often make considerable havock. The rocket consists of a tube of iron, about eight inches long, and an inch and a half in diameter, closed at one end: it is filled in the same manner as an ordinary sky rocket, and fixed to a piece of stout bamboo, from three to five feet long; the head of which is armed with a heavy iron spike. At that extremity of the tube, which points towards the shaft of the weapon, is the match; and the man who uses it, placing the butt end of the bamboo upon his foot, points the spiked end in the direction of the object to which he means to throw it, and setting fire to the fuze, pitches it from him, when it flies with great velocity; and on striking the ground, by a bounding horizontal motion, acts with an almost certain effect in fracturing and breaking the legs of the enemy. It is used frequently against bodies of cavalry, which, mostly acting upon an open plain, a shower of rockets seldom fails to throw into confusion.—See SKETCHES OF THE HINDOOS, and PENNANT'S VIEW OF HINDOSTAN.

† Bands of negro slaves, procured from the eastern coasts of Africa.

marked as rather a curious circumstance, that while some of the *latter* met their fate in our trenches, no *Frenchman* had "bit the dust" within a hundred yards of us.

The erecting and completing of the breaching batteries, was a work of continual danger and fatigue to the troops, attended with the loss of a number of officers and men, both Europeans and natives. As our battering artillery was advanced nearer to their walls, different entrenchments and zig-zag works of the enemy, were carried without much difficulty, but the assailants were constantly exposed to a heavy fire of grape shot from the guns of the fort, before they could effectually cover themselves in a new position; and the obscurity of night seldom failed to bring with it the usual harassing attacks of Tippoo's infantry on our out-posts, and a frequent and perplexing discharge of rockets into our trenches.

To prevent the enemy from repairing by night what our breaching batteries demolished by day, it was necessary to bring the

E

Bombay

Africa, or from the island of Madagascar, and usually employed on any desperate service, in the manner of our forlorn hope. It seems, as if Tippoo had imagined his Republican French troops to be possessed of the same kind of implicit devotion to dangerous enterprizes, by *permitting* them to act with this body of cool-hardy savages!

Bombay artillery on the north side of the Cavery, to bear upon the fort, and an additional battery seventy yards in advance, was soon completed and opened with great execution, dismounting every gun it could bear upon—laying in ruins a whole bastion, and beating down a very large cavalier and flag-staff on the N. W. angle of the fort.

From this time, the fire on both sides was sent forth in all directions, and the scene became tremendously grand: shells and rockets of an uncommon weight, were incessantly poured upon us from their high works on the S. W. side, and fourteen-pounders and grape from the north face of the fort, continued their havock in the trenches; while the blaze of our batteries, which frequently caught fire, (to the partial interruption of the cannonade) was the signal for their Tiger Sepoys* to advance, and pour in galling vollies of musquetry.

Our

* The grenadier battalions of Tippoo's Sepoys, or regular infantry, are composed of Moormen, or Hindoos of large stature, who carry firelocks chiefly of French manufacture, with long and indented bayonets. They are, by our troops, called Tiger Grenadiers, or Tiger men, from their dress, which is a short bannian of purple woollen stuff, transversely striped, or speckled with white irregular spots of a lozenge form, and thence named the Tiger Jacket. The ferocity of their appearance is heightened by their thick black beards and whisk-

Our troops performed the duties of this fatiguing service † with uncommon spirit and

ers. On the head is worn a muslin turban of a red colour, and round the waist, a cumber-band, or sash of the same; their legs and feet are entirely naked, excepting a kind of sandal-slipper worn to protect their soles from the roughness of a march: their pay is about twelve rupees, or thirty shillings per month; being rated equal with the artillery, and rocket men of Tippoo's army.---See GOLD'S ORIENTAL DRAWINGS, and VIEWS IN THE MYSORE, drawn by MAJOR ALLEN.

† As a striking description of the dangerous and fatiguing nature of this duty, the following extract from the correspondence of an officer in the 73d regiment, is offered to the reader. It was written upon the spot, under all those impressions of military ardour, so natural to a soldier in the midst of practical enterprize, and is therefore given in the writer's own words, in order fully to preserve the picturesque and animated turn of the narration.

“ On the 25th, (April) it was our turn for the trenches, and on gaining our station, (at sun-set) we found that an approach had been carried on from the eight-gun battery, and a new parallel finished, about two hundred yards in advance of the other, and about twice that distance from the walls of the garrison. It was found necessary to erect a four-gun battery, of eighteen-pounders, on the right flank of this parallel; accordingly a working party from the 73d regiment, and the Scotch Brigade, with some Sepoys, were employed the whole night; and the guns being already in the trenches, the battery was opened in the morning with the usual success, and continued to fire the whole of the following day. It being intended to erect the breaching battery still closer than we already were, and the enemy being in possession of a four-gun stockaded redoubt and covered way, which would infallibly enfilade it when finished, the engineer conceived it necessary so occupy this post, or drive them from it; accordingly it was settled, that the 73d and Scotch Brigade should perform that service before they were relieved. The plan of attack was, for the flank compa-

and perseverance; as the reliefs in the trenches, although established into a regular

panies of the 73d, supported by two from the battalion, and a proportion of Sepoys, to advance from the four-gun battery, while the Scotch Brigade and some Sepoys, likewise pushed on from the other angle of the parallel.

“ Sun-set was fixed on for the time, and it soon came—too soon for many a brave fellow! All was bustle and noise; General Stuart’s, and our batteries, began a heavy fire of guns and howitzers on the garrison, and the enemy returned it with double the number, together with showers of rockets. At last the signal was given, and on we rushed: scarce had we cleared the battery, when one of our grenadier officers, and a number of the men fell, killed and wounded. I received a smart rap on my left shoulder, and thinking I was wounded, put up my right hand to feel; but, much to my satisfaction, found it was my epaulet only that was shot away. I assure you, I did not stop to look for it, but pushing on, soon got to the contested post, where I had the instant mortification to see Captain Hay, of the Scotch Brigade, fall (killed) by my side, and soon afterwards two Lieutenants of their grenadiers, and their Adjutant, were wounded.

“ I was now the only officer in advance, and perceived the enemy closing in upon us on all sides, and in great numbers; our men, at the same time, falling very fast. I formed the remnant of my party, and some more of our officers coming up, we charged, and drove the enemy from the post; but to our mortification, found there was not the least cover from the fire of the fort, to which we were now so near as two or three hundred yards. The enemy likewise perceived the weakness of our numbers, and again advanced to attack us; all our ammunition was expended, and we expected nothing less than being entirely cut off, when fortunately the flank companies, and part of the battalion of the 74th regiment, arrived to our assistance.

“ At first they kept up a smart fire upon the enemy by subdivisions; but finding it was to no purpose, and that our men fell very fast, another charge was determined on.

“ Otr

lar and tolerably secure interchange, had constantly to take a circuitous route of three
or

“ Our men and officers being entirely exhausted with fatigue, and having likewise lost their shoes and stockings (in spite of gaiters, which we all had on) in the muddy bed of an aqueduct we had previously drained, the 74th regiment, fresh and just come to the trenches, undertook this service; accordingly they advanced, while we kept possession of the post, and with such success, that they drove the enemy with great slaughter to the very gates of the garrison; but with the loss of a number of men killed, and many officers and men wounded. On returning, they jointly occupied the place with us and we now began, under cover of night, to bury ourselves in the ground, notwithstanding a very heavy fire of grape, round, and every description of shot the enemy could collect, and throw in upon us from the garrison.

“ It was at this time I lost a good friend, and the service a valuable officer, in the person of Lieutenant Irwin, of the 74th regiment, who fell near me with a grape shot through his head, and another through the body. We remained pretty quiet, and got up a tolerable good covered way, (having only the random fire from the fort to disturb us) till about nine o'clock, when they began to hoist blue lights on the walls of the garrison. These lights are made of the same composition as our port fires, but with this difference, that the people of this country burning it in large quantities, it throws an amazing light around the garrison, so that they can discover any thing at a considerable distance: it was awfully grand! In an instant, every tongue was hush! and instead of the spades and pick-axes resounding with the noise of arduous labour, every man was endeavouring to conceal himself from the penetrating eyes of the enemy.

“ About ten o'clock, three very strong columns of troops came out of the garrison, apparently determined to drive us off; one column advanced to our front, and occupied a strong breast-work at about twelve yards distance; another column gained our left flank, and cut off our communication with the
trenches;

or four miles over the broken and interrupted ground between the advanced works and

trenches; and the third passed over a bridge on our right, which we had neglected to take possession of, and gained a position in our rear; but fortunately there was a river between us. I know not what *your* idea may be of our situation, but I believe there were few of *us* who expected ever to see the camp again. However, we had orders to defend the post, and were determined to do our best.

“ Colonel Wallace, of the 74th, commanded, and strictly enjoined the officers not to suffer the men to fire, but to keep as snug as possible, and if the enemy attempted to enter, then to keep them out with the bayonet. A very heavy fire of musquetry and rockets now commenced on us from all sides, and continued the whole night; but though they frequently threatened, and we invited them to come on, they took care to keep out of the reach of our soldiers’ bayonets. In this state we remained during the night, and morning only appeared to shew our situation in a more desperate point of view. The enemy, who had fired at us in the dark indiscriminately, now plainly saw our situation, and taking deliberate aim, the soldiers fell very fast, without the satisfaction of returning a single shot.— The enemy finding they could not provoke us to fire again, which they wished to do, in order to expose us to a more superior fire, advanced to the top of the trenches, and lifting up large stones, dropped them in upon us, one of which struck *me* so forcibly on the right arm, as to raise a doubt in my mind, whether it was not broke. Our brave soldiers at last lost their tempers, and irritated by the repeated blows from this kind of attack, jumped up, and swore that if they were not allowed to fire, it could be no harm to throw back the stones, and one and all began to return them as fast as they came. Serious as our situation then was, I could not help laughing heartily.

“ At last the contest ended in the usual way: a plan being previously arranged, about ten o’clock the Scotch brigade which was on the left, charged down the front, at the same time a party from camp attacked those in the rear; and we

advancing.

and the camp, whither it was also necessary to convey the wounded, and from whence the materials, amunition, and supplies, required

advancing from the right, they were completely surrounded, and received such a severe check, as deterred them from again advancing to their old ground. In fact, they were well employed the remainder of the day in carrying off the killed and wounded; which last description of our own men now drew our attention, for we had no time to look to them before: my share of that business rested with my own company, and that of my before-mentioned much valued friend; I had two graves dug along-side the river, in one of which I laid him, and in the other, four of the finest soldiers in the light company: they had no *parson* to read the funeral ceremony, but they had the blessings and sighs of their surviving comrades. On enquiry, I now found that out of fifty men I had at the commencement of the attack, I lost four killed, and thirteen wounded, several of the latter description shortly after dying of their wounds; and the other companies lost some more and some less.

“ We now remained unmolested, except by the fire from the garrison; but about four o'clock in the afternoon, a violent storm of thunder, lightning and rain, set in, which filled the trenches, so that we were up to the middle in water, and I was so cold in my wet clothes, after having been scorched to death the whole day previous, that I would have given the world for a glass of any kind of spirits; but that was a luxury hardly to be got in camp, much less in our then situation.

“ At last the wished-for relief arrived, (ten o'clock at night) and after being in the trenches for the space of fifty-two hours, without the least rest, we had to return to camp, up to the middle in mud and water, along so slippery a track, that in some places we could not keep on our feet without much difficulty; and all this while marching without shoes or stockings. About two o'clock the following morning I had the pleasure once again to enter my tent, and, thanks to a good constitution, I do not feel myself the worse for that or any other fatigue I have experienced during the campaign.”

quired for the batteries, had to be daily and hourly brought in.

At an advanced period of the siege, General Harris received a letter from Tippoo Sultaun, expressive of a desire to open a negotiation for peace. To this overture the General answered by transmitting a draft of preliminaries founded on the instructions with which he had been furnished by the Governor-General, but modified in such a manner as the late change of circumstances appeared to demand. The leading points of the proposed terms were, that the Sultaun should deliver up all Frenchmen in his service to the disposal of the British army as prisoners of war, and renounce all future connexion with the French nation or its subjects;—that one half of his dominions should be ceded to the allies, together with two crores of sicca rupees, (£250,000 sterling) under particular specifications;—that a mutual and unequivocal release of all prisoners should take place between the powers at war;—and that until the due performance of the articles of treaty, four sons of Tippoo Sultaun, and four of his principal officers, (each to be named by General Harris) should be delivered as hostages into the hands of the allies, with a moiety of the
money.

money above stipulated for. The Sultaun was allowed twenty-four hours to signify his assent or rejection of the above terms, and in twenty-four hours more, in case of acceptance, the money and hostages were to be produced in camp: at the same time it was stated by General Harris, that he reserved to himself a discretionary right of extending his demands for security, even to the possession of Seringapatam.

The Sultaun, with his usual temporizing policy, acknowledged the receipt of the above proposed articles, at the same time stating that he was about to send two Vakeels to General Harris for personal explanation on the subject; but the Commander in Chief replied to this evident finesse by a short note, in which he referred to the terms already sent in, as those on which alone he would treat: declining to admit any ambassadors, unless accompanied by the hostages and specie required, and insisting on an answer within a limited time. This was written on the 28th of April; no answer was returned, and the active operations of the siege went on with accumulating effect.

On the 1st of May it was perceived that a gap was effected on the outer curtain of the fort, and it was considerably enlarged

THE SIEGE OF SERINGAPATAN.

on the two following days: both officers and men now regarded the ruins with anxious and impatient feelings, wound up to a most painful pitch of inquietude by the growing inconveniencies of their situation. A scarcity approaching to famine prevailed throughout the camp*; rice was sold at the enormous rate of three rupees, or seven shillings and sixpence a pound, wine and spirits at forty pagodas (sixteen pounds sterling) per dozen; and no accounts of a late date had arrived from the southern detachments, on which alone our army now depended for supplies; the public grain, of which the native troops only received half a seer

* From the abundant supplies with which the army began its operations, and the temporary and partial nature of the losses sustained on its march, this scarcity seems somewhat extraordinary, and difficult to be accounted for. General Harris, in his letter of the 18th of April, informs Lord Mornington, that on measuring the rice bags in camp, to know what they *really* contained, they were found so much diminished by *loss or fraud*, that eighteen days provisions for the fighting men, at half allowance, was all that could be produced; and the Governor-General noticing this in his letter to the Court of Directors, dated the 16th May, says---“The cause of so alarming and unexpected deficiency in the provisions of the army has not yet been satisfactorily explained, and will require future investigation. Every account, public and private, which had reached me previous to Lieutenant-General Harris's note of the 18th of April, had taught me to calculate upon a supply amply sufficient to subsist the army for at least forty days from the 7th of April.”---See LORD MORNINGTON'S DISPATCHES.

seer (one pound) per day, was nearly expended; many of the camp followers were perishing; all the bullocks of the army, public and private, were either dead or worn out by fatigue and the want of food; and in addition to these discouragements, there was a strong probability, from the appearance of the weather, that the rains, which usually commence in the month of May, would swell the river into an insurmountable obstacle to the operations of the besieging army. Every one was sensible of the critical state of the enterprize; yet this conviction, instead of depressing the exertions of our veterans, only served to call forth all their energies; every man put a willing shoulder to the wheel, and when the breach was declared practicable, a general and eager satisfaction among the troops accompanied the dispositions for the assault, which were immediately made by General Harris.

Ten flank companies of Europeans, taken from those regiments necessarily left to guard the camp and out-posts, followed by the twelfth, thirty-third, seventy-third, and seventy-fourth regiments, and three corps of grenadier Sepoys, taken from the troops of the three Presidencies, with two hundred

red

THE SIEGE OF SERINGAPATAM.

red of his highness the Nizam's troops, formed the party for the assault, accompanied by one hundred of the artillery and the corps of pioneers, and supported in the trenches by the battalion companies of the regiment of Meuron, and four battalions of Madras Sepoys. Colonel Sherbrooke, and Lieutenant-Colonels Dunlop, Dalrymple, Gardiner, and Mignan, commanded the several flank corps, and Major-General Baird was entrusted with the direction of this important service *.

On the 3d of May, at sun-set, the Bombay troops for the attack crossed the river, and forming a junction with the main body of the storming party ; the whole, together with the supporting corps, placed themselves, during the night, in and about the batteries and trenches, as much out of sight and under cover as the nature of the ground would admit, in order that on the following morning no extraordinary movement might lead the enemy to expect and prepare for the assault ; and under this disposition the troops remained till day-light, awaiting

* The number of men actually under arms at the assault of Seringapatam, was two thousand four hundred and ninety-four Europeans, and one thousand eight hundred and eighty-two natives ; in the whole, four thousand three hundred and seventy-six.—ASIANIC ANNUAL REGISTER.

awaiting their further orders, very little inclined to yield the contemplation of a glorious enterprize to any thoughts of repose; indeed the personal inconveniences of their situation precluded every comfort of that kind *.

THE STORMING AND CAPTURE.

At day-break on the 4th of May, the fire from our batteries, and from the guns of the fort was commenced and kept up as on the preceding days, but the enemy discharging an increased quantity of rockets into our trenches; it was supposed to be in consequence of their having observed them more crowded than usual. About eleven o'clock the troops received notice that the grand assault would take place exactly at one

* A tolerably correct idea may be formed of what their situation was, by the following extract of a letter from an officer, who was of the storming party.

“ While standing in the trenches, a thirteen and half-inch shell fell in the centre of my company: we were so closely crowded together, that it was impossible either to get out of the way, or to lay down; I however ordered the men to squat as close as possible, which we all did: the shell burst and covered us with a cloud of muddy earth. I got up, expecting to see one half of my company killed or maimed, but was astonished to find that only one poor fellow had suffered, who was so dreadfully mangled, that he died the following night.”

one, that being the time best calculated to ensure success, as the habits of Tippoo's soldiery led them to expect some relaxation in the heat of the day, and it was probable they did not suppose Europeans capable of commencing or executing any service of consequence under a meridian sun. General Baird having now arrived in the trenches to take the command of the storming party, each European received a cheering dram and a biscuit, and the arrangement and formation of the attack immediately commenced.

It was determined to make the assault in two places at the same time, viz. on the right and left of the breach; the former point of attack being on the southern rampart, and the latter that on the north. Colonel Sherbrooke, and Lieutenant-Colonel Dunlop were respectively appointed to command the two divisions; Lieutenant Lalor of the seventy-third regiment undertook the guidance of the troops across the Cavery, and a Forlorn Hope * of twelve men and

a

* In military enterprizes depending on a coup-de-main, and more especially in the storming of a fortress, the actual attack is preceded by a small detached party of grenadiers led by a non-commissioned officer,---either with a view to mislead the attention of the enemy, or for the purpose of ascertaining in what manner their resistance is likely to operate, and thereby enabling the commander to regulate the onset for the main

body

a serjeant, together with an officer's party of thirty men turned out ready to advance to the breach, in front of each division.

Preceding the hour of attack, the storming party waited with true soldier-like anxiety: circumstanced as the army then was, their own existence and that of the British interest in India alike depended on the event of the enterprize before them; but all were confident of success, and every man was prepared to meet dangers and overcome difficulties for the glorious reward he saw beyond them. All this while, the enemy continued their attacks upon our advanced works: the rear of the Bombay army ap-

F 2

peared

body of his force. This desperate service is properly termed the Forlorn Hope, as the advanced party is exposed to almost certain destruction; notwithstanding which, it is always composed of volunteers from the ranks, who by military rule are entitled to promotion if they survive. The serjeant, who commands on such occasions, is, in the event of a successful return to his corps, rewarded with a commission; and it is generally contrived, that some one shall be appointed or accepted as a leader, who is known to be capable of making a good officer.

The serjeant's party of the Forlorn Hope is commonly followed by another advanced detachment of thirty or forty men, under the command of an officer, who also turns out to volunteer the duty. If a subaltern lays under any imputation injurious to his character as a soldier, and has the spirit to exonerate himself as a soldier ought to do, of course he is the first to volunteer the advanced party; but sometimes a motive less honourable, the only object of which is a speedy riddance from private troubles, or public dislike, drives an officer to the almost certain cure of---the Forlorn Hope.

peared to be very seriously menaced, and a brisk though irregular fire was crossing the covert party in all directions ; but nothing could draw the attention of our officers and men from its main object.

About a quarter before one o'clock the troops stood up, and closed to the right ; when General Baird, after being satisfied that all was ready, drew his sword, and three cheers resounded along the trenches. The Forlorn Hope, with trailed arms, immediately rushed forward at a smart trot, by a communication which had been cut down to the river ; and such was their alacrity, that the party was only six minutes in fording the Cavery, crossing the glacis and first ditch of the fort, and ascending to the top of the breach.

Every one of our batteries now opened its artillery ; and at the same time was commenced a heavy fire of grape and musquetry from the enemy's works, while the guns from a high cavalier opposite to the breach were excessively galling to our troops in passing the river—at this part about two hundred yards broad, and its bed composed of large and rugged rocks, which every where formed deep holes, or slippery and deceitful shallows. With these difficulties and hazards before them, the whole of the
storming

storming party dashed into the cavity as fast as they could clear the trenches,—frequently one step up to the knee, and the next over the head! The guide being killed early in the passage, the scene was frightful even to a veteran in the service: heavy shot from the fort flying thick along the channel of the river, and bounding from rock to rock, fatally striking the officers and men, or shivering the battered stone in their faces; while the wounded, clinging to the projected fragments, or struggling against a two-fold death in the water, called upon their brother soldiers for assistance, at a time when, unfortunately for many, it could neither be given nor expected.

From the midst of this danger the Forlorn Hope was seen planting the British colours on the top of the breach*: a general shout succeeded.

F 3

succeeded.

* The circumstances which involved the fate of Serjeant Graham of the Bombay European regiment, the leader of this self-devoted band, were too interesting to escape the notice of the British officers, even in the heat of the attack; and therefore, in justice to a brave soldier, their mention ought to be annexed to this narrative.

When his party rushed forward to the breach, Serjeant Graham claimed the pre-eminence of being the first man who stood upon the top; and after hastily reconnoitring the disposition of the enemy within their works, he made a safe retreat to the column next in advance, which had then gained the midway ascent: here, anxious to secure to himself a still more distinguished honour, he (by a few words of persuasion, spirited and soldier-like) obtained the colours from the officer who bore them.

succeeded, and in a very short time the foremost columns of the storming party, by the help of their scaling ladders, descended from the glacis and climbed the breaches in the *fausse-braye* and rampart of the fort, surmounting in the most gallant manner every obstacle which the difficulty of the passage, and the resistance of the enemy, presented to oppose their progress: a few brave fellows, with true British impetuosity, sprung at the breach without the assistance of ladders, but the quantity of water which had soaked into their cloaths in passing the river, soon rendered the footing so slippery, that those attempts were productive of more difficulty than dispatch.

A busy and destructive conflict now ensued,

them, again ascended the ruins, over the bodies of his fallen comrades, and clambering upon the rampart, planted for the first time the British ensign on the walls of Seringapatam. This act alone, by military usage, entitled him from that instant to rank as a commissioned officer; and justly proud of its accomplishment, and burning with all the ardour of heroism, he held the colour-staff with one hand, waved his hat with the other, and emphatically raising his voice amid the surrounding confusion, called out, "Huzza for Lieutenant Graham!"---He had scarcely uttered the words, when a shot mortally struck him to the heart; and this brave fellow, after having been but one short moment, to his own feelings, a greater man than his General, and an object of envy for an Alexander! dropped lifeless into the ditch of the fort. His body was afterwards recognized under a pile of slain, which the avenging "spirit of the storm" had, no doubt, raised upon the spot, to denote the fall of a hero!

sued, during which the enfilading batteries of the Bombay advanced post were of signal service, as they deterred numbers of the enemy from disputing the breach, who might otherwise have kept up a galling fire upon it.

The left attack, directed on the north ramparts, had to encounter a steady and obstinate resistance, from a force headed by Tippoo in person: our troops were twice repulsed, and suffered a heavy loss of officers, in killed and wounded, before the enemy gave way; which at length they did, being drove along the ramparts from battery to battery, and bayoneted from numberless traverses they had thrown up to prevent the enfilade of our guns.

Colonel Dunlop, at the onset, received a severe wound, in a personal conflict with one of Tippoo's Sirdars, who about half way up the breach made a desperate cut at him with his scimitar: this blow the Colonel was fortunate enough to parry, and to return with effect, by mortally wounding his antagonist: but the Sirdar, collecting all his remaining strength as he fell, struck the Colonel across the wrist of the right hand, and nearly cut it through. He was instantly bayoneted by the grenadiers as they passed, and Colonel Dunlop, still endeavouring

deavouring to head his division, had scarcely gained the summit of the breach ere he sunk from the loss of blood, and was led off to the rear by one of the serjeants of his party.

The attack on the right met with but a short opposition; for the enemy's Sepoys being soon panic struck, as it were, to avoid the bayonets of our grenadiers, threw themselves from the broken battlements into the ditch in great numbers, where most of them were shot by the supporting party then coming up to the breach.

Beyond the ruins of the first wall, the progress of the assailants was unexpectedly checked by a second wet ditch, about forty feet in width and proportionably deep, which was intended to break the communication between the outer rampart and the body of the city. This interruption was a critical one, and threw a momentary damp on the spirits of our men: but fortunately it presented no solid obstacle to the rapidity of their movements; for, after fighting their way along the ramparts to the right and left, they found a batard'eau, or causeway, across the ditch, which had been recently used by the coolies, or labourers belonging to the fort, in carrying over materials for the construction of some newly-erected

ly-erected works, and by which a ready passage was gained to the opposite side.

The scene now exhibited a most animating and unrivalled display of British bravery: our troops within the works bore down all opposition wherever they met it, and fresh columns pressed on at the breach, where the sight of their fallen comrades, intermixed with heaps of dead and dying Indians, only added the energy of revenge to that of glory. Captain Molle*, commanding the grenadier company of the Scotch Brigade, was very conspicuous: almost singly he pursued the enemy until he came to the mud cavalier behind the great round tower, on which he planted a flag, and displayed his hat on the point of his sword. Under these banners his men soon collected; and being supported by the rest of the troops composing the right attack, they advanced rapidly and drove the enemy before them; a confused body of whom, attempting to gain a sally-port, was met by others flying before the fire of the left detachment, which had taken them in flank from the inner ramparts; and the two attacks meeting at that point, a horrid carnage ensued, in which Tippoo himself, endeavouring to escape,

* See COL. BEATSON'S VIEW OF THE WAR WITH TIPPOO SULTAUN.

escape, was hemmed in on both sides, and there fell a glorious victim to the manes of our murdered countrymen. This was not known till some time afterwards.

In little more than an hour from the commencement of the assault, we had gained possession of nearly all the cavaliers and ramparts of the fort, on which the colours of the different British regiments were seen triumphantly flying*: the regimental bands, with every drum and fife striking up the Grenadier's march, while the victorious assailants turned the Sultaun's favourite Tiger guns upon his broken and flying ranks, who now from all quarters indiscriminately rushed to the sally-ports, dropped from the broken walls, or threw themselves into the ditch: at the same time, crowds of the terrified inhabitants mixing with the soldiery, and pressing to the gates, quitted the town out-works and island of Seringapatam, through

* The early part of this general triumph was marked by a circumstance rather whimsical in itself, but strongly picturing the bold ingenuity of an English soldier. Some privates, belonging to the light company of the seventy-third regiment, observing the colours of the fort shot away and eager to replace them with *something British*, pushed forward, and fought their way to the flag-staff: where, for want of the proper ensign (which they had forgot to provide) an English light-infantry jacket was hoisted, and continued flying in sight of the whole army, till, on the coming up of the regiment, the King's colours were substituted under the repeated cheers and acclamations of their officers and comrades.

through a destructive fire of musquetry, or at the point of the bayonet, by which every outlet from this scene of slaughter, was soon heaped with killed and wounded of all descriptions. In many of the gateways thus crowded, the muslin dresses of the dead catching fire from the paper of our soldiers' cartridges, blazed forth with a violence equal to that of an immense flaming furnace, and continued burning, till the gates and the mingled mass of bodies heaped against them, were consumed together.

In a short time, all firing ceased within the walls, except that of some musquetry from the palace, and from the tops of a few houses in the town, vengefully levelled at the scouring parties of our soldiery, which every where took possession of the streets: this, however, was of short duration; in half an hour more all opposition was given up, the confusion began to subside, and General Baird was left to exercise the rights of conquest undisturbed.

The carnage on this occasion is greatly to be lamented, though it was much less than might have been expected in a large city entered by storm, and crowded with inhabitants, whose opposition was continued in the streets, and from the ruins of their houses,—and where no incentive was want-
ing

ing to gratify lust, rapine, and revenge; but it should ever be remembered, to the honour of the General Officer who conducted the assault, and others who seconded his humane efforts, that the effusion of blood was very soon restrained, and under circumstances of provocation, which sufficiently proved, if proof were wanting, the humanity of the British character: nor, in the course of that plunder, which the laws of war allow in certain cases to the conquerors, was any defenceless inhabitant intentionally killed, or any woman treated with wanton brutality; although many of our soldiers, both natives and Europeans, without much ceremony, possessed themselves in a few hours after entering the town, of very valuable effects in gold and jewels: the houses of the chief sirdars, as well as of the merchants and shroffs, (or bankers) being completely pillaged, while the women, naturally alarmed for their personal safety, compounded with the apparent danger by emptying their coffers, and bringing forth whatever jewels they possessed.

By the time our troops had obtained possession of the fort, Major Shee, with part of the 33d regiment, had proceeded to the Suldaun's palace, at the front gate of which they found a six-pounder planted, pointing to the street; our soldiers immediately turn-

ed his gun against the entrance it was meant to defend, and the palace was summoned to surrender. Several of Tippoo's people appeared at a front balcony, evidently in great consternation; and Major Allen, accompanied by the grenadiers of the 12th regiment, and a party of Sepoys arriving with a Flag of Truce, he was reluctantly admitted by the Killedar, over an unfinished part of the wall, together with two other British Officers. In a short time afterwards, General Baird arrived at the palace-gate, and Major Allen came out to inform him, that he had seen two of the younger Princes, who were disposed to surrender themselves and the palace, on a promise of protection. This was agreed to, on condition the Sultaun also was produced, and a principal Officer, who appeared in a veranda over the gate, undertook to see this condition performed. Some time however elapsing, and the palace not being surrendered, nor the Sultaun appearing, as was expected, preparations was immediately made for bursting open the gates. Alarmed at this, the same person again came forward, and after a short conversation, caused the palace to be delivered up to our troops, and surrendered himself, and two of Tippoo's youngest sons; at the same time giving General Baird to understand,

G

that

that the Sultaun would immediately make his appearance.

In the palace were found the chief part of Tippoo's family, and confidential servants, who, on assurance of safety, resigned themselves to the disposal of the British Commander with decent fortitude. Guards of Europeans were immediately placed for their protection, and that of the Zenanahs, where it was understood that about six hundred and fifty females remained, including some of the wives and ladies of the late Hyder Ally, and the whole female establishment of Tippoo Sultaun's family, with their attendants.

