

suggest ; three girths and surcingle, but no crupper nor breastplate. Everything as good and strong as possible. A bill-hook, or "Milton hatchet," should be attached. The saddle-bag should be of thick felt, dark colour, and of size to come under the saddle-bags. The bridle should have the field-collar and head-stall in one, with bit not too heavy or broad, but suited for Arab horses. The reins to be no thicker than those of an ordinary military bridle—a stiff rein is a great defect.

The object in view is to find the best pattern of horse gear for real service. Everything superfluous should, therefore, be removed ; while everything really useful should be retained or added. We want as little weight as possible consistent with a *full degree* of *strength* and durability. Bearing these requisites in mind, oblige me by the aid of your skill and experience, and turn me out a saddle with its appurtenances as seems best to you.

MEMORANDA ON RIFLES IN THEIR APPLICATION TO THE PURPOSES OF WAR ; AND ON RIFLE PRACTICE.

Memorandum, No. I.

Man has been called a tool-making animal ; and it is certain that the perfection of tools and machinery is a clear and certain mark of advancing civilization, of the progress of the rule of mind over matter, of the development and operation of those laws by which the working of the human brain makes the force of one civilized man equal that of the stalwart limbs of thousands, or even millions of untaught and ignorant barbarians.

In no country on earth has this been more apparent than in England; to no people on earth have the tools and machinery of the arts been of more importance than to the English.

It was said, and truly said, by one of the greatest of modern statesmen, that it was the spinning machinery of Arkwright which enabled England so long to stand alone, and to stand successfully, against the world in arms.

If such be the value of the tools employed in the arts of peace, those used in war must be even of greater importance. On success in war often depends the power to follow peaceful pursuits; on the high state of the art of war the practice of all other arts may depend.

The military art, like all others, can only approach towards perfection by the use of the most perfect tools and machinery attainable.

Yet, notwithstanding this certain truth, it is notorious that the inferiority of the arms used by modern English soldiers was, for long, a disgrace to the intelligence of the age, and an outrage on common sense, when compared with the high state of perfection to which the manufacture of arms, as of all other tools and machinery, has been brought in England.

Impressed with the importance of the subject to the policy of nations, and having been a diligent amateur mechanic since childhood, I have, for twenty-five years past, paid much attention to the improvement of rifled FIRE-ARMS, with which I have, during the last ten years, been carrying on a great variety of

experiments, on a scale probably almost unequalled, even by public bodies, elsewhere.

The result of these experiments I have, from time to time, freely communicated to Government; in doing so I had no thought whatever of honour or reward of any kind, and in truth I have received but little encouragement from authority. In placing at the disposal of Government the knowledge which I have acquired with great labour and expense, I have been actuated solely by the wish of being useful to my country, and thought that I was doing my duty to the public in making known what might prove of the highest importance to the success of our arms in war.

I have prepared a pattern rifle for the army (specimens of which have been given to Government) lighter, far more handy and convenient in every way, than the rifles hitherto in use, of 24-gauge bore only (that is, the spherical ball of which weighs twenty-four to the pound), with which a tolerably good shot can certainly strike an object the size of a man, once out of three times, at a thousand yards distance, and of which the full effective range is above 2,000 yards—the ball, at that range, still flying with deadly velocity. These rifles, proposed for the army, I have only sighted up to 1,800 yards, but the sights could easily be adjusted for longer ranges if necessary.

The charge of powder used has been small—two drachms only for a ball weighing one and three quarter ounces; but this is sufficient. Further experiments have shown that the 32-gauge bore is better than the 24, the ball not being reduced in weight, but made somewhat longer.

The description of my proposed pattern rifle for the army* is as follows: single barrel, thirty inches long, very stout near the breech, 24-gauge, four-grooved; grooves to take one complete turn in thirty inches of length, patent breech, good locks, main-spring connected with tumbler by link, half-cock little above nipple, trap in butt; full-stock barrel attached to stock by bands secured with spring catches; steel ramrod with deep hollow head, so as not to press on the shell tubes in loading; sword bayonet twenty-four inches long, of the best cast steel; case-hardened iron mountings, and no brass or bright metal anywhere about the piece; folding sight six inches long, with slide, both the sight itself and its slide to be made with springs, to prevent their working loose. Weight of the whole, with sword included, about ten and a half pounds.

The above makes a very beautiful and wonderfully effective weapon; but the short double barrel was afterwards found to be much better.

I have other pieces of the same calibre (24-gauge), but made a little heavier, which make excellent practice at a range of 2,000 yards, the balls at that distance penetrating about four inches into very hard dry sun-burnt brick; that is, having sufficient force to go through two or more men. Regular practice at a further range than 2,000 yards I have not yet tried; but from what I have seen of the effect at that distance, I am convinced that with these balls, which I am now using, a moderately light and perfectly

*For the best description of army rifle determined on (after continued experiments) in 1856, *vide* paper at the end of these memoranda.

handy rifle may be made to possess as much effectual power at a distance of 3,000 yards as the old two-grooved rifle with the round ball at 300.

A double 24-gauge rifle of mine, by Manton, twenty-four inches long, with iron-pointed balls two and a half diameters long, and with two and a half drachms of powder, requires a sight four and a half inches high for 2,000 yards, the distance of sight from muzzle being nineteen inches. The other elevations may be judged of from this.

The experiments by which these results have been arrived at extend over a long series of years, but they may be shortly summed up; and only during the last ten years have I had the means and opportunity of carrying them on upon a scale sufficiently large.

I have up to this time had some fifty or more rifles made, of all sorts and descriptions, while the cost of target walls alone, used in the course of these experiments, amounts to several hundred pounds, and powder and lead have been expended by the ton.

Our rifle practice-ground at Jacobabad is the best possible, being the perfectly-smooth dead level plain of the desert; the line of targets stretching away in front of the lines of the Sind Irregular Horse.

