

THE LIFE
OF
GENERAL, THE RIGHT HONOURABLE
SIR DAVID BAIRD, BART.
G.C.B., K.C., &c. &c.

CHAPTER I.

LORD CAVAN ASSUMES THE COMMAND OF THE ARMY—EMBARRASSMENT WITH RESPECT TO THE BEYS—CORRESPONDENCE WITH GENERAL BAIRD—GENERAL BAIRD'S REMONSTRANCE AGAINST THE UNION OF THE ARMIES—SUGGESTIONS FOR NEGOCIATIONS AT CAIRO—COLONEL RAMSAY'S JUDICIOUS CONDUCT—GENERAL STUART GOES TO CAIRO—ANXIETY OF BAIRD TO RETURN TO INDIA—LORD ELGIN'S ARRIVAL EXPECTED—OFFICIAL NEWS OF A GENERAL PEACE—LETTER FROM GENERAL FOX IN ANSWER TO THE REFERENCE OF GENERAL BAIRD—FRESH DISTRIBUTION OF FORCES—DESPATCHES FROM ENGLAND—GENERAL BAIRD NAMED SECOND IN COMMAND OF THE WHOLE ARMY—NEGOCIATIONS CONTINUED—ARRIVAL OF MR. STRETTON—CONFERENCES AT GIZEH AND CAIRO—ABANDONMENT OF THE BEYS—GENERAL STUART'S ACCIDENT—THE BEYS DETERMINE ON FLIGHT—THEY QUIT GIZEH—THE VIZIER'S REQUEST—IS SUPERSEDED—ENCAMPS OUTSIDE OF CAIRO AND PREPARES TO TAKE THE FIELD.

THE first intimation which General Baird received of the actual departure of Sir John Hutchinson, and the delivery over (without farther communication with him) of the command of the *whole* army to Lord

Cavan, was conveyed to the General in a letter which Lord Cavan wrote in reply to that of which M. Rosetti was the bearer, or rather, to that which General Baird forwarded by express, addressed to General Hutchinson, but which, of course, his successor in authority opened.

In reply to General Baird's letter, Lord Cavan replied, that with regard to the presents sent from Constantinople, he left it entirely to the General's superior judgment and discretion, whether to accept or decline them, although he admitted that there was one point upon which he was clearly decided, (which in fact was the only material one,) namely, that no present should be accepted from any Turk actually in Egypt, pending the negotiations respecting the Mamelukes.

Lord Cavan expressed himself not a little embarrassed by the position in which he found himself left by Sir John Hutchinson, with respect to these people, (whose number now exceeded two thousand,) and his Lordship expressed his regret to General Baird that Sir John's explanatory letter upon the subject contained in reality no explanation at all of his wishes, or his views, or his intentions concerning them. This termination to an affair, in which Sir John Hutchinson had, as Commander-in-chief, taken so decided a line, and assumed so high a tone, could not fail to be somewhat disappointing to all parties. But the Beys, even thus abandoned as they certainly appeared to be, were still sure of one unflinching and uncompromising friend and

advocate in the person of the gallant subject of our memoir.

The day before Sir John Hutchinson quitted Egypt he wrote to General Baird, regretting the indispensable necessity of his immediate departure, suggesting it as probable that Lord Cavan would not remain in Egypt more than a month or six weeks from the time of his going. Sir John had seen the officer who was the bearer of the Grand Vizier's official letter, in which he demanded the delivery of the Beys who were in the possession of the English, and concluded his career in Egypt, as he himself says, by giving the Vizier's messenger no satisfaction, but, on the contrary, ordering him, not only out of his presence immediately, but out of Alexandria in a quarter of an hour. And it must be admitted that this last active measure, which Sir John took to exhibit his disposition towards the enemy and oppressor of the Beys, however honest and natural, was not very likely to conciliate his Highness's favour or materially serve the cause of his intended victims after Sir John should have quitted the country.

Although Sir John Hutchinson was resolved to maintain to the last the tone he had at first assumed towards the Vizier, he was in point of fact very apprehensive that the affair would cause great irritation, and probably something more serious; and although he had at the time thought it judicious to write the monitory letter to the Grand Vizier which has already been submitted to the

reader, he expressed in confidence to General Baird his entire conviction of the impossibility of acting up to the spirit of his threats, or of dispossessing the Turks of Cairo, in case they should offer resistance.

Sir John indeed seemed to have made up his mind that the fate of the unfortunate Beys was sealed, more especially as just at this juncture a report of the proclamation of a peace between England and France had reached Egypt, which, if true, would naturally crush the last remaining hope that could be entertained for their preservation by the continuance of a British force in that country, which the ratification of the rumoured treaty would not only render needless, but of course wholly out of the question.

On the 6th of November, as we have already stated, Lord Cavan assumed the command of the whole army; and upon that day the Capidan Pacha informed his Lordship of his intended departure from Alexandria, stating that he should send Isaac Bey and his secretary to his Lordship on the following morning, to enter into negotiations: but Lord Cavan declined seeing them, unless they brought an assurance that the Beys at Cairo should be given up. To this the Capidan Pacha merely returned for answer, a repetition of his determination to quit Alexandria, although Lord Cavan had particularly requested him to postpone his departure until some definitive arrangement had been made about the Mamelukes,

Lord Cavan felt that it was too late for him to prevent the Capidan Pacha's going, and his Lordship was particularly desirous of abstaining from any threats or menaces of hostility, for the successful execution of which he did not possess the means.

"I have experience sufficient of this in this late affair," says Lord Cavan, in a letter to General Baird, dated November 7, 1801, "and therefore I must be cautious in what I declare. I do not think myself justified in going to war with the Turks, but I am, I conceive, justified in interrupting every sort of communication with them. I mean, by keeping them at such a distance as to prevent their acting with hostility, even to the total exclusion of them from the harbour of Alexandria, should the Vizier persist in his detention of the Beys."

The letter which contained this passage contained also orders to General Baird from Lord Cavan, as Commander-in-chief of the *united army*.

It had been, as we have before mentioned, the wish and intention of General Baird, whenever the two armies were thus incorporated, to quit Egypt, and it seems, that at one time he intended to proceed to England by the way of Malta; that he subsequently abandoned not only this arrangement, but altogether relinquished his plan of leaving Egypt, we find by a letter which he addressed to Lord Cavan in reply to his Lordship's of the 6th, from which we have just quoted the passage relative to his Lordship's intentions as regarded the Turks.

After having informed Lord Cavan that he had published the general order for blending the two

armies, and replied to some official questions of his Lordship, General Baird proceeds to say, in allusion to the correspondence which was inclosed,—

“Your Lordship is now in possession of my sentiments on this delicate subject, and since the conversation I had the honour to have with you at Alexandria,* circumstances have so materially changed, that I cannot think of deserting the army I brought from India.

“The very disagreeable situation in which we are placed with regard to the Turks, and the hourly expectation I have of receiving orders to return with this army to India, in consequence of the general peace, (the reports of which appear to be generally believed,) *compel* me to remain. It is therefore my duty, in the mean time, to obey your Lordship’s commands; and I shall on all occasions forward the service to the utmost of my power.

“Your Lordship,” continues General Baird, “is pleased to mention, that ‘you do not think yourself justified in going to war with the Turks; but you do conceive yourself justified in interrupting every sort of communication with them, by keeping them at such distance, as to prevent their acting with hostility, even to the total exclusion of them from the harbour of Alexandria, should the Vizier persist in his detention of the Beys.’ Permit me, my Lord, to call your attention to the situation of the army I have brought from India, and which I have to presume, will be ordered to return by way of the Red Sea, most probably by the very first despatch from England.

“Through this country we can only march as *friends* or *enemies*. If as enemies, we must necessarily form an alli-

* Probably announcing his determination to quit Egypt in the event of the union of the armies.

ance with the Mamelukes for mutual support, or we must embark for England.