The Republican French in the service of Tippoo, were also found within the walls of the royal residence, and thereby obtained the quarter which they so ill deserved, at the hands of the English. The party had wisely shut themselves up with the defenders of the palace, till the first burst of violence had passed, and mixing with them, partook of the mercy by which they were preserved: their appearance in every respect was exceedingly mean, though their commander, Monsieur Chapuy, displayed somewhat of the military veteran in his appearance. He and his subordinate officers bore commission from the French Government,

Besides

Besides this body of republicans, so speedily and completely bereft of their ferocity, there was found in the palace-yard another numerous band of tamed savages, in somewhat better condition than their fellow captives the French, but nearly as much frightened: this was a large collection of domesticated Tigers, kept for the Sultaun's amusement *, but not being deemed safe playfellows

* The late Sultaun, as well as his predecessor Hyder, had a strong partiality for these animals, and found in them a constant source of amusements at stated hours of the day, when (according to the accounts of those who have escaped from his service) he ordered them, together with all his horses and elephants, to be paraded before him in one of the courts of his palace. The Tigers, at their hours of show, were generally led forth decked with rich mantles of green and gold hanging to the ground, with a kind of embroidered cloth bonnet on their heads, by means of which their eyes could be immediately covered, in case of a mischievous turn in their gambols. After some time passed in experiments on their docility and dexterity, the Sultaun himself gave them each a bail of sweetmeats, which they took from his hand very adroitly with their paws, and retired, while their princely feeder, from an open veranda, or balcony, received the successive salams of his Elephants, as they marched round to their stables. These Tigers are of the spotted kind, by the natives called Chittas) and trained up to hunting, instead of dogs: they are easily familiarised to the company of man, their keepers leading them every day into those places, where the greatest crowds were assembled in the streets of Seringapatam. The striped, or Royal Tiger, has never been tamed, or domesticated, by any attempts yet made.

The Tiger being the figurative Royal animal in the nations of India, as the Lion is in the British dominions, its representative badge was found upon almost every article of the late

lows for our European officers, these *natives* were shot to prevent accidents, while the *foreigners*, expecting the same fate, were happy to accept of their lives upon any terms.

THE DEATH OF TIPPOO.

A considerable time having elapsed, and the promised appearance of the Sultaun being still delayed, General Baird began to entertain suspicions of some meditated *finesse*, by which a material object of the capture might be defeated; and placing the officer, on whose information he had depended, under a strict guard, told him that his head should now pay the forfeit of any attempt to deceive him. The chief, upon this, honestly confessed that Tippoo was not in the palace, but that he was killed in the defence of the fort; and General Baird, naturally

Sultaun's princely property---whether in his palace, in his fortresses, or in the field. His apartments and furniture exhibited the Tiger stripe; his ordnance bore the Tiger's head round the muzzle; and his favourite troops, as already noted, were distinguished by the Tiger jacket. In short, his hours of relaxation having been passed among Tigers, the great business of his life was exactly that of his ferocious prototype---crouching, to make sure of his prey, or bounding upon it with savage impatience, as best suited his occasions, and afterwards tearing in pieces the helpless victims of his craft, or his repacity.

naturally anxious to ascertain so important a fact, caused immediate search to be made for the body, which after much difficulty, was found in the north sally-port, under a vast heap of others, shot in several places, and disfigured with blood and dust. It was placed on his own palanquin, and carefully conveyed to the court of the palace, where it remained during the night, furnishing a remarkable instance of those who are given to reflection, of the uncertainty of the human affairs. He, who had left his palace in the morning, a powerful imperious Suldaun, full of vast ambitious projects, was brought back a lump of clay, his kingdom overthrown, his capital taken, and his palace occupied by the very man (Major General Baird) who, about fifteen years before had been, with other victims of his cruelty and tyranny, released from near four years rigid confinement in irons, scarce three hundred yards from the spot where the corpse of the Suldaun now lay*.

For

* General (then Captain) Baird was one of the few survivors in the unfortunate catastrophe of Colonel Bailie's detachment in 1780, when Hyder Ally, after surrounding and cutting to pieces nearly the whole of that brave and resolute party on the plains of Tricoolum, marched the remainder (most of whom were severely wounded) to the prisons of Seringapatam; treating the officers and men on their painful progress with a refinement

For a detailed account of the Sultaun's conduct during the assault of his capital, and the circumstances which preceded and attended his death, we must repeat the particulars

refinement of cruelty, the details of which would scarcely be credited. During their captivity, the death of Hyder Ally transferred these victims of tyranny to the disposal of Tippoo Saib, who, if possible, made their confinement still more irksome and intolerable, by denying them every kind of comfort or accommodation;---loading them with heavy irons;---insulting the sick and maimed, and aggravating their complaints by a strict privation of all medicinal aid;---and continually tormenting those who retained any semblance of health, spirits, or fortitude, with disgraceful proposals to enter into his service, or with the hateful visits of his unfeeling Killedars, accompanied by a train of black operators, ready to enforce all the forms of a summary conversion to Mahomedanism! These threatening preparations, however went no farther with respect to *them*; but numbers of other prisoners, less fortunate, were obliged to submit to the horrid ceremonies of initiation, and become nominal Mussulmen; among whom were most of the captured officers and seamen so shamefully given up to Hyder Ally by the French Admiral de Suffrein. In the course of four years melancholy seclusion at Seringapatam, Capt. Baird and his fellow sufferers had the frequent mortification of being informed by their guards of the fate of other British officers imprisoned in the Hill forts of Mysore, whom the sanguinary orders of the Sultaun had deemed to a cruel death; they were told of the lamentable end of General Matthews, with seventeen of his officers and others who perished by poison, or had their throats cut in the fortress of Kavel Droog, and the Jungles of Bednore; and they were taught to believe themselves reserved only for a similar fate:---in fact three of their number, viz. Col. Baillie, Capt. Rumley, and Lieut. Frazer, had been already separated from their companions and removed to the fortress of Mysore, whence it was well known few prisoners had ever returned. The first of these officers, by a natural death, spared the executioner his trouble, but the two latter

ticulars collected from some of his chiefs, and those who were the immediate attendants of his person, together with the information given by such of the European officers as were eye-witnesses of any relative facts.

The Suldaun, according to the authorities above

later were cruelly murdered, and as usual, the fact was reported at Seringapatam to their surviving friends, with all the aggravations a diabolical spirit could devise.

From the narrow court of their prison the officers frequently noticed, on the terrace of the Suldaun's house, a number of circumcised European slave boys, under the charge of a Derogah, or superintendent, who seldom failed to point out their captive countrymen to them; and the horror these youths felt at the thought of being for ever shut out from a communication with their friends, and from the hope of returning to their country, so wrung their tender souls with anguish, that they would often burst into a flood of tears, and mournfully waving their turbans, retire from the painful sight. Ten of these boys were drummers and fifers, of his Majesty's 101st. and 102d. regiments, and had been made prisoners at Bednore, with the troops under General Matthews.

After the unchecked attacks of sickness, the insupportable severities of confinement, and the hand of the executioner, had carried off more than half their number, the imprisoned officers and men were at length released by the peace of 1794, together with all the other British captives who had survived their sufferings in the different prison fortresses of Tippoo's dominions: but a considerable number of Europeans remained in hopeless servitude among the slave battalions of Tippoo's army, or in the more disgraceful occupation of entertaining the Suldaun in his hours of leisure, by dancing before him with all the unmanly antics that youth and activity were capable of being taught. These devoted people having taken the Mahomedan dress, were considered as the Suldaun's slaves, and never afterwards permitted to leave the country.---See BRISTON'S NARRATIVE, and MEMOIRS OF THE WAR IN ASIA, &c.

above mentioned, went out early on the morning of the assault, as was his daily custom, to one of the cavaliers of the outer rampart of the north face, whence he could observe what was doing on both sides;—he remained there till about noon, when he retired to take his usual repast under a pandal, (a temporary kind of portico in front of the Asiatic buildings) leaving one of his principal sirdars, Meer Gofhar, in charge, giving it as his opinion that he would not attempt the place in the afternoon, or at night; and when it was reported to him that our parallels and approaches were unusually crowded with Europeans, he did not express the least apprehension, or take any other precaution, than by desiring the messenger to return to the west face, with orders to Meer Gofhar with the troops near the breach to keep a strict guard. This order was not however closely attended to, for during the Suldaun's absence leave was given for more than two-thirds of the people on duty to eat their rice, which had been dressed for them at some distance within the works, and this circumstance exactly falling in with the calculations of our General in deciding upon the hour of attack, materially contributed to its success, for none of the
troops

troops thus absent had returned to their quarters till it was too late.

About one o'clock Tippoo was informed that Meer Gofhar had been killed by a cannon shot near the breach, which intelligence appeared to agitate him greatly; he immediately ordered the troops that were near him under arms, and his personal servants to load the carabines which they carried for his own use, and hastened along the ramparts towards the breach, accompanied by a select guard and several of his chiefs, till he met a number of his troops flying before the van of the Europeans, who he perceived had already mounted and gained the ramparts. Here he exerted himself to rally the fugitives, and uniting them with his own guard, encouraged them by his voice and example to make a determined stand. He repeatedly fired on our troops himself, and one of his servants asserts that he saw him bring down several Europeans near the top of the breach. Notwithstanding these exertions, when the front of the European flank companies of the left attack, approached the spot where the Suldaun stood, he found himself almost entirely deserted, and was forced to retire to the traverses of the north ramparts; these he defended, one after another, with the bravest of his men and

and officers, and assisted by the fire of his people on the inner wall, he several times obliged the front of our troops, who were pushed on with their usual ardour, to make a stand. The loss here would have been much greater on our part, had not the light infantry and part of the battalion companies of the twelfth regiment, crossing the inner ditch (as has been already noticed) and mounting the ramparts, driven the enemy from them, and taken in reserve those who with the Sultaun were defending the traverses of the outer ramparts,

While any of his troops remained with him, the Sultaun continued to dispute the ground until he approached the passage across the ditch to the gate of the inner fort: here he complained of pain and weakness in one of his legs, in which he had received a bad wound when very young, and ordering his horse to be brought, he mounted; but seeing the Europeans still advancing on both the ramparts, he made for the gate, followed by a palanquin, and a number of officers, troops, and servants. It was then, probably, his intention to have entered and shut the gate, in order to attack the small body of our troops which had got into the inner fort, and if successful in driving them out, to have attempted to maintain it against

us, or to endeavour to escape to the palace, and there make his last stand ;—but as he was crossing to the gate by the communication from the outer rampart, he received a musquet ball in the right side, nearly as high as the breast ; he however still pressed on, till he was stopped about half way through the arch of the gateway, by the fire of the twelfth light infantry from within, where he received a second ball close to the other ; the horse he rode on being also wounded, sunk under him, and his turban fell to the ground ; many of his people fell at the same time on every side, by musquetry both from within and without the gate.

The fallen Sultaun was immediately raised by some of his adherents, and placed upon his palanquin, under the arch, and on one side the gateway, where he lay or sat for some minutes faint and exhausted, till some Europeans entered. A servant who has survived, relates that one of the soldiers seized the Sultaun's sword-belt, (which was very rich) and attempted to pull it off ; that the Sultaun, who still held his sword in his hand, made a cut at the soldier with all his remaining strength, and wounded him about the knee, on which he put his piece to his shoulder, and shot the Sultaun through the temple, when he instantly expired.

It is not yet known by whose hand this tyrant of the east was laid low * ; in all probability the jewels which he always wore about his person †, and were now become the spoil of the fortunate soldier, whoever he might be that was his conqueror are too precious to be hastily acknowledged.

Not less than three hundred people (some accounts say five hundred) were killed, and more than that number wounded, under the fatal

* Tippoo had nearly suffered a fate somewhat similar in its circumstances; during the Carnatic war of 1789, in attempting to surprize a defended ditch in front of the celebrated lines of Travatcore. By an unexpected sally of the Rajah's troops his party was surrounded. and the Sultaun with difficulty escaped under the protection of a mean disguise hastily thrown over his dress: the bearers of his palanquin were cut down but a few moments after he had deserted it; and that, together with his great seal, turban, and several valuable jewels, became the prize of the enemy. Tippoo, under the irritation of this failure, made an oath, that he would never wear his turban again till he had taken the Rajah's lines, and the following year he completely executed his menaces.—See BRISTOW'S NARRATIVE.

* The following particulars respecting the personal ornaments of the Sultaun, were communicated to an English officer by one of the sirdars who accompanied the hostage princes to Lord Cornwallis. He constantly wore a ruby ring, which was esteemed by him as the most valuable in his treasury: his turban also was always adorned with a jewel of great value; and a pearl rosary was a continued ornament of his person; the pearls of which it consisted, were of uncommon size and beauty; they had been the collection of many years, and were the pride of his dress. Whenever he could purchase a pearl of extraordinary size, he never omitted the opportunity, and made it supply on his rosary the place of another, of inferior form and beauty.—Neither of these precious articles have appeared since the Sul-

fatal gateway ; of course it became impassable, excepting over the bodies of the dead and dying : one of our officers endeavouring to climb this heap of slaughter, in his way to the inner works, was accosted in the most abusive language * by a bleeding wretch miserably maimed and almost expiring, who struck at him with his shattered hand, (the only semblance of a limb which the fate of the day had left him) in all the rage of savage disappointment and despair.

Among the crowd of domestic attendants about the Suldaun's person, when he fell, were

* It may be here necessary to inform the European reader, that violent threats, abusive language, and the most horrid execrations form a part of the offensive discipline of the Indian soldiery, who generally rush into action enflamed with bang and other intoxicating drugs, and meet their enemy with the utmost ferocity of looks, voice and gesture, thereby adding to the force of their weapons every concomitant energy their maddened faculties can supply them with. In proportion as the stimulating dose has operated, those who fall in the contest expire in different degrees of increased outrage and horrid defiance, as exemplified in the above instance.

It has been remarked by a well-informed writer, respecting the general operations of our forces in the east, that "the numbers of the Asiatic armies, the ferocity of their manner, and the novelty of their appearance would unnerve and overcome the hearts of the small European bodies that are opposed to them in the field of battle, if experience had not sufficiently proved, how much the silence of discipline, and an uniformity of design and action, excel barbarian noise, and the desultory efforts of brutal force.

were a number of his women, whose apparent anxiety had led them to share the perils which every where surrounded him : several of them were shot promiscuously with his guards, and from the general beauty and elegance of their appearance, under all the disfigurements of wounds and death, formed interesting and affecting objects to European feelings. One woman, seemingly of superior rank and beauty, was noticed in a situation of peculiar distress, being so covered with dead bodies, although evidently alive, that only her head was visible. On clearing away the incumbrances from around her, the poor creature was brought forward speechless, and nearly insensible ; but not having received any wound, she was, by the humanity of an English officer, speedily recovered. From two old women, who assisted in the recovery of this lady, the officer was given to understand, that Tippoo fell close to the person they had released. Little credit was attached to their information at the time, although it proved afterwards that he was actually one of those who dropt near this unfortunate female, and had been hastily turned aside in order to effect her liberation.

The search for the body, by torch-light, under the immediate observation of General Baird,

Baird, accompanied by the Killedar of the Fort and others, occupied nearly two hours. When found, it was perfectly warm, but quite dead, being wounded in five places :— the countenance was no way distorted, but had an expression of stern composure ; his turban, jacket, and sword-belt were gone, but the body was recognized by several Hindoos present, to be “ Padshaw,” *i. e.* the King ; and an English officer, with the leave of General Baird, took from off his right arm the talisman, which contained, sewed up in pieces of fine flowered silk, an amulet of a brittle metallic substance of the colour of silver, and some manuscripts in magic Arabic and Persian characters ; the purport of which, had there been any doubt, would have sufficiently established the identity of the Suldaun’s body. One of our officers was fortunate enough to meet with a little Koran also, in a silver case, which the Suldaun constantly wore round his neck, and which had been detached in the preceding confusion.

The two sons of Tippoo were ignorant of their father’s death until the body was found ; it being believed by them, as it was suspected by us, that he had escaped. The Suldaun was so infatuated, as not to entertain an apprehension of the catastrophe

which befel him ; he considered himself as in a state of perfect security in his capital, where he retained all his family and treasures, instead of sending them off to remote strong holds, where they might at least have been preserved from a victorious enemy. His principal people, and all the inhabitants, possessed the same confidence, so that no preparations had been made for concealment, or for flight ; the plunder was consequently very great, and it was fortunate for the general interest that the palace was secured, and all the riches it contained reserved for the army at large, as captured property.

After all the necessary attentions had been paid to the late Suldaun's remains, which the time would admit of, it was judged expedient to remove the two young princes to the camp the same evening, and they were accordingly entrusted to the care of an officer (Captain Marriott) who spoke the Persian language, and whose conciliating manners particularly qualified him for the charge. These youths, though near fifteen years of age, from the usual restrictions of an eastern education, had never in their lives walked an hundred yards in one day ; and, as neither horse nor palanquin could be procured, they were obliged to proceed

ceed to the camp on foot—a distance of four miles at least, in the circuitous tract they took. The several gates of the fort being on fire, and no regular path attainable, they were necessitated to climb over the breach, wade the ditches and river, and make their way through our batteries and trenches, which extended nearly the whole of their route—clinging so closely to their conductor, as they remarked on the shocking spectacle of killed and wounded which every where struck their attention, that by the time this interesting convoy reached the place of its destination, all were dreadfully fatigued.

On collecting the returns of killed and wounded during the siege and storming of the place, it was found that our army had sustained a heavier loss than was at first imagined, amounting to twenty-two officers killed, and forty-five wounded, (some of the latter since dead) with about one thousand four hundred and fifty Europeans and natives, under both descriptions. The loss to the enemy, as may be easily imagined, was in nearly a ten-fold proportion to our's; for, besides the Suldaun, a considerable number of his chiefs and confidential officers were slain, and within forty-eight hours after the attack, nearly eleven thousand dead,

of various descriptions, were counted and buried by our people, assisted by the natives,—many other dead bodies then floating in the ditches of the fort, or remaining concealed among the ruins,—not to mention those consumed by the conflagrations under the arch-way of the sally-port and the other gates, after our troops entered.

On the 5th instant, the day after the assault, Abdul Khalic, the elder of the princes formerly hostages with Lord Cornwallis, surrendered himself at our out-posts, demanding protection ; and Ali Rheza, one of the Vakeels from Tippoo Suldaun, who had accompanied the hostage princes to Madras, came in also from the Chief Sirdar, Meer Kummer ud-deen Khan, with an unconditional tender of four thousand horse then under the command of that chief, relying on the generosity of the English for such terms as they might think proper to grant : soon afterwards Kummer ud-deen was received in our camp, as were also the whole of Tippoo's sons, thirteen in number, together with the Brahmin Purneah, the head Dewan or financial minister of the late Suldaun, and all his Sirdars of any note.

The accustomed policy of the Suldaun in securing the allegiance of his generals and principal

principal men, by making them send their families into his capital pending the contest of war, was no doubt the ultimate cause of this easy surrender of all his chiefs and their troops. The inhabitants of every class, throughout India, are so religiously attached to their families, that they would sooner part with life itself than be separated from them for any length of time ; and the British General profited accordingly, by gaining possession of these living securities along with the other valuables captured in Seringapatam.

Towards the close of this day, the Sultan's body was conveyed to the mausoleum of Hyder Ally, in the Loll-Baug gardens, for interment, with all military honours, and attended by his sons and the chiefs of his household. Scarcely had his remains been committed to the earth, when a most tremendous storm of thunder, lightning and rain, commenced, such as had hardly ever been before witnessed or remembered, and continued its violence for some hours :—so fatal was the effect of the lightning, that numbers of lives were lost in our camp and out-posts : Lieutenants Barclay and Grant, of the seventy-seventh regiment, were unfortunately killed ; and all the servants
horses,

horses, and even dogs, of Lieutenant Belasis, were struck dead, himself being much hurt. Forcibly as the value of our capture was felt on the day of its accomplishment, the British army had now reason to consider it with a still higher degree of self-congratulation, as the torrents which fell during the storm of this evening completely filled our batteries and trenches with water, and rendered the river impassable for some time afterwards.

The Coorga convoys, collected by Colonels Read and Brown, and covered by the junction of General Floyd's detachment, did not reach the camp till some days after all necessity for their arrival had ceased; this part of the army, therefore, continually occupied in anxious and harrassing duties at a distance from the capital of the Mysore, had no personal share in the glorious assault, but gained sufficient credit on a service of equal exertion and more lengthened fatigue.



THE CAPTURED TREASURES.

GENERAL Harris, having at an early opportunity, appointed a committee for the arrangement,

arrangement, valuation, and sale of the treasures and stores of all descriptions found within the royal palace, a most enormous and astonishing mass of wealth was produced, consisting of lacks of specie, gold and silver plate, jewels, rich and valuable stuffs, and various other articles of great price and rarity, but appearing to be classed without taste or regularity. All the numerous and extensive buildings, except the zenanah and the state durbars, or audience chambers, had been appropriated for its reception, and a succession of quadrangles formed so many ranges of store-houses, the galleries of which were filled with those articles least susceptible of injury. The jewels were kept in large dark rooms strongly secured, behind one of the durbars, and were deposited in coffers, closed under the seal of the Suldaun, or that of Hyder Ally: in the same manner was preserved the greater part of the gold plate, both solid and in fillagree, of which last manufacture, there appeared an almost endless variety of beautiful articles. The jewelry was set in gold, in the form of bracelets, rings, aigrettes, necklaces, plumes, &c. &c. An upper and very long apartment contained the silver plate, solid, and fillagree, of all dimensions and fashions; and in one of the galleries, were two elephant

phant Howdars* entirely of this metal.— Many massive pieces of silver plate were richly inlaid with gold and jewels: the greater part of these treasures must have been the plunder of the unhappy Mysore family, and of many other inferior Rajahs, which Tippoo, and his father Hyder, must have amassed after the extermination of their respective possessors.

The repositories of curious fire-arms and swords were equally astonishing, and some of the latter most magnificently adorned with gold and jewels. The chief part of these had been presents, and several of them were of English manufacture.

Among the state palanquins, were found those which had been presented by the Marquis Cornwallis, to the two hostage Princes; they appeared never to have been unpacked, and a number of other ornamental heavy articles, were apparently in the same state of preservation, particularly several door-posts of ivory of exquisite workmanship.

To this accumulation of treasure, may be added various and extensive warehouses, filled with the richest furniture, and the most costly

* A species of light throne, or frame fixed on the back of an elephant for sitting upon, and generally surrounded with curtains, so as to resemble a small tent or pavilion.

costly carpets, cloths, and stuffs. The bales of the finest muslins, cambricks, long cloths, silks, and shawls, found in this quarter of the palace, were reckoned at the enormous amount of five hundred camels load. In short, there was every thing that power could command, or money could purchase, in this stupendous collection: telescopes, and optical glasses of every size and sight, with looking-glasses, and pictures in unbounded profusion; while of china and glass ware, there was sufficient to form a large mercantile magazine.

In a room appropriated for musical instruments, and thence called the Ragmehal, was found an article which merits particular notice, as another proof of the deep hate, and extreme loathing of Tippoo Saib towards the English: this was a most curious piece of mechanism as large as life, representing a Royal Tiger in the act of devouring a prostrate European officer. Within the body of the animal was a row of keys of natural notes, acted upon by the rotation of certain barrels in the manner of a hand organ, and which produced sounds intended to resemble the cries of a person in distress, intermixed with the horrid roar of the Tiger. The machinery was so contrived, that while this infernal music continued to play, the
hand

hand of the European victim was often lifted up, and the head convulsively thrown back, to express the agony of his helpless and deplorable situation *. The whole of this machine, formed of wood, was executed under the immediate orders and directions of Tippoo Sultaun, whose custom it was in the afternoon to amuse himself with this miserable emblematical triumph of the Khodadaud, over the English Sircar. Khodadaud signifies, *God given*; and the Royal Tiger, as has been before observed, is the usual emblem of the Mysore government †. In proceeding through these varied and extensive stores of rare and curious materials,

* The *semblance* of torture was not always sufficient for the pampered appetites of the sanguinary tyrant in his amusements; he was usually provided with the ready means of enjoying the *reality* inflicted on his English prisoners, and kept chained to the entrance of his Zenarah, four large and ferocious Royal Tigers, which it is well known, were often *indulged* with tearing in pieces the unfortunate Europeans, whom he chose to put to death in that manner: others of these favourite savage animals were kept in large iron cages, in different courts of his palace; and on particular festivals and religious ceremonies, were brought forth, and employed in a way, no doubt, equally agreeable to the *mild* spirit of their master, and his religious professions.

† This machine has been sent from Madras to the Chairman of the East-India Company, in one of the homeward-bound ships, in order that it may be presented to his Majesty, who, no doubt, will give this characteristic emblem of the ferocious animosity of the modern Bajazet against the British nation, a distinguished place among the other curiosities in the Tower of London.

rials, for the gratification of every wish of eastern luxury, it appeared that Tippoo, with his tyrannic nature, blended the affectation of literary pursuits, and was possessed of a very large and curious library. The volumes were kept in chests, each book having a separate wrapper, so that they were mostly in excellent preservation; many of them, when examined, were found to be richly adorned and beautifully illuminated in the manner of the Roman missals. This library, containing many thousand volumes will, it is said, be presented by the army to the English nation, and will form the most curious and valuable collection of Oriental learning and history, that has yet been introduced into Europe.

Notwithstanding the confusion that appeared in the general arrangement of this collective mass, in one particular there was an unexpected degree of regularity, the whole being accurately registered, and every article bearing its corresponding label. Tippoo, whose desire of hoarding was insatiable, passed the greatest part of his leisure hours in reviewing this various and splendid assemblage of his riches.

But the most pre-eminent acquisition to the captors, among the Royal property found in the palace, was a most superbly decorated throne, the precise value of which no

person could be found to immediately ascertain: it was a Howdar supported on the back of a Tiger, the solid parts made of a heavy black wood, and entirely covered with a coat of the purest sheet gold, about as thick as a guinea, fastened on with silver nails, and wrought in tiger stripes, curiously indented, and most beautifully and highly polished.

The floor of the throne about eight feet in length, by five in width, was raised four feet from the ground; and besides the massy Tiger which formed its central support, stood upon richly ornamented uprights of the same materials, placed at the outer angles; the ascent to it on each side was by a ladder, in the manner of a coach-step, of solid silver gilt, with silver nails, and all the other fastenings of the same metal. Intermixed with the ornamental workmanship of the Howdar, were hundreds of Arabic sentences chiefly from the Khoran, superbly stamped, being raised and polished with the most beautiful effect: the canopy was formed of a lighter wood, entirely cased with sheet gold in the same manner as the body of the throne, and as highly ornamented, with a thick fringe all round it, composed entirely of fine pearls strung on beads of gold. The central part of the roof was surmounted by a most curious and costly figure
of

of the Hummah, (the fabulous Royal bird of the east) formed of solid gold nearly the size of a pigeon, and covered over with the most valuable jewellery. Its beak being one large and beautiful emerald, with another suspended to it; the eyes two brilliant carbuncles; the breast covered with diamonds, and the wings expanded in a hovering position, completely lined with diamonds. On the back were many large jewels, variously and fancifully disposed; and the tail somewhat resembling that of a peacock, was also studded in the same manner; the whole so arranged, as to imitate the most dazzling plumage, and so closely set, that the gold was scarcely visible.

This superb throne being too unwieldy to be conveyed from the spot * without damage,

* The hall or chamber of the palace in which the throne stood, is a kind of colonnade painted green, with red ornamental work, forming what is called the Tiger stripe: and this style of decoration, together with the light and fanciful turn of the architecture throughout the palace, gives it much the air of an European Theatre.---Round the arched compartments of the roof, or ceiling, are disposed a variety of Persian and Arabic verses, applicable to the signs of the Zodiac, and importing the godlike superiority of the Sultaun in his princely character.---For instance—" *The Lion, or Leo, was the type of this Lord of Strength, the eyes of whose enemies turn blind at the sight of him.*"—" *The Sun at his birth was in the sign (Aries)—he thereby received knowledge, and learning, and strength, at the same instant.*"

Behind the throne is a small apartment in which Tippeco
I 2 Sultaun

mage, and too valuable for any probable purchase entire, was broken up in the palace, under the superintendance of the commissioners and prize-agents; and the magnificent bird just described, has since been sent to Europe as a present to her Majesty, from Lord Mornington.

Information having been given, that a quantity of jewels were concealed in the seraglio, application was made to Colonel Wellesley, as commandant, for permission to search, which being granted, and the proper notice given to remove the women from their apartments, the gentlemen deputed on the occasion proceeded to inspect them, but their labour ended in disappointment; for nothing was found of any value, as it was afterwards understood that Tippoo never entrusted his women with the keeping of their jewels.

The whole of the treasures produced for public distribution*, amounted by the statements

Sultaun generally slept: on each side of the door, which is made of a very thick and impenetrable kind of wood, is a window latticed with strong bars of iron, and the cot or bed is also of hard wood frame work, with short silver legs, but suspended by the four corners from the ceiling, so as to hang about ten inches from the ground, in order to prevent snakes, rats, or other vermin, from getting upon it.

* By letters recently arrived from India, it is understood that some additional chests of specie, and other treasures, have been

ments of the committee, to about sixteen lacks of pagodas in specie *, and in jewels, about nine lacks more. The sharing of this large property (the first dividend of which amounted to above a million sterling) under the management of the prize agents, and the private plunder which had fallen into the hands of the soldiers, possessed many individuals in the ranks † with fortunes far

been obtained from various concealments in the town and fortress of Seringapatam as lawful capture; partly by discovery, and partly by voluntary surrender---and that a considerable increase of captured property was still expected.

* A lack of pagodas, or other coin, is one hundred thousand in number---and the Star-pagoda, being about eight shillings sterling in value, the amount is of course forty thousand pounds. There are two sorts of coin under the above denomination, viz. the Star-pagoda as just stated, which is the common medium of calculation with Europeans, and the Cateria-pagoda, equal to about six shillings and eightpence, mostly used in the revenue and other monied statements of the Mysore government.

† A grenadier in one of the European regiments, having the good fortune to pick up a jewel, as he conceived, of great value, and being anxious to turn it into *workable cash*, (the first consideration of a hard-worked soldier) he offered it for sale to the surgeon of his corps, with a declaration that nothing less than three hundred pounds should be the purchase: with a few scruples on the part of the buyer, who was himself by no means a competent judge of the article, the bargain was struck, and the money paid; when, lo! in a very few days the lucky possessor received from the hands of a skilful merchant, as many thousands for his bargain as enabled him not only to pocket a handsome independence, but to settle an annuity of an hundred pounds for life on the honest grenadier, who having launched the contents of his purse into a thousand channels of

THE CAPTURED TREASURES.

far beyond their power of properly enjoying, which in some few cases, no doubt, were soon squandered away in a blind and ruinous excess. In the higher stations and departments of the army, every one obtained an increase of property commensurate with his rank; in many cases subalterns as well as superior officers had more than sufficient to purchase the most enviable competence;—and what cold-blooded calculator can say they got more than meritorious exertion had fairly earned?

The disposal of the ordnance, ammunition, and military stores, including grain, was (according to the usual regulation of captures in which the King's troops had assisted) reserved for the decision of his Majesty, and for that purpose it was directed by the Governor-General in Council, that a proper Board of Officers should be chosen and appointed by the Commander in Chief, to value and take an exact inventory of that part of the captured property.