These targets are walls of "kutchā" (sun-dried) brick, which here attains nearly to the hardness of stone.

There is a small building, open to the front, for the accommodation of the shooters, and at accurately measured distances from this, the walls are erected at 100, 200, 300, 400, 500, 600, 800, 1,000, 1,200, 1,400, 1,600, 1,800, and 2,000 yards. The 2,000 yard

wall is forty feet high, fifty feet long, and three feet thick with supporting wing-walls and counterforts, plastered and whitewashed on the face; and others are of similar construction, and of size proportionate to their distances: all are marked with circular black bulls'-eyes, of one inch radius for each hundred yards, and raised one foot from the ground for each hundred yards of range.

The shooting-shed contains various heavy carriages or rests, with horizontal and vertical screw adjustments, in which rifles can be fixed for trial and fired, instead of from the shoulder. These carriages do not, however, improve the practice, as will be shown hereafter.

The rifles which have been here used are of all calibres, from the single 8-gauge of fifteen pounds weight, throwing a ball of near four ounces, to a double 32-gauge, weighing six pounds.

Such are the arms (described at greater length in the following memoranda) with which I would propose to arm the British soldier. Their use implies skilful workmen in our ranks, instead of pipeclayed automatons. It implies, further, an entire change in our tactics, so as to give full scope not only to the bodily, but to the high moral and intellectual powers of our men.

English soldiers so armed and developed would overpower and destroy any number of mere masses of semi-barbarous or ordinary enemies. With open files and ranks, each man a skilful single combatant, but still all acting in perfect concert (as would be easy with such brave, trusty, intelligent, and skilful men), they would sweep their enemies from the earth, them-

selves almost unseen ; while a single discharge from a company at 1,000 yards' distance would annihilate the best field battery now existing.

With such infantry, so armed, our artillery must be abolished, or *improved*. And cavalry would be of little value against them.

Memorandum, No. II.

Our proceedings at Jacobabad with the apparatus described in the foregoing memorandum, up to the commencement of 1854, are set forth in the following memoranda.

It was very early in these trials discovered that the two-grooved rifle has defects which render it quite unfit for the army.

If its ball be made to fit loosely, it is at liberty to roll in the direction of its two grooves, and thus the advantage of rifling the piece is, in some measure, thrown away.

If the ball be made to fit tightly, the difficulty of loading becomes a most serious evil. The two-grooved rifle was therefore, after trial, rejected.

The four-grooved rifle, with the ball with two bands round it (No. 1 of Plate 1) was then tried, and found to be wholly free from the defects of the two-grooved and polygrooved rifles. Other shaped balls were also tried ; but, as their use has been superseded by others of a better shape, it is not thought necessary to describe them.

The two bands gave such a firm hold on the grooves of the barrel that, though the ball was made so loose as to drop into the barrel, and the twist of the rifle's

grooves was more than usual, the ball always followed the sweep of the grooves exactly; the gun was more easy to load than even a common smooth bored musket, while in accuracy of performance the piece was surpassed by none. The balls provided for the two-grooved rifle, or the common musket ball cartridge, could be used for it on emergency, if necessary; and the piece seemed to have such important advantages for military purposes over the rifles in use in the army, that the results of the experiments, &c., were, in the year 1846, placed freely at the disposal of the Indian Government.

But the proposed four-grooved rifle was rejected by authority, for the reason that the two-grooved rifle, which was thought good enough for the Royal army, was good enough for the soldiers in India.

The best nature of *gun* being now established, experiments were continued to determine the best shaped ball.

All manner of forms were tried, until, after a series of experiments carried on diligently for many years, the conical ball (No. 2 of Plate 1) proved *very greatly* superior to all other shapes thought of up to that time. The round ball was found of little use after 300 yards. This conical ball, though heavier than the round ball of the same calibre in the proportion of three to two, required a charge of powder in the inverse proportion of these weights; that is to say, the charge of the round ball being three drachms, that for the conical ball, with the same range and elevation, was but two drachms.

All manner of rifles were tried, both breech and

muzzle loading, of every length, weight, &c., of various twists to the grooves, and of various calibres from 32 to 8-gauge.

The conical ball (No. 2) for a long time held its ground against all others; its advantages were overpowering, and excellent practice was made with it at 600 and even 800 yards.

The experiments had reached this point long before the Minié ball appeared; but immediately that invention was known, great things were expected of it, and it was tried in the fairest manner, and on a large scale.

The original Minié ball with iron cup is shown in figure No. 3.

After long and patient trials, for months together, it was found to *fail completely*.

Under the most favourable circumstances, it never equalled, or even approached to, the excellence of the conical ball (No. 2); and it was liable to the enormous defect of having the iron cup blown through the ball, the resulting tube of lead not unfrequently remaining firmly and most immoveably fixed in the barrel.

The ball had another great defect: it was cast from the foremost end, so that the roughness left by the ingate of the mould, defects of air-holes, &c., must occur *where the form of the ball was required to be most perfect*.

The Minié ball, to our great disappointment, was then condemned; but others, with modifications of the expansion principle, were then largely tried, of all manner of shapes. That shown by Figure No. 4 was the most promising; it was made with projections to

fit the grooves, so that its hold on the rifles was not dependent on the expansion only; it was cast at the hinder end; the conical forepart gave it great advantages in getting through the air; while the hole in the hinder part was reduced in depth, so as to avoid, as it was hoped, the chance of its being blown into a tube.

Still this "improved" Minié ball proved on trial no way superior to the ball No. 2; while, though no iron cups were used, still the balls occasionally were blown into tubes, and thus often rendered the gun unserviceable for the time.

Figure No. 5 was then tried; and this succeeded well, having apparently some small advantage over the conical ball, No. 2.