“Your Lordship has done me the honour to repeat the expression of your reliance upon receiving every assistance from my advice and experience. Your Lordship may rest assured I shall at all times be happy to afford you such assistance as may be in my power, and I will avail myself of the present occasion to suggest to your Lordship, the propriety of sending an able negociator to his Highness the Vizier, in order to have matters amicably settled. It might perhaps be done with advantage to the Beys, by obtaining a pension or a sum of money for them, with permission for them to reside in any country they please, as the Turks seem determined to get them out of Egypt. By this measure, the honour of the British nation may be saved, and harmony restored between us and the Vizier: but this suggestion I only presume to offer, under the supposition that nothing regarding the Mamelukes is specifically mentioned in the treaty of peace, which it seems generally believed has been signed. I need not add, that should it meet your Lordship’s approbation, no time is to be lost in setting it on foot, and none so proper as the present, immediately after your Lordship’s assuming the chief command.”

To this letter Lord Cavan replied on the 9th, and after acknowledging its receipt, his Lordship says:—

From the private conversation I had with you before I was in command, I really confess to you I did not feel easy at the idea of your declining to act in any military command, when the two armies were united. Your letter of yesterday has entirely relieved me, and I personally am thankful to you for your expressions of readiness to assist

me with your counsel and advice on all occasions to forward the service.

Believe me, I am sincere, I did not assume the command of the two armies as one, from any selfish motive of extending or increasing my authority, but solely on a principle, that under existing circumstances, I was acting according to the rules of the service, and that had I not so done, a precedent might have been established, that hereafter might be attended with great inconvenience.

I wrote to you early this morning,* requesting you would order a Djerm to Rahamanie, for Brigadier General Stuart to-morrow, whom I send by that route to the Grand Vizier at Cairo, as the shortest and most expeditious. He carries a letter from me to his Highness, and will be able to express my ideas, and make many arrangements better than can be done by letter; adhering, at the same time, to my original resolution, that the liberation of the Beys is the *sine quâ non* to atone for the insult given, and to restore friendship and harmony between us. From communications I have had through Isaac Bey, from the Capidan Pacha, I have great hopes of obtaining their liberation.

A French schooner from Terrente arrived yesterday with letters for General Menou. She brings news of the universal rejoicings in England and France, on account of the peace, the preliminaries of which were signed in London on the 1st of October by Lord Malmesbury and M. Otto.

The certainty of the conclusion of peace naturally increased the anxiety of General Baird for the fate of his unhappy adherents; the General, however, had ascertained, that the report of the murder of one of the Beys at Cairo was not true; this circumstance, and Lord Cavan's hint of a probability

* After the receipt of General Baird's letter and suggestion.

that their deliverance might yet be effected, gave him some little hope; but scarcely sufficient to counteract in any very satisfactory degree the apprehensions he so rationally and seriously entertained.

The reader will recollect the visit of Colonel Ramsay to the Grand Vizier, and the earnestness with which his Highness repelled the charge of assassination; but however anxious he might then have appeared to exonerate himself from the horrible imputation, he never, in his subsequent communications with Sir John Hutchinson, could be brought to any definite point with respect to the Mamelukes, whom he still seemed to consider as subjects and even slaves of the Porte; although he continued to state (and continued to force *them* to state also), that they were willing subjects, and so happy under the mild rule of their own Government, that they would on no account quit Cairo, to go to Gizeh and place themselves under the protection of the English; while on the other hand, it was but too evident that those who were already under the protection of the English, and at Gizeh, could by no means be persuaded to go to Cairo, and submit themselves to the Grand Vizier.

From a letter which General Baird, about this period, addressed to Colonel Ramsay, containing an extract from a letter of Lord Cavan's, highly approving of that officer's conduct, we find that General Baird, upon receiving authentic intelligence of the actual conclusion of the treaty of peace, immediately began to make arrangements for proceeding to India,

with the army under his command. The General's intention, in case the despatches, which were hourly expected from England, should direct the return of the troops to the various Presidencies to which they belonged, was to proceed by the route they had taken in coming, and to embark again at Kosseir. His principal motive for adopting his former line of march, was his anxiety to escape the plague season, which was fast approaching, by quitting the Delta as expeditiously as possible, and moving towards Upper Egypt.

If the orders for their return, however, should not arrive as he anticipated, the General was prepared to try the route by Suez and the Red Sea; in the possibility of which alternative, he directed Colonel Ramsay to make every requisite inquiry as to the number of camels, water-bags, and other actual necessaries that could be procured for the march across the Desert; as well as to the practicability of establishing posts on the way to Suez, and the extent of provisions which might be supplied for the army at that place.

In reply to these inquiries, Colonel Ramsay informed the General, that he heard from good authority that the Arab chiefs, who are accustomed to furnish camels and mules for the large caravans, travelling with merchandize from Cairo to Suez, would be able to supply an adequate number for the army: which intelligence, coupled with the almost equally important announcement, that as the coldness of the season permitted meat to be kept

good for three days, by killing bullocks and sheep for the march, at Gizeh, the necessity of establishing posts across the deserts, would be in a great degree if not altogether obviated, was extremely agreeable to General Baird.

A detachment under Lieutenant Annesly, which had recently crossed the desert in four short days' marches, and which could, had it been necessary, have accomplished the *trajet* in three, found no difficulty whatever to impede its progress; the road from Suez, until just in the neighbourhood of Cairo, being hard and good for marching on, and the weather not at all too hot for moving troops during the day-time. Water they did not meet with; but that circumstance having been ascertained, the remedy was easily provided during so short a journey.

In the mean while, Lord Cavan continued extremely uneasy with respect to the Beys and Mamelukes. General Stuart had been gone eight days on the 17th of November, and his Lordship had received no intelligence from him. Two letters which have been already noticed, which the Vizier wrote to General Hutchinson, had reached Lord Cavan, containing, as the reader is aware, a detailed account of the happy contentedness of the captives, and the statement that they preferred proceeding to Constantinople, to going over to Gizeh.

A letter had also been received by Lord Cavan, addressed to General Hutchinson, from Lord Elgin, our ambassador at the Porte, announcing his intended arrival at Alexandria; and a similar announcement

was made by his Excellency to the Capidan Pacha. The proposal of a visit from Lord Elgin was extremely agreeable to Lord Cavan, because he naturally looked forward to some definitive arrangement of the difficulty in which it was but too clear the English were involved with the Turks. Indeed, Lord Elgin in his letter stated that he had received instructions from England relative to the final settlement of that affair. Lord Elgin stated his intention of embarking at Constantinople, in His Majesty's ship *Niger*, on the 26th of October.

During all this period, the anxiety which General Baird had evinced in his request to Colonel Ramsay to make every inquiry with respect to the facilities of marching by Suez, in case of being delayed in Egypt, preyed considerably upon his mind; he felt convinced that the immediate removal of *his* army would be the natural consequence of the peace. He knew that if that removal were ordered to take place forthwith, it would be impossible to sail by the Red Sea, the season for leaving which, does not generally begin before the end of February at the earliest; while on the other hand, the route by Kosseir would at that period of the year entail upon the troops a march of nearly seven hundred miles—a march which the General was convinced, by experience of what they *did* encounter, the army could not accomplish under three months.

In addition to the urgency of the case as concerned the great loss of time to the troops and their gallant commander, whose services could now no longer be

required in Egypt, there was another consideration by no means to be overlooked. The East India Company were sustaining a monthly expense of no less a sum than £40,000 for the maintenance of the shipping necessarily detained in the Red Sea, for the re-embarkation of the troops. Let us add to these circumstances, the fact, to which the General referred in his letter to Colonel Ramsay, that the plague season in the Delta was close at hand ; that in point of fact, that destructive malady had actually made its appearance in the camp, and that the speedy removal of the army to Upper Egypt, while it diminished the expenditure of the Company, and restored the troops to a sphere of action in which their services might be made available to the country, would rescue perhaps thousands of brave men from the effects of the most tremendous disease with which human nature is assailed; and we shall not be surprized at General Baird's anxiety. Such indeed was the General's conviction of the vital importance of despatch, that he addressed a letter to his Excellency General Fox, Commander-in-chief at Malta, on the subject.