Near one thousand pieces of brass and iron ordnance were found in the fort and island of Seringapatam. The iron shot,
vix.

expenditure, came to his *Doctor* with the greatest sang froid imaginable, merely to ask if his honour would be so kind as to allow him another gold fanum (about ten-pence sterling) that he might drink "success to the diamond catchers."

viz. round, grape, and other descriptions, amounted to 508,578, besides 11,660 shells, grenades, and cases filled with grape; about 60,000 stand of small arms were found to be in an effective state, and more than that number were reported unserviceable. The numbers and quantity of other descriptions of arms, ammunition, and military stores, were in proportion, and included between four and five thousand draught and carriage bullocks, with their attendant choudries, duffadars and drivers. In the stables were found only a few fine stallions and brood mares, Tippoo's cavalry being then in the field: the stores of grain for the use of his cattle and for the general supply of his army surpassed all credibility.

A great number of the iron ordnance, and nearly all the brass six-pounders, amounting to fifty-one, were found to be of English manufacture; the others were in general cast in the Sultaun's own foundery, where a degree of perfection has been attained in every stage of process, truly astonishing to those of our officers who visited the different work-shops: he had even got the late European invention for boring guns perpendicularly, and also had his machinery kept in motion by water. The ornamental finishing of his brass guns and mortars were
equally

THE FINAL ARRANGEMENT.

equally attended to, and brought to the same perfection—it was curious but uniformly of one composition, viz. Tiger's heads, and bombastic sentences in the Persian character. Two of these Tyger guns have been sent over to Europe, and deposited in the East India House.

THE FINAL ARRANGEMENT OF THE CONQUEST.

THE grand, and in fact, the primary objects of General Harris's attention, after the fall of Seringapatam, were to disband the late Sultaun's army, and to obtain possession of the principal strong holds throughout his dominions. The first of these objects was speedily and effectually accomplished through the agency of Purneah, who entered into the measures of the British government with a ready co-operation. All the Sircar's horses being delivered up, there was selected a sufficient number of them to complete the King's regiments of dragoons serving on the coast, as well as the Company's establishment of native cavalry: upwards of two thousand of an inferior description.

scription were transferred to the Nizam. The draught and carriage bullocks, with the camels and elephants, were also surrendered, so that the army was immediately furnished with every necessary equipment, and supplied with provisions and grain in abundance from the immense stores of the fort. The Europeans composing the French corps, formerly Lally's, together with those recently arrived from Mauritius, were secured and sent prisoners of war into the Carnatic*.

Circular

* As these republican auxiliaries of the late despot of the Mysore have scarcely borne any noticeable part in the course of this glorious contest, it may not be improper here to dismiss them with such notice as they have *really deserved* from the magnanimity of their conduct, and the sublimity of their triumphs—*before the contest began!* About the commencement of the year 1797, the French republicans of India, in the very presence of Citizen Prince Tippoo, as they called him, and in the heart of his capital, displayed the colours of their Republic on a staff, which, as some information states, was surmounted with a scimitar, piercing a crescent, (the emblem of a Mahomedan power) and significantly crowned with the cap of liberty!—Most undaunted republicans!—But let Frenchmen speak for themselves: in the following translated extract from a part of the voluminous records found in the palace of the late Sultaun, entitled, “The Proceedings of the Jacobin Club in Seringapatam.” The secretary of which club could not spell, nor the members of it stgn their own names! Thus says the Journal—

“The 15th of May 1797—the fifth year of the French Republic, one and indivisible!—A memorable day for all the Citizens forming the French party commanded by Citizen Dornpard, serving with the Prince Tippoo, the Ally of the Republic;

Circular letters were addressed by General Harris to the Commandants of the principal fortresses requiring their surrender to the British troops, and giving general assurances

lic; who having obtained his orders, by their joint solicitations, for hoisting the national flag, displayed it accordingly at six o'clock in the morning, to the sound of all the artillery and musquetry of the camp. After this august ceremony, Citizen Ripaud, a lieutenant in the Navy of Republican France, and representative of the French people with the Prince Tippoo, citizen Dompard, commandant, and citizen Vreneire, an officer, with eight citizens, artillerymen, repaired to the parade of the city of Seringapatam, where the citizen Prince waited for them. On their arrival, he ordered a salute of *two thousand three hundred* cannon—*five hundred* rockets, and *all* the musquetry; and the fort of Seringapatam fired *five hundred* cannon!!! The Prince then said to citizen Ripaud, “*Behold my acknowledgment of the standard of your country, which is dear to me, and to which I am allied; it shall always be supported in my country as it has been in that of the Republic, my sister!—Go,—conclude your festival!*—Citizen Ripaud replied, in stating all that his heart suggested on the gratitude which he felt in thus witnessing the Prince’s friendship for the Republic; and citizen Dompard also declared the sentiments of his heart, and the assurances of friendship which all the citizens of the camp bore towards the Prince.—They then retired, and proceeded to the parade, where the troops and the national guard waited for them. On their arrival, three standards were brought from the French hotel, under a picked guard;—the tree of liberty was planted, surmounted by the cap of equality, and a suitable oration was delivered by citizen Ripaud, (e. g. “*Let the infamous English tremble at discovering, that in India,—in the midst of the world, there are Republicans who have sworn to exterminate them!—they will tremble, no doubt, at the name alone of Frenchmen!—pale with affright when they behold them, they will be three-fourths beaten!*” &c. &c.) The orator then proceeded to make each citizen to pronounce the oath, as follows—“*Citizen, do you swear hatred to all kings, except*

Tippoo.

rances of favour and protection, while detachments from the Bombay army moved forward to take possession of those forts, and their progress was almost uniformly successful. To add to the general satisfaction, the

Tippoo Sultaun the Victorious, the Ally of the French Republic—war against all tyrants— and love towards your country and that of Citizen Tippoo ?—All exclaimed unanimously,—“ *Yes, we swear to live free or die!*—During the taking of the oath, a salute of eighty-four cannon was fired ; and when it was finished, two standards were committed to the care of Sepoys who had taken the oath, and that of the Europeans was sent to the French hotel under an honorary guard.—The arms were piled, and the people repaired to the church, where the proceedings of the 8th of the present month were signed ; they then returned to the parade, and sung round the tree and the flag, the hymn to our country ; at the passage ‘ *holy patriotic love,*’ a salute of the whole artillery was fired—The day was passed in festivity, and the night concluded with a ball. In attestation of which we have signed these presents, the day and year before mentioned.” (Signed by twenty-eight members.)

From the date of this process-verbal, it will be seen that the above grand celebration was by those French troops who had been some time in India,—the assistant force which was sent by Generals Malartique, Sercey and Mangalon, from Mauritius, at the requisition of the Sultaun, and which arrived in April 1798, consisted of the following officers and men, viz. citizen Chapuy, General of the land service ; Dubuc, General of the marine ; Desmoulin, Commandant of the Europeans ; two officers of artillery ; six marine officers ; four ship-builders, and others ; twenty-six officers, captains, serjeants, and linguists ; thirty-six European soldiers, and twenty-two of the second description, or half cast. The whole of this new raised troop, with Monsieur de Bay, the watchmaker, who accompanied the deputation from Tippoo, and returned with it, amounted to one hundred persons :—the number of French taken in Seringapatam was about three hundred.

the dispersed and affrighted villagers returned to their occupations in most parts of the country, and the strongest symptoms appeared of a general disposition to submit to the orders of the British government without opposition or reluctance; nor did any subsequent resistance of a serious nature break forth, except from the fortress of Jemaulabad, in the province of Canara near Mangalore, and from a predatory troop of plunderers, who, taking advantage of a new order of things, had begun their depredations in the Bednore districts, laying the inhabitants under severe contributions, which were exacted by the most atrocious acts of rapine and murder *. It appears, however,
by

* A partizan of the name of Dhoondia, originally in the service of the Patam state of Savonore, having committed various depra-dations on the territories of Tippoo Sul-taun, had incurred the resentment of that prince. Tippoo having contrived to secure the person of Dhoondia, compelled him to conform to the Mahommedan faith, and afterwards employed him in military service; but either detecting him in some treacherous projects, or suspecting his fidelity, the Sul-taun continued him in irons in Seringapatam, some time previous to the commencement of the late war. From this situation he was released, together with several other prisoners, on the capture of the place by General Harris, on the 4th of May: he immediately fled from Seringapatam, and being joined by a few of the Silledar cavalry of Tippoo Sul-taun's disbanded army, took the direction of Bednore, in his way to which province his force received some augmentation. Some of the Asophs and Kille-dars

by some recent accounts from India, that both these hostile attempts have been completely overpowered; so that the fruits of conquest are now, as it were, ripening in the sunshine of peace, fair to the view of the conquerors, and wholly within their reach.

But the ultimate and most important operations of the conquest were entrusted to five commissioners of known ability*; appointed and fully instructed by Lord Mornington to conduct the affairs of the conquered territory, according to a plan of partition he had formed and duly digested. Acting, therefore, upon so correct an outline, it was almost impossible to err:—every measure was adopted which sound policy could supply, or experience suggest, with a view to the relative power and interests of the Nizam, the Mahrattas, and the Company; to the nature, produce, and geographical

stars in the Bednore country betrayed their trust to him; and in this manner many of the principal places of the districts had fallen into his hands, before it was in the power of General Harris to detach from the army a sufficient force to act against him.—ASIANIC ANNUAL REGISTER.

* *Viz.* Lieutenant-General Harris, the Honourable Colonel Wellesley, the Honourable Henry Wellesley, Lieutenant-Colonel Kirkpatrick, and Lieutenant-Colonel Close. The Secretaries in the Commission were Captains Malcolm and Munro: and the Assistant Secretaries, Mr. Golding and Lieutenant Charles Pasley.

phical boundaries of the country ; and to the position and strength of the several fortresses and passes ;—the commission exercising its powers equally to the advantage of the Company's claims, and to the honour of the British character. Provision was made for the surviving officers and chiefs of the late Sultaun, and for the families of those who fell during the campaign ; and, from considerations of peculiar weight in the balance of the Mysorean conquest, the families of Hyder Ally and of Tippoo Sultaun were removed from the seat of forty years usurpation, to a domestic establishment at Vellore *, where accommodations were

* The four eldest Princes and their suite, attended by Captain Marriott, and escorted by a detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Coke, quitted Seringapatam on the 18th of June, on their route to Vellore : as they passed through the streets of the capital, (probably for the last time) the procession naturally attracted vast crowds to take a farewell look at the sons of their late sovereign ; but, excepting the tribute of some tears from a few old Moor-women nearly related to the mothers of the young princes, these royal exiles received no popular tokens of sorrow or regret at parting ; and in the course of their journey through certain districts, which had suffered severely from the Sultaun's tyrannical government, the inhabitants, as they passed, would not even make their salams, although repeatedly desired to do so by the escort.

Platah Hyder, the eldest illegitimate son of the late Sultaun, (about twenty-six years of age) and with him his wives and children, about whom he seemed to be uncommonly solicitous. One of his children died upon the road ; and it gave him infinite

concern

were prepared for them on a ~~stage~~ suitable to their former rank and expectation, under the direction of Lieutenant-Colonel Dove-
ton,

concern that they were of necessity to be buried in the jungles, without those fasts and ceremonies which would have attended their interment in the tombs of their forefathers.—One of these, an infant, was extremely ill at setting out, but Futtah Hyder, insisted upon its being brought with him; and afterwards, in palliation of this act of parental cruelty, (as it seemed to be) stated, that “the Faquirs had prepared a number of charms and spells for the preservation of its life, but they had been de-
ceiv-
ed.”

On their entrance into Ecllore, where the Princes were received with every military honour, the behaviour of Futtah Hyder was rather reserved and sullen: and by his frequent starts, on the sentries presenting their arms unexpectedly, he did not appear altogether free from personal apprehension. Abdul Khalick, and Moizuddeen, (the two ci-devant hostages) more accustomed to European forms and manners, were even gay and lively, particularly the latter, who had for some days been anxious to reach Vellore, and often requested the escort to make longer marches. Sultana Mowhuddeen, though fifteen years old, having just been taken out of the hands of the women, and entirely unaccustomed to military parade, appeared rather timid—though his mind being free from suspicion, his behaviour was perfectly unaccompanied by any symptoms of personal fear.

Captain Mariott, on leaving Vellore, waited on the Princes at their separate houses, to receive any memorandums or requests they may have to lay before the Commissioners. They appeared generally satisfied with their accommodations, but each had some particular wish or remark, which strongly characterized the natural dispositions and habits of the royal brothers.—*Futtah Hyder*, restless, and jealous of his family privileges, requested to have a village, or jaghire, at his disposal, from which he might procure his own supplies of straw, firewood, &c. and observed that, as he had brought his mother and other female relatives with him, who belonged properly to

tion, as resident. As a consequence of this measure, and on the same ground of political expediency, the young Rajah of Mysore, whose inheritance had been so tyrannically possessed by the late Sultaun, was raised from a mean and miserable concealment to the throne of his ancestors*, and placed under

his father's establishment, he expected some additional allowance would be made him for their maintenance.—*Abdul Khalick*, careless of shew, unprincipally in his ideas, and extremely avaricious, only begged that the great difference in the prices of rice might be considered, between the Bazars of Seringapatam and Vellore.—*Suliaun Mowbuddeen*, amiable, engaging, and attentive to every thing which constitutes true politeness, begged that apologies might be made for any apparent negligence, on his part, in not replying to the complimentary letter he received from the Governor-General on leaving Seringapatam—stating, that as he had, with his brothers, been since wholly occupied with this journey, it was more owing to the want of opportunity than to any want of respect.—*Moiszuddeen*, passionately attached to his amusements (particularly his horses) and to the society of the English, and heedless of every thing else, observed that Captain Mariott was perfectly acquainted with his situation, and that he had no request of any kind to trouble him with.

* About the year 1766, Nundy Rauze, the Delwy or Prime Minister of the kingdom of Mysore, (then under the nominal government of the Rajah Kistua Rauze, an infant) being engaged in a dispute with some of the Mahratta chiefs, Hyder Ally had the command of a body of horse in the Mysorean army, and exhibited the first tokens of that courage, skill, and activity, which were the subsequent instruments of his aggrandizement,—enabling him finally to supplant Nundy Rauze, and assume the sovereignty. From this period the Rajahs became state prisoners, and Hyder exercised his authority with despotic sway; although he still affected to rule in the name of the Rajah,

der the care of the friendly minister of Purneah,—Lieutenant-Colonel Close, an officer of eminent talents and integrity, being at the same time appointed Resident at the Court of Mysore.

The

jah, whom he amuzzly exhibited to the public at the Dussata festival,—in the true style of oriental hypocrisy, presenting him with a nuzzer, or tributary gift, and professing himself his slave. This annual mockery was continued by Tippoo Sultan till the year 1796, when, on the death of the then Rajah, he did not choose to nominate a successor, and ceased to acknowledge or recognize the family.

Kistna Rajah Oodiaver, now placed on the throne, is the only child of Chiam Rauze, (or Raigee) who was married to seven wives, of whom five are still living,—as is also one of the wives of Chick Ristna Raige, who reigned at the time of Hyder Ally's first usurpation,—likewise the paternal grandmother of the present Rajah, and his maternal grandfather.

This late unfortunate and persecuted family was found in a state of misery not easy to describe, although they had made every preparation in their power to receive the deputation appointed to inform them of their change of circumstances.—A portion of an apartment, in a house obscurely situated, was concealed by a curtain, behind which the Rana and the other female members of the family were stationed; and after the intentions of the British government had been communicated, the expressions of gratitude to the gentlemen present, and the blessings invoked on the English nation by this interesting groupe, were boundless and reiterated from every tongue.

The young Rajah is above five years old, and of a delicate habit: his complexion rather fair than otherwise, and his countenance very expressive. He betrayed some symptoms of alarm on the first appearance of the commissioners, but soon recovered his composure. He seemed to be of a timid disposition, and to have suffered considerably from restraint.

The ceremony of placing the Rajah on the Muevad (or throne) of his forefathers, took place on the 30th of June, at

The partition of the Sultaun's territories (wholly in the power, and virtually at the disposal of the British government) was effected without any material objection or impediment from the allied powers who were interested in it. The sum total of the annual revenues amounted to about forty-eight lacks of Star pagodas, out of which about seven lacks, annually, were appropriated to the Honourable East-India Company, by the partition treaty; four or five lacks were the produce of the territory ceded to the Nizam; and the country given up to the young Rajah, is estimated at upwards of twenty-five lacks of annual revenue. The

Mahrattas

the old town of Mysore, where his residence is fixed, and was performed by General Harris, as senior member of the British Commission, and Meer Allum, acting for his Highness the Nizam. The deportment of the young Prince, during this ceremony, was remarkably decorous, considering the untoward circumstances which had preceded his elevation: and the inauguration having taken place under an open pandal, or temporary shade, the spectators were very numerous, among whom the principal Sirdars of the late Sultaun spontaneously attended in compliment to the conquerors, and seemed disposed to meet this revolution without discontent, if not with cordiality --while the marked joy which was visible in the countenance of the Hindoo populace, shewed how acceptable the change of government was to *them*: indeed, many of the respectable inhabitants of Seringapatam had privately determined to retire into the Carnatic with what property they had been able to conceal before the storm of the fort, in case the British Government had replaced the family of Tippoo on the Musnud of Mysore.

Mahrattas having neither participated in the dangers or expence of the late war, derived no immediate benefit from the terms of this treaty ; yet, in order to secure their friendship and political co-operation with the contracting parties, districts near their frontiers, producing about three lacks of revenue, were set apart for their conditional acceptance.

By the subsidiary treaties entered into at the same time with the above, his Highness the Nizam provides for the support of Meer Kummer-ud-deen Khan, his family and relatives, besides paying that chief for the maintenance of a certain number of troops to be employed in the service of the allies ; and the new government of Mysore is bound to receive and subsidize for its territorial defence, a military force under the orders of the East-India Company, who are also at liberty to garrison the fortresses * with their
OWN

* All, or most of these strong holds, are what our military details term the Hill Forts or Droogs, and are either built upon those insulated and perpendicular rocks, so peculiar to the face of the country, or situated on mountainous heights, inaccessible, except by a narrow pass secured and defended at different stations. On the sides of the mountain above these pathways, quantities of stones are generally piled up ready to tumble down on the heads of the assailants. Most of these fortresses are by situation so strong as to baffle all the efforts of art in a regular attack, and are therefore only to be reduced
by

own troops, and to strengthen, dismantle, or destroy such of them, as from time to time they shall think proper. This arrangement includes the entire and perpetual possession of the fortress and island of Seringapatam, (the command of which remains in the hands of Colonel Wellesly) and adds to the annual resources of the Company, about seven lacks of pagodas*.

Thus

by surprize or famine: they seem to have been originally intended as places of retreat for the natives in case of need, and for the security of the chiefs, with their families and treasures, in the unexpected irruptions of the neighbouring powers.—Tipoo Sultaan during his wars with the English and their allies, confined many of his European prisoners in the most inaccessible of these places, frequently on the bare surface of the rock, exposed to all the severities of the climate; and on any advantage being gained over the Sultaan's troops by the British, the unfortunate captives were put to death, and their bodies thrown down the precipice, a prey to the dogs, jackals, and tigers, which instinctively prowled about the spot.—See SKETCHES OF THE HINDOOS, BRISTOW'S NARRATIVE, &c.

For a perfect idea of the Hill Forts, as well as the general scenery of the Mysore, and the Carnatic, it is only necessary to apply to those picturesque ENGRAVED VIEWS, published from the drawings of DANIEL, HOJSES, HOME, and MAJOR ALLAN.

* The sums here named, are taken at a loose calculation, according to the accounts given by those on the spot during the making out of the official details.—Lord Mornington, in his dispatches to the Court of Directors, has stated the total augmentation of the Company's available annual resources in that quarter of their possessions, since June 1798, to be seventeen one-eighth lacks of Star pagodas; and if the revenue of the newly acquired territory should be realized according to just expectation, it will amount to near twenty-five lacks and a half of augmented annual resource, arising from the event of the war.

Thus have the wisdom and energy of British councils, and the steady bravery of British soldiers, united to overthrow one of the most powerful tyrants of the east; to accomplish as complete and as just a revolution, as can be found on the records of history; and to produce such an increase of revenue, resource, commercial advantage, and military strength to the British establishment in India, as must for years to come ensure a prosperous and happy tranquillity, not only to the Company's possessions, but to the native principalities, and to millions of inhabitants on the fertile plains of Hindostan*. In short, to adopt the justly-drawn conclusion of Lord Mornington, in his own elegant language, "the balance is now in our own hands; we now possess the irresistible power, either of concentrating the most efficient part of the resources of Mysore in one mass, for our single defence against any possible combination, or of throwing the same weight into that scale, which shall appear to require such an aid for the preservation of the general tranquillity, on the solid basis of moderation and justice."

* According to a representation lately made to the Supreme Government, it appears that there are no less than six millions of people of different descriptions, employed in the manufacture of cotton in India, who require nothing more for their services than food and protection.

A COMPREHENSIVE VIEW

OF THE ARMY EMPLOYED IN THE CONQUEST OF THE MYSORE, WITH
A METHODIZED LIST OF THE EUROPEANS KILLED AND WOUNDED,
DURING THE SIEGE AND STORMING SERINGAPATAM—ARRANGED
FROM THE OFFICIAL RETURNS.

MADRASS AND BENGAL FORCES.

GENERAL STAFF APPOINTED TO THE ARMY.

Commander in Chief	-	Lieutenant-General Harris.
Military Secretary to Ditto		Captain Macauley.
Private Secretary to Ditto		Lieutenant-Colonel Agnew.
Persian Interpreter to Ditto		Lieutenant-Colonel Close.
Aides-du-Camp to Ditto	-	Lieuts. Marriott, Scott, Harris.
Adjutant-General	-	Lieutenant-Colonel Close.
Deputy Adjutant-General		Lieutenant-Colonel Agnew.
Acting Dep. Adjutant General		Captain Turing.
Assistant Ditto	-	Captain Pierce.
Quarter-Master General	-	Lieut. Col. Richardson.
Deputy Ditto	-	Major Allan.
Assistant Deputy Ditto	-	Lieutenant B. Sydenham.
Chief Engineer	-	Colonel Gent.
Adjutant of Engineers.	-	Lieutenant Fraser.
Captain of the Guides	-	Captain Orr.
Commissary of Stores	-	Lieut-Colonel Carlisle.
Deputy Ditto	-	Captain J. Prescott.
Agent for Bullocks	-	Major Dallas.
Commissary of Grain	-	Major Hart.
Commissary of Provisions	-	Major Corner.
Superintendent of Bazars	-	Captain Macleod.
Judge Advocate General	-	Captain Leith.
Muster Master of the Army		Captain A. Grant.
Paymaster of the Army		W. H. Gordon, Esq.
Surgeon to Ditto		A. Anderson, Esq.
Commander of Pioneers	-	Captain Drun.
Postmaster	-	Captain Bond.
Sub-Agent for Camp Con- veyance	-	Lieutenant Berkley.
Acting Dep. Adg. Gen. of his Majesty's Troops	-	Captain K. Young.
Major of Brigade and De- puty-Paymaster of Ditto	-	Col. C. V. Hart.

MADRAS AND BOMBAY FORCES 119

THE BRIGADING OF THE MADRAS ARMY PREVIOUS TO ITS JUNCTION WITH THAT OF BOMBAY.

N.B. The Native Troops are distinguished by Italics.

CAVALRY.

COMMANDED BY MAJOR-GENERAL FLOYD.

RIGHT WING.	}	H. M. 19th Regt. Light Drag.
1st Brigade, Col. Stevenson.		<i>1st Regt. Native Troops.</i>
		<i>2th ditto ditto.</i>
LEFT WING.	}	H. M. 25th Regt. Light Drag.
2d Brigade, Colonel Pater.		<i>2d Regt. Native Troops.</i>
		<i>3d. ditto ditto.</i>

ARTILLERY.

RIGHT WING. Col. Montague	}	2 Companies, Bengal.
LEFT WING. Lt. Col. Saxon		1st Battalion Madras.
		2 ditto ditto.
		<i>Gun Lascars and pioneers attached.</i>

INFANTRY.

RIGHT WING.	}	H. M. 12th Regt.
Major General Bridges		H. M. 74th ditto.
1st Brigade, Maj. Gen. Baird		H. M. Scotch Brigade.
3d Brigade, Col. Cowdie.		<i>1st Battal. 1st Regt. Sepoys.</i>
		<i>1st ditto. 6th ditto.</i>
		<i>1st ditto. 18th ditto ditto.</i>
5th Brigade, Col. Sherbrooke.		<i>2d ditto. 3d ditto ditto.</i>
		<i>1st ditto. 8th ditto ditto.</i>
		<i>2d ditto. 12th ditto ditto.</i>
LEFT WING.		}
Major General Popham.	H. M. 73d ditto.	
2d Brig. Hon. Col. Wellesly.	Swiss Reg. de Meuron.	
4th Brigade, Lt. Col. Gardiner	<i>1st Battal. Bengal Volunteers.</i>	
	<i>2d ditto ditto.</i>	
	<i>3d ditto ditto.</i>	
5th Brigade, Lieut. Col. Suff.	<i>2d ditto 5th Regt. Sepoys.</i>	
	<i>2d ditto 9th ditto ditto.</i>	

THE

THE NIZAM'S CONTINGENT.

DETACHMENT.	}	1 Company Bengal Artillery.
Colonel Roberts.		1 Company Madras ditto.
	}	<i>Gun Lascars attached.</i>
		1st Bat. 10th Reg. Bengal Sepoys.
	}	2d do. 10th do. ditto.
		2d do. 2d do. Madras Sepoys.
		2d do. 4th do. ditto.
		1st do. 11th do. ditto.
		2d do. 11th do. ditto.

BOMBAY FORCES.

Commanded by Lieutenant General Stuart.

NATIVE TROOPS.	}	Cavalry, about 6000.
Meer Allum.		Infantry, about 6000.
RIGHT BRIGADE.	}	1st Batt. 2d Regt. Sepoys,
Lieut. Colonel Montresor.		1st ditto 4th ditto ditto.
	}	1st ditto 3d ditto ditto.
CENTRE DITTO,		H. M. 75th Regt.
Lieut. Colonel Dunlop.	}	Company's European Regt.
		H. M. 77th Regt.
	}	2d Battal. 3d Reg. Sepoys, with
LEFT DITTO.		detachment of 1st or 9th Batt.
Lieut. Colonel Wiseman.	}	1st Battal. 5th Regt. Sepoys.
		2d ditto 2d ditto.
DETACHMENT.	}	Artillery and Lascars attached.
Lieut. Col. Lawnan.		Engineers.
DETACHMENT. Col. Sartorius.		Pioneers.
CORPS. Capt. Moncrieff.		

ABSTRACT OF NUMBERS.

Madras and Bengal Troops, viz. Non-Commissioned, Drums,

	Rank and File.					
Cavalry	European	884	<i>Native</i>	1,751	Total	2,636
Artillery	————	608	————	1,483	————	2,095
Infantry	————	4381	————	10,695	————	15,076
Pioneers	————	————	————	1,000	————	1,000

The

DATES OF THE OPERATIONS.

121

The Nizam's Troops, (his Highness's own Force not exactly enumerated.)

Cavalry	————	————	————	6,000	————	6,000
Company's Artillery	142	————	————	318	————	460
Company's Infantry	————	————	————	6,076	————	6,076
Infantry	————	————	————	6,000	————	6,000

Bombay Troops, viz. Non Commissioned, Rank and File.

Artillery	European	166	Native	344	Total	510
Engineers	————	7	————	————	————	7
Infantry	————	1,285	————	3,612	————	4,897
Pioneers	————	————	————	390	————	390
Grand Total		7,473		37,669		45,142

N. B. The native Gun Lascars and Pioneers included in the above Abstract, amounting to 3,535, are not rated as fighting men; these, with the Nizam's own troops, being deducted from the gross totals, the King's and Company's forces employed, will amount to 29,607-fighting men, viz. 7,473 Europeans, and 22,134 natives.

Dates and succession of the operations during the Siege, in which European officers were killed or wounded.

This recapitulation is given as a Clue to the Reader in connecting the List which follows it, with the Narrative of the preceding pages.

April 5th.—An unsuccessful night attack upon two strong positions of the enemy in a tope, and a deep nullah, near the village of Sultanpett.—(See p. 43).

April 6th.—The enemy forced from those and other posts, by a renewed attack in the morning.—(See p. 45).

April 17th.—A successful attack in the afternoon on some works occupied by the enemy, at a village on the north side of the Cavery, and on the site of which our first battery was erected.—(See p. 47).

April 18th, 19th, 20th.—The enemy driven from various works and entrenchments in our line of approach.—Several batteries opened upon the fort.—The duty in the trenches constantly harassed by a galling night fire of musquetry and rockets—(see p. 48).

April 21st.—A violent attack at midnight on all General Stuart's posts on the north side of the Cavery, by a chosen-

L body.

body of the enemy's black troops and Tyger Sepoys led by Frenchmen.—(See p. 50).

April 26th, 27th.—The enemy dispossessed of a stockaded redoubt, within 250 yards of the fort, at sun-set, (in order to secure the erecting of a breaching battery) and the post strongly contested during the night and following day.—(See p. 52 *Note* †).

May 2d.—A heavy fire kept up between the breaching batteries and the works of the fort, on this and the preceding and following days.

May 4th.—The storm and capture of the fort, works, and city of Seringapatam.—(See p. 63).

LIST OF THE EUROPEANS.

Killed, Wounded, and Missing in the corps composing the army before Seringapatam from the fifth of April, to the fourth of May inclusive, taken from the official returns.

WITH SOME ADDED INFORMATION.

N. B. The numbers following the Specification of the corps, denote the gross Amount of Europeans killed, wounded, or missing in each, Officers included.—In the Corps of Native Infantry, &c. the Officers only are enumerated, no other Europeans being attached.

BENGAL ARTILLERY.	4 K.	12 W.	0 M.	
Lieut. Col. Montague	(Dead).	W.		May 2.

A cannon ball shattered this officer's arm while he was in the trench, in such a manner as to require immediate amputation, and it was taken off nearly at the shoulder. In this state, however, such was his zealous and active spirit, he insisted on being carried into the trenches, where he continued to the last to animate the troops by his presence. During three or four days he was supposed to be in a fair way of recovery, but having by the same shot received a contusion in his chest, it turned to a mortification, and carried him off on the eighth day after he received his wound.

Lieut. Fireworker A. Brooke	—	W.		Ap. 5.
MADRAS ARTILLERY.	14 K.	21 W.	1 M.	
1st. Batt.—Capt Lieut. Prescott	—	W.		May 4.
Lieutenant Cookesly	K.	—		2.
Lieutenant Blair	—	W.		Ap. 25.
				2d Batt.

LIST OF KILLED AND WOUNDED. 123

<i>2d Batt.</i> —Major Mandeville	—	W.	<i>May 4.</i>
Captain Jourdan	K.	—	4.
BOMBAY ARTILLERY.	4 K.	6 W.	
Capt. A. Torriano	K.	—	<i>Ap. 18.</i>
Lieut. W. Macready	K.	—	18
Lieut. W. Taylor	—	W.	18
H. M. 12TH REGT. FOOT.	17 K.	49 W.	1 M.
Lieut. G. Nixon	K.	—	<i>Ap. 5.</i>
Lieut. R. Nixon	—	W.	5.
Lieut. T. Falla	(Dead).	W.	6.

A circumstance attended the death of this officer, which, though extraordinary, may be relied upon as a fact. A spent twelve pound shot struck him on the upper part of the thigh and breaking the bone, passed between the fractures, and lodged in the fleshy part, so completely covered, that in the hurry of the occasion, a tourniquet was applied without discovering it, and in that state he was conveyed to camp. He lived but a few hours and when dead the ball was discovered to be lodged, and cut out by the Surgeon. What renders this fact more remarkable is, that Lieutenant Falla was below the middle stature, and not remarkably stout.