It will be observed, that a perfect and very firm hold on the screw formed by the rifle grooves is given by the projections on the ball, quite independently of the action of the expansion principle; while the conical hollow at the back part of the ball gives sufficient expansion to close all windage when the piece is fired, however loose the ball may be when inserted in loading.

The hold on the grooves of the gun being so great even with the ball quite loose, it was found that the *twist of the rifles could be increased to any extent* required, without the least danger of what is technically termed "stripping;" that is, of the ball being driven through the barrel without following the sweep of the grooves. The rifles were therefore made with the grooves taking one whole turn in thirty inches of length; and this twist was found to answer admirably.

The shape of the ball being found to have such great influence on the resistance of the air to its flight, and the twist of the rifles being found of full power to keep the point of the ball foremost with unerring certainty, even in the longest ranges, the form of the ball was still further studied, till that of Figure No. 6 was finally adopted; and this shape, after hundreds of thousands of experiments, proves to be quite perfect. Some of the results obtained are most curious. For instance: the weights of the balls Nos. 1, 2, and 6 are very nearly in the proportion to each other of the Nos. 2, 3, and 4; but the charges of powder required for them, with the same elevation, are in the *inverse ratio* of their weights;—so much is the resistance of the air reduced by the shape of the ball, that No. 6, being double the weight of No 1, requires only one-half of its charge of powder.

The ball No. 6 is perfectly and accurately effective up to 1,200 yards, and probably to much greater distances. The effect of its shape in overcoming the resistance of the air is so great, that its progressive velocity, after a flight of 1,200 yards, is but very little reduced; and even at 1,400 yards' distance, or further, the percussion shells of this shape burst well.

These percussion rifle shells constitute the *most formidable missile ever invented by man*. They are perfectly simple, and safe in use; and, when properly made, cannot be injured by time, weather, &c.; while they range to the longest distance, with accuracy quite equal to that of the solid balls.

The shell tubes are best made primed only at the points with detonating powder, the remainder being

filled with common gunpowder. These answer admirably; they never burst in the gun; and the comparatively slow ignition of the gunpowder allows the shell to penetrate deeply before bursting, and thereby increases its destructive effect.

The great reduction of the resistance of the air to projectiles of this shape enables us, with the usual initial velocity, to reduce the elevation required for long ranges so much, that the ground between the rifleman and his mark becomes no longer so safe by reason of the high curve of the flight of the projectile; and errors in judging of distance become, in proportion, of less serious importance.

Judging from our practice at Jacobabad, it seems certain that two good riflemen, so armed, could, in ten minutes, annihilate the best field battery of artillery now existing.

The shells are formed as shown in Fig. 1, Plate 2: a copper tube of proper size and shape, filled with percussion powder in the usual way, is thrust into a deep opening cast in the fore end of the ball. The tube is first dipped in melted resin, "kit," or such like cement, so that it cannot ever become loose; the ramrod end is hollow, so as to press wholly on the lead in loading; all other particulars will be apparent from the figure.

The bead form of the hinder end is not required, the simple flat end being found quite sufficient. The solid lead gives way under the pressure of the fired gunpowder quite sufficiently to cause the shell or ball to fit the barrel perfectly air-tight.

It seems evident, that if the arms above described

be supplied to our soldiers, their power would be increased at least four-fold. The army which should first adopt these weapons would thereby obtain an advantage equal to that of the exclusive possession of fire-arms a century ago. One effect of these would be that the whole of our field artillery must become *totally useless*.

The guns must be rifled also! In which case shrapnell shells, of the shape of Fig. No. 6, would be fully effective at distances of 5,000 yards or more.

Nay, from subsequent experiments with my pointed balls, it seems that three times this range may be accomplished with cannon. Good practice has been made at Jacobabad with 8-gauge shells, and with iron pointed balls of like size, at ranges of 2,000 and 2,400 yards. Flat-ended shells with the fore-part as shown in Fig. No. 6 of the Plate, and three diameters in length, are now found to answer admirably for the smaller calibres. The 32-gauge is large enough for anything, and with the shells above-mentioned, and a charge of 2 drachms of powder, a correct range of a mile and more is readily obtainable. The 32-gauge shells may carry the same bursting charge as has been used with the 16-gauge, so that the destructive power of the explosion is as great with the smaller as with the larger shell.

For cannon shot, the hold on the rifle grooves could be given by a wooden bottom (Fig. 2, Plate 2,) formed with proper projections to fit the grooves, and fixed to the shot by a square tenon cast on the latter, and a mortice through the wood. The twist of the grooves might be one-half turn in the length of the

gun, but experiment only can determine the proper proportion.

The exact description of rifle (now, 1857,) recommended for use throughout the army is given in the paper annexed.

The charge of powder mentioned is the quantity of good sporting powder, which is found most convenient. If the musket powder be of less strength, the charge should, of course, be slightly increased in proportion; and probably two and a half drachms may be found to be best.

The annexed table of times of flight, &c., is curious. The initial velocity appears to be but little reduced in the long ranges. The numbers in the table are the mean of hundreds of experiments.

PARTICULARS OF SHELL PRACTICE WITH 8-GAUGE RIFLES.

Jacobabad, 1853-54.