Pressing as were the emergencies by which General Baird was surrounded, and careful as he might have been of the resources of the East India Company, the reader, who by this time must be pretty well acquainted with his character, and quite aware of his love of activity and thirst for glory, may perhaps perceive in this constant solicitude for removal from a service in which no opportunity of distinguishing himself could offer, a still

more honourable desire of accomplishing, by his speedy return, the never-forgotten objects of his ambition, the original design of the expedition against Mauritius and Bourbon. In fact, although by his ready and conscientious performance of every duty required of him, nobody would have suspected it, his expectations had been frustrated, and his hopes disappointed. The assumption of the general command of the army by Lord Cavan, had necessarily reduced him to a situation comparatively of no importance; the regiments composing his force were to be scattered and divided; and the sepoys, whose faith and confidence in *him* were unbounded, were to be marched to Alexandria, to join the garrison of that place.

But it was not these matters which chiefly preyed upon his mind and spirits; it was the reflection, that after having overcome all the difficulties of the march, he had found the war, in fact, ended—and that he had arrived only in time to witness the surrender by capitulation of the last hold of the French upon Egypt. Yet in the midst of all these mortifications, and the personal annoyances which the new arrangements of the army for so many reasons occasioned him, such was the universal confidence reposed in his honour and sincerity, his energy and his discipline, that in this instance (and indeed throughout the whole of the correspondence with which this memoir is so copiously illustrated,) it will be found, that although actuated by a high spirit of independence and conscientiousness, and by an ardent affection for his sol-

diers, and an assiduous attention to their comfort and welfare, and that the matters in dispute were freely and largely discussed, every man connected with the existing question, whatever it may be, expresses himself satisfied that no personal feeling or private pique would ever be suffered by General Baird to interfere, in the slightest degree, with the good of the service to which he was so heartily, so honestly, and so entirely devoted.

With respect to the negotiations of General Stuart during the period of his residence at Cairo, they appear to have been extremely successful; for on the 10th of November, being a week after his departure from Alexandria, we find that the Vizier, after conferences and a correspondence which lasted only two days, gave up the Beys who were at Cairo (although with a very bad grace); and that, in consequence of his decision, Ibrahim Bey, attended by a Turkish officer, and Stephano the interpreter to the Porte, together with *ten* other Beys, and their followers, proceeded to Gizeh.

At this period a new difficulty arose—one of meaner importance, perhaps, but which embarrassed General Baird considerably. The surrender of the Beys, and the consequent eagerness with which their followers sought the protection of the English, which had been so justly and promptly afforded them, had so increased the number of refugees, that it became a question of some consequence to ascertain what means were to be applied to their subsistence, and whether the charges actually in course of accumula-

tion under that head were to be borne by the English Government, or the East India Company.

Considering the benefits which both armies (before they were united) had received from the faithful fulfilment of all the engagements entered into with their adherents and allies, it seemed to Lord Cavan only just and equitable that each party should keep a separate account of its peculiar expenditure, and that all matters connected with the subject should be left to an ulterior settlement between the King's Government at home, and the East India Company, in case it should turn out that Lord Elgin, upon his arrival in Egypt, was not authorized to make any definitive arrangement on the spot.

The Grand Vizier had, in the early part of the negotiations, promised, as he said, out of affection for the British Government, to maintain the Beys himself; but as General Baird anticipated, when matters drew to a conclusion, his promise was forgotten, and although General Stuart particularly urged his Highness upon that particular point, he could obtain no satisfactory answer up to the 29th of November.

Till that time, all the Beys had maintained themselves and their personal followers, excepting Solyman Aga, who having been plundered by the Turks of every thing he possessed, was considered by Colonel Ramsay to have a full claim to be provided for, from the period of his claiming and receiving his protection at Gizeh. The restoration of his property was also made a point of, by General Stuart;

but he succeeded in recovering only a very small portion of it from the Grand Vizier.

In order to shew in its true colours the real character of Turkish diplomacy, and the just idea which the high functionaries of the Sublime Porte have, or had at that time, of the solemn obligations of a great and powerful Government, it will be necessary to inform the reader, that the Grand Vizier having, on the 16th of November, surrendered the captive Beys with great formality to the English officers, expressed his most earnest desire, on the 25th of the same month, that they should again return to Cairo; affecting to look upon the serious demand made for their liberation by General Stuart, in the name of the British Government, as a mere political fulfilment of a point of honour, which he seemed quite sure the General would feel to have been completely satisfied by his Highness having sent the prisoners over to Gizeh to drink coffee with him; implying, if not actually stating, his understanding, that after that ceremony had been concluded they were to have been sent back to him, justifying the probability of this supposition by an observation strikingly characteristic of Turkish policy, that by thus securing the Beys for a week or ten days, the English would have entirely acquitted themselves of any breach of faith, to a sufficient extent, to satisfy the urgency of the case, and to have fulfilled the promises and redeemed the pledges which they had given to their confiding allies.

It would be impossible to describe in adequate

terms the disgust and indignation expressed by General Stuart when this paltry subterfuge was reported to him : the only effect he suffered it to produce upon his conduct was, the strengthening his determination, and hastening his measures with regard to the settlement of the Beys out of the power of the Vizier ; and although his Highness endeavoured to delay any farther discussion until the arrival of M. Rosetti, from whose mediation (although apparently friendly to the Beys) his Highness appeared to have very great hopes, General Stuart continued to press for a decision, urging as the certain consequence of delay the establishment of the Beys in Upper Egypt, whence no power could remove them, and where, after what had occurred, the authority of the Turkish Government would immediately be much weakened, and, in all probability, eventually annihilated.

Lord Cavan in the midst of these negociations still continued anxiously expecting Lord Elgin ; for until his arrival he felt a difficulty, (notwithstanding the shameful conduct of the Grand Vizier,) in permitting the Beys to proceed to Upper Egypt to lay the foundation of a powerful opposition to the Turkish influence there, while his Highness expressed such an anxiety that they should not, at all events, yet be permitted to do so. Accordingly, his Lordship requested General Baird to direct Colonel Ramsay (for Lord Cavan believed General Stuart to have been on his return from Gizeh to Alexandria) to recommend to the Beys that they should remain at Gizeh until Lord Elgin's arrival, as, from

the contents of his Excellency's letter, his Lordship entertained strong hopes that the instructions to which he referred, might apply to the settlement of this important part of the question; adding, that as it would facilitate the conferences which might naturally be expected to take place between Lord Elgin and the Beys, he should suggest the probability that their presence might be required at Alexandria, should his Excellency not feel disposed to proceed to Gizeh.

On the 1st of December General Baird received a letter from General Fox, the Commander-in-chief at Malta, in answer to that which he had forwarded through Lord Cavan, with copies of the correspondence which passed between him and General Hutchinson on the subject of the incorporation of the two armies, and which, as the reader will recollect, contained an appeal to his Excellency the Commander-in-chief against the opinions of Lord Cavan and General Hutchinson, by which General Baird was deprived of his command, and indeed, of the troops over whom the command had been before exercised. That letter we submit to the reader, as conveying, with the confirmation of the decision against General Baird, another testimony of the well-founded reliance universally entertained in his zeal for the good of the service.

Malta, 15th Nov. 1801.

SIR,

I am honoured with your letter of 22nd October, enclosing a correspondence with Lieutenant-General Sir John Hutchinson, and Major-General the Earl of Cavan.