Lieut. King		W.	<i>Ap. 6.</i>
Lieut. Shaw		W.	<i>May 4.</i>
Ensign Neville		W.	<i>Ap. 17.</i>
H. M. 33D REGT. FOOT.	6 K.	28 W.	12 M.
Lieut. Fitzgerald	K.		<i>Ap. 5.</i>
H. M. 73D REGT. FOOT.	21 K.	99 W.	1 M.
Capt. Macleod		W.	<i>May 4.</i>
Lieut. Lalor	K.		4.

This officer in the night of the 2d May crossed the river, in order to ascertain the passage, and examine the counterscarp of the ditch opposite to the breach,—which he safely accomplished although it had been attempted by Captain Norris, and Lieutenant Farquhar, two nights before, without the same success.—Lieutenant Lalor on the 4th acted as conductor to the storming party across the Cavery, and being wounded about midway, fell, and was drowned in the passage.

Lieut. Thomas	W.	<i>May 4.</i>
Lieut. Todd	W.	<i>Ap. 26.</i>
Lieut. Maclean, jun.	W.	27.
Ensign Antill	W.	<i>May 4.</i>
Ensign Guthrie	W.	4.
		H. M.

124 LIST OF KILLED AND WOUNDED

H. M. 14TH REGT. FOOT.	45 K.	111 W.	
Capt. Aytone		W.	Ap. 26.
Lieut. Maxwell		W.	26.
Lieut. Carrington		W.	26.
Lieut. Irvine	K.		26.

A party of the 74th having, in conjunction with the 73d regiment, possessed themselves of a post within 250 yards of the fort, during the night, were exposed to a heavy fire from the works, that before they could break the ground so as to cover themselves, a number of officers and men were killed and wounded.—Lieutenant Irvine fell with a grape shot through his head, and another through the body.

Lieut. Fletcher		W.	Ap. 20.
Lieut. Farquhar	K.	—	May 4.

This officer, during the siege, was attached to the corps of European pioneers, which he commanded at the assault. The left attack being vigorously opposed by the enemy on the northern rampart, the front of the column was frequently brought to a stand, and the leading officers being all either killed or disabled, Lieutenant Farquhar put himself at the head of the column, and almost instantly fell.

Lieut. Prendergast (<i>Dead</i>).		W.	May 4.
-------------------------------------	--	----	--------

He received a wound from a musket-ball, which ran along the skull towards the back of the neck; it was not regarded as a hurt of any serious consequence, and after the successful event of the storming, he walked about the scene of action, without much apparent inconvenience. The concussion of a bullet, however, so near the brain, proved fatal, for in the morning he was found dead in his cot.

Lieut. Hill	K.		May 4.
-------------	----	--	--------

Volunteered the Forlorn Hope, and was killed in leading on the officer's party in front of the right attack commanded by Colonel Sherbrooke.

Lieut. Shaw	K.		May 4.
H. M. 75TH REGT FOOT.	16 K.	64 W.	3 M.
Capt. John Gordon		W.	Ap 21.
Lieut. Mather	K.		4.
Lieut. Turner	K.		4.
Lieut. Broughton		W.	4.
Lieut. Skelton		W.	4.
H. M. 77TH REGT. FOOT.	10 K.	51 W.	1 M.
Lieut. Col. Dunlop		W.	May 4.

For an account of the manner in which Lieutenant-Colonel Dunlop

LIST OF KILLED AND WOUNDED. 125

lbp received his wound,—see p. 70.—It is understood that he is on his return to Europe, completely disabled in the right arm, which was nearly cut through at the wrist during the assault.

Captain Owen	K.		May 4.
Lieut. Lawrence		W.	4.
Volunteered the Forlorn Hope, in front of the column which composed the left attack, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Dunlop.			
H. M. SCOTCH BRIGADE.	14 K.	86 W.	1 M.
Captain Hay	K.	—	Ap. 26.
Captain Molle	—	W.	27.
Lieut. Macbeath	—	W.	26.
Lieut. Innes	—	W.	26.
Lieut. Maclean	—	W.	26.
SWISS REGT. DE MEURON.	16 K.	60 W.	1 M.
Captain Pianchaud	—	W.	Ap. 27.
Captain Lardy	—	W.	May 4.
Lieutenant Mathey (<i>Dead</i>)	W.	—	4.
Assistant Surg. Glasser	K.	—	Ap. 19.
BOMBAY EUROPEAN REGT.	9 K.	23 W.	1 M.
Serjt. Graham	K.	—	May 4.
Lieut. R. Webbe	—	W.	4.
MADRAS ENGINEERS.	—	2 W.	—
Capt. Lieut. Caldwell	—	W.	May 2.
Capt. Cosby, Staff,	K.	—	41

One of the breaching batteries having caught fire in the afternoon of that day, the fire from the fort was immediately directed upon those who were employed in extinguishing the flames, among whom Captain Cosby had distinguished himself by the most active and successful exertion;—but soon after he had descended from the Merlons into the battery, he was unfortunately killed by a grape shot.

MADRAS PIONEERS.	1 K.	0 W.	
Capt. Cormick	K.	—	May 4.
1st. REGT. MADRAS NAT. INF.	1 K.	0 W.	—
3rd. Batt.—Lieut. Mackintosh	—	W.	Ap. 17.
Lieut. J. Fish	K.	—	20.
Lieut. S. Smith	—	W.	20.
12th REGT. MADRAS NAT. INF.	—	3 W.	—
2d Batt. Capt. J. Munro	—	W.	Ap. 18.
Lieut. Vernon	—	W.	18.
Lieut. Moore	—	W.	18.

BENGAL

176 LIST OF KILLED AND WOUNDED,

BENGAL VOLUNTEERS.		1 W.	
3d Batt.	Lieut. Fagan	W.	Ap. 27.
2d REGT. BOMBAY NAT. INF. 1 K.		2 W.	
1st. Batt.	Capt. J. C. Meares	K.	Ap. 21.
2d Batt.	Lieut. Jer. Lock	W.	18.
	Lieut. J. Barnard	W.	18.
3d REGT. BOMBAY NAT. INF.		1 W.	
1st. Batt.	Capt. W. Browne	W.	Ap. 21.

Captain Browne received three musket balls in his right arm, one of which so severely wounded the grand artery, that an immediate amputation was necessary. This officer had, before, lost the second and third finger of his left hand by the sting of some reptile, when encamped near the mountains, in the last war with Tippoo.

5th REGT. BOMBAY NAT. INF.		1 W.	
1st. Batt.	Capt. Marshall	W.	Ap. 21.
TOTAL		181 K. 622 W. 22 M.	

*** The Compiler cannot close his last page, without again acknowledging in general terms the assistance he has received from various sources of information.—To those Gentlemen who have favoured him with original matter, he stands most gratefully indebted, and to the publications which have furnished him with materials for compilation, he owns himself much beholden—particularly to the Asiatic Annual Register, a work rich in every thing most interesting on the subject of British India, its History, Politics, and Literature.

The utmost care has been taken throughout to avoid error and mis-statement; yet military men, and those who have resided in India, may perhaps find that the preceding pages are not entirely free from inaccuracy—at the same time, however, it is presumed they will not find any thing greatly out of Drawing in these Narrative Sketches, and that small inadvertencies will be treated with a reasonable indulgence.

FINIS.

DESCRIPTIVE SKETCH of the STORMING of SERINGAPATAM, as exhibited in the Great Historical Picture painted by Robert Ker Porter.

THE principal Groupe on the Breach (which occupies the centre of the Painting) is GENERAL BAIRD, surrounded by his Staff, and animating the troops to follow Serjeant Graham, of the Forlorn Hope, who having planted the British colours on the rampart, is shot by an Indian at the moment he is giving the hurra of victory.

At the foot of the Ruins, beyond the first acclivity, are the Grenadiers of the 12th Regiment, directed to the attack by Major Craigie; while a party of the 74th, under Major Wallace, and of the Scotch Brigade, led by Major Skelly, are preparing to scale the ramparts, assisted by the Madras Native Pioneers with scaling ladders, whose officer, Captain Cormick, being killed, is represented in the act of falling down the steep.

In the Fore Ground, at the foot of the left bastion, lies Captain Owen, of the 77th, supported, as he is dying, on one of the Tyger guns taken from the enemy. He is upheld by an Artillery-man, who points to the Indians from whom he received his death; while his Grenadiers are pressing to avenge it at the point of the bayonet.

About Mid-way up the Breach, is a sally of Tippoo's Guards, who are repulsed by the Grenadiers of the 74th Regiment.—Lieutenant Prendergast appears mortally struck by a musket-shot, and Lieutenant Shaw lies among the slain.

At the foot of the Breach, the fore-ground is occupied by a party of Tippoo's Tyger Grenadiers, advancing along the channel of a water-course connected with the sally-port. They are met by a part of the 73d Regiment, led by Captain Macleod, who being wounded through the lungs, is conducted off by a Soldier; while a severe conflict is maintained with the Leader of the Tiger-men by a Serjeant of the Highlanders.

Under the Right Bastion, the Light Companies of the 73d Regiment, and the Scotch Brigade, are led up to the breach by Lieutenant Gawler and Captain Molle, while the remainder of the 73d (Highlanders) are advancing across a branch of the Cavery.

Further to the Right, in the fore-ground, is the brave Colonel Dunlop, borne off from the breach, wounded, two Grenadiers; and in front of the Mortar Battery is Major Allan, with Colonel Dallas and Major Beatson.—Near them stands the Chief Engineer, Colonel Gent, giving directions for the removal of a wounded Artillery-man, while Captain Caldwell is, with a glass, reconnoitring the enemy's works, from the battery; and Major Agnew, immediately behind him, appears communicating the information.

In the Distance, at the extremity of the Picture, is a view of the British Camp—GENERAL HARRIS, with a groupe of his Officers on horseback, appearing on the intermediate ground.

On the Bastion, to the right of the breach, stands Colonel Sherbroke, directing

directing the right assault along the ramparts, where the British troops are bayonetting the enemy from their traverses, and pushing on to the inner works.

On the Rampart, to the left of the breach, is *Tippoo Sultaun*, attended by his Chiefs and Standard Bearers. He stands near an open veranda, directly above the gate-way in which he afterwards fell, and appears reconnoitring the attack, in concert with a French Officer, General Chapuy, who is stationed on the battlement, a little further to the left.

At the Sally-port Bridge (accidentally let down by the fire of our artillery) is a desperate conflict between the Company's Sepoys, and a chosen band of the Sultaun's Guards, known by the name of Hyder's Grenadiers.—Lieutenant Lalor is mortally wounded on the bridge, and appears struggling with his assailant as he is falling into the water.

In the Fore Ground, is a party of the Madras Artillery, under Lieutenant Bell, who having advanced with one of the heavy guns, to force the sally-port, is directing his men, with the Artillery Lascars, to drag it to the rear.

At the left Extremity of the Picture, is Captain Lardy of the Regiment the Meuron, assisted by one of the Artillery-men in binding up his wounded left arm, in order that he may rejoin the storming party:—and behind the groupe of Artillery are the Native Troops, with a party of the Nizam's forces, headed by Lieutenant-Colonel Mignau; while Lieutenant Pasley, as Major of Brigade, is animating them on to the attack.

Beyond the Walls of the Fortress, appear the principal buildings of Seringapatam. A superb mosque is seen to the right of the breach, and on the left Tippoo's palace and the garden of the Laug-Baug. Several high cavaliers overlook the works within the fort; and on the outside of the walls are a number of ruined redoubts, demolished by the fire of our breaching batteries, two of which occupy the two extreme points in the fore-ground of the Picture.

THE PAINTING.

Is executed upon a large scale, comprehending 2,550 square feet of canvas, and contains several hundred figures as large as life, with near twenty Portraits of British Officers.

* * The Exhibition of the Picture is open every day, from Nine o'clock till Dark —Admittance, One Shilling.

THE PUBLIC.

Are respectfully informed, that it is intended to publish, by Subscription, Three Large Prints from the above Painting—Proposals for which may be had at the Exhibition Room, where Subscriptions are received; and at Mess. Hammerfys, Pall-Mall; Biddulphs and Cox, Charing-Cross; of J. P. Thomson, Printseller, Great Newport Street; and of Mr. Porter, No. 6, Gerrald Street, Soho.

T. D. Denovan, Printer, Edinburgh.

A
NARRATIVE
OF WHAT PASSED AT
KILLALLA,
IN THE
COUNTY OF MAYO,
AND THE
PARTS ADJACENT,
DURING THE
FRENCH INVASION
IN THE
SUMMER OF 1798.

BY AN EYE-WITNESS.

SECOND EDITION.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY AND FOR R. E. MERCIER AND CO.
No. 31. ANGLESEA-STREET; AND FOR
JOHN JONES, No. 91, BRIDE-STREET.

1800.



TO THE

PRINTERS.

SIR,

AS I know that inaccurate accounts of remarkable events must at length be taken for true, and be adopted by the historian, if he is not supplied with better, I feel myself drawn against my liking by the very imperfect narratives I have yet seen of what passed at Killalla, while foreign and domestic enemies possessed that town in the summer of 1798, to state to you as much as fell under my observation at that critical period.

B

The

The committee of united Irishmen at Paris had certainly prepared both the Directory and the majority of the French people to expect, that if a strong force from France should appear on the coast of Ireland, the whole country would presently rise in arms to second them, and to shake off the detested yoke of Great Britain. Col. CHAROST confessed as much to the Bishop of Killalla in private conversation, and owned that he was much disappointed when he came to discover how extremely different the reports of the Irish commissioners were from the truth, particularly with regard to the protestants and the people of property in Ireland. He added with much warmth, that he should take care to open the eyes of his countrymen on the subject, as soon as he should return to Paris.

The inconsiderable number of French, who made good a landing at Killalla, were destined to be only the vanguard of that army so happily intercepted afterwards by Sir JOHN B. WARREN. Had these last succeeded in their enterprize as well as did their forerunners, and arrived in time to support them, the danger to the English interest in Ireland would have proved serious indeed, if we may form a conclusion from the mischief which
 even

even a handful of foreigners was able to effect. But the hand of Providence interposed in our favour. Money to set forward the second embarkation was wanting; so that before the grand spring of military operations could be put in motion, the first invaders had miscarried by land, leaving the second armament to fall a prey to a gallant English squadron.

On the fourth of August 1798, the French government dispatched from Rochelle, in two frigates of 44 guns 18 pounders, and one of 38, carrying 12 pounders, a force of 1030 men and 70 officers, the whole under the command of Gen. HUBERT. This officer had risen from the ranks, was first distinguished for his activity in the ruinous war of La Vendée, and had been second in command in the expedition of Gen. HOCHÉ to Bantry Bay in Dec. 1796. The squadron, eluding beyond their own expectation the vigilance of our fleet, had fetched so long a compass on their route, as to be eighteen days in their passage to Ireland. Their intention was to land, as the second party afterwards did, in Donegal; but after beating up three days against a north wind, they cast anchor on the 22d of August in the bay of Killalla, taking care to deceive their enemies by shewing only

English colours. The feint succeeded so well, that two sons of the bishop of Killalla, eager to see English men of war, threw themselves into a fishing boat along with the port-surveyor, Mr. JAMES RUTLEDGE, and were presently surpris'd to find themselves prisoners. EDWIN STOCK, the eldest son of the bishop, was brought on shore that evening by the French, who wanted him for an interpreter: the other two got away, three days after, to Ballina, where they joined the party that charged the enemy near that town on horseback, on whose defeat they contriv'd to slip away on foot to Killalla.

Some alarm had been given in the morning of the 22d to the people of Killalla by the unusual appearance of ships of that size in their bay; in so much that the only magistrate of the town, WILLIAM KIRKWOOD, esq; who commanded the yeomanry, had kept his corps under arms the whole day at the sea-house, called the Castle, as did also lieutenant SILLS of the Prince of Wales' fencibles his twenty militia-men, lately detached to Killalla from Ballina. Yeomen and fencibles together formed a corps of fifty men, all protestants, equally resolute and loyal, as the event would have made manifest,

manifest, if they had not been opposed to a force so very superior in number.

The indentings of the bay of Killalla, and the chain of hills between that town and the spot where the enemy landed, will in part account for the secrecy with which the debarkation was conducted. It is not without reason, however, suspected, that the peasantry had no intention to prevent the surprise that took place. Even among the bishop's servants, for some days before this event, a whisper had gone about, that the French were coming to Killalla, and that something very terrible would shortly happen. A protestant servant maid, lately married to a romish inhabitant of the place, had circulated the report in the castle with great apparent uneasiness and conviction of its truth.

Thursday the 23d of August had been fixed on for the visitation of the clergy of the united dioceses of Killalla and Achonry, to be held at Killalla. The town not affording a decent inn, it had been customary for the bishop to find bed and board for such clergymen as came from distant parts, three or four of whom had accordingly dined at the castle, in company with two officers of the carabineers, quartered at Ballina, a town

six miles distant. The company was preparing to join the ladies, between seven and eight on a fine summer's evening, when a terrified messenger entered the room with news, that the French were landed, and that near 300 of them were within a mile of the town. The cavalry officers rode off directly in full speed, with the intelligence to Ballina. In a few minutes the yeomen and fencibles being drawn together before the castle gate, the question was put, should they fight or retreat? ' We will fight,' said lieutenant SILLS, listening to the dictates of courage rather than of prudence. The word was echoed by the whole corps. They advanced into the main street, which stands at right angles with the castle, where they met the French advance guard, as it was entering the town from the other end. Borne down by numbers, and seeing two of their body killed, our people were seized with a panic, and fled, leaving their capt. KIRKWOOD to stand near fifty shots before he was taken. Lieut. SILLS, retreating into the castle, was afterwards obliged to render himself prisoner to general HUMBERT, who sent him away the next day to the ships, to be carried to France. The reason of the distinction made between the treatment of this officer and that of capt. KIRKWOOD was, because SILLS was not only an officer of fencibles,

cibles, but an Englishman, whom the French upon all occasions affected to discriminate from the natives of a country, to which they were come to offer the valuable gift of liberty. One of the bishop's guests, the rev. doctor THOMAS ELLISON of Castlebar, having been formerly an officer in the army, felt his military ardour revive with the news of the enemy's approach; he bravely shouldered a musquet with the yeomen, stood the first fire in the street, and was one of the last that retreated to the castle, after receiving a hurt in the heel from a spent ball. The bishop, having seen the yeomen and fencibles collected for opposing the enemy, had retired into his garden to arm his mind for the emergency, whence he heard the volleys in the street, as if they were close at his ears.

Of our yeomen about nineteen were secured by the French, and ordered into close custody at the castle. The room chosen for their prison was the drawing-room, the best apartment in the house, where they were detained three or four days, without permission to go out even for the occasions of nature. Yet the honest poor men took all possible pains to avoid injuring the room or furniture; so that, when they were at length sent off to Ballina, it

it was found no difficult matter to set all to rights again in that apartment.

All opposition being now at an end, the French general marched into the castle yard at the head of his officers, and demanded to see *Mons. l'Evêque*. Very fortunately for his family, and indeed, as it afterwards appeared, for the town and neighbourhood, the bishop was tolerably fluent in the French language, having in his youth had the advantage of foreign travel. HUMBERT desired him to be under no apprehension; himself and all his people should be treated with respectful attention, and nothing should be taken by the French troops but what was absolutely necessary for their support: a promise which, as long as those troops continued in Killalla, was *most religiously observed*, excepting only a small fall of ill humour or roughness on the part of the commander towards the bishop, which shall be related presently.

In the midst of all his hurry in giving the necessary orders for landing the remainder of his force, and appointing their quarters, gen. HUMBERT found time that very evening to enter into a pretty long conversation with the bishop on the object of this invasion, and the sanguine hopes he entertained
of

of its speedy and complete success. Such a powerful armament was to be sent out without delay from the French ports to second this primary adventure, that not a doubt could in reason subsist, but Ireland would be a free and happy nation, under the protection of France, within the space of a month. A directory was immediately to be set up in the province of Connaught, some of the members of which were already appointed; but there was still a place for a person of the ability and consequence of the bishop of Killalla, if he chose to embrace the fortunate opportunity, at once of serving himself, and liberating his country. The bishop at that time made no answer, except by a bow to the personal compliment; but when the application was afterwards seriously repeated to him in their common bed-chamber by the two principal officers, HUMBERT and SERRASIN, he smiled, and said he had taken too many oaths of allegiance to his sovereign to have it in his power to change. They replied, he was a man of honour, and that it was far from the intention of their government to force liberty upon any man.

The remainder of the first evening was employed in a strict examination of captain KIRKWOOD, the magistrate, as to the supplies that could be drawn

drawn from the town and neighbourhood to assist the progress of the invaders. The queries were interpreted by some Irish officers who came with the French. Mr. KIRKWOOD answered with such an appearance of frankness and candour, that he gained the esteem of the French general, who told him he was on his parole, and should have full permission to return to his family, and attend to his private affairs. But this good humour between them did not continue long. KIRKWOOD had a sickly wife, an amiable woman, of whom he was dotingly fond. The terror of the invasion wrought so upon her weak nerves, that, after escaping on the first night to the castle, she crept away the day after to some hiding place in the mountains four or five miles from the town, from which she sent word to her husband that she was but just alive. Attentive only to her, he forgot his parole of honour to the French; and it was not till after he had been some time by his wife's bedside, that he recollected the circumstance of his having transgressed the bounds within which he had promised to confine himself. Not knowing what punishment he might have incurred by this breach of the laws of war, he took the desperate resolution of withdrawing himself to the wild district of Erris, about ten miles from Killalla, on the sea-coast, into which
a carriage

a carriage cannot pass, as it is a frightful tract of bog and mountain, though tolerably well peopled. Here he remained several days with only one attendant, in constant dread of being robbed and murdered by the rebels, and forced to take up his residence at night in caves among the rocks, when he could not reach a smoky hut belonging to some peasant whom he could trust. At one time especially, he owed his life to the good offices of FERDINAND O'DONNELL, a young man, a tenant under the fee of Killalla, who was soon to make a conspicuous figure in these troubles. O'DONNELL had been employed in some little post in the revenue at Cork, whence he had lately returned to his own country, to look after his small farm, and to take care of his mother, a young brother, and sisters. He knew Mr. KIRKWOOD; as indeed no man was better known nor more popular in all that neighbourhood, being a good-humoured man, well versed in the Irish language, and useful as a merchant conducting an extensive trade between Killalla and the Irish and English ports. With difficulty O'DONNELL was able to protect the fugitive for one night only in his farm-house; but he incurred the hatred of the rebels so much by this act of humanity, that after sending away KIRKWOOD in the morning, he was fain to take the road to Killalla himself the same

same day. It is more than probable however, that he was glad of the pretence for running to the scene of action, where his vanity whispered him, that he should find occasion to distinguish himself. KIRKWOOD soon after, by the help of a trusty protestant of the name of ROGERS, contrived to make his situation known to the bishop, who represented the business to the French officers in such a light, as proceeding merely from inadvertence, that a passport was granted, in consequence of which, Mr. KIRKWOOD, after many intervening perils, found means to get back to Killalla. There he had reason to mourn over the ill consequences of the hasty step he had taken, when he quitted the defence of his house and property. Enraged at his breach of parole, the French had taken every thing they wanted out of his stores, oats and salt and iron to a considerable amount; nor had they been careful to prevent depredations by the rebels in his dwelling-house, as they would have done if he had not fled; so that when he returned, he found it almost a wreck. But it is time to look back to what happened at the castle in the commencement of the invasion.

For a century past Ireland had known nothing of the horrors of war, but from description. Our
obscure

obscure corner of the island had less reason than almost any other to look for a disturbance from foreign enemies. Neither was there just cause of suspicion, that the county of Mayo, at least, had caught any portion of that malignant spirit of disloyalty and religious intolerance, the effects of which in the county of Wexford we in Connaught had been lately deploring, not without a mixture of gratulation on our own escape from the like. It is not to be wondered therefore, if, taken in the midst of profound security, the inhabitants were seized with a panic, as general as it was terrible.

The dining room at the castle, which a few minutes before witnessed nothing but mirth and festivity, was filled immediately from one end to the other with French officers and soldiers dragging in arms and baggage, with prisoners undergoing examination, and in one part with a surgeon and assistants dressing a severe wound received in the late skirmish by a furlylooking officer of the French grenadiers. All the lower part of the house, together with the court yard and offices, was occupied by the soldiery, to the number of at least three hundred. And here it would be an act of great injustice to the excellent discipline, constantly maintained by these invaders while they remained in our town,

not to remark, that with every temptation to plunder, which the time and the number of valuable articles within their reach presented to them from a sideboard of plate and glasses, a hall filled with hats, whips, and great coats, as well of the guests as of the family, not a single particular of private property was found to have been carried away, when the owners, after the first fright was over, came to look for their effects, which was not for a day or two after the landing. Immediately upon entering the dining-room, a French officer had called for the bishop's butler, and gathering up the spoons and glasses, had desired him to take them to his pantry.

On the middle floor of the new house, the drawing-room, as I said, was converted into a prison for the yeomen, till they were sent on the 26th to Ballina, when it returned to the possession of the family. A store-room on the same floor was left undisturbed: the two bed-chambers adjoining were reserved for the general and his principal officers. The attic story, containing a library and three bed-chambers, continued sacred to the bishop and his family. And so scrupulous was the delicacy of the French not to disturb the female part of the house, that not one of them was ever seen to go higher than

than the middle floor, except on the evening of their success at Castlebar, when two officers begged leave just to carry to the family the news of the battle, and seemed a little mortified that the intelligence was received with an air of dissatisfaction*.

It is not easy by any force of language to convey an adequate idea of the miseries of that first night, which succeeded to the landing of the enemy. To the terrified imaginations of the town's people the castle instantly presented itself, as the only place where they could have a chance of safety. Thither accordingly they fled, without distinction of age, sex, or condition, forcing their way into every corner of the house and offices, occupying the stair-cases, spreading through the bed-chambers, and some of them even thrusting them-

* One of these officers observed to a brother officer in the town, who interpreted for him in the house where he lodged, that "there was no hope of attaching the bishop's family to their cause, for that, while he was announcing the victory at Castlebar, he could see despair painted in their faces." It was some time before the French could believe, that no protestant would join them. The only persons of the established church that did so, were two drunken fops of Killalla, who thinking apostacy the fittest prelude to treason, before they embraced the French party, did first publicly declare themselves converts to the church of Rome.

selves and their children into the same beds with the infants of the bishop's family. Women that had lain sick in their beds for a month before, and one old lady past eighty, who was bed-ridden, and believed to be at the point of death, gathering strength from despair, contrived to work their way to the very top of the house. Chairs were placed round the lobby of the attic story, on which the family, with some of their principal acquaintance, remained without a thought of repose for the whole night. Indeed the leaden hand of sleep could not have closed any eye-lids but those of an infant. The whole house resounded like a bedlam with the loquacity of the Frenchmen below, and the shrieks and groans of the fugitives above. Among the last there wanted not some, who sought consolation from the whiskey bottle, in consequence of which they became presently so clamorous and troublesome, that it was found necessary to restrain them by force.

Of the company that had dined at the castle that day, two clergymen made their escape on foot, and gained the neighbouring mountains, leaving their horses to be seized by the French. The dean of Killalla, (parish minister of the town) the rev. THOMAS THOMPSON, brought his wife and children from his own dwelling to the castle, where they were sheltered

sheltered with the cordiality due to the uncommon excellence of their character, and continued there till a gracious providence wrought our deliverance. The bishop had every reason to rejoice, that in his distress he should have been so fortunate as to be assisted by the judgment, the steadiness, and temper of dean THOMPSON and doctor ELLISON. This last gentleman indeed continued with him but one week, being dismissed on his parole to Castlebar : but wherever he was, the bishop felt the beneficial effects of his active and friendly disposition. The rev. ROBERT NIXON, curate of the parish, a most worthy and valuable young man, was also an inmate at the castle during the whole time of the troubles. The rev. Mr. LITTLE, from the neighbouring parish of Lackan, embraced the same asylum, after he had been driven from his parsonage by the insurgents, who left him neither house nor property. The bishop's own family consisted of himself, his lady, his sister-in-law Mrs. COPE, the rev. JAMES BURROWES (private tutor) a young nephew, and eleven children *. The servants were thirteen in number.

The two ladies, who had the principal direction

* Mrs. Stock had four other children abroad, two married daughters, and two officers serving in the army.

of a family of this size, will naturally attract attention. Curiosity will be excited to enquire, in what manner they conducted themselves under the impression of a reverse of fortune so terrifying, and so utterly unexpected. As the present narrative belongs more properly to the class of private history than of public, the reader may be assured his desire of information in this particular should have been gratified, had it been possible to satisfy it without hurting the feelings of the parties concerned. Female heroism shrinks away from the meed of human praise; because it most commonly inherits the temper of its natural parent, piety, that chaste through ardent piety, which would gladly hide itself from the notice of every being, except the Supreme. Let it be sufficient to observe, that the power of religion to chase away from minds rightly imbued

Anguish, and doubt, and fear, and sorrow, and pain,

Par. L. I. 558.

was never more completely exemplified than in the whole behaviour, during their sharp trial, of those very persons, whose entreaties have restrained my pen from doing them justice.

On the morning after his arrival, HUMBERT began his military operations by pushing forward to
Ballina

Ballina a detachment of a hundred men, forty of whom he had mounted on the best horses he could lay his hands upon in the country. On the road he concealed under the arch of a bridge, adjoining to Killalla, a serjeant's guard to watch the motions of any straggling party from the enemy, a measure of prudence which proved fatal to the rev. GEORGE FORTESCUE, (nephew to lord CLERMONT) a clergyman of the diocese of the fairest character. This young gentleman, who had been enrolled in his brother's troop in the county of Louth, had put himself at the head of a reconnoitring party from Ballina, and falling in with the ambuscade, received a wound in his groin, of which he died in great agonies, but with the most exemplary patience and resignation, about nine days after. The carabineers and yeomanry of Ballina, after a short resistance, consulted their safety by flight, leaving the town, and one of their company, in the hands of the French, a Newport cavalier, who was surpris'd in his bed before he had time to escape.

The person of this prisoner chancing to be large and corpulent, general HUMBERT chose to make a public exhibition of him, as the *spolia opima* of his victory. Placing him therefore in his uniform, at his left hand, in a curricule drawn by two handsome horses,

horses, late the property of poor Mr. FORTESCUE, the general rode back from Ballina into Killalla in triumph, amidst the acclamations of a great crowd of peasantry, as well as of his army. The indolent captive, as he carried his eyes quietly round the throng, looked not unlike a sea-lion just awakened out of his sleep.