Nature of gun.	GUN.				Range.	Weight of Shell.	Charge of Powder.	Angle of Elevation.	Time of Flight.	Remarks.
	Length of Barrel.	Distances of Sight from Muzzle.	Height of Sight.	Weight.						
Double 8-Gauge Charge. }	20	Inches.	Inches.	lbs. oz.	Yards.	oz. drs.	Drachms	2° 42'	Seconds.	Two guns of this size used, both made by John Manton. The grooves take one whole turn in 34 inches.
			.75		400			3 19	1.89	
			.92		500			3 57	2.3	
			1.1		600			4 40	2.8	
		16	1.3	13 8	700	3 12	2½	5 24	3.25	
			1.5		800			6 7	3.75	
Single 8 Gauge Four-Grooved. }	24	19½	1.7		900			6 50	4.38	Two guns of this size used, both made by John Manton. The grooves take one complete turn in 34 inches.
			1.9		1000			7 33	4.71	
			2.1		1100			8 16	5.2	
			2.3		1200				5.68	
			.85		400			2° 33'	1.32	
			1.03		500			3 5	2.23	
			1.22		600			3 39	2.47	Two guns of this size used, both made by John Manton. The grooves take one complete turn in 34 inches. NOTE.—With a charge of 3 drachms, these guns make excellent practice at 1,600 yards, and shells never fail to burst at that range.
			1.42	14 8	700	3 12	2½	4 15	3.1	
			1.63		800			4 53	3.56	
			1.8		900			5 24	3.96	
			2.1		1000			6 18	4.52	
			2.4		1100			7 12	5.05	
			2.7		1200			8 6	5.61	

Memorandum, No. III.

The foregoing memorandum was forwarded to the military authorities, and a committee of artillery officers was assembled to report on its subject.

This committee conducted its proceedings, no doubt, with the greatest fairness: but, owing possibly in some measure to imperfect explanation on my part, and to other causes not necessary to detail, fell into several mistakes, which rendered the inquiry totally useless for the object in view.

The pattern rifle proposed by me for the army was described in the above memoranda; but at that time I had no rifles of proper pattern for the army ready, and the four-grooved rifle forwarded by me with the paper on the subject was of construction altogether different.

The rifle forwarded was made for me purposely, exactly resembling the two-grooved rifles in use with the army, with all their defects, with the sole exception of its having four grooves instead of two. This piece was made for me many years ago, with the sole object of obviating the difficulty in loading the two-grooved rifle.

All this is set forth in the first part of the above memorandum, and was explained to the military authorities, &c., in 1846, as therein mentioned.

The only trial, then, between this piece and the common two-grooved rifle, which could have been of any practical use, should have been made with round balls, with the one and two bands respectively. It would then have been found that, with the usual tight-fitting balls of the two-grooved rifle, the number

of shots capable of being fired with accuracy in a given time would have been about ten to one in favour of the four-grooved piece.

The circumstance of easy or difficult loading is of the greatest practical importance; the committee, however, did not even allude to it.

Yet, with a view to easy loading alone was the piece forwarded by me made. In making it exactly like the rifles in use, I had this object in view: namely, to show how the great defect of the two-grooved rifles—difficult loading—could be at once obviated, by adding two more grooves to the pieces then in use, and using the two-banded ball.

Two additional grooves could easily have been made in the two-grooved rifles by any ordinary armourer, or even by the soldiers themselves, thus: 'Take a cylindrical piece of hard wood about two inches long, of size to fit the bore of the piece: through this drive a peg, to be left projecting a little at each end to fit into the two grooves of the barrel; at right angles to this, in the wooden cylinder, insert a steel cutter, with its edge of the breadth of the required grooves; screw the ramrod into the wooden cylinder, and thrust it up and down inside the barrel; the pegs give the lead for the twist of the new groove, which must thus be exactly parallel to the old ones. To make the cut of the proper depth, insert pieces of paper, card, or spills of wood, between the cylinder, on the side opposite the cutter, and the barrel. When one groove has been cut thus, take the tool out of the barrel, turn it half round, and cut the other in like manner. I have found this simple method perfectly effective.

Thus the improvement proposed could at once have been adopted into the service, without additional expense.

Easy loading alone was what this piece was intended to effect; in other respects it was neither better nor worse than the rifles then in use in the army. All other improvements referred to the shape of the *ball* only, and of course equally affected both rifles; save that the conical ball No. 2 of the memorandum, or of other such like shapes, cannot be used with effect from the two-grooved barrel, by reason of their being at liberty to lean over to one side in the direction of the grooves, so that the axis of the ball may not coincide with the axis of the gun.

The committee, however, apparently not knowing the object with which the piece was made, nor that it was of old date, seemed to imagine that the four-grooved rifle before them was of the pattern recommended by me, and proceeded to try it against one of the two-grooved rifles, using *the same balls for each*; when of course it was found that the differences between the pieces were merely accidental—such as might have occurred between two individual muskets of similar pattern.

The result, therefore, of the inquiry, was of no practical use whatever; but, on the contrary, with the best possible intention, the proceedings tended only to mislead.

The rifles used were of the old musket bore, and much too light, in proportion to the diameter of their bore, to enable a proper shaped ball to be used with a proper charge of powder; so that no great accuracy

nor penetration at long ranges could be expected; and their practice at 800 yards seems to have been inferior to contemporary practice at Jacobabad (with leaden balls only) at 1,200.

Little practical advantage, indeed, was to be expected from the proceedings of a committee, however ably and honestly composed, unless the members had some previous practical acquaintance with the particular matter in hand, and the proposer of the improved weapons, &c., had been present to explain matters personally.

As an example, the committee fired the rifles "fixed almost immoveably" in a species of carriage; naturally thinking thereby to ensure accuracy of practice.

Experience shows, however, that by far better practice can be made by firing from the shoulder, than by fixing the barrel in any vice or carriage.

It was not long before this was discovered; and numerous trials placed the fact beyond doubt, and led to the discovery of the cause.

I had made several apparently excellent carriages for rifles, very strong and heavy, with screw adjustments, both for altitude and azimuth; yet, to my amazement, no practice nearly equal to that from the shoulder could be made with them.