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I must confess I entirely coincide in opinion with Lieutenant-General Sir John Hutchinson, and Major-General the Earl of Cavan, that there can be but one officer commanding in chief in Egypt, and that the blending the armies together, and forming them into one connected corps, must, as far as I can judge at this distance, be expedient, and for the advantage of His Majesty's service. I must therefore refer you, in all matters, pecuniary ones excepted, to Major-General the Earl of Cavan, who will be the officer commanding in chief upon the departure of Lieutenant-General Sir John Hutchinson, which, I presume, will have taken place long before this reaches you.

I shall transmit your letter, and the correspondence accompanying it, to his Royal Highness the Commander-in-chief, by the *Ajax*, which sails for England to-morrow; but I trust and hope that His Majesty's decisive commands on this subject have been already expedited, which upon their arrival will remove every difficulty. In the mean time, your own assurances, in your letter to Sir John Hutchinson, and your well-known zeal for His Majesty's service, will, I am confident, prevent any inconvenience from arising.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

H. E. FOX.

Immediately after the receipt of this letter, and as it appears not before, Lord Cavan proceeded to issue orders for a change in the disposition of the troops detailed in the following letter.

Alexandria, 30th November 1801.

MY DEAR GENERAL,

As I have received no official accounts from Europe of the peace, nor any instructions for my future conduct in

regard to my command in this country, but judging from the non-official statement of the preliminary terms of the peace, in which it is stipulated that we are to evacuate Egypt in three months after the signing of the definitive treaty, which probably may be distant and uncertain, I have thought it expedient for the good of the service, to change the disposition of the troops under your command according to the enclosed plan, subject to any alteration that you may think necessary to make to me that can better forward the service.

The first of the two divisions of the 10th regiment I wish should march to the caravansera on Friday the 4th of December for Alexandria; the second division on the 5th; the first of the 61st regiment on the 6th; and the second of the 61st on the 7th of December, also for the same place. The two ferries render the divisions bringing much baggage or camp equipage with them extremely inconvenient; you will, therefore, send only a sufficient quantity of tents for one division to the caravansera, where those tents will remain until the last division is past. I will order a sufficient number of tents to be pitched about two miles on this side the Block-house, on Friday evening, the 4th of December, there to remain for each division as it arrives; and will have a sufficient number of tents for the whole of the two regiments immediately on their arrival here, to continue with them until the arrival of their own camp equipage by Djerm from Rosetta. The sooner, therefore, you are able to avail yourself of this fine weather to send some part of the baggage and tents of those regiments the better, even before they march. I will order from hence as many camels and mules as possible, to be at the Block-house on Friday and the following day, on which the divisions march to convey such baggage as the regiments may have to their camps near the Block-house and here.

The guns of the artillery (excepting two at Rosetta and

four at Gizeh) to be at Rhamanhie, together with all the cavalry now with you at the latter place, except a small detachment of dragoons for expresses at Rosetta.

As by these movements your command will be diminished and separated, I will thank you to communicate to me what are your wishes respecting yourself, and I will attend to them. You have Rhamanhie, Gizeh, and this place at your option to remain at. Should you not come here, Colonel Beresford will have the brigade of the 10th and 61st regiments.

I have not time to add more at present, but will write you more fully to-morrow. No movements are to take place, except the 10th and 61st regiments, until you hear farther from me.

I have the honour to be, my dear General,
Your much obliged, faithful, humble servant,
CAVAN, *Maj.-Gen.*

General Baird's answer to this letter, offering, as Lord Cavan had requested him to do, advice upon certain points, was so entirely characteristic of the soldier, and so worthy of the man, that we subjoin it.

*Camp, near El Hamed,
December 1, 1801.*

MY LORD,

I am just honoured with your Lordship's letter of yesterday, and have given the necessary orders for the movements of the 10th and 61st regiments, according to your Lordship's instructions. Colonel Ramsay has been ordered to detain the detachment of the 86th at Gizeh; that of the 10th is ordered down. I shall take every possible step in my power to forward your Lordship's further intentions.

It is necessary, my Lord, for me here to mention, that

in my opinion the 61st regiment can no longer draw the Indian allowances. I beg leave to inclose for your Lordship's information, a copy of the orders of Ministers upon that head. Should, however, your Lordship's opinion differ from mine, I have to request your commands, so as to prevent any confusion hereafter.

I am also to state to your Lordship, from the dispersed state of the troops from India, I apprehend some difficulties may arise and expenses occur in regard to the Paymaster and Commissary of Provisions departments, as it will probably be necessary to appoint deputies at the different stations.†

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In the event of the further movements taking place, I conceive it will be absolutely necessary that the whole of the troops from India should make monthly returns to some head, and that musters be taken of them and the followers, agreeable to the regulations of the three different presidencies, so as to ensure regularity of payment and to prevent abuses.

I have the honour to be, &c.

D. BAIRD.

The Right Hon. Earl of Cavan, &c.

On the next day Lord Cavan again wrote a letter to General Baird, from which the following passages are extracts.

“ I was not able to write to you so fully yesterday as I could wish, as a visit from the Turkish Admiral and some official business prevented me.

“ The arrangement I proposed yesterday for the quarters

† The passage which follows, relates to some temporary and local occurrences of no present interest.

of the troops under your command, except the 10th and 61st, I meant not as finally settled.

“ I have always thought your camp at Rosetta a bad position to afford any assistance to Alexandria, and nothing prevented my sooner moving it, but the expectation of instructions and a definitive peace. Disappointed in the first, and little appearance of the second being soon concluded, are the motives for deciding me to change it.

“ I think it would be best to have each regiment as much collected as possible at one quarter, to obtain which the 80th could be at Gizeh with the whole of the 7th Bombay regiment ; the 86th regiment, the Bengal Volunteers, and 1st Bombay regiment at Rhamanhie ; and the 88th at Rosetta ; the remainder of the 61st here ; though as to the latter it would be as well to leave them at Gizeh or Rhamanhie.

“ The artillery, as I mentioned yesterday, excepting two guns at Rosetta and four field-pieces at Gizeh, to be at Rhamanhie.

“ The cavalry, consisting of a troop of the 8th and the detachment of the 26th dragoons and Hompesch's, with all your spare artillery horses, to be at Rhamanhie ; the heavy baggage of the troops to be at Gizeh. Upon this disposition I will thank you to communicate to me your opinion, and to suggest whatever alterations you may think proper.

“ I have to request you will send as soon as possible an officer of the Quartermaster-General's department to Rhamanhie, or in the neighbourhood of it, to make choice of the ground for the troops to encamp upon, and to make such reports thereon as may be necessary. As Captain Cox's presence at the above department will not be necessary here with the 10th and 61st regiments, perhaps you will think that he can be well employed upon that service ; if so you will be pleased to send him.

“ I have had a private letter from General Fox, of the

19th of November. He then had received no official accounts of the peace, at which he appears surprised.

“ Lord Elgin embarked with his baggage on the 5th of last month, on board the Niger frigate, at Constantinople ; I consequently hourly expect him.”

The next day General Baird despatched the following letter to Lord Cavan.

*Camp near El Hamed,
December 2nd, 1801.*

MY LORD,

I am to acknowledge the receipt of your Lordship's letter of yesterday. I have already done myself the honour to reply in part to that of the 30th ult.

Your Lordship is pleased to mention, that with regard to the disposition of the troops, you will thank me to give my opinion. Availing myself of the latitude you are pleased to allow me, I should think it better for the detachment of the 86th regiment to remain at Gizeh, and the two detachments of the 80th regiment to join at Rhamanhe. As to the detachment of the 61st at Gizeh, it appears to me proper, for the reason mentioned by your Lordship respecting each corps being collected as much as possible at one quarter, and as it would also save trouble in the pay and provision departments, that it should join the head-quarters of that regiment.

Captain Cox will immediately proceed to Rhamanhe agreeably to your Lordship's instruction, and for the purpose directed.