In war, it is said, the first success is every thing. The maxim was at least verified here by the instant accession of many hundreds of the country people to the cause of the French, which they affected to style the cause of Ireland. A green flag was mounted over the castle gate, with the inscription **ERIN GO BRAGH**, importing, as I am told, *Ireland for ever!* This flag was the signal to invite as many as had the spirit to assert their freedom to join a brave people, who were come for no other purpose but make them independent and happy. The generous purpose was to be forwarded by the immediate delivery of arms, ammunition, and clothing to the new levies of the country. Property was to be inviolable. Ready money was to come over in the ships expected every day from France. In the mean time, whatever was brought in voluntarily, or taken by necessity to answer the occasions of the army, should be punctually paid in drafts

on

on the future directory, of which the owners of the goods demanded were courteously invited to accept. For the first two or three days many people did apply for such drafts to the French commissary of stores, whose whole time appeared to be taken up with writing them. Indeed the bishop himself was of opinion, that the losers would act wisely to accept of them; not, as he told the people, that they would ever produce payment where it was promised, but because they might serve as documents to our own government, when at a future period it should come to enquire into the losses sustained by its loyal subjects. The trouble however of the commissary, in issuing drafts on a bank in prospect, was not of long duration. The people smiled first, and he joined in the smile himself at last, when he offered the airy security.

But if cash was wanting, the promise of clothing and arms to the recruits was made good on the spot, and to a considerable extent. Chests containing each forty fusils, and others filled with new French uniforms and gaudy helmets, being heaped together in the castle yard, the first that offered their service received complete clothing; and these, by credible report, were about a thousand in number. The next comers, who were at least as many, had

had every thing but shoes and stockings. To the last, arms only were given. And of arms col. CHAROST assured the bishop not less than 5500 stand were in this place delivered out to the insurgents. The musquets were pronounced, by those who were judges of them, to be well fabricated, though their bore was too small to admit English bullets. The carabines were remarkable for their goodness. Swords and pistols, of which there was no great plenty, were reserved as marks of distinction, to be distributed only to the rebel officers.

It was a melancholy spectacle to those in the castle, to witness the eagerness with which the unfortunate rustics pressed forward to lay hold of these fatal trappings, the sure harbingers of their own speedy destruction. A very little penetration was required to discover the madness of expecting final success in an enterprise, conducted by such a force, against an army at that time in the kingdom of probably not less than a hundred thousand men. But though the bait was visible to people of any sense, to the multitude it was in no small degree alluring.

The uncombed, ragged peasant, who had never before known the luxury of shoes and stockings, now washed, powdered, and full dressed, was metamorphosed

transformed into another being, the rather because the far greater part of these mountaineers were by no means deficient either in size or person. ‘ Look at these poor fellows,’ said HUMBERT, with an air of triumph to the bishop, ‘ they are made, you find, of the same stuff with ourselves.’ A still stronger temptation offered itself, to people unaccustomed to animal food, in a full enjoyment of fresh meat. The lowest allowance of beef for a day was one pound to each recruit. This was devoured with an avidity, that excited sometimes the mirth, sometimes the contempt of their French associates. An officer protested, that having for curiosity trusted an Irishman at once with an allowance of eight pounds of dressed meat, he saw the creature throw himself on the ground, and begin to gnaw it so eagerly, that he was sure he would not rise till he had consumed it.

The expectation of spoil undoubtedly came in for a full share of the inducements, that prompted the indigent to shake off the restraints of civil rule, and armed him against his wealthy neighbours. It is a debt due to justice, however, to observe, that if the first who joined the enemy were enticed by hope to a foreign standard, very many took the same road afterwards merely through fear. Great pains were

were employed by the early insurgents to frighten their neighbours into the same inclosure of peril with themselves, partly by the most horrid menaces in case of refusal to join the common cause, and partly by spreading lies of the protestants, whom they represented as Orangemen, universally bent on the excision of catholics.

When the united weight of so many temptations is duly estimated, operating besides on a body of peasantry already estranged from their protestant neighbours by difference of religion, language, and education, it will rather be matter of surprise, that so little mischief was the result of the insurrection in Connaught, and that we had not the same horrid scenes of cruelty and religious intolerance to mourn over, as had lately stamped indelible disgrace on the eastern province. It is a circumstance worthy of particular notice, that during the whole time of this civil commotion, not a drop of blood was shed by the Connaught rebels, except in the field of war. It is true, the example and influence of the French went a great way to prevent sanguinary excesses. But it will not be deemed fair to ascribe to this cause alone the forbearance of which we were witnesses, when it is considered, what a range of country lay at the mercy of the rebels for several

ral days after the French power was known to be at an end.

These reflections are offered to the public as an apology for the opinion of certain persons, who became advocates for lenity, when, on the suppression of the rebellion, the treatment due to the insurgents was the object of discussion. Fire and sword was the language of gentlemen, whose loss by the war, though grievous and highly provoking, was only the loss of property. Milder sentiments may reasonably be allowed to have place in bosoms, which had throbb'd with the apprehension of a greater mischief, than spoliation. Experience had taught them, that life is the first of worldly possessions; and having sav'd that blessing themselves, they could not be in haste to ravish it from others.

Indeed where there had appear'd all along so few traces of rancour in these poor country folks, it was impossible for a spectator of their actions not to pity them for their very simplicity. It was such, that even the serious situation in which we were plac'd was frequently insufficient to repress our laughter at it. The coxcomby of the young clowns in their new dress; the mixture of good-humour and contempt in the countenances of the
D French,

French, employed in making puppies of them; the haste of the undressed to be as fine as their neighbours, casting away their old clothes long before it came to their turn to receive the new; above all, the merry activity of a handsome young fellow, a marine officer, whose business it was to consummate the vanity of the recruits by decorating them with helmets beautifully edged with spotted brown paper to look like leopard's skin, a task which he performed standing on a powder barrel, and making the helmet fit any skull, even the largest, by thumping it down with his fists, careless whether it could ever be taken off again—these were circumstances that would have made you smile, though you had been just come from seeing your house in flames. A spectacle not less provoking to mirth presented itself to your view, if you followed the new soldiers after they had received their cartridges, and observed their manner of using them. It was common with them to put in their cartridges at the wrong end, and when they stuck in the passage (as they often did) the inverted barrel was set to work against the ground, till it was bent and useless. At first they were trusted with balls, as well as with powder. But this practice was not repeated, after it had gone near costing his life to general HUMBERT. As he was standing at an open window

window in the castle, the general heard a ball whistle by his ear, discharged by an awkward recruit in the yard below, whom he instantly punished with an unmerciful caning. The ball passed into the ceiling, where the mark of it is still apparent. Lastly, it was quite unfuitable to the spirit of these rustic warriors to keep their firelocks idle till they should come in sight of an enemy, when there were so many inferior animals on which they might be tried. A crowd got about CHAROST one day, clamouring for a supply of powder and shot. 'Tell them,' said the commandant in a passion, 'they shall have no more, till I am sure they will not waste their charges upon ravens *.'

The

* The raven is an object of pursuit for his quills. It was remarked that these birds, not common before in our fields, began to multiply, in proportion as unburied bodies (a curse on war!) became a spectacle familiar to us. The reader will pardon a short digression for the sake of recording an incident, of which the author of these pages was an eye-witness.

About the time of our greatest peril, when we first learned the news of Ballinamuck, a more than ordinary cawing and chattering had for some days together been observed to take place in the rookery adjoining to the bishop's garden. At length a cloud of birds was seen to mount into the air from the grove, which dividing themselves into two regular battalions of

The French, it is well known, are a nation apt enough to consider themselves as superior to any people in the world : but here indeed it would have been ridiculous not to prefer the Gallic troops in every respect before their new allies. Intelligence, activity, temperance, patience, to a surprising degree appeared to be combined in the soldiery that came over with HUMBERT, together with the exactest obedience to discipline. Yet, if you except their grenadiers, they had nothing to catch the eye. Their stature for the most part was low, their complexions pale and fallow, their clothes much the worse for the wear : to a superficial observer they would have appeared incapable of enduring almost any hardship. These were the men however, of whom it was presently observed, that they could be well content to live on bread or potatoes, to drink water, to make the stones of the street their bed, and to sleep in their clothes, with no co-

crows and ravens, engaged in a combat of several minutes in the upper regions with so much fury, that a company walking in the garden distinctly heard the dashing of their wings against one another. In the end, victory declared for the crows : the intruding ravens took flight, and peace was restored to the old tenants of the grove. It will hardly be wondered, if under our then depression of mind we accepted comfort even from augury.

vering

vering but the canopy of heaven. One half of their number had served in Italy under BUONAPARTE; the rest were from the Rhine, where they had suffered distresses, that well accounted for thin persons and wan looks. Several of them declared with all the marks of sincerity, that at the siege of Mentz, during the preceding winter, they had for a long time slept on the ground in holes made four feet deep under the snow. And an officer, pointing to his leather small-clothes, assured the bishop, that he had not taken them off for a twelvemonth.

HUMBERT, the leader of this singular body of men, was himself as extraordinary a personage as any in his army. Of a good height and shape, in the full vigour of life, prompt to decide, quick in execution, apparently master of his art, you could not refuse him the praise of a good officer, while his physiognomy forbad you to like him as a man. His eye, which was small and sleepy, (the effect, probably, of much watching) cast a side-long glance of insidioufness, and even of cruelty: it was the eye of a cat, preparing to spring on her prey. His education and manners were indicative of a person sprung from the lowest orders of society, though he knew how (as most of his countrymen can do) to assume, when it was convenient, the deport-

ment of a gentleman. For learning, he scarcely had enough to enable him to write his name. His passions were furious, and all his behaviour seemed marked with the characters of roughness and violence. A narrower observation of him, however, served to discover, that much of this roughness was the result of art, being assumed with the view of extorting by terror a ready compliance with his commands. Of this truth the bishop himself was one of the first who had occasion to be made sensible.

Boats were necessary to transport the artillery and stores from the ships, cars and horses to forward them by land; and these were to be procured without delay, the life of the present enterprise consisting in dispatch. High prices were offered. But the fishermen of Killalla at first kept out of the way; and of cars none could be got, but what were seized at the first onset. Application therefore was made to the bishop, whose answer was (what was really true) that he had no authority in that place, civil or personal; that he was not a magistrate, nor had time to be acquainted with the people, having settled himself in the town, from another part of the kingdom, only a few months before. HUMBERT replied, that he should not
 have

have troubled his lordship, if the proper magistrate had not fled, in violation of his parole; that he cared little by what means the bishop should contrive to get him what he wanted; but as he was the principal inhabitant, he must and would charge him with the office of producing boats and cars, and that by the very next morning. The bishop, in HUMBERT's presence, desired his people to go out into the town, and try to convince the inhabitants that the general's orders must be obeyed.

Next morning, when neither boat nor car appeared, HUMBERT became furious. He poured forth a torrent of vulgar abuse, roared, stamped, laid his hand frequently on a scymitar that battered the ground, presented a pistol at the bishop's eldest son, and at last told the bishop himself, that he would make him sensible he was not to be trifled with, for he would punish his disobedience by sending him instantly to France. Orders to this effect were given on the spot to an officer, who delivered him in charge to an corporal's guard, only allowing him time to put on his hat. The inhabitants stared in silence, as they saw the bishop conducted on foot through the town. The French foldiers marched him at a good pace along the
road

road that led to the ships, and seemed to have received orders not to answer any of his questions.

When they had advanced about half a mile, and were beginning to pass a hill that would have concealed the town from their view, they were overtaken by an express on horseback with the general's orders to return. On entering the castle, the bishop was hailed with the congratulations of the French officers, and excuses for the conduct of their commander, a hasty man, they said, but very good-natured. HUMBERT himself received him on the stairs with an apology which was readily admitted. Indeed the bishop had felt no apprehension at any time, that the menace would be seriously carried into effect. He knew the French could not want his presence, nor his assistance as an interpreter; and he saw, through its disguise, the real object of HUMBERT's affected fury, which ended, as that officer had expected, in the immediate appearance of the people of whom he was in search. The bishop's danger, if there was any, was so quickly over, that happily the greater part of his family knew nothing of it till it was past.

Scarcely, however, had he got clear of one disagreeable business, when another was thrown in
his

his way. Every thing being ready for a march by Saturday the 23d, the French general determined to leave behind him at Killalla two hundred of his own soldiers under the command of half a dozen of his officers, to secure himself a retreat, in case of miscarriage, to his ammunition, a large proportion of which, to the amount of 280 barrels of 100 pounds each, could not be immediately forwarded for want of the means of conveyance. But this was not the ostensible reason for leaving the men. It was pretended, that they were suffered to remain out of pure compassion to the protestants of the vicinity, whose lives might be in danger from the new levies, while the French were elsewhere employed. Hostages therefore must be taken at least as far as Ballina, in exchange for the six officers that should be left to keep the peace at Killalla; and the bishop was given to understand, that he himself and one of his sons must make a part of the number. Remonstrances were vain. The bishop found himself obliged to communicate the unwelcome tidings to the family, and to order his chaise for the following morning.

At no one period of their calamity, perhaps, did the patience of the women sustain a ruder assault. To be separated, under such circumstances,
from

from their principal human support, for a time unknown, perhaps for ever, (for it was then said and believed, that the hostages were destined to follow every where the camp and fortunes of the invaders) this was bitter news. Mrs. THOMPSON, the dean's lady, sunk under it into a swoon: advanced in her pregnancy, she had nerves that did not keep pace with the excellent temper of her mind. Mrs. STOCK and Mrs. COPE said nothing. But the eye, that met their eyes during that scene of anguish, feels a dimness at the reviewal of it.

Next morning (Sunday) the prospect cleared up a little, though still unpleasant. The general had changed his mind, and would accept of the bishop's eldest son in place of the father. It was a strange alleviation of pain, to be derived from exposing to danger a son, who had found favour with every body that knew him, as well as with his parents. But the youth (a college lad under nineteen) thought nothing of a danger from which his father was exempted, and went off cheerfully with the other four hostages, whom the bishop was ordered to nominate; for HUMBERT had consented to take but one of the sons instead of two. The four named were JOHN KNOX, Esq; of Bartrach,
 THOMAS

THOMAS KIRKWOOD, lieutenant of the Tyrawly cavalry, JAMES RUTLEDGE, custom-house officer, and the curate Mr. NIXON.

With a levity which seemed to mark the general tenor of his conduct, HUMBERT signified to the hostages, presently after their arrival at Ballina, that they were at liberty to go home again. He himself marched his forces directly towards Castlebar, leaving one TRUC, an ignorant brutal officer, with a few French and a rabble of the Irish, to retain possession of Ballina. TRUC would not confirm the indulgence, granted by the general, till the day following; so that the five gentlemen passed a most unquiet night amidst a crew of drunken and insolent rebels, with scarcely any accommodation. The horses, on which they rode to Ballina, were not to be found next day; but the hostages were glad to find their way back again on foot.

The charge of Killalla, with the title of Commandant, was committed to Mr. CHAROST, *chef de demi-brigade*, which answers to our lieutenant colonel. The choice proved a fortunate one for the town, CHAROST being a man of sense and honour, in short, in every respect the opposite of
TRUC

TRUC. This officer began his command by obliging the bishop so far as to grant a passport to captain **HILL**, the worthy register of the diocese, empowering him to go home to Limerick. By him the bishop found the much desired opportunity of conveying a letter to his friends in Dublin, the only one they received from him till the town was recovered. A verbal account however of the family was carried to Dublin by doctor **ELLISON**, who got leave from **CHAROST** on the 29th to return to Castlebar, from which town he followed his lady and family to the capital. Mr. **JOHN THOMPSON**, the dean's brother, was permitted, at the same time with doctor **ELLISON**, to go to his house in Castlebar, where he hospitably entertained the bishop's son **ARTHUR**, when he was presently after sent to the same town in quality of hostage.

Though the enemy took away nothing with them, when they moved, but what was necessary for their operations in the field, yet that necessity was found to comprehend the best part of what the country possessed, whether of stock or victuals. The bishop's larder or cellar, both plentifully stored at that season, scarcely sufficed for three days. Every thing that he had in the fields disappeared: corn, potatoes, cattle, were all wanted, and taken from
him

him, before any thing was touched that belonged to the poor. Of his kitchen grate so incessant use was made from early morning even to midnight, that the chimney was on fire more than once, and in the middle of summer above thirty ton of coals lasted only one month. His stables yielded nine horses of his own (most of them good ones) with proper furniture; and his guests contributed about half a dozen more. The coach-house was stripped of nothing but harness, these brave officers despising the luxury of a chaise. Cars, carts, and a large waggon, with their furniture, went of course. In three days he had lost to the value of 600*l*. But it was clear, that even this damage was nothing in comparison to what he must have sustained, if he had fled, (as he was advised, and even offered the means to do) on the first approach of the French. The ruin of his house and furniture, both valuable, would have been the consequence; not to speak of the mischiefs throughout the neighbourhood, which he was happy enough by his presence and exertions to avert.

The enemy's main body had hardly marched from Killalla, when a flag of truce arrived at Castlebar, carried by cornet GREY of the carabineers. It came under the pretence of enquiring after an of-

E

ficer,

ficer, who was wounded and made prisoner at Ballina; but the object of it was to learn the force of the enemy. As soon as this was known, cornet GREY privately desired us not to be uneasy, for a force of three times their number was waiting at Castlebar [to give a good account of them. This happened on Sunday. How distressing then to the friends of government was the intelligence, received within twenty-four hours after by express from SERRASIN, the second in command of the French army, that a complete victory had been gained by them over our troops, eight hundred of whom were taken or slain, ten pieces of canon had fallen into their hands, and Castlebar had surrendered to them! ‘Irish liberty,’ concluded the letter triumphantly, ‘is established.’

The writer of this narrative professes only to describe what he saw and felt. It is not his business therefore, if he were competent to the task, to trace the events of an invasion, the first successes of which caused so much astonishment, or to shew by what means a handful of men continued so long to brave the force of a whole kingdom, men, who, from the time they missed their reinforcements from home, confessed their belief that they were no more than a forlorn hope sent to annoy the enemies of
 their

their country, and, that duty done, expected every hour to be forced to surrender themselves prisoners of war. The inhabitant of Killalla, cut off from the rest of Ireland, in front by the sea, and behind by a cordon of mountains, out of which the two only passages were continually guarded by the rebels, knew scarcely any thing that was going forward but what passed under his eyes.

A melancholy proof, that treason had a hand in the success of the French at Castlebar, was soon exhibited in the bishop's court-yard. Fifty-three deserters from the Longford militia marched in, amidst the shouts of the multitude, with their coats turned, and there exchanged their uniforms given them by their sovereign for the blue coats of France! It was a strange sight, and to protestant spectators most provoking. To comfort the bishop, the commissary made him a present of the deserters' uniforms. He took the gift, foreseeing that he should ere long find naked bodies in plenty to cover with them. Report said, that in a few days the rebel camp at Killalla was joined by fourscore deserters from the Longford and Kilkenny militia. Not a man of these infamous betrayers of their king and country returned alive to his house.

From the day that succeeded the battle of Castlebar (Aug. 28.) suspense was kept alive at Killallagh, by the report of cannon on the inland side, by the appearance of a squadron of frigates in the offing, which were called French or English according to the wishes of the spectators. These ships varied in number from one or two to five, appearing irresolute what course to take, till at length three * went off towards Sligo; a fourth of 32 guns, with a cutter of 16, continued hovering in the bay, and was at one time near losing her cutter on the bar. The French cherished hopes that it might be the squadron they expected from Brest, till on the 30th they saw the single frigate send out her boats to destroy two trading vessels, of which the French had taken possession, one to transport their ammunition which had just been all landed, the other to supply the town with forty ton of oatmeal. The crew of this last, seven Frenchmen, were carried to the frigate. The two sloops continued burning all night, and part of the next day.

* These were, as we learned afterwards, the Doris of 36 guns, lord RANELAGH, the Melampus ditto, captain MOORE, and the Fox cutter of 12 guns, lieutenant WALSH. The vessels that stayed were the Cerberus, 32 guns 18 pounders, captain M'NAMARA, and the Hurler cutter, captain J. NORWAY, carrying 16 caronades, eighteen pounders.

Some

Some of the poor towns-people, venturing to board the oatmeal sloop to save what they could of so tempting a provision, narrowly escaped death by an eighteen pounder from the frigate.

As long as the two hundred French foldiers were suffered to remain for the defence of Killalla, the protestant inhabitants felt themselves perfectly secure, though the number of insurgents, that poured in from the country to a camp they formed in the bishop's demesne, encreased every hour. The case was sadly altered from the first of September. On that day the commandant shewed the bishop an order he had received from general HUMBERT to send away immediately to Castlebar the whole French garrison of Killalla, none excepted, but M. CHAROST himself, and another officer of the name of PONSON. These two were to keep the town with about two hundred of the Irish recruits.

All the horrors, that had been acted at Wexford, now stared the loyalists in the face. 'Famished wolves are closing us in on every side,' said they to CHAROST, 'and what can two men effect, though ever so brave and vigilant?' The commandant desired them to be quiet, assuring them that he would part with life sooner than abandon

don them ; but he told the bishop, that as, by staying here to protect the protestants, he ran the hazard of losing his own liberty, he thought it but reasonable that one of the bishop's sons should go with the troops to Castlebar, to be an hostage for his person, in case of the English becoming again masters of Killalla. To this the bishop could not object. His second and third sons therefore drew lots, and the chance falling on ARTHUR the third son, a lad just sixteen, he was sent away about seven in the evening, on a poor jade ill accoutred, to travel all night with the French. From that day till the engagement at Killalla, above three weeks after, his parents could hear nothing from him, nor he from them ; so strictly were the passes guarded.

Immediately after the departure of the foreigners, the commandant applied himself to make provision for the security of the district entrusted to him. A strong patrol, in different bodies, was ordered to parade through the town and its environs, to the distance of three miles, every night. But as reports of robberies and midnight assaults came in continually, M. CHAROST thought it advisable to issue a proclamation, inviting all the inhabitants, without distinction of religion or party, to come
to

to him, and receive arms and ammunition for their own defence, under no other condition than a promise of restoring them to him when he should call for them. The offer was presently embraced by the towns' people, especially by the protestant part of them, who were most exposed to danger, and had been forced at the beginning of the invasion to deliver up their arms to the French. A distribution accordingly began to be made in the castle-yard, on the evening of Sept. 1st.

The commandant had now an opportunity of judging, whether the fears of the protestants from their popish neighbours were justly founded. As the patrol was setting at that time, the rebels (all Romanists) began to murmur at trusting arms to the protestant townsmen, which they were sure, they said, would be employed against the French and their allies the moment an English force appeared. Nor did the mutineers want a leader. One MULKEERAN, a rebel officer, was their spokesman, a strong made stout fellow, who defended himself afterwards like a lion at the battle of Killa against three or four troopers, all cutting him with their swords, and did not fall till his skull was hacked to pieces. This man resisted the commandant to his face, and went so far as to throw down
the

the arms he had received from the French, when CHAROST told him he would trust all alike with arms, who chose to take a musquet in their own defence. The bishop laboured hard to pacify the malecontents, amidst darkness and clamour and the confusion of three languages.

After an hour's struggle, several of the protestants, intimidated by the menaces of the others, returned the arms they had received, and said they would trust themselves to the protection of the patrol; which put an end, for that night, to the disturbance.

It was renewed, however, the two following days with unabating violence; till at length the protestants, harrassed by domiciliary visits of armed rebels in search of concealed weapons, agreed in a petition to the commandant that he would call in by proclamation what he had given out, and forbid in future any persons appearing in arms, except recruits for the French service. The terror of being thus stript of the means of defence was exaggerated by the alarming accounts of depredations on every side of Killalla to the distance of several miles. Not a night passed, but some house was rifled; scarce an hour in the day elapsed, in which the

the

the bishop was not importuned to lay some lamentation before the commandant, or to send out some guard for protection. Willing to do his best, he interpreted, he drew up petitions, he dispatched guards to protestant families in the neighbourhood, he went from house to house in the town to enquire after abuses, till in the evening always, and frequently in the day time, he was forced to throw himself on a bed, unable to keep his feet. Yet his health and appetite seemed to be improved by the extraordinary fatigue, nor did he ever in his life sleep better.

But if it was doubtful whether arms might safely be committed to every inhabitant of Killalla, it admitted no dispute at all, that the town could not exist without some form of civil government. Depredators crowded in hourly from the country, to the equal annoyance and terror of every body that had property, whether catholic or protestant. The French, it was said, had divided the town and neighbourhood of Castlebar into districts, appointing over each a municipal officer with a guard at his command, properly armed for the public defence; and the scheme had there had the desired success. A proclamation was therefore issued for establishing a similar form through the canton over
which

which CHAROST presided. The country was thrown into departments; a magistrate, to be elected by his neighbours, was to take charge of each, with the help of a guard of sixteen men; arms and ammunition were to be distributed to these, under an express stipulation, that neither officers nor men should be marched out of their respective departments, nor employed against their sovereign, nor in any service except that of keeping the peace. The town of Killalla was committed to the protection of one hundred and fifty men, in three bodies, all to be observant of the orders of Mr. JAMES DEVITT, the civil magistrate unanimously chosen by the people, because he was a substantial tradesman, a Roman catholic, and a man of sense and moderation. He had under him two assistants, of his own religion. The benefits of this regulation were felt immediately in the establishment of tolerable order and quiet, at least in and about the town; and without doubt they would have been felt to a greater extent, if the French power had been firmer.

The example of Killalla was presently copied in the other departments. Magistrates were elected, always Roman catholics, but commonly of the better sort among them, persons who had no desire

fire to take arms against the British government. Some of these applied to the bishop for his opinion, whether they should incur the penalties of treason by acting under a foreign power, merely for the common safety, and under the conditions stated above. His answer was, that he was no lawyer; but having always found the law of England to be consonant to reason, he would take upon him to say, there could be no law forbidding to do, under these circumstances, what was absolutely enjoined by the great law of self-preservation. It is reported, that when the rebellion was over, several persons muttered against this doctrine: it might be conceded, they said, to the existing terror, but it was not sound, because it might be employed as an excuse for a tame and prompt submission to any invaders. To such tranquil declaimers on the merit of casting away life and property, in preference to bowing the head to a storm, it is obvious to reply, that had they changed situations with those who actually felt the distress, it is more than probable they would have seen good reason to adopt the very conduct, which in the fulness of security they take upon them to condemn. To submit to a king *de facto*, and even to act by a commission from such a one to preserve the peace of the community, provided by so doing you do not

preclude

preclude yourself from returning under the government of a king *de jure*, is a practice sanctioned by the authority of our most equitable English law.

For the defence of the castle, which was declared to be the head quarters of the allied army, a guard was drawn from the garrison, consisting of from sixteen to twenty men, who were seldom relieved above once in twenty-four hours. Of these, four watched at the commandant's door, in the lobby of the middle story; four were placed in the hall; the rest were distributed at the gates in back and front, which had luckily been repaired and made secure by the bishop just before the invasion. Policy concurred with charity in recommending these poor guards to our daily care: they were fed and lodged so much better than any other soldiers, that it occasioned quarrels, and boxing among them sometimes, for a preference to be stationed on the castle-guard. And indeed they repaid the attention shewn to them, by every mark of respect in their power, and by assisting in little menial offices in and about the house wherever they were wanted.

Yet was the presence of such protectors a circumstance to the family most dreadful. The gates,
the

the doors, every thing within as well without, our very existence was in custody of a band of rebels, who had the power at any instant to throw open the house to their companions abroad, and let in depredation at least, if nothing worse. And this was a mischief too, that happened not unfrequently. At Castle-Lackan, Castlereagh, and other houses belonging to protestants, where guards had been stationed, the soldiers proved traitors, and admitted rogues from without to plunder the families they were sent to defend. If plunder was attractive, few houses offered more temptations in that way than the bishop's, not only because it contained much valuable property of his own, but because, in spite of prudence, he could not refuse to let it become a repository of other people's goods. Plate, cash, ~~leafs~~ and writings of consequence were crowded in upon him, with an eagerness that would take no denial, and with too little caution to render the affair a secret. The commandant was made acquainted with these several causes of apprehension, on our part, and distrust of his Irish friends. He made light of them for a long time, in a real or seeming confidence of retaining his authority over the rebels; though, as the final period of our captivity approached, his looks, as well

as his redoubled precautions, shewed, that he began to be almost as uneasy as ourselves.

The commandant and the bishop, finding each other to be honest men, above the meannesses of deceit, soon came to a mutual good understanding. CHAROST trusted the bishop with the sight of a letter from general HUMBERT to himself, enjoining him to bury privately the powder left in his care, or to throw it into the sea, according as he should find it most prudent and feasible. As to conveying 280 barrels of powder from the castle-yard to the sea, through the midst of armed rebels, eagerly bent on seizing the powder for their own use, it required not many words to shew the extreme improbability of effecting such a scheme. It remained therefore to bury it, and that in some place in the walls of the castle, sufficient to contain and hide it. With the help of some labourers who continued faithful to him, and of his own domestics, the bishop contrived in several nights' continual work to bury ninety barrels under a hot-bed in the garden: the remainder was committed to a vault in the haggard under the corn-stand, where though it could not be said to be concealed, it was at least secured, as far as might be under the given circumstances, from the dreaded danger of firing by accident.

No less than three times, during our troubles, was this danger on the very point of being realized. The first time was in the French reign, when the kitchen chimney was set on fire by the immoderate use of the grate, as I mentioned above. On the second occasion, we were saved only by the providential direction of the wind from catching the flames of a cabin just beside us, which was fired by the king's troops when they entered the town on the 23d September. The third was the most alarming danger of all. On the even of that same remarkable 23d of September, an honest inoffensive labourer of the bishop's quitted the castle to oblige his wife to stay within doors, who, with the fears of a woman great with child, was running wildly about the road in the midst of the fire from the army. He had seized her hand, and was hurrying her to his cabin, when a discharge of musquetry killed the man, and mortally wounded the woman. She was carried up to the granary in the castle, where she died that night. Without leave asked, without even apprising the family that they had brought the woman into the house, the foolish people about her began to wake the corpse by lighting a fire on the floor of the granary, with nothing under the turf but a wooden board. Presently smoke and flames were seen to

roll out of the windows of an apartment distant but a few yards from the gunpowder in the haggard, and the wind pointing directly that way. At the same instant, all was confusion and uproar in the house: the victorious army was marching into quarters at Killalla, and the principal officers were busy in arranging matters for their own accommodation at the castle. It cost the bishop some labour to make the gentlemen listen to the story, and believe, that if they did not bestir themselves, the town and all its contents would very probably in a few minutes be erased from the face of the earth. By the active exertions principally of the knight of Kerry, the fire was soon after got under.

From the time the French left us to the care of M. CHAROST, he and two officers under him messed with the bishop's family, where they were very welcome, being, under providence, their sole protectors in the midst of so many perils. Whatever could be effected by vigilance, resolution, and conduct for the safety of a place confided to them, was to a surprising degree effected for the district of Killalla by these three French officers, without the support of a single soldier of their own country; and that for the long space of twenty-three days, from the first of September to the day of
the

the battle. It is natural to suppose, that in such a tract of time a tolerable insight must have been obtained into their characters; and where the part they acted was of so much consequence, the reader may expect some description of them.