The reason I discovered by grasping the barrel while being fired. The metal appeared in a state of strong vibration, like the ringing of a bell; and the whole matter was at once accounted for. The vibration was not perceptible to the eye; and the barrel, when examined after firing, appeared to be in the same position as before; but the velocity of its vibration

when fired probably bore considerable ratio to that of fired gunpowder, and necessarily threw the ball quitting its muzzle upwards, downwards, right or left, in an irregular and quite uncertain manner. Take a stiff steel spring, hold it in the hand, and it can be made to vibrate only with great difficulty, or not at all. Screw it fast in a vice, and the least touch makes it vibrate rapidly. In like manner, the gun fired from the shoulder gives way, moves, and alters its position much, probably; but this motion is slow, and does not affect the flight of the ball in a degree approaching to the effect of the rapid *vibrations of the metal itself*; which do not take place when the gun is not fixed immoveably.

This at first seems curious; but however it be, there is no doubt of the fact as stated above. In these experiments by the committee, also, the rifles were laid with a gunner's quadrant; which does not seem to be a workmanlike or effective method for small arms. A long folding sight, with slide, is by far the best method of elevating the piece, whether in actual use in war or for experimental practice.

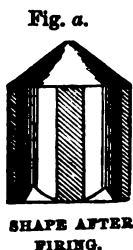
These sights should be made with springs, both to the sight itself and to the slide, to prevent their working loose and falling down of themselves.

Since the date of these proceedings, the experiments at Jacobabad have been continued with a great many new rifles, and with curious and important results; such, that the progress made throws all former proposals for improved balls for rifles for the army in the back-ground.

The ball No. 6 of the foregoing memorandum, there described as of perfect shape, is indeed, so so long as it retains that shape in front. With a charge of powder equal to one-fifteenth of the weight of the ball, or less, these balls, of lead only, performed admirably; so that a good shot could, with them, at a distance of 1,000 yards, put nearly every ball into a circle of four feet radius.

Nothing could have been better as far as it went; but rifles were now procured of heavier metal, in proportion to the bore of 16 and 24 and 32-gauge, and the balls were tried with larger charges; it being supposed that they could be used with advantage with an initial velocity at least equal to that used with the ordinary round ball.

It proved, however, on trial, that such was not the case, and a new law was at once developed. A very slight increase of charge caused the lead to change its shape under the pressure of the gunpowder; so that the balls of the shape of the ball No. 6. when inserted into the barrel, came out in a form resembling the annexed sketch (Fig. a).



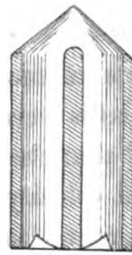
It was in vain attempted to remedy this by lengthening the ball, which was increased to two and a half and three diameters; and by making holes in the after-part, as in the Minié ball. Wads also of all manner of kinds—loose, and attached to the balls in various ways—were employed, but without avail.

The lead was found totally incapable of preserving

any resemblance to its original form (Fig. *b* of the annexed sketch), under the pressure of a charge of powder equal to one-eighth of the weight of the ball. The balls of three diameters in length, from the 24-gauge guns, whose fore-part was shaped as that of the ball No. 6, came out of the rifle in the form shown in Fig. *c*.

Fig. *b*.

SHAPE OF THE FORE PART OF THESE
BALLS BEFORE FIRING.

Fig. *c*.

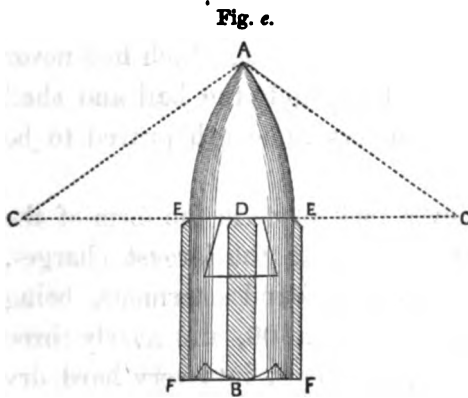
SHAPE AFTER FIRING.

These proved the best of all the lead balls, and ranged, with deadly force and considerable accuracy, up to 1,600 yards, or further; but of course all advantage of the peculiar form adapted to overcome the resistance of the air was lost. Manton's steel points were tried with these balls, but these were worse than the others; the lead was squeezed forward by one side of the point in an irregular manner, as represented in Fig. *d*; the ball assumed this shape, and would not fly truly.

Fig. *d*.

The limit of the powers of leaden balls had thus been attained; and to proceed further it became

necessary to find a method of constructing rifle balls, so that the fore-part should be capable of sustaining the pressure of large charges of fired gunpowder without change of form, and thereby retain that shape best adapted for overcoming the resistance of the air, on which all accurate distance practice depends ; and at the same time having the part of the ball next the powder sufficiently soft and yielding to spread out under its pressure, so as to fill the barrel and grooves perfectly air-tight. This problem was speedily solved ; the fore-part of the ball was cast of zinc, in a separate mould, of the shape of Figs. *e*, *f*.



**RIFLE BALL COMPLETE, WITH THE FOREPART OF
ZINC OR IRON.**



**ZINC OR IRON
POINT.**

$AD = 1\frac{1}{2}$ diameters.

$DB =$ ditto.

$DC = 2$ diameters.

$AC = 2\frac{1}{2}$ ditto.

From *E* to *F* the ball is cylindrical.

From *E* to *A* its sides are defined by arcs of circles described from the centres *C* with the radius *CA*.

Finally, the best shape for ball and shell was found

to be $2\frac{1}{2}$ diameters in length, the cylindrical part being 1 diameter only.

These points were placed in the full-sized mould, and the lead cast on to them, the complete ball being formed as shown in the diagram. Subsequently, the bead form of the large end of the ball and shell was abandoned, and the end is now made quite flat.

I was at first doubtful whether the small specific gravity of the zinc would not prove of disadvantage so great as to overcome the benefit of its hardness: but, on trial, nothing could have proved more perfectly effective.

The 24-gauge balls, of the increased length of two and a half and three diameters, proved admirably effective at ranges up to 2,000 yards, which had never before been attained. Ultimately the ball and shell of two and a half diameters in length proved to be the best.