In your Lordship's letter of the 30th ultimo, you are pleased to say, “ that as my command will be now diminished and separated, you would wish me to communicate to you my wishes respecting myself, and that you would attend to them.” “ That I have the option to remain at

Gizeh, Rhamanie, or Alexandria, but in case I should decline the latter place, Colonel Beresford will have the brigade of the 10th and 61st regiments." I beg leave to return to your Lordship my best thanks for the very obliging indulgence you are pleased to offer me, but as I conceive it, at present, a circumstance of little consequence where I am stationed, it cannot be to me any matter of choice, and I shall leave it entirely to your Lordship's better judgment, to place me wherever you may think proper.

I have the honour to remain,

Your Lordship's faithful servant,

D. BAIRD.

With regard to striking off the 61st Regiment from the Indian allowances upon the union of the two armies, Lord Cavan differed entirely from General Baird. His Lordship thought that the movement of that regiment (or indeed of any other part of the army which the General brought from India) to Alexandria, and from under his immediate command, did by no means "disentitle them to the continuation of those allowances."

Under the circumstances in which the army was at that period placed, Lord Cavan was decidedly of opinion that it was neither in General Baird's power nor his own, to make any alteration in the pecuniary allowances to corps or individuals, which they had up to that period received from the East India Company. His Lordship stated, that as far as he was concerned, he certainly had no authority to impose any additional expense on the Honourable Company beyond that, which it incurred when it sent a particular

force to Egypt; and thence his Lordship argued, that he could have no right to curtail the troops which belonged to its establishment of the additional emoluments which the Company were accustomed to afford. His Lordship therefore desired that General Baird would continue to issue to the 61st regiment the same allowances as they had received in Egypt before his Lordship assumed the command; and this instruction was equally to apply to every corps and every individual who had come from India upon the expedition.

Lord Cavan agreed in the necessity of mustering the troops from India every month, but he stated that the monthly returns would be forwarded by his Lordship to India, and that all recommendations for vacant commissions were to be made through the Commander-in-chief, General Fox.

The letter in which Lord Cavan makes these communications to General Baird concludes with a reiteration of his Lordship's acknowledgments for the General's continued exertion for the good of the public service.

On the 5th of December Lord Cavan received despatches from General Fox, which induced his Lordship to suspend the movement of the troops, and to write off to General Baird, requesting him to come to him immediately at Alexandria.

“It will not,” says Lord Cavan, “be necessary, except to arrange any private concerns of your own, for you to return to Rosetta; you will therefore on your departure leave the command of the troops in your camp at Rosetta

to Lieutenant-Colonel Montresor, or to the senior officer there."

"I desired Colonel Auchmuty," continues Lord Cavan, "to communicate to you, that it is not my intention to give you the command of any particular brigade, but that of commanding and superintending the whole under me. I would wish, for their own accommodation, that the troops should be made acquainted that they will in a very few days be ordered to march to Alexandria, and therefore be prepared accordingly.

"Your regiment, the 54th, and its second battalion, are to garrison Gibraltar, with the 2nd or Queen's; the 13th to Malta; the Queen's German regiment (Stuart's), to England; Watteville's and the Chasseurs Britanniques from Malta here; 26th Dragoons to remain here; and Hompesch's to England. These are the principal movements.

"The official letters I have from England, of the 13th of October, reckon on General Hutchinson in command, with Moore, yourself, and Brigadier-General Wellesley under him, and all the other Generals, excepting one Brigadier to Malta, and another to Minorca, are ordered to England."

The official communication of the signing the preliminaries of peace arrived, with the despatches, from which the preceding paragraphs are extracts, in His Majesty's ship *Hind*.

By a letter from Colonel Ramsay, dated Gizeh, the 8th of December, it appears that General Stuart was still at that place, but that nothing was positively concluded; the same system of procrastination and evasion which he had adopted in the earlier part of the negotiation, from the time of releasing the Beys, was rigidly adhered to by the Vizier, who

it was quite evident was endeavouring to gain time till the arrival of Lord Elgin, whose determination he seemed to imagine would be favourable to the Turks. From some indications which the conduct of the Beys betrayed about this time, Colonel Ramsay began to think it not impossible, that they would very shortly withdraw themselves altogether from Gizeh, and proceed of themselves to Upper Egypt without farther consultation with their English allies; and the suspicions which he had begun to entertain, were rather strengthened than decreased by the arrival at Gizeh of three more Beys from Alexandria, where they had left Osman Bey Perdicci to wait the coming of Lord Elgin, with whom he was selected to negotiate.

In the sequel, however, Lord Elgin did not himself arrive. His Lordship despatched Mr. Stretton, the Secretary of Legation at Constantinople, to Egypt in his place, who early in January reached Alexandria, and announced himself to Lord Cavan as being fully authorized by Lord Elgin to treat with the Vizier upon the subject of the Beys, his Excellency being himself prevented by matters of greater importance, from leaving Constantinople at that time.

It appears by a letter of General Baird's to Lord Wellesley, that the terms upon which Mr. Stretton was empowered to treat were these—"That as a *sine quâ non*, the Beys should evacuate Egypt; that they were to have the option of residing in any other province of the Turkish dominions; in England; or in any of the British possessions in India, with pen-

sions to be paid by the Porte, and guaranteed to them, if they desired it, by the British Government.”

M. de Noé, (since one of the Peers of France, and for some time in the household and confidence of Charles the Tenth) from whose work relative to the Egyptian expedition we have already made several extracts, who was at this period attached to the personal staff of Colonel Ramsay at Gizeh, and was employed on several missions to the Vizier from that officer, gives a detailed account of the persecution of the Beys, from the beginning of the Egyptian campaign, which is so correct and so interesting, that we regret the impossibility of embodying it in this work. We shall make some quotations from it, and if it should be eventually found possible, give the whole chapter which the Count devotes to this particular subject in an Appendix.

Count de Noé, whose situation afforded him every opportunity of seeing and knowing what was passing, says—

“ On the 19th of January Mr. Stretton, the English Secretary of Legation at Constantinople, and Lord Cavan, who thought proper to accompany him, arrived at Gizeh, under a salute from the garrison.

“ The Beys, informed of the arrival of the Commander-in-chief, had solicited permission of General Stuart to furnish a house for his Lordship; but to their regret, and from motives which I do not pretend to understand, his Lordship preferred a residence at Cairo—a preference which seemed ominous as regarded the result of the negotiations which were about to be opened.

“ Lord Cavan and Mr. Stretton paid a visit to the Beys, and immediately after entered upon their conference with the Grand Vizier. The unhappy Beys had at this period the misfortune to be deprived of the support of General Stuart, who up to that time had deeply interested himself in their fate, and proved himself their sincere friend. As they were embarking, to cross the Nile to Cairo, he received a kick from his horse, which obliged him to return to his house, and keep his room for several days, which incapacitated him from supporting the claims of the Beys in the conferences to which he would otherwise have been a party; and deprived Lord Cavan of the assistance of a man who knew the circumstances of the case thoroughly, and who, endowed with a strong mind, would have been extremely useful to his Lordship at this particular juncture.

“ Osman Bey Perdicci, Mohammed Elfy Bey, and Achmet Bey, who had escaped from the massacre of their comrades, arrived from Alexandria two days after Lord Cavan, and encamped with their Mamelukes to the north of Gizeh, near the gate of Embaba.

“ On the 23rd of January the Beys began to perceive how little they ought to reckon on a happy issue to their affairs; on the contrary, they saw the ascendancy the Vizier had obtained, and were fully assured of the ultimate result of the deliberations in progress in an interview which Lord Cavan had with Ibrahim, who shortly afterwards called a meeting of his brethren, when they took the resolution of withdrawing themselves to Upper Egypt.