Lieut. Col. CHAROST had attained to the age of five and forty. He was born in Paris, the son (as I am told) of a watch-maker in that city, who sent him over early to some connection in St. Domingo, where he was fortunate enough to marry a wife with a plantation for her dowry, which yielded him, before the troubles, an income of two thousand pounds sterling per annum. By the unhappy war which still desolates that island, he lost every thing, even to his wife and his only child, a daughter; they were taken on their passage to France, and sent away to Jamaica. His eyes would fill when he told the family, that he had not seen these dear relatives for six years past, nor even had tidings of them for the last three years. On return tiding to France, he embraced the military life, at first in the royal service, afterwards when the times changed, in that of the republic, where he had risen by due degrees to the rank he now filled. His residence had been at Rochelle with a brother, with whom he had shared bed and board till he

was called, at only three days' notice, to go out on the present expedition. In person he was strong and vigorous, inclining to fat; his countenance was chearful, and on the whole, pleasing, notwithstanding a blemish in one eye; he had a plain, good understanding, which served him for all the uses that he put it to, and he had either no leisure or no liking to strain it with over labour. His religion, he told the bishop, he had yet to seek; because his father being a catholic, and his mother a protestant, they had left him the liberty of choosing for himself, and he had never yet found time to make the enquiry, which however he was sensible he ought to make, and would make at some time when heaven should grant him repose. In the interim, he believed in God, was inclined to think there must be a future state, and was very sure that, while he lived in this world, it was his duty to do all the good to his fellow creatures that he could. The bishop offered a present to this half-christian of a book that might have satisfied his doubts, *La religion naturelle et revelée par l'Abbé Tremblay*. He was thankful; but it is not unlikely the sight of three small volumes frightened him, for he never afterwards claimed the promise. Yet what he did not exhibit in his own conduct he appeared to respect in others; for he took care that

no noise or disturbance should be made in the castle on Sundays, while the family and many protestants from the town were assembled in the library at their devotions.

BOUDET, the next in rank to the commandant, was a captain of foot, a native of Normandy, 28 years of age. His father, he said, was yet living, though 67 years old when he was born. His height was six feet, two inches. In person, complexion, and gravity he was no inadequate representation of the knight of La Mancha, whose example he followed in a recital of his own prowess and wonderful exploits, delivered in measured language and an imposing seriousness of aspect. He came to Killalla from the town of Newport-Pratt, which he assured us he had taken with his own hand, though defended by four English troopers; he had gallantly kept the place for three or four days, and retired from it only because it was assailed by fifteen horse—but we were not to be surprised that so much should be achieved by an officer, bred in the Ecole Militaire at Paris to be one of the late king's body-guard, trained from his childhood to arms, a man who had served in Flanders and on the Rhine, and had more than once been obliged to trample on mountains of dead and dying men

after

after a battle. To vanity he added a fault that does not often go along with it, pride. He valued himself on an education superior to that of his companions in arms; was argumentative, contradictory, and irascible; so that his superior officer found it no easy matter to maintain peace with him. His manner however, though distant, was polite; and he seemed to possess a more than common share of feeling, if a judgment might be formed from the energy with which he declaimed on the miseries of wars and revolutions. His integrity and courage appeared unquestionable. On the whole, when we became familiarized to his failings, we saw reason every day to respect his virtues.

The last of this trio was named PONSON, a curious contrast in every respect to the character just described. In stature he did not exceed five feet six inches; but if the body was little, it was alive from head to foot. Navarre gave him birth, the country of Henry IV. and his merry countenance recalled to mind the features of that celebrated monarch, though without the air of benevolence diffused through them; for this monkey seemed to have no great feeling for any body but himself. Wherever he was, his presence was testified by

a noise as loud and as pertinacious as that of a corn-creak; it was a continued roll of talk, or laughter, or whistling. The decencies of polished life he had probably never known; or if he had, he affected to despise them. Yet in a gloomy hour this eternal rattle had its use: it more than once kept our spirits buoyant, when terror pressed heaviest. I shall mention two instances. One day a crowd of pikemen, clamorous with some insolent demand upon the commandant, appeared on the point of breaking down the castle-gate. The bishop expressed his apprehensions to PONSON. 'I will tell you what to do,' said he: 'step out among them suddenly, and cry *stop thief*, and they will every man of them take to their heels.' The other occasion was that very serious one, when (as shall be related presently) the news of the French overthrow had weakened the authority of the commandant to that degree, that the rebels were deterred from laying hands on the protestants at Killalla only by the bishop's proposal of sending ambassadors to Castlebar to obtain good treatment for the rebel prisoners there. The bishop and the commandant stood outside at the gate, close circled by malecontents; authority and argument had been tried by turns, mutinous whispers were going round, the final issue of the parley was very uncertain.

certain. At this critical moment appeared PONSON, coming in from the town, with a face expressive of horror. 'Commandant,' said he, 'I have a shocking piece of news to tell you.' What news? said the other, who was not in a very good humour to listen to any news. 'I am married,' cried PONSON—'married, I give you my oath, to Miss such a one,' naming the prettiest girl in the town. 'This here wicked curate' (Mr. NIXON, whom he held by the arm) 'has tied the knot, before I could find out what he was about.' This ridiculous folly, when explained to the by-standers, relaxed the features of the whole company; scowling looks were dropt, and peace and mutual agreement succeeded.

PONSON was hardy, and patient to admiration of labour and want of rest. A continued watching of five days and nights together, when the rebels were growing desperate for prey and mischief, did not appear to sink his spirits in the smallest degree. He was ready at a moment's notice to fall out upon the marauders, whom, if he caught them in the fact, he belaboured without mercy, and without a symptom of fear for his own safety. Tied to a sword as long as himself, and armed with pistols, firelock and bayonet, he stretched himself

up

up to view till he became terrific—at least he frightened many a tall peasant most heartily. He was strictly honest, and could not bear the want of this quality in others; so that his patience was pretty well tried by his Irish allies, for whom he could not find names sufficiently expressive of contempt. The worst part of his character was that which related to religion. The commandant reported him to be a downright atheist. In his practice he went beyond the common herd of the French army, who, though they shewed no desire to join in worship with any people (a circumstance frightful to all, and astonishing to the Roman catholics) yet respected the devotions of their neighbours. PONSON was a stouter sinner. The first time he dined with the family at the castle, the bishop observing him suddenly to quit the room, asked the commandant what he meant. ‘ You will hardly believe,’ said CHAROST, ‘ that your saying grace to your meat appeared to him an action so very ridiculous, that as he knew it would be ill manners to laugh, he was forced to leave the table till he could suppress the emotion.’ In fact the bishop did *not* believe it, but in his own mind attributed the action to a more probable cause, vanity, the miserable affectation of appearing to be more wicked than he really was.

With

With these three Frenchmen was sometimes joined an officer of theirs from Ballina, who bore the title of major O'KEON. A native of our barony of Tyrawley, O'KEON had received his education for the priesthood in France, and had attained to a benefice of some value in the church, when the revolution, stripping him at once of profession and livelihood, forced him to become a soldier for bread. The common road to a commission in the French armies is now, I understand, length of service in the ranks. By service O'KEON was become either a major or a captain, for he was called indifferently by both names. He was a fat, jolly looking man, with a ruddy countenance that carried nothing forbidding in it, except that his black thick eye-brows ran into each other, as they often do in aboriginal Irish faces. Of the English tongue he retained enough to be quite intelligible; and being also expert in Irish as well as French, he was able to render considerable service to his cause. His connections with this neighbourhood (for he had a father and two brothers near Ballina, heartily affected to the French) induce a strong suspicion of the truth of a story which he gave out when he first landed, and to which he adhered to the last, that his being destined to this expedition was an accident, and that the squadron itself, which brought him

him

him over, was intended to invade, not Killalla, but Donegal. From his conversation the bishop had conceived a good opinion of this man. His language breathed nothing but mildness and liberality; and indeed his behaviour was suitable, for he exerted himself on all occasions to protect the loyalists, and frequently with the greatest effect. At one time particularly, he is said to have prevailed on an armed mob at Ballina to drop their declared purpose of marching to Killalla to have all the protestants there imprisoned: it is even added, that he turned them back after they had actually advanced a part of the way. This conduct, whether he adopted it from principle or policy, contributed more, than his proving himself to be a naturalized Frenchman, to save his life afterwards on his court-martial at Castlebar. He escaped with some difficulty, with the help of an attestation in his favour from the bishop among many others, and being forbid ever to return to the British territories, he expressed in Dublin, and more lately by letter from Yarmouth, the highest sense of his obligations to the bishop. It is painful to add, that experience and further enquiry into the character of this quondam priest has con-

vinced his benefactor, that the man was deficient both in morals and common honesty*.

Before HUMBERT had quitted Killalla, a person came to him from Ballina of the name of BELLEW. He was brother to doctor BELLEW, the titular bishop of the see, and by his own report was not long since come from abroad to try to recover a patrimony, from the possession of which he was unjustly detained by his brother. To the loyalists he protested, that the prospect of being enabled to take vengeance on his brother was his chief inducement for joining the French; to general HUMBERT he urged the merit of his military knowledge, acquired by eighteen years' service under the emperor. He was taken by the general at his word, and presently received from him a pompous commission to be generalissimo of all the allies of France, levied and to be levied within a district extending to Westport. It appeared in the sequel, how little the French regarded their own commissions to Irishmen; for this man presently shewing by his behaviour that he was a beastly drunkard almost to lunacy, CHAROST turned him out of his

* He cheated the bishop of twelve guineas, and he carried off from Dublin another man's wife.

office with disgrace in the face of the rebel army, without waiting for HUMBERT's orders, and gave the charge of the levies to O'DONNEL. As long as he had any authority, *M. le general* BELLEW was a sad nuisance to the people of Killalla, particularly to the family of Mr. OWEN MORRISON, a worthy and very respectable protestant merchant, at whose house he chose to take up his quarters. He there lived as in a conquered country, extorting by threats from his hosts whatever he wanted, even to wearing-apparel, getting drunk continually, lighting his pipe with paper torn from the walls of his apartment, and laying a heavy tax on the sight and smell of every body that approached him, being to the last degree filthy in his person, and eaten up with the itch. When he got any fresh clothing, his practice was to put it over the old habiliments; so that he wore two or three shirts, and a pair of fatin small-clothes, of Mr. MORRISON's, when he was hanged. For to this catastrophe the wretched creature deservedly come at last. He was taken at the battle of Killalla, tried by the court-martial, and executed two days after in the bishop's demesne.

Bad as the situation of the owners of the castle during their captivity appeared to be, it must be

confessed it was in many respects far better than that of the town's people. The castle, being headquarters, was regularly supplied with provisions, drawn from the plunder of the country; and the presence of the French officers, added to the large family always resident in it, left little room for intruders from the rebel army. In the town the case was different. There a scarcity next to famine soon appeared; rapine, the only source of subsistence, often failed of success; every petty fellow, who could by theft or violence provide himself with a sword and a case of pistols, immediately took the name and authority of an officer, and lived (especially in protestant houses, which were almost the only decent ones) at his discretion. Personal injuries indeed were rare, because the municipal power was always at hand to restrain or punish them: but insolence and avarice had their full swing. In popular commotions it has generally been observed, that natural talents go but a little way to procure influence; the leader of a mob is almost invariably the man that outgoes all the rest in wickedness and audacity. An example, in proof of this observation, occurred on the evening of the sixth of September.

The castle family were assembled at tea, and
 Mrs.

Mrs. STOCK and the commandant amusing themselves (as well as they could with two separate languages) at a party of picquet, when word was brought that a Mr. GOODWIN, a protestant of the town, had just been sent to prison by Major FLANAGAN without a shadow of reason, and that he must remain in custody till the morning, unless the commandant would come to his aid. This pretended major was a drunken daring wretch, who had kept an ale-house at Killalla, and was but lately returned from the jail of Castlebar, where he had been confined on a charge of treason, and narrowly escaped transportation. The company rose, and the gentlemen accompanied the commandant to the scene of disturbance, Mr. MORRISON'S house, the bishop himself thinking the occasion of that nature as to demand some risk of his own person. At the door, where a great crowd had assembled, they found FLANAGAN on horseback, drunk and very noisy. The commandant by his interpreter, the bishop, asked the man his authority for committing people to prison, commanded him to go and discharge his prisoner, and was answered saucily, that he would not let GOODWIN stir from the Prevôt that night, let who would order it. It was a very serious crisis. There was just light enough to discern in the faces of the fur-

rounding multitude a doubt, a wavering between the two contending parties, which would probably be decided in favour of that which stood firmest to its point. BELLEW, the mock general, took the part of his fellow drunkard, entreating him in a wheedling tone to give a promise, that he would set the prisoner at liberty in the morning. Most of the spectators were armed. Had a spirit of mischief prompted any one of them to raise his weapon against the commandant and his company, a general massacre and anarchy would most probably have followed. CHAROST was sensible that all depended on steadiness. With a strong and firm tone he commanded FLANAGAN to quit his horse. The culprit looking round for help, and seeing none, obeyed. He was then deliberately stripped by the commandant himself of his pistols and sword, and put under arrest for disobeying the orders of his superior officer, when he was first spoken to. The place of his confinement, it was supposed, would, for that night at least, be the house near which they were standing, and already FLANAGAN's comrades, under a shew of respect for the arrest, were leading him into Mr. MORRISON'S, when the bishop hastily interposing cried out to the commandant not to let him go. The hint was taken, for the fellow would surely have been liberated

rated as soon as we had turned our backs. CHA-ROST took his arm, the tall NORMAN marched before him, PONSON strutted behind, supported by the castle gentry, and the procession arrived without let or molestation at the guard-room by the castle-gate, where the mutineer was ordered to take up his quarters for the night. The crowd then dispersed; GOODWIN was set at liberty; and after a two hour's confinement, Mr. TOBY FLANAGAN was allowed to go about his business, divested of his borrowed authority, together with the ensigns of it, his sword and pistols, which the commandant would never afterwards suffer him to resume. The bishop met him at times in the street, and was certain from his scowling visage that he meditated revenge. Indeed he had at all times an uncommon wickedness in his eyes, which, though dark and piercing, he was unable to fix steadily upon an honest man. His death therefore, on the day of Killalla, was the only one at the news of which the whole town seemed to concur in rejoicing; nor was the manner of it dissimilar from his life. He had fled from the battle into a house in the town, where he knew he had no chance of being long hid from his pursuers. So he joined a party of the victors as they were in full chase after the rebels, crying out, ' that he would be their guide to the
' wicked

‘ wicked croppies,’ till coming to a place where two passages met, he pointed out one of them to the soldiers, and threw himself headlong into the other. ‘ That’s a croppie himself,’ exclaimed with an oath a FRASER fencible, who had kept his eyes upon him ; and on the instant he sent a ball after the wily fugitive, which terminated all his pranks at once.

On the seventh of September, an obscure report arrived at Killalla of the action at Colooney, fought on the fifth, which was said to have ended in favour of the French. It was added, that Lord CORNWALLIS was advancing in person, to stop their progress, at the head of more than 20,000 men. The story wrought the effects that might be expected. The popish inhabitants became mad with apprehensions from their protestant brethren, on whom they seemed every moment on the very point of laying violent hands. The pretext was still the same, that the French officers were trusting Orangemen with the implements of destruction. Mr. JOHN BOURKE of Summer-hill, about two miles from Killalla, a protestant of good property was (I believe) the only gentleman in the barony capable of bearing arms, who had not joined some yeoman corps, nor been carried away
from

from his house and farm to act against the enemy. He was at Sligo when he heard of the invasion, from which town he hastened away to his own house, and immediately set about the defence of it with great spirit and prudence. He bricked up the windows in the ground-floor, together with the door in front, put arms into the hands of four or five people whom he could trust, plied them well with food and whiskey, and thus fortified, he challenged the marauders of the country to do their worst. Ammunition however was likely to fail him, and in quest of this he found himself obliged to come to Killalla. Through the bishop he represented his perilous situation to the commandant; that his house stood single, in constant danger of pillage, but that he would trouble no body for assistance, if he might only have a grant from the French of powder and ball to arm his own people. CHAROST approved of the young man's spirit, and ordered him a small cask of powder immediately. Mr. BOURKE had at first entertained thoughts of acting as one of the municipal officers appointed to keep the peace, in the hope thereby of protecting his own property; but he dropt the project, on finding that he was not likely to be elected by his neighbours, and now confined his attention to the getting home safely the present he had received of
gunpowder.

gunpowder. This, however, he was quite unable to accomplish. A furious clamour was raised at the castle-gate, as soon as the powder cask was observed on the car; remonstrance was followed by threatening; the car was stopt, and Mr. BOURKE was forced to resign what, with so much hazard of his person in coming to Killalla, he had obtained.

Saturday Sept. 8. (a day memorable for the victory at Ballinamuck) exhibited to the town of Killalla a new subject of alarm and terror. Hitherto it had been, to such as had any thing to lose, matter of comfort to observe, how awkwardly the armed peasants handled their firelocks, and how slow a progress they were making in the arts of destruction. This day, for the first time, pikes began to be talked of, instead of musquets. An officer of the rebels, one of the very few among them who seemed to have a head for mischief as well as a heart, signified to the commandant (still by the bishop, who made it a point to interpret faithfully, even where the matter of discourse made him shudder) that the friends of liberty, seeing the fire-arms were all distributed, and that they were not thought worthy of being trusted with the ammunition brought from France, had come to a resolution of forming a strong body of pikemen, who, they
 trusted,

trusted, would be found capable of doing at least as much execution on the enemy as any of their fellows. They therefore desired permission to seize upon all the iron they could find in the stores of Mr. KIRKWOOD, or elsewhere, to fabricate pike-heads.

CHAROST liked the proposal almost as little as the bishop did. As a soldier, he despised the service of pike-men against regular troops; as a man, he hated the use to which these weapons might be applied by the robber and the murderer. But it was not his place to throw obstacles in the way of any offer to advance the common cause. He contented himself therefore with applauding the zeal of the people, who, he said, should have leave to use Mr. KIRKWOOD'S iron, as soon as there was an absolute need of making free with that gentleman's property, but advised them to try first whether they could not get iron enough in an honest way, by converting into pike-heads what they had at home of that material, their own forks and other implements of husbandry. The answer was taken in good part, and saved the stores for the present. But as pikes were not forbidden, all the smiths and carpenters were presently set to work at making them, and every thief was busy in supplying materials

materials for them. Pitch-forks were lawful prize from that day forth; and young trees were more becoming as pike-handles in the grasp of a lover of liberty, than as ornaments to a gentleman's farm. In a short time a body of pikemen was raised, under the direction of the officer above-mentioned, which, receiving daily accessions of numbers, became the more formidable to peaceful people, because they carried their weapons every where, did no regular military duty, and mixed in every tumultuous assembly with a superior aptness for mischief.

Precarious as the state of things at this time evidently was, it created surprize to observe, that the country folks had the hardiness to continue bringing their goods to the market, where they found a ready sale. CHAROST availed himself of his power, only to take the weightier articles of provision; from the lower class of people he drew little or nothing without paying for it. Of course, what ready money he brought with him, which did not exceed forty louis, was soon expended. The other officers were poorer than himself, and their pay from home was not to be looked for. In this exigency there was no resource, but in a requisition of money from the district, which enjoy-
ed

ed the benefit of the French protection. The bishop was applied to for a list of names of persons most competent to contribute. His answer was, that he saw no objection either to the demand itself, or to the quantum, which was fifty guineas, and that he should himself pay one-fifth of the contribution; but he desired to be excused from the business of assessing the other inhabitants, as he was too new a comer to be acquainted with their circumstances. Mr. DEVITT, their new magistrate, occurred as the person most likely to execute the business for them. Presently comes a translated letter from the commandant to the citizen magistrate DEVITT, *inviting him* ' to entreat
 ' the town and district of Killalla to shew by their
 ' contributions, their zeal for the glorious cause
 ' of the people. Some had come forward already
 ' with presents of money; and the writer doubt-
 ' ed not, but many would be ready to imitate the
 ' good example. An exact register should be kept
 ' of the names and the sums subscribed, and the
 ' French government only asked it under the name
 ' of a *loan*.' With some delay and grumbling the sum was raised at last, a good part of which remained in the hands of Mrs. STOCK, till it proved a seasonable supply to CHAROST and his companions, when they were ordered away to Dublin.

About this time O'DONNEL, the young man mentioned above as having helped to protect Mr. KIRKWOOD in Erris, came to Killalla, with no other view, as he pretended, than to offer his services in preserving the peace of the town by exerting his influence over the mountaineers of his own district. To this object he seemed for some time to confine his attention, and gained so upon the commandant by an appearance of sense and activity, that he was presently appointed to the office of town-major, with a command over the nightly watch. It is possible, he did not mean at first to accept any military commission from the French; but having a large share of vanity in his composition, and feeling himself grow into consequence among the rebels by comparison with their drunken general BELLEW, he aspired to his place, and in fact (though never formally) succeeded to it, after the other was turned out. CHAROST had more than once occasion, in the sequel, to repent of having placed a confidence in this man before he had time to know his character. The airs the young jackanapes gave himself became every day more troublesome. On pretence that he must have a bed at the castle to take the orders of the commandant in case of any disturbance at night, he took to himself one of the bed-chambers of the
middle

middle floor, from which it was not possible afterwards to dislodge him; and this apartment he was pleased to distinguish by the name of *his* room. His next attempt was to be admitted to meals with the family; but here he failed of success. The bishop disgusted with his forwardness and vulgar manners, avoided as much as he could all intercourse with him, and when he did ask him to sit down at his table (as at times he could scarcely help doing so without rudeness) it was evidently the result of constraint; so that Mr. O'DONNELL kept himself at a distance for the most part, but complained much of the ingratitude with which he was treated, after his great services in protecting the bishop and his family. The presence of such a lodger taught the people at the castle to feel for the situation of their neighbours of the town, annoyed, as they were known to be, by company of a still coarser mold. Day and night the staircase was infested with O'DONNELL's levee either with drunken boors from Erris, or his own kinsfolk the MACGUIRES of Crosmalina, the principal of whom was a brewer of some substance, who for his good services to France, by engaging himself and three or four sons in this rebellion, has lately been requited with a halter. His sons, strong brutes without mind or manners, but by aid of

pillage provided with good clothes and arms, were back and forward at Killalla, concerting measures with their cousin O'DONNEL, and indeed helping to make him less odious, when his behaviour was viewed in comparison with theirs. One of the MACGUIRES, under colour of delivering a message to the commandant, had the insolence one day to thrust himself into the dining parlour, while the family were at dinner, and seemed to enjoy the alarm which his saucy countenance, his sword and pistols, occasioned among the ladies. The commandant instantly ordered him to leave the room, with a sharp rebuke for his presumption, declaring at the same time, that there were two hours of the twenty-four which he would not suffer to be wrested from him by any business whatsoever. Another of these three youths, ROGER MACGUIRE, carried himself with so much impertinence in his embassy at Castlebar (to be mentioned presently) as would have drawn destruction on his own head, if the safety of better people had not happened at that time to be included in his.

Disagreeable as an inmate, O'DONNEL was not however without merit as an officer, and a guardian of the public peace. His first exertions were directed to preventing waste by the unnecessary slaughter

slaughter of beasts. To supply the rebel camp, sheep and oxen had been driven in daily in such numbers, and with so little attention to economy, that as there was very little salt to be had, and the weather was rather warm, it was found necessary to bury many joints of fresh meat in the earth to prevent an infection. Of this abuse the commandant and the bishop were eye-witnesses one morning, being led to a back-yard in the town where lay the carcases of half a dozen bullocks just killed. O'DONNELL received orders to lay before the magistrate DEVITT regular accounts of what fresh meat would be wanted by the troops on permanent duty. The magistrate was to issue a requisition for the supply demanded, sending a guard to take so much from the farmers, and no more. The beasts were to be taken to one particular spot, appointed for killing them: and proclamation was made, that any person, caught in driving and killing, without a written order from the magistrate, should be instantly shot. By the vigilance of O'DONNELL the order was tolerably well obeyed, though the consumption after all was certainly very great.

It was a novel situation to the bishop to be forced to subsist on plunder, both of meat and drink. The

choicest beef and mutton from grazing grounds that feed the boast of the markets of Dublin excellent wines and spirits extracted from the cellars of his very good friends the neighbouring gentry, made their visits in due order at the castle, and were received, at first with groans and lamentations over the times, and at last with great equanimity, as a misfortune that could not be helped. At times, the company at the castle even felt a disposition to be merry on the arrival of one of these felonious cargoes. Some bottles of excellent hock, drawn from the cellars of the right hon. colonel KING at Ballina, came as a present from the French officer there to M. CHAROST. The wine on trial was found so good, that conscience began to mutter at the sin of assisting in the robbery of so hospitable a gentleman as the owner must have been, unless he might be proved guilty of some crime. He was therefore formally indicted for *loyalty*, for an obstinate adherence to his sovereign, and to the constitution under which he was born. The charge was easily proved, as colonel KING was then just recovering from a shot through the body, which he had received at the battle of New Ross, fighting stoutly at the head of his regiment against the United Irishmen, the meritorious allies of France, and lovers of revolution. Of course he was pronounced *guilty* with
acclama-

acclamations, and his wine was confiscated without a dissenting voice.

The confusion of the times had unavoidably suspended the exercise of public worship by the members of the established church. On the Lord's day, a considerable number from the town used to venture into the castle to join the family there at devotions, offered up with a seriousness and fervency suitable to the present distress. The worthy minister of the parish, dean THOMPSON, went through the church service, assisted by his curate; the bishop preached. We all found by experience, both lay and clergy, the truth of the psalmist's declaration, *It is good for me that I have been in affliction.* Happy, if we shall be enabled by the divine aid, through the varying scenes of our future life, to retain the good feelings, and practice the lessons, which that awful period impressed upon us! Prayers were offering at the castle on the 9th of September, when the congregation was alarmed by hearing the sound of the cathedral bell. On enquiry it was found, that Mr. O'DONNEL had taken the key of the church out of the sexton's house, and ordered the bell to be rung for the purpose of calling his Roman catholic followers to mass in the house of Mr. MORRISON, a protestant merchant,
 who

who with his family was forced to witness the ceremony. The bishop was determined not to overlook such an encroachment. He went, immediately after divine service, to O'DONNEL, expostulated calmly with him on an action which must awake the jealousy of the established church for the safety of what the law had put into their hands, and in conclusion desired he would return the key, and for the future give up all thought of using the church bell. With this demand O'DONNEL, apparently softened by the manner in which it was urged, complied; nor was any attempt afterwards actually made on the cathedral by the Romanists, though in the camp they often expressed a resolution to seize upon it. The presence of the French always restrained them.

Indeed the contrast with regard to religious sentiments, between the French and their Irish allies, was extremely curious. The atheist despised and affronted the bigot; but the wonder was, how the zealous papist should come to any terms of agreement with a set of men, who boasted openly in our hearing, 'that they had just driven Mr. POPE out of Italy, and did not expect to find him again so suddenly in Ireland.' It astonished the French officers to hear the recruits, when they offered

ferred their services, declare, ' that they were come ' to take arms for France, and *the blessed Virgin.*' The conduct of the several priests, who engaged in the same treasonable enterprize, was yet more surprizing than that of their people. No set of men could be treated with more apparent marks of dislike, and even contempt, than these were by the French, though against the plainest suggestions of policy, which recommended attention to them, both as having an influence over their flocks, and as useful interpreters, most of them (from their foreign education) being able to speak a little French. Yet the commandant would not trust to their interpretation: if he wanted to know the truth, he waited till he could see the bishop. A hare-brained priest of the name of SWEENEY had escaped along with BOUDET from Newport, when it was retaken, apprehensive of the punishment which afterwards overtook the poor wretch for the active part he had adopted for exciting his parishioners to rebellion. The man had a smattering of science, particularly in the antiquities of his country, of which he seemed to be passionately fond. On being introduced by BOUDET to the commandant, he preferred an humble request to that officer, that whereas every thing lately belonging to the protestants must now be French property, and inasmuch

as soldiers were not usually covetous of books, he should be extremely obliged to M. CHAROST if he would make him a present of the bishop's ' library. ' The bishop's library,' answered CHAROST, turning from him with contempt, ' is just as much his own now, as ever it was.'

What powerful motive could prevail on this order of men to lend their hearts and hands to a revolution, which so manifestly threatened to overwhelm their own credit and consequence, supposing even that they were indifferent to the fate of that religion of which they professed themselves to be the consecrated ministers? I will tell the reader what I conceive to be the true key to this mystery, if I may have his pardon for the digression.

The almost total dependence of the Romish clergy of Ireland upon their people for the means of subsistence is the cause, according to my best judgment, why upon every popular commotion many priests of that communion have been, and until measures of better policy are adopted, always will be found in the ranks of sedition and opposition to the established government. The peasant will love a revolution, because he feels the weight of poverty, and has not often the sense to perceive that a
change

change of masters may render it heavier: the priest must follow the impulse of the popular wave, or be left behind on the beach, to perish. There was a time indeed, when superstition was of force to uphold the credit and revenues of the church of Rome, even where convulsions shook to pieces the fabric of civil government. But the reign of superstition is either past, or passing: at least if it holds the *mind* of the believer, it is not, by many degrees, so effectual as formerly to open his *purse*. Holy oil, and indulgences, and absolutions have fallen very much in their price; confessions are, comparatively speaking, unproductive; and even the golden mine of purgatory seems to be running to a thread. Voluntary contribution the main resource of the priest, must depend on his popularity. ‘Live with me, and live as I do. Oppress me not with superior learning or refinement. Take thankfully what I choose to give you, and earn it by compliance with my political creed and conduct’—such, when justly translated, is the language of the Irish cottager to his priest. It is language, which will be listened to in proportion to the exigency of the case. A sturdy moralist will do his duty in despite of penury: admirable, and not to be looked for among the common herd of mankind, is the virtue, which can withstand the
menace

menace of absolute want of bread. The remedy for this defect in the present political system of Ireland should seem to be as easy, as it is obvious. But it is not for a private individual to suggest to our enlightened legislature either the time or the measure, in which such a remedy ought to be applied.

Although the cathedral church of Killalla escaped violence in the manner related, there was scarcely another protestant place of worship throughout the united dioceses, that did not quickly bear evident marks of the religious intolerance of the rebels. But their malice was principally directed against a presbyterian meeting-house between Killalla and Ballina, the only one of the kind, I believe, in the county. It had lately been fitted up and decently ornamented by the unwearied exertions of the minister, the rev. Mr. MARSHALL, whose exemplary character had entitled him to so much respect, that all his protestant neighbours without distinction had contributed to give him a handsome place of worship. In a very short time after the commencement of the rebellion, nothing remained of the meeting-house except the walls. The congregation experienced no better treatment than their temple. They were a colony

of very industrious weavers from the North, translated hither some years back by the earl of ARRAN to a village of his, called Mullifaragh, where they had flourished so much, that they were grown rich, and had increased to the number of a thousand persons. The name of Orangemen had but just begun to be heard of in Connaught; and much it were to wished, that no such society had ever appeared among us, to furnish to the Romanists too plausible a pretext for alarm and hostility against their protestant brethren. The bishop had opposed their establishment with all his might. On the very day when the invasion happened, he was busied in entering a protest, in his primary visitation charge, against the first sentence of the oath by which Orangemen are united together, 'I am not a Roman catholic.' The words sounded in his ears too like those in the prophet, *Stand off, I am holier than thou*; and assuredly they are not calculated to conciliate. The society had originated in the same northern county, which some years before had disgraced itself by an infamy new to protestants, an actual expulsion of Roman catholics from their homes. The perpetrators of this lawless deed were supposed to be chiefly presbyterians; and now upon the unoffending people of that persuasion in Connaught were to be retaliated the injuries done to the Ro-

manifests in Ulster. The village of Mullifaragh, on pretence of searching for arms, was ransacked in three nocturnal invasions of the rebels, till there was nothing left in it worth carrying away; and this in defiance of a protection under the hand of the commandant, obtained for them and their pastor by the bishop. The poor sufferers came in tears to M. CHAROST, to return him a protection which had done them no good. It shocked him very much. Often did he whisper the bishop, that no consideration should prevail on him again to trust himself to such a horde of savages as the Irish.