No change whatever took place in the form of the zinc fore-part of the balls with the largest charges, while their penetration was found enormous, being not less than four inches at 2,000, and nearly three times that depth at 1,000 yards, into very hard dry kutchu brick. At the same time, the accuracy of the flight of these balls was truly wonderful.

It may be here remarked, that in the published reports of the Enfield rifle practice, it is stated that the twist of the rifle grooves throws the ball to the right or left, according as a right or left handed screw may be employed.

This seems to be wholly erroneous: no such effect is observed in my practice. There may be some such

tendency to deviation from such cause, but it must be of small amount, and is not perceptible.

The real facts of the matter seem to be these : considering the person of the rifleman as a cylindrical column, the recoil of a gun fired from the right shoulder is a force acting at a distance from the axis of that column, and therefore tending not only to drive it back, but to run it round on its axis. The muzzle of the gun, therefore, must receive a certain degree of motion to the right hand when fired.

It was found here, in many thousands of trials, that on a calm day the balls of the guns which recoiled with the greatest force, fired from the right shoulder, always deviated to the right hand ; this deviation amounting to about twenty feet at 800 yards.

That the cause of this is correctly assigned above is thus proved. The same gun fired from the *left* shoulder *threw* the ball to the *left*. With the guns recoiling most, such as the 8-gauge rifles, used with a four-ounce ball and three-drachm charge, the deviation was very great ; with the 32-gauge rifles, of which the recoil was slight, this regular deviation did not occur at all. These effects were observed *always* to occur, without any respect whatever to the amount of twist given to the grooves of the rifle. In practice, a perfect remedy was found for this deviation, or for any other similar errors, caused by the action of wind or anything else. When taking aim, leaning the gun over a little to the left perfectly counteracted the deviation to the right ; and by practice the habit is

formed of instinctively adjusting the amount of the lateral inclination thus given to the sight, so as correctly to compensate the error.

Thus the matter stands at present. The limit of the powers of these missiles has, I am certain, not yet even been approached.

The iron points for the balls I now have made by compression from rod-iron; these answer admirably, and are much superior to anything cast.

These points could probably be made wholesale, at such prices that the ammunition could be prepared at no more cost than the common musket cartridges; while the power of the weapon would be about three times that of the best Minié rifles.

A 32-gauge ball of three diameters in length, with this iron point, is perfectly effective up to ranges of 2,500 yards or more. Shells, also, of this size appear to be quite large enough for all ordinary purposes; they take the same sized tubes as those before used for the 16-gauge shells, and never fail. On the whole, I should recommend the 32-gauge bore for general use.

I have tried every expedient I could think of as a substitute for the greased patch for rifle balls, but always had to return to this. Any species of wad, however attached to the ball, retards its flight so much as to render distant practice impossible, whatever may be the initial velocity used.

The best method I am acquainted with of preparing military rifle ammunition is to stitch slightly to the balls patches of thin cotton cloth completely deprived

of starch (or conjee), and then to dip them in melted tallow.

The fore-part of the ball being hard, cannot be injured by any maltreatment by the ramrod, nor by knocking about against each other, and are best carried loose in a pouch ; the powder being in blank cartridges, in a separate partition.

Memorandum, No IV.

For cannon, especially field pieces, similar shot to these found so effective for small arms might be used, perhaps, with advantage, instead of the shot, with wooden bottoms, formerly proposed by me.

The only objection seems to be the cost of the lead ; which, however, would not probably be very great, as the quantity may be much reduced by making the dove-tailed tenon of the iron larger.

Shot, partly of lead, for rifled cannon, have been, I understand, not long ago tried, and found to fail, at Woolwich : but these proposed by me are of entirely different construction, and seem free from the defects of the others.

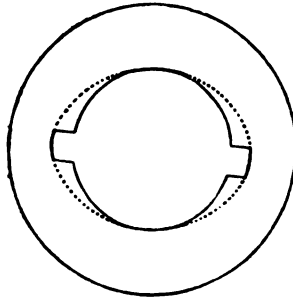
Nothing but actual trial can decide the merits of these things ; and if such trials be made, it should be borne in mind that great weight is essential to the correct performance of rifled cannon. The observations on the vibrations of the barrels of small arms tell here with redoubled force. Strength to resist the bursting force of the powder is by no means sufficient — weight and mass are required ; and, whatever the strength may be, the rifled cannon should not be of

less weight than one hundred and twenty times that of its shot.

Judging from experiments made, as an old artillery officer as well as a rifleman and practical mechanic, I am deliberately of opinion that a four-grooved rifled iron gun, of a bore of four inches in diameter, weighing *not less* than twenty-four hundred weight, could be made to throw shot to a distance of ten miles and more with force and accuracy.

The "Lancaster" guns *must*, I think, fail. The mode of rifling adopted in them is the *very worst possible*. *It is only the two-grooved rifle in disguise*. (See Fig. g.)

Fig. g.



Let the shoulders of the grooves of a two-grooved rifle be removed, as shown by the dotted line in the sketch, and you have the Lancaster rifle.

But by the removal of these shoulders, the friction, if the twist be considerable, becomes *enormous*: the ball and the bore are not quite round, but nearly so; wherefore, as the ball is compelled to follow the twist of the bore, it acts like a "cam," and endeavours to burst the gun; or the dotted part in the sketch

becomes a very acute wedge, which the spiral motion causes to be driven with great force into the bore as the ball is driven out.

The heat developed by the friction must be very great, and the tendency of the gun to burst, or the shell to crush, also very great.

It would be far better than this to use a four-grooved rifle, with projections on the ball, *even of iron*, with a greased leather patch.

One more remark appears requisite.

The twist I now use, and which I find best, is one turn in thirty inches, or, better still, four-fifths of a turn in the length of the barrel.

This I find to maintain the spiral motion of the ball quite up to the last, in the long ranges attained by my rifles; and a rapid spiral motion is necessary to preserve the light end of the ball truly foremost throughout its long flight; which it is perfectly successful in doing.