“ General Stuart was very much irritated at what he found was going on, and sent word to Lord Cavan, that since things had taken so adverse a turn, he felt it his duty, as a man of honour, to inform the Beys, so that they might make their arrangements in order to prevent surprise or capture; but they were already decided, and (as Colonel

Ramsay had anticipated) they began to move immediately, and pitched their tents in the first instance close to the Pyramids.

“ Never was man more affected than General Stuart was at this unexpected turn of affairs—we had given up the men who up to that moment had afforded the most powerful assistance to the army, to whom the protection of the English Government was pledged, and who naturally thought themselves entitled to claim it. What motive could have induced the English commission to act thus, it is impossible for me to know, but this I can safely say, that the hopes of the Beys and Mamelukes were most cruelly disappointed. There can be no doubt that Mr. Stretton had positive instructions from his Government, which must have been grossly deceived as to the actual state of affairs: to this conclusion I am the more readily drawn by the fact, that at a subsequent period, attempts were made on the part of the English authorities to renew the conferences in favour of the Beys, which, as the Turks had carried their point, were made in vain.

“ All the garrison of Gizeh,” continues the Count, “ sympathised in the regret of the General, and we saw these brave fellows preparing to leave us with sincere regret. Nothing could be more moving than our separation; ever since October we had constantly lived with them upon terms of the most perfect sociability. How great is the superiority of the Mamelukes over the Turks!—candid, faithful, generous, and brave, they were popular with all of us. We looked upon them, if I may be allowed the expression, as fellow countrymen—it may easily be imagined how much we lamented their departure.

“ Before they went, Selim Bey came to take leave of Colonel Ramsay, and to make his acknowledgment for all the kindnesses the Colonel had bestowed upon him and his,

which, with tears in his eyes, he assured him he should never forget. He begged the Colonel to accept as a small token of his friendship a gold Roman coin, which had been in his possession for a long time—‘Keep it,’ said he, ‘keep it in remembrance of one who owes you everything; it is the only thing in the world I have left which is at all worthy of your acceptance.’

“ In the evening Colonel Ramsay returned his visit, and found him seated under a tree surrounded by his Mamelukes; the Turks had not left him a single tent. He was still suffering from the effects of the illness with which, it will be remembered, he was afflicted when he first arrived at Gizeh, but his spirits had rallied since he thought he saw a probability of revenging himself upon his cruel enemies. The Colonel gladly took this opportunity of making him a present, which he knew would be agreeable to him; he ordered a dozen tents to be sent to him immediately, of which he begged his acceptance.

“ The Beys fled, and before their departure, announced to General Stuart, that since they found they were abandoned by Lord Cavan, they felt themselves entirely free to act as they pleased; but in order to show their respect to the English, they would not commence operations against the Turks until after they had reached Syout; that they would not even halt till they arrived at that place, but that if the Turks harassed them on their way thither, they should repel force by force.”

This extract contains a detail of circumstances, probably not known at the time either to Lord Cavan or General Baird; certainly we find no mention made in any official letters of more than the fact, that the Beys withdrew themselves from Gizeh on the night of the 24th, and that they had esta-

blished themselves in force, amounting to about four thousand Mamelukes, near Bemsouef.

As soon as their flight was made known to the Vizier, his Highness requested the aid of a British force to pursue them ; but to this request, neither Lord Cavan nor Mr. Stretton thought themselves at liberty to accede. The Vizier then suggested, that a body of Turkish troops might be admitted into Gizeh, or that the English should evacuate it altogether ; both of these propositions were also rejected, on the ground that it would not be advisable to mix the British and Turkish troops together in so small a garrison ; and that the evacuation of it was wholly out of the question, as it was the principal *depôt* for the English stores of every description.

After Lord Cavan and Mr. Stretton quitted Gizeh, the Vizier made a similar application to General Baird, who, after consulting Lord Cavan, returned an answer to a similar effect with those which his Highness had already received upon the same subject.*

Up to the middle of February, it appears that no collision had actually taken place between the Beys and the Turks, although it was impossible to say how soon hostilities might break out. General Baird's anxiety and hope were, that he might be able to quit the country without being forced into taking part with either side ; indeed, it would have been scarcely

* It seems that Lord Cavan, although he refused to deliver up Gizeh to the Grand Vizier, did actually restore Fort Ibrahim to him.

possible for him to have acted in opposition to the Mamelukes, who had conducted themselves so admirably.

The treatment these people met with, we must admit, reflects no great credit on our national character. Lord Cavan clearly had no option left, after Mr. Stretton arrived with positive instructions for his conduct in the negotiations; but it is curious to find his Lordship, having taken the trouble to go to Cairo, so readily acquiescing in the proposed arrangements, while in his letter we find a fervent, and of course, sincere expression of hopes, that "no political object might interfere with the safety and protection of the Mamelukes."

Shortly after this, the Turks appear to have made an insurrectionary attack upon Gizeh, which was easily quelled. General Stuart quitted it on the 28th of January, Lord Cavan on the 30th, and both returned to Alexandria; and very soon after, the Grand Vizier himself prepared to leave Cairo, the Porte having appointed his successor, Mohammed Yousouf Pacha, with the rank and character of Viceroy. This personage arrived at Cairo, in February, and the Vizier immediately encamped his army outside of Cairo, and gave orders for it to hold itself in readiness to march.*

* Count de Noé mentions a circumstance which exhibits in a striking point of view the scrupulous honour of the Beys, and the rigid honesty of the inferior Arabs. Sir William Burroughs, formerly Advocate-General in Bengal, (created a baronet December 1st, 1801,) arrived at Gizeh about the

It does not fall within our province in this narrative, to pursue minutely the history of the conflicts

end of March, having travelled from India by the route which General Baïrd's army had taken. When he embarked on the Nile at Ghennah, his servant left behind him in the house where they were lodged, a small case, or box, which contained jewels, trinkets, money, bills, and other valuable articles; the lock had been injured, and it might be opened without any difficulty, and unluckily the servant did not discover its loss until they had proceeded a considerable distance down the river.

When Sir William reached Gizeh, he mentioned the circumstance to Colonel Ramsay, and begged him to interest himself in the matter with Ibrahim and Selim Bey; the Colonel immediately wrote and despatched his letter by a courier, not without some uneasiness for his safety in a time of such commotion in the country. Nevertheless, before that letter could reach its destination, the Sheik of Ghennah, to whom the box had been delivered, gave notice of it to Ibrahim, who immediately ordered the son of one of the Bedouin chiefs to proceed to Cairo by the desert (to avoid the Turks), and to carry the box to Colonel Ramsay, to whom he wrote, expressing the pleasure he felt, in having it in his power to do anything by which he might prove his gratitude for the favour and kindness with which he had been loaded. "I received the casket," says Count de Noé, "by the Colonel's orders, and although it was open, and the lid only fastened by a string sealed with Ibrahim's seal, it proved, according to the inventory left in my hands by Sir William Burroughs, that nothing whatever was missing."

"The Arab required a receipt which should set forth that the box had been delivered in the state in which it was sent, and an answer to the letter of Ibrahim Bey, both of which Colonel Ramsay gave him, and moreover offered him a reward for himself; this the Arab refused, because, as he told us, Ibrahim had strictly prohibited his receiving any." — *Expedition, &c.* p. 253, 254.

between the Turks and the Beys any farther, although the details are particularly interesting. They continued for a considerable time a desultory warfare with the Turks, and having subsequently accumulated a considerable force, defeated them in many engagements, and, if the English had not interfered, would have exterminated them in Upper Egypt altogether.

After this, an armistice was agreed upon between them, and in that interval the Turks, utterly regardless of the pacific engagement they had entered into, formed the design of surprising the camp of the Mamelukes by night, and putting every man of them to the sword. This barbarous plot, however, was discovered to the Mamelukes by an Arab, and when the night closed in, they quietly left the camp and posted themselves in ambuscade at some little distance from it.