The cloud of common suffering makes the features of distinction between protestants, in the matter of religion, appear as nothing. Mr. MARSHALL, having lost his own chapel, readily and devoutly joined us in our worship. Service being ended, he informed us, that the people of Sligo, after a smart action or two at Colooney on the preceding Thursday, had succeeded in turning the French from their own town towards the county of Leitrim, where it was probable they would meet a force from Enniskillen and Dublin, that would be able to give a good account of them. Castlebar, Newport-Pratt, and Westport, he assured us, were recovered, and nothing remained in the hands
of

of the enemy but our town and Ballina. The joy of this news was presently dashed with the reflection, that if the French should push on, and be defeated at length in some place far removed from us, we must be left, absolutely destitute of defence, at the mercy of rebels irritated by despair, and for a space of time quite sufficient to accomplish our destruction. The danger was felt and acknowledged; but as we could not by our own foresight or prudence avert it, we cast ourselves for the event on the good pleasure of Him, who knew best what was fitting for us.

Mr. MARSHALL was the bearer this morning, Sept. 9, of a fresh complaint from his people at Mullifarragh: they had not only been robbed of their goods, but a considerable number of them had been carried prisoners to Ballina for the alleged crime of being Orangemen, where by permission of the French officer TRUC they remained close prisoners with scarcely any thing for their support. This behaviour of TRUC much displeased the commandant, as he had strictly charged that officer not to listen to accusations on a religious account, nor suffer any person to be confined for them. He thought it incumbent on him therefore to go immediately to Ballina to rectify matters

there, and enforce a better execution of his orders, which he did, taking PONSON along with him. The business employed him the whole day, as he had above sixty prisoners to examine and discharge. During his absence, the loyalists at Killalla had not been very easy in their minds, committed as they were to the protection of M. BOUDET only, and on the day of the week when danger was most to be apprehended, from the confluence of people out of the country to their prayers.

Nothing, however, of an unpleasant nature occurred this or the two following days, except the usual annoyance from lies of the approach of an enemy, fabricated by the rebels to colour their importunity for ammunition. Seven hundred and fifty recruits were counted before the castle-gate on the 11th, who came to offer their services for retaking the neighbouring towns that had returned to their allegiance; and this, after arms had been delivered out by the French, as I mentioned before, to upwards of five thousand. The population in the mountainous parts of the county of Mayo much exceeds what the country, from its haggard appearance, would be thought capable of sustaining. These last recruits were extremely urgent to cut down two ash groves, planted to screen
the

the see-house from the winds that blow with so much fury in this climate. Pikes they must have, they said, since they were not supplied with other weapons; but they paid the bishop the compliment of promising to spare his trees, if he would only get them leave from the commandant to cut down those that belonged to his neighbour ROGER PALMER, Esq. or to the agent of that gentleman, Sir JOHN EDM. BROWNE, who seemed to be very unpopular among them. With much difficulty, and with the sacrifice of three or four very good trees, they were prevailed upon to desist at that time from further mischief.

Sept. 12 and 13, the messengers of ill news poured in upon us continually, announcing fresh depredations on every side. Castlereagh, the seat of ARTHUR KNOX, Esq. (brother-in-law to the Earl of Meath) Castle Lacken, the property of Sir JOHN PALMER, Bart. were broke open and completely rifled. Mr. JOHN BOURKE of Summerhill informed the bishop by message, that he was threatened grievously, and in danger of murder, if he was not supplied presently with a guard and ammunition: he added in his note, that he had cash in the house, which he wished to have conveyed to the castle. A faithful domestic of

Mr. KNOX's came with tears in his eyes to the bishop to beg he would send a party of men to Castlereagh, to snatch up what might yet be rescued from the spoilers, particularly a quantity of wine, spirits, and groceries, which, if they must be lost to his master, had better go to the use of the garrison in the castle, than to a parcel of ruffians.

The want of horses was now felt severely. The bishop had but one left, which had been sent back to him by the French from Castlebar. This was dispatched with a car to Castlereagh, together with a party under O'DONNELL, to bring off what goods he could to the castle. Another horse was found somewhere, to convey M. BOUDET to Summerhill; and as he could effect nothing without an interpreter, the bishop, much against his will, was obliged to trust his eldest son with this officer, through a country rendered almost as dangerous as a field of battle by the inconsiderate firing of shots by the rebels in all directions. The pair walked and rode by turns, and a very unpleasant suspense prevailed at the castle till their return late in the evening. BOUDET rendered honourable testimony to the spirit, with which Mr. BOURKE defended his property against a host of marauders. But the
 bishop

bishop trembled at the hazard his son EDWIN had incurred, when Mr. BOURKE prevailed on him to be the bearer to the castle of 170 guineas in cash.

While this was passing, all was confusion in the lower part of the castle, by the condition in which the party returned that had gone to Castlereagh. No expedition for saving the wine and spirits from the unworthy mouths that were preparing to swallow them appeared to the messengers to be so ready and effectual, as that of using the liquors instantly themselves. In consequence, the bishop's butler returned from the expedition pot-valiant, quarrelled with the gardener and carter, presented a blunderbuss at the former, and provoked the bishop himself so much by saucy language, that he lost his temper, and almost knocked the fellow down with a box on the ear. The commandant interposing, locked him up in his own pantry, and left him to sleep there till morning. The man had been an excellent servant, and it is hoped will continue to be so in a place of less temptation. But the opportunity of gaining by the arrival of the French was too alluring: he declared for them immediately, served them only, to the neglecting his master, betrayed the secrets of the cellar to them, talked often like a rebel, and in short did such things,

things, as might have brought his neck in question, if his master had not, after the action at Killalla, recommended to him a speedy retreat out of the country. Some liquor, the groceries, and a quantity of furniture, the property of Mr. JOHN KNOX, were safely deposited in the castle.

From Castle Lacken little or nothing could be saved. The manner in which this mansion, the old family seat of Sir JOHN PALMER, was surprised, is worth describing, Mr. WALDRON, agent to the baronet, who rented the house, and had a very considerable property in and about it, had received a guard from the French, with which for some days he had been able to protect himself against his disorderly neighbours. The guards however required guarding as much as the rest of their countrymen; and a plan was concerted, in consequence of which the house should appear to be taken by a sudden assault, in spite of all opposition. A horseman came in full gallop through the surrounding crowd to the door, announcing himself to be an express from the bishop of Killalla. The unwary owner unbarred his door, and in an instant the mob without and the guards within threw the unfortunate man on the floor, ran over him many times, dispersed his affrighted family of children and grandchildren,

com-

completely gutted the house, and even carried away the flooring, drove off his stock, and in short did him damage (as he afterwards proved to the committee) little short of 3000l. It was truly melancholy to see a whole family, accustomed to ease and comfort, arrive the next day at Killalla on foot, with nothing saved but the cloaths on their backs. But this was a spectacle, to which we had now been too much familiarized. Mr. WALDRON had another house and farm in the vicinity, which were presently after destroyed in as merciless a manner by the same savages.

The farm-house of Mr. JOHN BOYD (a worthy man, respectable also for his skill as a surveyor) though greatly exposed by standing single at a considerable distance from the town, was preserved by a circumstance that may be reckoned curious, as it shews the light in which the insurgents beheld their French allies. Two soldiers of that nation, wounded, but not dangerously, at Castlebar, were sent to the commandant to be put into some place where they might be recovered. Mr. BOYD, by the bishop's advice, offered his own house as a quiet retreat for the men, who at the same time, from the respect paid by the rebels to the French, might be a security to him and his family. The offer

offer was accepted, and proved effectual for the purpose intended; for though gangs of robbers frequently threatened the house, no attack was actually made on it, as long as the foreigners (very well behaved poor fellows) continued in it, which was for upwards of a fortnight. It cost much exertions afterwards to defend the same house to the end of the troubles.

Sept. 12th, in the evening, the light of hope began to open on the loyalists of Killalla. Something must have happened, they whispered one another, to the prejudice of the French arms, as an express arrived from Ballina, and was sent back in wet and darkness almost immediately: the French officers also, from that time, looked very much dejected. Next morning, a prisoner was brought in from Ballina, supposed to be of note, because the commandant wished the bishop to be present at his examination.

It proved to be WILLIAM CHARLES FORTESCUE, Esq. nephew and heir to Lord Clermont, and member for the county of Louth, a gentleman with whom the bishop had not the honour of being before acquainted. The conversation between him and M. CHAROST passing in the French language, and

and in a low tone of voice, the bishop was on the point of quitting the room, when Mr. FORTESCUE announced himself in English to be the brother of the young clergyman already mentioned, as having received a mortal wound in the first rencounter with the French. No certain intelligence of his death had reached Dublin; so that Mr. F. was instigated by affection for an excellent and only brother to set out on horseback for Ballina, attended by one servant, resolved to take his chance, if that town should yet be in the hands of the rebels, though, when he left the capital, it was believed to have returned, along with the rest of the county, to the king's peace. On his way he had passed through Granard, just after the battle of Ballinamuck, where he had seen general HUMBERT and his officers, going as prisoners of war to Dublin; and even then he had no intimation, that he might not proceed without danger as far as Ballina. He did not discover his mistake, till he was arrested by a patrol within a short distance from that town. The commanding officer there, M. TRUC, with his usual brutality charged him with coming there as a spy to intimidate the friends of liberty by a false report of the defeat of their army, detained the servant and baggage, and sent the master to Killalla to be examined by CHAROST. From the description

description Mr. FORTESCUE gave him of the persons of the French officers whom he had seen prisoners, the commandant could have no doubt of the defeat of his countrymen, even though he had not been furnished with a more convincing proof by the receipt of two letters from officers in the French army, stating the capture of their whole force near the iron mines in the county of Leitrim, together with the dispersion of their Irish allies, on the Saturday preceding.

These letters the commandant made no scruple of imparting to the bishop, with an air of confidence in his honour, and his discretion, which was certainly flattering. He gave him leave at the same time to discourse on the subject with Mr. FORTESCUE, only admonishing them both of the present danger of divulging the secret. Of such a caution in truth they stood in very little need: for it was plainly the interest of the loyalists to observe the strictest silence with regard to the ill posture of the affairs of the rebels, lest these should be on their backs before the king's army could come to their relief. Mr. FORTESCUE was taking his leave of the commandant to return to his disagreeable confinement under TRUC, when the bishop in French (that CHAROST might object, if he pleased)

pleased) invited him to share bed and board with them at the castle, an offer which, after some apologies, was thankfully accepted, and Mr. FORTESCUE'S condition, though far inferior to that he was used to, became easy from thenceforth in comparison of what he had endured at Ballina. The presence of this gentleman was of great service in supporting the spirits of the company at the castle; for, having attained to the rank of major in the army, he possessed a steadiness of mind in danger, and a prudence, the result of experience, which often suggested the most salutary counsels.

Concealment of the news from Ballinamuck was not long practicable. People who had escaped from the slaughter came in hourly to offer their services to the commandant, though several of them carried in their persons evident marks how little they had gained by their zeal for the cause. The intelligence did not seem by any means to produce on the minds of the rebels the effect that might naturally be expected, their gradual dispersion and return to their own homes. On the contrary, the resort to the camp in the bishop's meadows grew greater every day, the talk of vengeance on the protestants was louder and more frequent, the rebels were drilled regularly, ammunition was de-

K manded,

manded, and every preparation made for an obstinate defence against the arms of their sovereign. Careless of the future, or trusting to the delay which must be occasioned by the distance of the King's army, they thought of nothing but living merrily, as long as they might, upon the property that lay at their mercy; and they did use their power of doing mischief most terribly. Spoil was not the sole, or even the principal object of their leaders, for they destroyed in every decent habitation much more than they carried away. Depression of the industrious and better sort, the universal levelling of conditions, in order to bring on the glorious reign of equality, such appeared to be the wish of those who aspired at all to the praise of thinking, and called themselves *republicans*: the mob had no prompters but lust of pillage and superstition. For, that enmity to the protestant religion entered into the motives of devastation in Connaught, cannot with any shew of reason be denied, since it is notorious that, except during the indiscriminate plunder which took place at the capture of Castlebar, very few instances occurred, throughout the province, of the house or property of a Roman catholic being injured by the rebels.

Very

Very different from those of the natives were the feelings of the French officers at Killalla, after they were assured of the miscarriage of their enterprise. Conceiving their task of annoying Britain to be for the present concluded, and expecting shortly to join their brother officers in Dublin, they looked to nothing but to the preserving of peace and quiet round about them, till a regular English force should approach, to which they might without discredit render themselves prisoners. They did not indeed profess so much to the rebels. On the contrary, they appeared always ready to train the men to arms, and to head them in any enterprise they proposed against the common enemy. But at the same time the commandant frequently warned them, that he would have no hand in incursions for pillage; ‘he was *chef de brigade*,’ he said, ‘but not *chef de brigands* ;’ and if ever he caught them preparing to spoil and murder protestants, he and his officers should side with the protestants against them to the very last extremity. He took extraordinary care also to be provided against the worst. Twelve good carabines, properly loaded, stood always ready in the bed-chamber where the three officers slept. Arms were distributed to seven or eight trusty persons of the bishop’s family. A guard of eighteen (whom, as I

faid, it was necessary to keep an eye upon) watched in and a round the house. The French themselves were extremely alert, allowing themselves very little sleep, and scarcely any in the night, for ten days together. The steady undisturbed countenance of CHAROST added weight to his preparations.

The 18th of September was a day of continual alarm. Reports from the rebel camp just beside us grew stronger than ever, that a mutiny was breaking out. About three o'clock, as the bishop and commandant were walking in the garden, one of the leaders of the rebels came in a great hurry to assure them, it was the determined purpose of the camp immediately to imprison in the cathedral, every protestant as a pledge for their own security, in case of the arrival of the King's army. The man was dismissed with thanks for the warning, and desired to tell his countrymen, ' that we were ready for them.' A good dinner soon after stopt their mouths, as it used to do: for we remarked, that the rebels in camp were always most inclined to cabal, and do mischief, while their dinner was preparing; when they had been regaled with beef and mutton, and a moderate share of
whiskey,

whiskey, they became good-humoured and tractable.

On the 19th at noon, they were hungry and quarrelsome again. The commandant with a guard of thirty men marched about the town, proclaiming his orders to the men to go to their homes, immediately after they had received their allowance of beef. While he was thus engaged, a crowd gathered about the gate. The armed began to mutter as well as the unarmed. At last the bishop stepped out to them, and asked what they wanted.

They had heard, that many of their kinsmen and friends were in close confinement at Castlebar; and if they thought that was the case, they could not be blamed for wishing to retaliate on the protestants here.

Are you sure of the fact?—No.

Why then, said the bishop, would it not be just and prudent to send messengers to Castlebar, whom you could trust for a true report, before you proceed further?

Right: but who will go on such an errand?

Take one of your own people, replied the bishop, with one of ours, to go immediately to the commanding officer at Castlebar. Let them carry a flag of truce, and a letter from me to gen. TRENCH (or other officer commanding there) setting forth our situation, and our hope that nothing will be done to the prisoners at Castlebar which may provoke reprisals on the protestants at Killalla. Disperse now, and you shall have a full and fair state of things by to-morrow night. Let the persons to go with the flag, be dean THOMPSON and Mr. ROGER MACGUIRE.

With the populace half the work of persuasion is frequently over, when you can get them to listen. The bishop made the family one day merry by relating what he had just overheard. Two country fellows were disputing and pulling each other by the throat in the court-yard, when one cried out to the other, ‘ Come away to the bishop, he will settle it ‘ for us—he makes us *bear one another*.’

The promised letter was presently written, and received with applause by the mutineers. The choice of ambassadors was likewise ratified by general consent; for young MACGUIRE was an active partizan of the rebels, and dean THOMPSON’S character

ter stood high in the estimation of all descriptions of people, and his influence at Castlebar, where he had been curate for nineteen years, was known to be equal to his merit. It was agreed, that the messengers should set out for Castlebar at four the next morning, and till they returned, nothing should be attempted.

It was a great exertion for dean THOMPSON to undertake this perilous errand, and greater on the part of his wife to consent to it. The mountain road was to be taken to Castlebar, as the shortest; but it was a wild country, swarming with robbers; neither was it all certain, that the protestant messenger would not be arrested on the way by the friends of MACGUIRE, who might have consented to the embassy only to get such a person as the dean into their hands. If *he* was justly uneasy, his lady was still more to be pitied, enumbered as she was with the charge of four young children, and far advanced in her pregnancy*. But this worthy couple, seeing no measure so likely as the pro-

* Mrs. THOMPSON'S strength of affection for her husband, did not escape the penetration even of a stranger. At dinner, on the day when the dean was employed in his dangerous mission, CHAROST whispered the bishop: ' I can see fear agitating
 * the frame of that poor woman to the very tips of her fingers.'

posed one to rescue themselves and their friends, acquiesced in it without a murmur, and committed the issue to Providence.

Mysterious are the ways of divine Providence ! unfathomable the depth of that wisdom, which often concedes a boon, only to try us afterwards by withdrawing it ! Little didst thou foresee, amiable and unhappy woman, that, the husband, whose escape from that peril transported thee with so much joy and gratitude to heaven, should in the succeeding year be torn for ever from thee by a fever, contracted in the course of his ministry by attendance on a sick bed. Be comforted, however. His virtues, though in the mid season of life, had rendered him full ripe for the great harvest. Thou hast it in thy power to earn a splendid recompence hereafter by patience, by attention to thy fatherless offspring ! *

The night of the 19th was past by almost the entire family at the castle without sleep. At mid-night, as they were going to rest, one of the MACGUIRES from Crosmalina burst in upon them with the news,

* Dean THOMPSON died at Castlebar, November 10th, 1799, after struggling for a month together, with several relapses, under a nervous fever. The deanery is valued at 500l. per. ann.

that his troop had just been fired on by the English, who might be expected at Killalla immediately. It was not probable, that a regular force would be exposed to the chances of an engagement with such a crew in the night; but the story had the same effect as if it was true. The house was up all night, and had the pleasure of listening to the uproar made by the two MACGUIRES, ROGER and the new comer, in getting most beastly drunk in their cousin O'DONNELL's room, till the commandant at last cuffed, and turned them both out of doors. In the morning the false reporter from Crofmalina slept home again, rather ashamed of himself; but his brother, the doughty ambassador, could not be found to go on his errand till it was near noon. The dean and he then set out on horseback, well armed with swords and pistols.

A very troublesome consequence of the report brought by MACGUIRE was, that it furnished a pretence to the pikemen, dismissed the day before by the commandant, to return to the town with offers of serving against the approaching enemy. In two hours the camp was said to number two thousand men. To do them justice, the peasantry never appeared to want animal courage, for they flocked together to meet danger whenever it was expected.

pected. Had it pleased heaven to be as liberal to them of brains as of hands, it is not easy to say to what length of mischief they might have proceeded; but they were all along unprovided with leaders of any ability. BELLEW, their earliest officer, was a drunken brute, to whom nobody paid obedience, even before he was turned out of office by the commandant. Little better, either for talent or sobriety, was O'DOWD, a man of some estate in the county, and almost the only gentleman that took arms with the rebels, for which he paid the forfeit of his life at Ballinamuck. Mr. RICKARD BOURKE of Ballina, before mentioned, had some military knowledge, was a good drill serjeant, firm in combat, and popular; so that he might have done the harm he wished, if the habitual stupefaction of drink had not been an overmatch for his malice. O'DONNELL knew nothing of arms, nor was he likely to learn the profession quickly, his petulance making him unfit for discipline, inasmuch that at one time CHAROST was forced to lay him under an arrest for some hours for quitting the neighbourhood, the night before, without orders. Yet the vulgar, who can discern in others what they have not in themselves, followed this young man more readily than any other who pretended to lead them, because they saw he had more sense,

more

more command of himself, and more moderation in the exercise of authority. Even the loyalists at Killalla acknowledged obligation to him for the industry with which they saw him exert himself to prevent pillage, patrolling the streets on horseback for several nights together, and withholding both by threats and persuasion those whom he found bent upon mischief.

There were times, when nothing could withhold them but blows. On the 20th, the house of the custom-house-officer, Mr. RUTLEDGE, was again attacked by a band of ruffians, after it had been three or four times ransacked before. The pretence was, that it contained tobacco, an article of which the country people are so fond, that they bear the want of it more impatiently than that of food. To quell the riot, PONSON was called from a nap he was taking, after being up all night. Alone he fell upon the whole crew, and aiming a blow at the foremost pillager, brought the fellow to the ground, to his infinite dismay; but the effort bent and broke the bayonet. Yet the dastardly assailants were put to the rout by this spirited exertion, and dispersed.

Friday morning, the 21st, brought another disorderly

orderly gang to molest the castle. These called themselves a deputation from the camp. They had heard, that Mr. BOURKE of Summerhill was fully purposed to employ a guard he had received from the commandant in harassing the families of his poor neighbours, while the heads of them were fighting for liberty; and they were come to ask leave to take him up. ‘ You may go, if you please,’ answered CHAROST, ‘ but I will follow you with my officers, and fire upon you, if I catch you in the act of plundering Summerhill.’ The affair was compromised by O’DONNELL’S going over to Summerhill with a letter to Mr. BOURKE from the commandant, to warn him that he should content himself with acting on the defensive only, as he expected to have his guard left with him. Mr. BOURKE needed no such warning, for he had never trusted the guard within his doors. What provoked the commonalty so much against this gentleman was the thought, that he should have it to boast he had set the whole body of United Irish at defiance for a month together. Even O’DONNELL did not like to give him such matter of triumph.

After breakfast the same day, the bishop went into the town with M. CHAROST, to assist him in ordering a newly arrived body of pikemen to go home

home to their harvest. It was a service of danger. About one hundred furly looking fellows were to be told, that the commandant had men enough to guard the place (which was now his only business here) and did not desire to be troubled with a pack of robbers. CHAROST begged his interpreter to signify this to the people in words of *command*, such as would leave no doubt or dispute about his meaning; and PONSON, to enforce the order, pursued the rear of the body with his firelock, with expressions of contempt and anger so ridiculous, as to provoke the smiles of the loyalists, though plainly contrary to prudence. The pikemen muttered threats, as they retired, both against the protestants and their abettors, as they called the French; and from that time accounts came in hourly, that they were resolved not to disperse, as they were ordered to do, but would choose new leaders, and plunder the town that very evening, in spite of the French and O'DONNELL. They seemed to wait only for the return of the ambassadors, whose arrival was indeed anxiously expected by all parties.

At four o'clock the castle family had a message, just before dinner, from an eye witness, that the king's army were advancing in great numbers, and by two roads from Castlebar. They must be at

Ballina, it was said, by this time. Dinner was laid on the table, notwithstanding. In the midst of it, in rushed THOMAS KIRKWOOD, a young officer of yeoman cavalry, with news that the attack on our front gate was commencing by about a score of armed men. Such a number did not frighten us. 'Stay till they get to a head,' says the commandant. We drank away, till they had encreased to near fifty. Then the commandant took his hat, and marching out with his two officers fully armed, he steps forward to the pikemen, orders them to retire from the musqueteers, divides the latter into three platoons, and sets them directly to go through their exercise. Occupied for some time with these movements, they had not leisure to apply themselves to worse, and thus were easily persuaded at last to disperse.

A loud shout at six in the evening proclaimed the safe return of our two embassadors. Great was the joy of the whole town at the sight of them, when we had begun to despair of their appearance, at least before morning. They brought back a very polite letter to the bishop from general TRENCH, assuring him that his prisoners were, and should be, treated with all possible tenderness and humanity. The letter was publicly read to the multitude, and left

left in their hands. No disturbance ensued that night; but the trepidation was so great, that the castle could scarcely contain the refugees. Not fewer than fourscore were housed in it. Nine of these, including Mr. FORTESCUE, slept on the floor of the bishop's study. In their own bedchamber the bishop and his lady were obliged to find room for four little children of their own, and as many more of a neighbour, together with their terrified mother. Fear, we know, is a passion not much troubled with qualms of delicacy.

Our mission to Castlebar had the effect that was foreseen and wished. Dean THOMPSON, though closely watched by his fellow messenger, as long as the latter was able to keep himself awake, found means to have a private conference with general TRENCH, in which he painted to him the desperate situation of the loyalists at Killalla in so strong a light, that the general promised to march to our relief two days sooner than he had purposed to do, and desired him to tell the bishop, but with a strict injunction of secrecy, that he might expect his army by Sunday forenoon. ARTHUR STOCK sent his father a note, that he was very well and happy at Castlebar, and hoped to be with us shortly. The

bishop shook his head, as if he doubted much whether his son should find us alive.

In effect the whole interval of time between general TRENCH's promise and its completion was a period of keener anxiety, than is commonly crowded into an equal space in any man's life. Clamour, and then a silence more terrible than clamour, reigned by turns in and about the castle. Our guards cast their eyes upon us with an uncertainty truly alarming; they seemed to hesitate, whether they should plunge the bayonet in our breasts, or fall on their knees to implore our protection. *Diversis animorum motibus, pavebant terrebantque* *, as the Roman historian has strongly delineated a situation not unlike ours.

Early on Saturday morning, the loyalists were desired by the rebels to come up with them to the hill on which the needle-tower is built, in order to be eye witnesses of the havock a party of the king's army was making, as it advanced towards us from Sligo. A train of fire too clearly distinguished their line of march, flaming up from the houses of

* Tacit. Ann. l. 25. *By turns, as their passions rolled, they felt terror, and inspired it.*

unfortunate peasants. 'They are only a few cabins,' remarked the bishop; and he had scarcely uttered the words when he felt the imprudence of them. 'A poor man's cabin,' answered one of the rebels, 'is to him as valuable as a palace.' Presently after comes a priest from Easky bridge in that country, named MACDONALD, with intelligence apparently calculated to quiet their minds: 'it was only a few farm-houses that had been burned, because they belonged to noted pillagers.' This he said in public; many believed at the time, that he told a different story privately to those of his communion. O'DONNELL, the busiest of all men this day, made an offer of his service: he would go at the head of a party, and bring back information to be relied on. The people were silent. They did not know whom to trust. The captain might be as bad as the priest. All were looking to self-preservation, except the dregs of the commonalty that longed for pillage.

At three o'clock, the report of canon and small arms towards Ballina could plainly be heard in the town; the very flash of the artillery was discerned from the Steeple hill. The commandant was on horseback among the pikemen, whose captains he found busy in framing resolutions for an obstinate

defence. The guard at the gate began now to slip away, mindful only of their own safety, and leaving to the mercy of every invader the family that had fed, and for the last seven days had paid them for their attendance, at the rate of two guineas a day. For on a complaint from their captain O'DONNEL, that his men thought it very hard to be detained on military duty at a time when they could each earn above a shilling a day at the harvest, the bishop had agreed to pay the ordinary guard of the town, consisting of fifty men, ten pence per man for one week, leaving the same burden to be sustained by the townspeople for the week immediately following; and the guard, that now were melting from him, had received their first week's pay. Some of the poor fellows, continued on their post to the last. During the whole of Saturday morning the castle was more still and quiet, than, at any time since the invasion, it had been even at midnight.

The hour of dinner was not equally tranquil. As the cloth was removing, O'DONNEL joins the company to take a solemn leave of us, being on the point, he said, of leading his men, at their own desire, to Ballina. He takes one glass, filled out for him by Mrs. Stock, commends us

to

to heaven, and disappears. In five minutes, the parlour door flies open with a crash; the bishop's gardener enters exclaiming, ' Captain O'DONNEL ' is dead ! he has been this moment killed by one ' of his own men.' At his back follows Mr. MARSHALL, the presbyterian minister, who with arms extended, and every symptom of terror, screeching out, ' Captain O'DONNEL is dead ! I saw him ' this instant pulled from his horse, and killed !'

' Thank you, Mr. MARSHALL,' said the dean, looking at his affrighted wife, in her then condition; ' you have done your best to kill more than ' one of us.'

The bishop also was hurt by this unguarded action of Mr. MARSHALL, and with some sharpness expressed a wish ' that he could defend his family ' from the intrusion of ill news, at least at meal times.' The poor man looked so mortified at the reproof, that the blow recoiled instantly on him that gave it. Mr. M. withdrew—but the bishop sought him out soon after, and asked and obtained his pardon.

All rose to enquire about O'DONNEL. He was found in the yard with only a slight wound in the
back

back of his hand. A drunken fellow had resisted his orders, when he desired his men to march, and being struck with a pistol, fell, and pulled the captain off his horse upon his back on the ground. O'DONNEL was on his feet in a moment, and with the butt end of his pistol laid open the skull of the offender, whom he left in the guard-room. He himself was soon in a condition to resume his march, and away he went with about three hundred followers, taking the road to Crosmalina. PONSON, who was sent out to reconnoitre, now came back with news, that the English were within four miles of Killalla; and with this the inconsiderate creature betook himself to his customary employment of singing and whistling.

The night was uncommonly wet, which contributed to our quiet. Favourable in this respect, the season was much against us in another; for it retarded the march of our deliverers, to that degree, that gen. TRENCH was not able to keep his promise of being with us in the forenoon of next day, having found it necessary to encamp for the night at Crosmalina. Here a storm, and some confusion among the King's troops, was occasioned by their picquet of sixteen horse falling in with young MACGUIRE, who with two horsemen had advanced
about

about a mile before O'DONNEL's men from Killalla, and came up with the picquet after nightfall. MACGUIRE boldly charged them, fired his pistol, and followed them into the very town, assisted by the darkness, till on hearing the drums beat to arms, he thought it prudent to retire. His cousin O'DONNEL had committed the charge of his party to this youth, being himself unable to proceed on the march farther than Rappagh, the seat of Mr. KNOX, where a sickness at stomach overtook him, which forced him to accept a bed from young Mr. KNOX, after he had procured from that gentleman a drink for his three hundred men. On the strength of this liquor the rebels bore the fatigue of a rainy march very well, till MACGUIRE, their vaunt courier, brought them word that the royal army was beating to arms at Crosmalina. Then for the first time they began to recollect, that they had too little ammunition to stand a regular engagement. So they took counsel from their leader (or their fears) and listening with pleasure to the salutary word 'Retreat,' they broke, and made the best of their way, most of them, to their own homes: about thirty of the stoutest were collected in the morning by O'DONNEL, who led them back to Killalla.

On this night, as well as for the nine that preceded it, the gentlemen that slept in the library took

took their turns at watching till morning for the common safety, and visiting the guards posted through the house. All were harrassed by a duty so fatiguing, but the French officers most, who for several nights together did not enjoy an hour's repose. The family spoke in whispers one to another, some desponding, some blaming the tardiness of government in sending us relief, some enquiring anxiously for news, and some endeavouring to steal into privacy, where they might unload their hearts with freedom before the throne of mercy.

The 23d of September, Sunday, and the day of the equinox, opened on us with the same heavy fall of rain which had continued throughout the night; but the sky cleared before noon. At breakfast our company was enlarged by the addition of two fugitive officers from Ballina, Messrs. TRUC and O'KEON. 'The English were come to Ballina. 'What man could do, the heroic TRUC had achieved. An English officer had summoned him 'to render himself prisoner, and advanced to lay 'hold of him; but he took him off, and in the 'struggle pulled away the officer's epaulette,' which he produced in triumph, 'got on horseback, and 'with O'KEON, whom he overtook on the road, 'was come to fight it out to the last at Killalla.'