The grooves should be *full deep, and of breadth equal to that of the lands*; the bands on the balls or shells being made to correspond so as to fit the grooves nicely, but quite easily, with a greased patch round them. It may be well to observe that thin *cotton cloth, well washed to free it from size, &c.*, should be used for patches. This seemingly trifling circumstance is of importance, for the use of improper cloth for patches, or having these imperfectly greased, often causes the time required for loading to be multiplied *tenfold*. The patch should contain *as little substance of cloth*, and *as much grease*, as possible.

For rifled cannon, the iron shot of two and a half diameters long will probably, as for small arms, be found to be the best; the shot might be cast with bands on it to fit the grooves, and be used with a well greased leather patch. This, I feel convinced, would succeed better than any other contrivance of wooden or leaden bottoms, &c.

Cast-iron will probably prove to be best for rifled cannon, they can be so easily made of this material; and the weight required to resist the recoil properly is amply sufficient to ensure adequate strength to resist the largest charges.

[Witton and Daw, 57, Threadneedle Street; Garden, 200, Picadilly, London; and Swinburn, of Birmingham, are all in possession of full information regarding the results of my rifle practice, &c.]

PRACTICE AT JACOBABAD.

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RIFLE PRACTICE AT JACOBABAD.

See Order No.
217 from the
Comd. Post.

By whom Fired.

Remarks.

				SHOT STRUCK DISTANT FROM THE CENTRE, FEET.				By whom Fired.	Remarks.
				Left.	In Bul.	Over.	Under.		
December 24th.	Single. 16 gauge. 30 in. long.	Flat ended Shells. Weight 783 gra.	3 drams.	1	1300	7° 0'	..	Lieut. M. Green.	
				2			..		
				3			..		
				4			..		
				5			..		
				6			..		
				7			..		
				8			..		
				9			..		
				10			..		
	Single. 16 gauge. 30 in. long.	Flat ended Shells. Weight 783 gra.	3 drams.	1	1300	7° 0'	..	Lieut. M. Green.	
				2			..		
				3			..		
				4			..		
				5			..		
				6			..		
				7			..		
				8			..		
				9			..		
				10			..		
	Single. 16 gauge. 30 in. long.	Flat ended Shells. Weight 783 gra.	3 drams.	1	1300	6° 1'	..	Lieut. M. Green.	
				2			..		
				3			..		
				4			..		
				5			..		
				6			..		
				7			..		
				8			..		
				9			..		
				10			..		

REPORT OF RIFLE PRACTICE AT JACOBABAD.

Date.	Description of Rifle.	CHARGE.		Number of Rounds.	Range, Yards.	Elevation.	Time of Flight.	SHOT STRUCK DISTANT FROM THE CENTRE, FEET.					By whom Fired.	Remarks.
		Nature and Weight of Shot or Shell.	Powder.					Right.	Left.	In Bull's Eye.	Over.	Under.		
1884 December 6th.	Single. 16 Gauge. 30 in. long. Weight 10 lbs.	Lead-ended Shells.	3 drama.	1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10	1000	4° 36'		3 3 .. 10 6 .. 7 .. 2 4 ..		.. 15 .. 15 1		Lieutenant Green.		
				1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13	1300	6° 1'		2 12 1 .. 4 10 4 12 ..	2 1 10	 3 .. 10 10 .. 5 3 .. 12				
December 9th.				1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13	1000	4° 36'		 1 4	 1	15 5 6 .. 1 3 15 3 .. 2 .. 1 .. 5 ..	Maj. Jacob 	Burst at Muzzle.		

REPORT OF RIFLE PRACTICE AT JACOBABAD.

Date.	Description of Rifle.	CHARGE.		Number of Rounds.	Range, Yards.	Elevation.	Time of Flight.	SHOT STRUCK DISTANT FROM THE CENTRE, FEET.					By whom Fired.	Remarks.
		Mixture and Weight of Shot or Shell.	Powder.					Right.	Left.	In Bull's Eye.	Over.	Under.		
1864 19th December.	Single. 16 gauge. 30 in. long. Weight 103½.	Flat-bottom Shells.	3 drams	1	1000	4° 36'		..	..	..	5	..	Lieut. M. Green.	
				2				..	2	..	..	..		
				3				..	3	..	..	..		
				4				..	..	..	5	..		
				5				..	..	..	4	..		
				6				..	4	..	..	..		
				7				..	3	..	..	..		
				8				..	4	..	..	..		
				9				..	..	..	6	..		
				10				..	..	..	4	..		
December 24th.	Single. 8 gauge. 24 inches long. Weight 14lb. 8oz.	Flat bottom Shells.	3 drams.	1	1200.	7° 0'		..	8	..	10	..	Lieut. M. Green.	
				2				..	7	..	10	..		
				3				..	6	..	10	..		
				4				10	..	..	..	3		
				5				..	10	..	..	..		
	Single. 16 gauge. 30 in. long. Weight 783 gra.	Flat ended Shells.	3 drams.	1	1200	6° 1'		..	..	..	6	..		
				2				..	3	..	3	..		
				3				..	3	..	3	5		
				4				..	6	..	..	..		
				5				..	..	..	..	4		
				6				..	3	..	3	..		
				7				..	2	..	3	..		
				8				..	..	..	6	..		
				9				..	4	..	..	2		
				10				..	1	..	3	..		

REPORT OF RIFLE PRACTICE AT JACOBABAD.