When the Turks arrived and found the camp deserted, they betook themselves to plunder, and in the midst of the confusion which naturally ensued, the Mamelukes fell upon them and destroyed upwards of two thousand of them. In addition to this mishap, it seems that eight thousand Albanians, who were sent to Fiume to oppose the Mamelukes, deserted to them, and that in consequence of this reinforcement they resolved to quit Upper Egypt and form a junction with the British troops still at Alexandria. In this design they were successfully opposed by the Grand Vizier, and were subsequently made to understand that they were to expect no

assistance from the English, whose only object was to bring the Porte to terms with them by amicable means.

Subsequently, the Beys advanced to Gizeh, where they encamped in great force, and the Albanians at the same time (1803) took possession of Rosetta; they afterwards were joined by the Arnauts, who were in a state of rebellion, and the combined armies under the command of Ibrahim Bey, entirely defeated the Turks, and left several thousand of their troops dead on the field. Eventually, they became masters of the whole of Lower Egypt, and finally entered into a negotiation with the Porte declaring their readiness still to acknowledge her Sovereignty, provided the Grand Seignior engaged not to encourage or admit a French force in the country.

It is quite clear, that it must be considered an extremely fortunate circumstance that the Beys and Mamelukes thought proper to act independently of the English at the conclusion of Lord Cavan's and Mr. Stretton's negotiations; for the step they at that period spontaneously took, at once relieved the British Generals from any responsibility, not only as regarded present events, but as related to future circumstances.

CHAPTER II.

DESPATCHES FROM LORD WELLESLEY—EXPEDITION TO BATAVIA AND MAURITIUS ABANDONED—GENERAL BAIRD SOLICITED TO RETURN TO INDIA AS SOON AS POSSIBLE—SIR HOME POPHAM APPOINTED POLITICAL COMMISSIONER IN THE RED SEA—HIS ARRIVAL—GENERAL BAIRD'S DISTRESS FOR MONEY—APPLICATION FOR ASSISTANCE TO LORD CAVAN REFUSED—DRAWS BILLS ON THE EAST INDIA COMPANY—LETTER OF THE PACHA OF EGYPT—ACCOUNT OF THE SIGNING OF THE DEFINITIVE TREATY—EVACUATION OF EGYPT—LETTER OF LORD HOBART TO GENERAL FOX—MOVEMENTS CONSEQUENT UPON ITS RECEIPT—SUGGESTIONS OF GENERAL BAIRD—PURCHASE OF HORSES—DEPARTURE FROM ALEXANDRIA—GIZEH—VISIT TO THE PACHA—THE PACHA'S VISIT IN RETURN—THE DESERT—ARRIVAL AT SUEZ—APPEARANCE OF THE PLAGUE—GREAT ACTIVITY OF SIR HOME POPHAM—LETTER TO HIM—LETTER TO LORD CAVAN—GENERAL BAIRD SAILS IN HIS MAJESTY'S SHIP VICTOR FROM SUEZ—ARRIVAL AT KOSSEIR—MOCHA—MADRAS ROADS—DEPARTURE FOR CALCUTTA.

ABOUT this time General Baird received a despatch from the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, dated the 17th of October, 1801, in which his Lordship expresses his entire approbation of the activity, zeal, and judgment manifested in the various arrangements which General Baird had adopted, for concentrating the army under his command at Kosseir, and for supplying it with the means of advancing into Egypt. His negotiations with the Sheriff of

Mecca, Lord Wellesley was also pleased to approve, and to express his opinion that they had had the desired effect of influencing the disposition of that chief in favour of British Interests.

Lord Wellesley continues :—

I received with particular pleasure the details of the activity, perseverance, military skill and judgment, which enabled the army under your command to surmount the difficulties which opposed its march through the desert from Kosseir to Ghennah.

Lord Wellesley, in the course of this despatch, apprises General Baird of the reasons which induced him to withhold the reinforcements which his Excellency had at first intended for the army. The difficulty of proceeding up the Red Sea at the earliest period of time at which those reinforcements could have embarked, would have prevented their arrival at any point whence they could have proceeded to join the General, until he had made considerable progress in Egypt; and the hazard and difficulty of forming a junction, would have been proportioned to the delay in their arrival, and to the extent of the distance by which they were separated from the advanced part of the army.

Aware, as Lord Wellesley was, of the recent glorious victory of the British army in Egypt, (of which his Lordship had received intelligence,) and in anticipation of entire success in that quarter, his Excellency considered the troops who were with General Baird, fully adequate to the purposes which had

been mentioned by General Hutchinson ; while at the same time, the troubled aspect of affairs in India rendered it extremely imprudent to diminish the military force there. However convincing and satisfactory to General Baird, Lord Wellesley's reasons for not having increased the force under his command might have been, (and as events had turned out, they could not fail to be so, since even the troops who had actually arrived in Egypt had not themselves been called into action ; and since the augmentation would only have increased the charges and difficulties of conveying them back to India ;) there was yet part of the despatch which greatly annoyed and disturbed the General.

Lord Wellesley announced to him, with regard to the ulterior object to be gained by increasing his force, namely, that of proceeding with the army on its return from Egypt direct, to the attack of Batavia or Mauritius, that the great change in public affairs operated by the events which had occurred since the General's departure, together with other considerations connected with the internal state of India, had determined his Excellency to relinquish altogether the intention of carrying into effect both or either of those enterprises.

In consequence of this resolution, it was the Marquess Wellesley's wish, that when the services of General Baird's army should no longer be required in Egypt, or under any other circumstances which might leave the General at liberty to proceed under his former instructions to the attack of either

of those places, he should, instead of doing so, return with the troops, or at least such portion of them as it might not be considered necessary to leave in Egypt, to the nearest port in India.

This was a severe blow upon General Baird, who saw in this decision of the Governor-General, the overthrow of his hopes of service ; however, it was impossible not to admit the prudence of Lord Wellesley's decision, more especially as his Excellency had made application for a reinforcement of troops to the government of the Cape of Good Hope, and had received for answer a statement that it was quite impossible to diminish the garrison of that colony.

Lord Wellesley speaks in terms of high satisfaction at having opened a communication with Sir Home Popham, whose clear and perspicuous details of service connected with the Red Sea, had afforded his Excellency an opportunity of making arrangements, calculated not only to accelerate the movements of the army in its return, but to secure the British interests in that quarter ; and in consequence of the impression made upon his Excellency by the talents and activity of Sir Home, he had confided to that officer the regulation and superintendence of the naval service connected with the expedition.

Lord Wellesley at the same time had invested Sir Home Popham, under the sanction of the Secret Committee of East India directors, with a political commission, for the purpose of negotiating the terms of a permanent alliance and connection between the East India Company and the Arab chieftains occu-

pying the shores of the Red Sea, which negotiation was to provide for any arrangement with the Sheriff of Mecca, whose alliance and co-operation, it may be recollected, General Baird was so anxious to secure.

In consequence of issuing this commission to Sir Home Popham, and of confiding to him the exclusive charge of all political concerns in the Red Sea, Lord Wellesley sent instructions to the Bombay Government to abolish the office of political commissioner there, which had up to that period been held by Colonel Murray; but in order to mark to that officer a just sense of his valuable services, his Excellency directed General Baird to convey to him his entire approbation of his public conduct, and to state to him that the abolition of his office had been resolved upon, merely with a view of uniting all the powers necessary for negotiating with the Arab chiefs, in the hands of the one individual, specially appointed for the purpose by the Secret Committee.

In order to facilitate the proceedings of Sir Home Popham in his diplomatic capacity, Lord Wellesley directed Mehedy Aly Khan to place himself under Sir Home's orders.

Lord Wellesley proceeds in his despatch, to inform General Baird, that the same intelligence, and the same views formed upon receiving it, which had induced him to withhold any further reinforcement of troops, had also led him to issue orders to stop the supply of any more provisions; and then his Lordship continues :—

I entirely approve all the appointments which you have notified in your several despatches; you have anticipated my wishes, in modifying those appointments in such a manner, as to prevent their interfering with the arrangements of his Royal Highness the Commander-in-chief, with relation to the officers who arrived in the Red Sea with Sir Home Popham.