This

This vapouring tale was soon discovered to be a downright lie. TRUC, in the confusion when Balina was entered by the King's troops, had escaped on the first horse he could catch, bringing with him an old volunteer epaulette, the property of col. KING, and stolen by TRUC out of the colonel's wardrobe *. The appearance of this man corresponded with the character we had learned of him—a front of brass, an incessant fraudulent smile, manners altogether vulgar, and in his dress and person a neglect of cleanliness, even beyond the affected negligence of republicans. Our poor commandant seemed to like him no better than we did ourselves, though he was forced to welcome him at our breakfast with a kiss on each cheek, the modern fraternal embrace—a sight that would have provoked our smiles, had we been in a humour to be amused. But every thought was now absorbed by the expectation of the approaching scene: even the sacred duties of the day were for the first time suspended.

Before he took horse for the engagement, O'DON-

* When gen. TRENCH was coming up stairs at the castle to receive the swords of the French officers, TRUC whispered the bishop, *St ! pas un mot de l'épaulette*. 'Mum: not a word of the epaulette!'

NEL claimed the privilege of a mess-mate to ask counsel of Mr. FORTESCUE and the bishop what he should do. 'I think I might expect pardon,' said he, 'from the share I have had in preserving the peace of this district. But the people would never forgive me, if I did not stand by them now; and their revenge would follow me into Erris, should I attempt to retreat home. I am not afraid to die; but if I could save my life with honour, I would.' No counsel, it was evident, could be given him, but that he should fight till he saw the battle turn (which, his advisers told him, would not be a long time) and then endeavour to escape to his own country. The young man followed this advice, as far as he was able. Pushed into the town with the fugitives, he galloped about the streets to bring up a reinforcement, when a spirited mare that he rode was shot under him. He then escaped on foot to the fields on the other side from the scene of action, where, incumbered as he was with boots and a long French surtout coat, he was soon overtaken, and pierced with a ball through the back. The highlander that killed him reported his last words to be, 'I am FERDY O'DONNELL: go tell the bishop I am shot.' The bishop was sorry for his death. Harassed as he had been by his forward and pert behaviour, during

during the long space of time O'DONNELL had passed under his roof, an uninvited guest, he could not forget the services he had rendered to the town by frequently hazarding his person to restrain plunderers. The body, which after being stript had been thrown into a potatoe ridge, was by the bishop's order removed three days after, and interred in the church-yard.

The peaceful inhabitants of Killalla were now to be spectators of a scene they had never expected to behold—a battle! a fight which no person that has seen it once, and possesses the feelings of a human creature, would choose to witness a second time. A troop of fugitives in full race from Ballina, women and children tumbling over one another to get into the castle, or into any house in the town where they might hope for a momentary shelter, continued for a painful length of time to give notice of the approach of an army.

The rebels quitted their camp to occupy the rising ground close by the town, on the road to Ballina, posting themselves under the low stone walls on each side, in such a manner as enabled them with great advantage to take aim at the King's troops. They had a strong guard also on the other

side of the town towards Foxford, having probably received intelligence, which was true, that gen. TRENCH had divided his forces at Crofmalina, and sent one part of them by a detour of three miles to intercept the fugitives that might take that course in their flight. This last detachment consisted chiefly of the Kerry militia, under the orders of lieut. col. CROSBIE and MAURICE FITZGERALD, the knight of Kerry, their colonel the earl of GLANDORE attending the general. It is a circumstance, which ought never to be forgotten by the loyalists of Killalla, that the Kerry militia were so wrought upon by the exhortations of those two spirited officers to lose no time in coming to the relief of their perishing friends, that they appeared on the south side of the town at the same instant with their fellows on the opposite, though they had a league more of road to perform.

The two divisions of the royal army were supposed to make up about twelve hundred men, and they had five pieces of cannon. The number of rebels could not be ascertained. Many ran away before the engagement, while a very considerable number flocked into the town in the very heat of it, passing under the castle windows in view of the French officers on horseback, and running upon
 death

death, with as little appearance of reflection or concern, as if they were hastening to a shew. About four hundred of these misguided men fell in the battle, and immediately after it. Whence it may be conjectured, that their entire number scarcely exceeded eight or nine hundred.

The whole scene passed in sight of the castle, and so near it, that the family could distinctly hear the balls whistling by their ears. Mr. FORTESCUE very humanely took upon him the direction of the women and children, whom he placed as far as he could from the windows, and made them remain prostrate on the carpets till the business was quite over. He himself could not refrain from taking his stand at a window of the library looking seaward, which, with the other windows of that room, he had barricaded with beds, leaving room to peep over them. A malicious rascal in the sea-grove observed his position, and calling to a woman in the road to stand out of his way till he should 'do for that tall fellow,' he discharged the contents of a carabine full at the window, with such effect, that twelve slugs made as many holes in passing through the glass. The bed saved the lives of Mr. FORTESCUE and HENRY STOCK, the bishop's son, who was standing behind: but two of the slugs were lodged

in Mr. FORTESCUE'S forehead, providentially without penetrating the bone, or hurting him materially, though one slug was not extracted till a considerable time afterwards, when he reached Dublin.

The bishop saw the action from behind the breast of a chimney, where he could only be reached by an oblong chance shot. Curiosity, and the interest we all felt in the event, prompted every man in the house to expose his person by creeping to the windows. Our French officers thought it their duty to lead the rebels, as many as they could bring forward to the onset, though they were sure it was in vain, and had avowed to us their determination to surrender to the very superior force that was coming against them.

We kept our eyes on the rebels, who seemed to be posted with so much advantage behind the stone walls that lined the road. They levelled their pieces, fired very deliberately from each side on the advancing enemy, yet (strange to tell!) were able only to kill one man, a corporal, and wound one common soldier. Their shot, in general, went over the heads of their opponents. A regiment of highlanders (FRASER'S fencibles) filed off to right and left, to flank the fusileers behind the hedges
and

and walls; they had marshy ground on the left to surmount before they could come upon their object, which occasioned some delay, but at length they reached them, and made sad havock among them. Then followed the Queen's county militia and the Downshire, which last regiment had a great share in the honour of the day.

After a resistance of about twenty minutes, the rebels began to fly in all directions, and were pursued by the Roxburgh cavalry into the town in full cry. This was not agreeable to military practice, according to which it is usual to commit the assault of a town to the infantry; but here the general wisely reversed the mode, in order to prevent the rebels, by a rapid pursuit, from taking shelter in the houses of the townsfolk, a circumstance which was likely to provoke indiscriminate slaughter and pillage. The measure was attended with the desired success. A considerable number was cut down in the streets, and of the remainder but a few were able to escape into the houses, being either pushed through the town till they fell in with the Kerry from Crosmalina, or obliged to take to the shore, where it winds round a promontory forming one of the horns of the bay of Killalla. And here too the fugitives were swept away by scores, a

cannon being placed on the opposite side of the bay, which did great execution.

Some of the defeated rebels, however, did force their way into houses, and by consequence brought mischief upon the innocent inhabitants, without benefit to themselves. The first house, after passing the bishop's, is that of Mr. Wm. KIRKWOOD, the magistrate so often mentioned. Its situation exposed it on this occasion to peculiar danger, as it fronts the main street, which was raked entirely by a line of fire. A flying rebel had burst through the door, followed by six or seven soldiers: they poured a volley of musquetry after him, that proved fatal to Mr. ANDREW KIRKWOOD, a most loyal and respectable citizen, while he was rejoicing at the victory, and in the very act of shouting out 'God save the King.' Presentiments, as they are called, of evil should be resisted, for they often work their own accomplishment. This poor man, though no body wished more ardently than he did to see the town recovered from the rebels, had taken up a strong persuasion that he should not outlive that event. Of course, he grew more restless every hour, in proportion as the time of the conflict drew nigh. The whole evening before, he continued to importune his wife with directions

rections how he would have his family concerns disposed; and when the firing began, he could not contain himself in his own house, where he had the best chance of remaining safe, and where those who stayed received no hurt, but removed to the very insecure dwelling of his kinsman: here he met his fate, in the manner related, by a ball through the brain. A purse of guineas, which, with the inconsistency of a distracted mind, he had stowed into his pocket, though he expected death, disappeared, while they were moving his body from the passage to the kitchen.

In spite of the exertions of the general and his officers, the town exhibited almost all the marks of a place taken by storm. Some houses were perforated like a riddle, most of them had their doors and windows destroyed, the trembling inhabitants scarcely escaping with life by laying prostrate on the floor, as at the castle. Nor was it till the close of the next day, that our ears were relieved from the horrid sound of musquets discharged every minute at flying and powerless rebels. The plague of war so often visits the world, that we are apt to listen to any description of it with the indifference of satiety: it is actual inspection only, that shews the monster in its proper and full deformity.

When

When the army was beginning to move from Crofmalina, they passed by a wounded man lying at the road side, bleeding to death by a dreadful cut across the face, and to appearance expiring. Not a few stooped to look at him, and remarked that it would be an act of charity to put him out of his pain by dispatching him; but no body had the heart to do it. After all had passed him, ARTHUR STOCK, the bishop's son, who brought up the rear, looking back saw the poor creature lift up his hands in a despairing manner, as if he complained of them for not terminating his misery. Familiarity with scenes of this kind blunts and overcomes the instincts of our nature; and it is necessary for the common safety, that in some breasts they should be overcome. But it would be well if the thoughtless multitude, who are so ready to rush into civil war, could have an insight from time to time into its sanguinary effects.

What heart can forget the impression it has received from the glance of a fellow creature, pleading for his life, with a crowd of bayonets at his breast? The eye of DEMOSTHENES never emitted so penetrating a beam, in his most enraptured flight of oratory. Such a man was dragged before the bishop on the day after the battle, while the hand
of

of slaughter was still in pursuit of unresisting peasants through the town. In the agonies of terror the prisoner thought to save his life by crying out, 'that he was known to the bishop.' Alas! the bishop knew him not; neither did he look like a good man. But the arms and the whole body of the person to whom he flew for protection were over him immediately. Memory suggested rapidly—

*'What a piece of workmanship is man! the beauty of the world;
' the paragon of animals! —'*

'And you are going to deface this admirable work!' As indeed they did. For though the soldiers promised to let the unfortunate man remain in custody till he should have a trial, yet when they found he was not known, they pulled him out of the court-yard, as soon as the bishop's back was turned, and shot him at the gate.

As soon as matters had been brought to the decision of the sword, the friends of government had little cause to be apprehensive for themselves: but their fears were very justly awake for the condition in which they might possibly find those of their own party at Killalla. 'Is the bishop alive?'

• are his family unhurt? These were the first questions that were asked by every officer as he came up to the castle gate, and with an earnestness that warmed the hearts of those that heard them. That amiable nobleman, the Earl of Portarlington, colonel of the Queen's county militia (who has since paid, alas! the forfeit of a most valuable life to exertions beyond his strength in suppressing the rebellion) when he was told the bishop was safe, exclaimed with clasped hands, 'God be praised!' and continued his pursuit of the rebels, so that the bishop never had the opportunity of thanking his lordship for his kindness to one almost a stranger to him. In the troop of horse, that swept the rebels before them into the town, was ARTHUR STOCK, armed only with a sabre, and in an old red jacket quite too large for him. The humanity of gen. TRENCH had provided this mode of conveying him to us from Castlebar, as the safest he could contrive for him. With a breathless impatience the poor youth threw himself from his horse at the gate to ask the question that Joseph put to his brethren, *Doth my father yet live?* It was a tender scene; for every body was eager to press to his bosom an adventurer of sixteen years, who had suffered so much hardship. He had been in the action at Castlebar, where the pikemen under O'KEON were put to the
 rout;

roul; and he had passed the last night under so heavy a rain, that he was compelled after some time to take off all his clothes, and make his bed of wet straw on the floor of a cabin. A slight disorder was the consequence, which happily soon went off.

CHAROST expressed as much joy of seeing ARTHUR safe, as if he had himself been one of the family. Yet the poor commandant had no reason to be pleased at the treatment he had received immediately after the action. He had returned to the castle for his sabre, and advanced with it to the gate in order to deliver it up to some English officer, when it was seized and forced from his hand by a common soldier of FRASER'S. He came in, got another sword, which he surrendered to an officer, and turned to re-enter the hall. At this moment a second highlander burst through the gate, in spite of the centinel placed there by the general, and fired at the commandant, with an aim that was near proving fatal, for the ball passed under his arm, piercing a very thick door entirely through, and lodging in the jamb. Had we lost the worthy man by such an accident, his death would have spoiled the whole relish of our present enjoyment. He complained, and received an apology for the soldier's

dier's behaviour from his officer. Leave was immediately granted to the three French officers to keep their swords, their effects, and even their bed-chamber in the house. But the bishop found a difficulty to obtain the same indulgence for O'KEON, whose plea that he was a naturalized Frenchman was pretty generally disregarded, and himself considered as an Irish rebel, to be speedily brought before a court-martial. However, at last they were all allowed to be kept together, including their cannoneer and a little French servant of O'KEON's, till the following day.

General TRENCH was received by the bishop and his family in the lobby with a welcome, of the sincerity of which there could be very little doubt. He expressed in very polite terms his satisfaction at the deliverance of this family from so great a peril as had hung over us for the last month; adding that he had not failed to use every exertion to come to our relief, from the moment that our embassy had fully apprised him of our distressful situation. He then presented to the bishop his principal officers, with some of whom he was previously well acquainted, particularly his much valued college intimate, the earl of Glandore. Lieutenant colonel CROSBIE, major FITZGERALD (commonly called the knight

knight of Kerry) major TRENCH, brother to the general, his nephew and aid-de-camp, major TAYLOR, major ACHESON, son to lord Gosford, colonel FRASER, major M'DONALD, captain HARRISON the commissary, col. JACKSON, and some officers of the county militia, as Mr. ORMSBY, Mr. ORME and others, paid their compliments of congratulation, and were accommodated by the bishop in the best manner he was able. Bed and board were provided for five resident officers, and occasionally every day for some others.

The commandant and his party were ordered away on Tuesday to Castlebar, with the Kerry regiment. Horses were found, not without difficulty, to convey their persons: the bulk of their effects was forwarded to them, on their arrival in Dublin, by the bishop. We parted, not without tears, with our friends and protectors. The good-natured reader will doubtless share in the pleasure, with which we record the notice that was taken every where of our French officers for the part they had acted at Killalla. Our government was pleased to forward them presently to London, giving them what money they wanted for their draft on the commissary of prisoners NIou; so that passing but two or three days in Dublin, they could

dine but twice with the bishop's connections, my Lord Primate making them partake of his hospitality one day, and Alderman KIRKPATRICK another. From London the bishop had a letter from the committee for taking care of French prisoners, desiring to be informed in what manner he and his had been treated by the French officers; and on the bishop's report, an order was obtained, that CITIZENS CHAROST, BOUDET, and PONSON should be set at liberty and sent home without exchange*. They overtook their general at Dover, who was so sensible of the attention shewn to his officers, that he wrote to the bishop the letter, of which a translation appeared in the Dublin Journal, and since in the narrative published by JONES. The original will be found in our appendix.

The week that followed the battle was employed in courts martial in the morning, and in most crowd-

* NROU, the French commissary, refused on the part of his government to accept of this mark of respect from our ministry. 'The Directory could not avail themselves of so polite an offer, because their officers at Killaloe had only done their duty, and no more than what any Frenchman would have done in the same situation.' It will depend on the particular temper of the critic, whether he shall call this answer magnanimous, or a childish gasconade.

ed dinners at the castle in the evening. A whole bullock went in two days, as the bishop had not less than forty people to feed, besides the officers, and the principals of his own household. Gen. TRENCH did his best to help out the mess, sharing his bread and fuel with us, and supplying us with beef when he could get it. Mr. DENIS BROWNE, lord ALTAMONT's brother, sent the general at one time a whole, and again half a buck, desiring in return an immediate remittance of 300 men to drive away the rebels from Westport. Whether the party went, I did not hear: the venison deserved it. Our greatest want was wine and groceries. A large order was sent to Sligo by the commissary of stores and the bishop; but the sloop could not sail for some time on account of the equinoctial storms. The officers made out their entertainment as they could, with great patience and cheerfulness, being very pleasant agreeable men, and the general extremely so. The French had made the bishop a present of seven barrels of flour brought from their own country, which had been very good, but was a little heated in the voyage: this, made into what is called slim cakes, served tolerably well for bread, as there was neither brewing for some time nor barm. The sloop did not arrive to our relief till after the general was gone.

If the people of Killalla were distressed to find accommodation for the multitude of officers that now poured in upon them, they experienced yet greater inconvenience from the predatory habits of the soldiery. The regiments that came to their assistance being all militia, seemed to think they had a right to take the property they had been the means of preserving, and to use it as their own, whenever they stood in need of it. Their rapacity differed in no respect from that of the rebels, except that they seized upon things with somewhat less of ceremony or excuse, and that his Majesty's soldiers were incomparably superior to the Irish traitors in dexterity at stealing. In consequence, the town very soon grew weary of their guests, and were glad to see them marched off to other quarters. It is but justice to the regiment that has remained at Killalla ever since, the Prince of Wales' fencibles, to acknowledge, that they have always behaved themselves with the greatest propriety, under the orders of these two excellent officers, lieut. col. MACARTNEY, and major WINSTANLEY. Let it be remembered also, to the honour of our excellent Chief Governor, that as soon as the country was reduced to quiet, Marquis CORNWALLIS sent two commissioners to Killalla and its vicinity, for the express purpose of ascertaining the damages done by the
King's

King's troops, and that, in March following, all authenticated claims on that account were discharged in full by an order on the national bank.

The court martial began the day after the battle, and sat in the house of Mr. MORRISON. Their proceedings at first appeared extremely slow, considering the multitudes they had to try, not less than seventy-five prisoners at Killalla, and a hundred and ten at Ballina, besides those who might be brought in daily. The two first persons tried at this tribunal were general BELLEW and Mr. RICKARD BOORKE, who have been already introduced to the acquaintance of the reader. The latter, not exerting his best endeavours to prolong the contest with the King's troops, had imitated the craft sometimes observable in the fox; he had slipped in with the crowd of loyalists, and was found, with every appearance of a peaceable subject, sitting in the bishop's lobby, and chatting familiarly with different people as they entered, till he was recognized and taken into custody by Mr. ORMSBY. The trial of these two criminals was short. They were found guilty on Monday evening, and hanged the next morning in the park behind the castle. Contemptible for drunkenness and vulgar manners, they fell without exciting a sentiment of compassion.

ROGER MACGUIRE, our late embassador to Castlebar, occasioned some delay. It was urged in his favour, particularly by dean THOMPSON, that in their late journey he had often heard him speak to the people in favour of pacific measures, and of lenity to the protestants. On the other hand general TRENCH and his officers could not readily forget the insolent behaviour of this young fellow at Castlebar, under which assumed carriage he strove to conceal his apprehension of danger, when he was so grievously (and indeed so inconsiderately) threatened by Mr. DENIS BROWNE and others, on his entering the town, a circumstance of which we forgot to make mention in its proper place: After a long imprisonment at Killalla, MACGUIRE was transmitted to Castlebar, where at last he received sentence to be transported to Botany-bay. His father, the brewer, was hanged: his brothers, more active in treason and mischief than himself, have not yet been taken.

Broken weather encreased the difficulty of keeping a force together in such a place as Killalla, their tents affording a poor shelter against the rain and storms of this season of the year. Gen. TRENCH therefore made haste to clear the wild districts of the Laggan and Erris by pushing detachments

tachments into each, who were able to do little more than to burn a number of cabbins; for the people had too many hiding places to be easily overtaken. Enough however was effected to impress upon the minds of the sufferers a conviction, that joining with the enemies of their country against their lawful sovereign was not a matter of so little moment as they had ignorantly imagined; and probably the memory of what they now endured will not be effaced for years. There are, I know, who think differently, who say these mountaineers will be always ripe for insurrection, and who urge in proof the mischief they have done very lately by robbery and houghing of cattle. Yet surely our common nature will incline us to make some concession to the feelings of men driven, though by their own fault, from their farms and their dwellings, wretched dwellings to be sure, but to them—(that poor fellow's lesson to the bishop * is worth remembering!) to them as valuable as to the grandee his palace. Let a man look round from the summit of one of those mountains that guard our island against the incursions of the Atlantic, and say what he should think of passing a winter among them without the covering of a hut.

* Page 113.

The disposal of the powder left at the castle by the French was one of the first things that occupied the attention of gen. TRENCH, especially after the accident, mentioned above, had made every body sensible of the necessity of speedily removing it. He wrote that very day to government, and desired to have his Excellency's commands respecting it: yet the carriages did not arrive for transporting it to Athlone till the fifth of October, probably from the difficulty of procuring the means of conveying at that season. The bishop was heartily glad to be rid of this deposit, if that might be so named, which was placed in his hands against his will and consent. The French, as the reader will see by the annexed affidavit of captain BULL, took it into their heads to be angry with the bishop for betraying their powder to the King's officer; as if he owed *them* allegiance, or was responsible for a trust he had not undertaken, and which he would have rejected with abhorrence. All the share he had in saving this powder for his Majesty's use, consisted in suggesting to the commandant the real and absolute impossibility of throwing it into the sea, in the presence of people who waited eagerly and continually to seize it for their own destructive purposes. The powder, though coarse, was said to be good enough

enough for use: the whole, at one shilling the pound, must have been worth upwards 1300l. sterl.

On the 29th, an address was presented to gen. TRENCH from the barony of Tyrawley, thanking him and his army for the good service of Sunday last, to which a polite answer was presently returned by the general. They have appeared in the public prints.

The opportunity of an escort to Castlebar carried away from us this day our worthy friends, the THOMPSONS, with their three boys and a girl, a family whose real value we should hardly have known but for our captivity. Mr. FORTESCUE embraced the same opportunity. And the succeeding day, by the departure of gen. TRENCH with the Kerry officers to Castlebar, left the town of Killalla to the defence of the Prince of Wales' fencibles, who have remained there ever since. The detachment that had been sent into Erris on the 30th September returned the seventh of the following month, after suffering and inflicting a good deal of misery.

As the storm of war seemed now to have spent its force, the bishop began to try what he could
do

do in order to render his situation at Killalla easy at least, if he could not restore the comfortable posture in which the invasion found him. His greatest inconvenience was, that it was out of his power, as matters stood, to return to the exclusive use of his own house. The guard, which was relieved every day, being stationed in one of the offices at the castle, it became a duty of common politeness to offer a bed to the officer that commanded the guard. The same compliment could hardly be refused to another officer of the regiment, who coming later than the rest to Killalla could not possibly find a lodging in the town. And these two officers naturally grew to be messmates in the family, the bishop wishing by every means in his power to shew his sense of the protection afforded to the town by his Majesty's army. But the labour and weariness of living thus in a manner in public, and for a constancy, may be easily conceived, at least it need not be described to any man that is fond of retirement and study. The messing indeed was laid aside, from the moment the gentlemen were aware of the bishop's inability to bear the annoyance of continual public dinners; but the bedchambers could not be refused; a circumstance which precluded the exercise of hospitality towards the bishop's friends or his clergy, his own family being

being so numerous. Neither was it by any means clear to the people of Killalla, if they set themselves to repair the damages they had sustained by the war, that they would be able to enjoy the fruits of their labour. The winter was coming on; a multitude of rebels were scattered through the mountains, likely to be rendered desperate by want; and perhaps too the French might find means to effect another and a more powerful invasion in the same place where they had landed before.

These reasons were repeatedly urged to the bishop by his friends in the capital to induce him to remove with his family thither without delay: but he had fixed his resolution to remain where he was for that winter. After the losses he had sustained, his circumstances stood in the way of an expensive journey to Dublin: and if that had not been the case, he found by many trials, that his presence was likely to be useful to his country neighbours, either in assisting to obtain compensation for them, or clearing them from ill-founded charges of disaffection. From the rebels in the mountains he apprehended no danger, as long as the military were left to protect the town; and as to another attempt from the French in the very same quarter, and on the verge of winter, it was an event too far removed

moved from probability to be a reasonable ground for retreating.

But experience quickly proved, that what is not probable may nevertheless be very true. On the morning of the 27th of October, 1798, three of the same frigates which had brought over HUMBERT's army in August, in company with a fourth, carrying all together 2000 land forces, anchored in the bay of Killalla, precisely in the spot where they had made good their first landing. They formed a part of the armament, which, so happily for Ireland and the British empire, was destroyed by the glorious action off Rutland, under the auspices of Sir JOHN B. WARREN. The alarm was taken, the moment these ships appeared; for our late sufferings had taught us what might be expected from vessels of that size. Two officers of the Prince of Wales's, capt. BULL, and lieutenant LEURRY, were sent at different times by major WINSTANLEY, to enquire what they were, and if friends, to deliver dispatches which had just come down to him from the capital. A party under the orders of captain FRASER went to take their station behind Kilcummin head, under which the ships were moored, about a league from Killalla, to watch and make reports.

The

The officers not returning in the time expected, the panic became universal. Every male inhabitant in the place crowded to Steeple-hill, anxiously looking out to the ships, and forming conjectures. An old sailor, who had often seen the like, pronounced them to be French by their white sails, and by their seeming to stand out of the water more than ours. At length a yeoman horseman appeared on the opposite hill, coming down in full gallop. To the spectators his out-stretched arms told the bad news even before his words: ‘ Captain FRASER had bid him say to the major, the ships were certainly French, and the enemy was landing.’ It was discovered after the fright was passed, that this pestilent fellow had truly reported only half his message; for he was charged to say, ‘ the enemy was *not yet* landed.’ But either his wits were unfettered by terror, or he was carried away by the passion men feel for relating marvellous news, let it be ever so horrible.

In half an hour, the town of Killalla had scarcely an inhabitant left, except the military. The occasion was so instant, that every body was in motion before they had time to reflect how they should go, or whether they ought to go at all: for the weather was cold and stormy, the road to the next

town (Ballina) deep mud, especially near Kíllalla, and the last invasion had left to very few any other means of conveyance but their feet. On foot the bishop set out at the head of his whole household, except two sons who staid to preserve their father's property as long as they could. Two little daughters by his side waded through the dirt. The other children got upon cars, with their mother and aunt, invalids, that had not been exposed to the air for the last two months, and one of them, Mrs. Stock, liable on any cold to a sudden attack of the gout in her stomach, which had more than once threatened her existence. While they were on the road, gusts of wind, and at last a heavy shower of hail, fell on them. All seemed to the bishop to be now over. He must expect to lose the mother of such a family, the companion with whom he had passed twenty years of his life in the sunshine of a most perfect agreement, a sunshine absolutely uninterrupted by one transient cloud. He saw it, almost without a reflection. There is a pause of mind on the apprehended explosion of some enormous mischief, resembling the stillness that fills the horizon before a thunder-clap. At intervals—when thought returned—what he was able to do he did. He raised his eyes, and adored in silence the uplifted hand of the Almighty. That hand, as he had soon the
happiness

happinefs to experience, was lifted, not to destroy, but to fave.

The proceffion reached Ballina about fix in the evening, after a march of two hours, in the courfe of which they paffed the Armagh militia, haftening to Killalla to join the Prince of Wales's. And here the bifhop and his family were much indebted to the hofpitality of brigade-major CUNNINGHAM and his lady, that they did not fuffer more by fo unfeafonable a flight. The houfe in which the major refided was col. KING's, in happier times one of the beft and moft comfortable dwellings in the whole country; but it had fuffered fo much damage in the rebellion, when it was occupied by TRUC, that it was now no eafy matter to find a warm feat in it, fcarcely a window being without one or more broken panes of glafs, and a furious wind pervading the whole houfe. However, the entire groupe of fugitives had got into bed, when at midnight an exprefs came to the major from Killalla, with intelligence, which that good natured officer thought his guefts would be glad to hear immediately, though they were awaked out of their fleep for it. Major WINSTANLEY had fent word, that the French frigates had fuddenly flipt their cables, and withdrawn from our bay.

The two officers that were carried off by this squadron to France, Messrs. BULL and LEURRY, found their way back again to their regiment near four months afterwards. From their report it appears, that a cutter they had on the watch having apprised the enemy that an English squadron was heaving in sight, for which they were conscious they were not a match, they made off to sea, with so much precipitation, that the largest frigate cut her cable, leaving an anchor behind her, which is thought to be very well worth the weighing up. The squadron was close pursued by two line of battle ships, the Cæsar and the Tremendous (as report said) even to the distance of ninety leagues, and had for a considerable time very little hope of an escape, though they at last effected it by throwing every thing they could spare over-board, and thus outfailing ships that were crippled in the late action with the Hoche and others.

Next day with joyful hearts all the inhabitants of Killalla returned home, where no mischief had happened during their short absence. By the good providence of God the ladies of the bishop's family escaped the danger to their health, of which they had so much reason to be apprehensive; nor did any of the children take cold, except one little girl

girl that walked, who had a low fever in consequence, which did not quit her for three weeks.

After this alarm, there was no resisting the importunity of the bishop's friends, recalling him to Dublin. To stay longer in a post of so much danger was generally pronounced to be a tempting of Providence. Their arguments would have carried irresistible weight (had a further weight been necessary) if the bishop or his friends had then been in possession of the intelligence, which they have since received from captain BULL, whose testimony is here laid before the reader.

“ Captain JOSEPH BULL, of the Prince of Wales's Fencible Infantry, who was taken prisoner by the fleet in Killalla bay, being sent out with dispatches by order of the commanding officer, maketh oath and faith :

“ That on his being taken on board, and during his voyage to France in La Concorde French frigate, he was often told by most of the officers on

board, both naval and military, that had they landed their troops when they appeared in the bay of Killalla on the 27th of October, they had the most positive orders to send the bishop of Killalla and his family immediately prisoners to France.

“ That on his (Captain BULL’s) asking them the reason of this step, their answer was, that the bishop had betrayed the town to the king’s troops, and had likewise delivered up the ammunition that was brought in by the French during the time they were in possession of the town of Killalla.

“ Captain BULL further says, he took every step that he thought was likely to prove this report entirely groundless, but is sorry to say, without effect. And says, that had they met with any opposition in landing, their determination was, to lay the town in ashes.”

“ Sworn before me at Killalla, March 1, 1799.

WILLIAM KIRKWOOD.”

JOSEPH BULL, captain of
the Prince of Wales’s
Fencible Regiment.”

The

The public is also here presented with the original letter of general HUMBERT, of which a translation was given in JONES's last narrative of the rebellion.

“ Le General HUMBERT.

“ A Milord l'Evêque de Killalla.

Douvres, le 26 Octobre, 1798.

“ Milord,

“ Etant sur le point de rentrer en France, je dois vous témoigner les sentimens distingués que vous m'avez toujours inspiré. Après avoir eu l'avantage de vous connoître, j'ai toujours regretté que le hafard et mon devoir de militaire m'aient obligé, en portant le fléau de la guerre dans votre voisinage, à toubler le bonheur domestique dont vous jouissiez, et que vous meritez à tous les egards. Trop heureux, si en rentrant dans ma patrie, je puis me flatter d'avoir acquis quelques titres à votre estime. Independamment des raisons particulieres que j'ai pour vous aimer et vous estimer, le tableau que le citoyen CHAROST me trace de toutes vos bontes pour lui et ses officiers,

tant

tant avant qu'après la reddition de Killalla, fera pour moi un titre éternel d'estime et de reconnaissance.

“ Je vous prie, Milord, d'en accepter l'expression, et d'en faire part à votre estimable famille.

“ Je suis, avec la plus haute estime,
“ Milord,
“ Votre très humble serviteur,

“ HUMBERT.”

F I N I S.