I am satisfied that you have observed the utmost degree of economy in your expenditure, consistently with the exigencies of the public service; and I have no doubt, that you will continue to pay the same attention which you have hitherto given to that subject.

Lord Wellesley then goes on to suggest, that it would be highly advantageous to the public service in India, if those of His Majesty's regiments on the Indian establishments, which were under General Baird's command, could, during their stay in Egypt, be completed to the regulation strength, by drafts from the regiments which had been sent from England; and his Excellency desires General Baird to communicate his wishes to General Hutchinson (whom he still supposes to be there in command) on the subject, and through him to his Royal Highness the Duke of York; and after some further details of minor importance, the Governor-General thus concludes:—

I cannot close this despatch without renewing to you the assurance of my most cordial approbation of the manner in which you have executed the most important service for which I selected you. I consider your conduct in Egypt to have added to the honour which you had justly acquired by your brilliant services in Mysore; and I antici-

pate, with confidence, the assistance which General Hutchinson will derive from the co-operation of your talents, zeal, and experience, if any exigency should demand your further active service in Egypt.—Your return to India however at the earliest period of time will be highly acceptable to me.

In a subsequent despatch from the Governor-General, dated Lucknow, February 8th, 1802, the following passages occur ; his Lordship says :—

The appointments specified in the 5th, 6th, 7th, and 8th paragraphs of your letter of the 27th of August, appear to me to have been perfectly proper.

I consider it to be my duty upon this occasion, to express to you the high sense which I entertain of the zeal, fortitude, and ability which have distinguished your conduct in the execution of the arduous duties committed to your charge, since you have held the important command of that part of the army of India, destined to co-operate in the expulsion of the French from Egypt. The successful march of the army under your command through Upper Egypt, under circumstances of extraordinary difficulty, embarrassment, and danger, is to be ascribed principally to your prudence and perseverance, aided by the approved skill and determined spirit of your officers, and by the discipline and firmness of your troops.

It will afford me the highest satisfaction to submit to His Majesty's ministers, and to the honourable the Court of Directors, my cordial approbation of your eminent merits and services, and those of your officers and men, on the late important service.

Although the rapid progress of the British arms under the able conduct of the late Lieutenant-General Sir Ralph Abercromby, and of Lieutenant-General Sir John Hut-

chinson, precluded the troops under your command from participating in the glory of those operations which terminated in the conquest of Egypt, you omitted no exertion to render your approach useful to the common cause ; and if the course of events had required your exertions, and those of the army of India in the field, I am confident that your conduct, and that of your army, would have been correspondent to the character which you have acquired in this quarter of the globe, and to the renown of the British arms in India.

I desire you to consider this despatch as a public record of my thanks to you, and to your army, for your services in the execution of my orders, and you will be pleased to make such notification of these sentiments as you may think proper, to the officers and troops under your command.

Higher testimonials than these could not well be received by man ; and they were the more gratifying coming from Lord Wellesley, as it so happens, that in all his Excellency's despatches to England after the capture of Seringapatam, the name of General Baird does not once appear ; a fact rendered more striking, because General Harris has observed a similar silence in all the despatches which *he* addressed to the Governor-General. We might, perhaps, rather say, that the silence of the Governor-General upon the conduct of General Baird arose from the apparently studied omission of his name in all the documents upon which his Excellency had to form an opinion of the various merits of the officers concerned in that brilliant affair.*

* It is not our province to assign motives or arraign intentions, more especially as years have passed since the occurrence

Amongst other difficulties which General Baird had now to encounter, the want of money was by no means the least serious. In consequence of the delay in Sir Home Popham's arrival from India, he had been obliged to raise 450,000 piasters, equal to

of the events here recorded, and the gallant object of our care and affection is gone to a place where neither malice can assail nor envy thwart him; but it is a curious circumstance that in nothing communicated by General Harris to Lord Wellesley, except general orders, mention is made of General Baird personally; nor, as we have observed in the text, does Lord Wellesley name him in any despatch to England; nor does General Harris speak of him in his despatch to the Directors of the East India Company; so that, for all that could be understood in England, it would seem that General Harris, who was in camp at a distance from the scene of action, had himself performed some active and personal feat of bravery in the capture of Seringapatam. But (which is still more remarkable) when the thanks of the Court of Proprietors was voted to the captors of Seringapatam, an amendment, which included General Baird's name, was over-ruled, and a general compliment to the storming party substituted.

The motion proposed was this:—"It appearing to the satisfaction of this Court, from the documents which have been read, that on the 4th of May 1799, when the British forces took by assault the fortress and city of Seringapatam, they were crowded with a strong garrison and numerous inhabitants, their property in flames from the fire of our numerous artillery, and the whole subject to the dreadful calamity and confusion peculiar to a military assault, by which the lives and property of the garrison became the liable forfeit of resistance; and that Major-General Baird, who so judiciously commanded the storming party, in the moment of success, promptly and happily adopted measures and arrangements which prevented the farther effusion of blood, and the farther destruction of property,

50,000 Dutch ducats, which he obtained through Lord Elgin's agent at Constantinople, for which amount he gave bills, upon his own personal responsibility, and desired that gentleman (Mr. Tooke) to negotiate them, either on the Court of Directors or the Supreme Government of India ; and although it was not according to the strict regulations of the Company to address them in their corporate capacity in London except through their Governments

protected the families of the fallen Sultaun in the palace, and restored general order and tranquillity :

“ That the thanks of the East India Company, in this Court especially assembled, for the purpose of considering the nature and importance of the late acquisition of Seringapatam and its dependencies, are particularly due to Major-General David Baird and the officers of the storming party under his command, for their exemplary and brilliant display of British humanity and military discipline, at once most honourable to their duty and to their feelings as men, and highly characteristic of the only principles by which the East India Company have uniformly marked and endeavoured to govern the nation of India, now so conspicuously distinguishing the final success of the expedition ; and that the chairman be requested to communicate the thanks of this Court to Major-General Baird accordingly.”

To this motion an objection was made, to which we must confess a considerable portion of it, renders it somewhat obnoxious—that of being a disquisition instead of a resolution. Add to this, the extraordinary exemplification of a desirable mode of governing native princes, in the capture of Seringapatam, and the annihilation of its sovereign, and we need not be very much surprised that the particular resolution was negatived. Its proposition, however, seems to shew that a strong feeling did exist amongst the Proprietors upon the point ;

in India, the General, pressed by the urgency of the case, announced to the Honourable Court direct, the measure he had felt himself justified in adopting.

At this period the weather in Egypt became so immoderately cold as not only to destroy the comforts of the native troops in the army, but seriously to endanger their lives. General Baird found it necessary to equip them with bedding and warm clothing, even to great-coats, and to increase their provisions. In order to strengthen the women and followers and servants, and to enable them to withstand the apparently anomalous attacks of the inclement weather and the contagion of the plague, they were put upon the same allowance as the sepoy, and their children upon half rations. These increased charges were, it is quite clear, inevitable, but the embarrassment they caused may be easily understood, when the reader is told, that on the arrival of the long-expected Sir Home Popham at Suez, it was found

although from the inefficiency of the mover and the tediousness of his motion, the point was not carried. The annexed resolution was however added to the general thanks.

“ And especially for the exemplary humanity displayed by the assaulting party, under circumstances which reflect equal honour on their discipline, valour, and exalted generosity.”

If the reader will compare this resolution with the description of the state in which Seringapatam actually was, in the hands of the storming party, until General Baird personally interfered, with his accustomed firmness and resolution, to check the plunder and destruction which were going forward, the judiciousness of leaving out *his* name, and thanking the party *generally*, will be tolerably well ascertained and duly appreciated.