Date.	Description of Rifle.	CHARGE.		Number of Rounds.	Range, Yards.	Elevation.	Time of Flight.	SHOT STRUCK DISTANT FROM THE CENTRE, FEET.					By whom Fired.	Remarks.
		Nature and Weight of Shot or Shell.	Powder.					Right.	Left.	In Bull's Eye.	Over.	Under.		
1855 May 18th.	Single. 8 gauge. &c.	Shells, Nos. 8dr.	3 drams.	1	1800	13° 7'		..	8	..	15	..	Maj. Jacob	All the shells burst in the wall with full effect.
				2				10	..	..	15	..		
				3				10	..	..	10	..		
				4				10	..	..	..	2		
				5				..	10	..	..	2		
				6				3	..	..	5	..		
				7				..	1	..	4	..		
				8				..	..	..	..	4		
				9				3	..	..	..	1		
				10				..	..	..	..	3		
				11				..	..	..	3	..		
				12				..	2	..	..	..		
				1	2000	15° 52'		..	..	..	20	..		Shells burst in wall with full effect.
				2				..	..	..	15	..		

REPORT OF RIFLE PRACTICE AT JACOBABAD.

Date.	Description of Rifle.	CHARGE.		Number of Rounds.	Range, Yards.	Elevation.	Time of Flight.	SHOT STRUCK DISTANT FROM THE CENTRE, FEET.					By whom Fired.	Remarks.
		Nature and Weight of Shot or Shell.	Powder.					Right.	Left.	In Bull's Eye.	Over.	Under.		
1855	Single.	Flat-bottom	3 drams.	1	2000	16°		..	..	..	..	..		Over wall.
August 2nd.	8 gauge.	Shells,		2				..	..	..	..	..		Grazed 20 ft.
	24 in. long.	with		3				..	10	..	..	..		short.
	Weight	thick		4				..	8	..	..	..		
	14 lbs. 8 oz.	wad and		5				1	..	..	..	8	Maj. Jacob	
		patch.		6				..	5	..	10	..		Grazed 30 ft.
				7				..	3	..	..	..		short.
				8				..	..	..	..	..		Over wall.
				9				1	..	..	2	..		All the shells
				10				..	..	..	..	..		which struck
				11				..	10	..	..	..		burst wall in
				12				..	..	..	..	10		the wall pen-
														etrating from
4th August.	Single.	Flat-bottom	3½ drams	1	2000	18°		..	..	..	..	..	Maj. Jacob	4 to 5 inches.
	8 gauge,	Shells,		2				..	..	..	..	..		Over wall.
	as above.	&c.		3				..	..	..	..	..		Over wall.
		as before		4				..	..	..	..	..		(Close to left
				5				..	..	..	..	..		of wall.
				6				1	..	..	3	..		Strong breeze
				7				..	15	..	..	..		blowing from
				8				..	12	..	..	..		right to left;
				9				..	8	..	12	..		all the shells
				10				..	10	..	15	..		burst with
				11				..	..	..	20	..		full effect.
				12				..	..	..	..	..		Top of wall.
				13				..	..	..	..	..		Grazed close to
				14				..	3	..	..	12		foot of wall.
				15				..	3	..	..	15		Close to left of
				16				..	..	..	..	..		wall.
														Grazed 10 feet
														short.

REPORT OF RIFLE PRACTICE AT JACOBABAD.

Date.	Description of Rifle.	CHARGE.		Height of Sight.	Range, Yards.	Elevation.	Time of Flight.	SHOT STRUCK DISTANT FROM THE CENTRE, FEET.					By whom Fired.	Remarks.
		Nature and Weight of Shot or Shell.	Powder.					Right.	Left.	In Bull's Eye.	Over.	Under.		
1884	Four grooved. Single.	Flat bottom Shells.	4 drams.	In.	4-16 2000	12-30-24	9' 12"							
	8 gauge. 24 in. long.	3oz. 8dr.		8-31 1800	11-29-10	8' 51"								
				8-47 1800	10-29' 5"	7' 90"								
				8-14 1700	9-30-24	7' 30"								
				8-22 1600	8-33-11	6' 71"								
				2-52 1500	7-39-16	8' 14"								
				2-24 1400	6-44-45	5' 60"								
				1-98 1300	6' 1-41	5' 6"								
				1-74 1200	5-18' 7"	4' 57"								
				1-62 1100	4-38' 6"	4' 9"								
				1-33 1000	4' 1-31	3' 62"								
				1-14 900	3-28-45	3-208								
				-97 800	3-27-41	2-785								
				-81 700	3-28-25	2' 38"								
				-66 600	2' 0' 5"									
				-51 500	1-33-28									
August 26th, 1885.	Single.		2 drams.	No. of rounds.	1000	4° 36'		3	..	..	..	1	Maj. Jacob	All the Shells burst well in the wall.
	16 gauge. 30 in. long.			1				1	..	..	..	2		
				2				..	2	..	..	1		
				3				3	..	..	4	..		
				4				1	..	..	3	..		
				5				..	..	1	..	..		
				6				1	..	..	..	..		
				7				2	..	..	..	..		
				8				..	..	..	4	..		
				9				..	..	..	..	1		
	Weight 10lbs.			10				..	..	..	..	..		

No. 2,277.

Head Quarters, Mahableshwur, 16th April, 1856.

From the ADJUTANT-GENERAL of the Army,

To the SECRETARY TO GOVERNMENT,

Military Department, Bombay.

SIR,—With reference to previous correspondence on the subject of Lieutenant-Colonel John Jacob's rifle and rifle balls, I am directed to make the following report, for the information of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council:—

2. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief having desired to see the effect of the elongated conical shells, recommended by Lieutenant-Colonel Jacob, C.B., to be introduced into the army, a butt for rifle practice was built of sunburnt bricks on the Flats at Bombay, twenty feet high, and of a similar width.

3. The rifles used were four-grooved, 24-gauge, as recommended by Lieutenant-Colonel Jacob for use in the army, the charge for all distances being $2\frac{1}{2}$ drachms of powder. The shell is cast with four bands on the cylindrical part, which fit exactly to the grooves; used with a thin greased patch. The rifle loads with the greatest ease, and without any force.

4. The rifles were fired from the shoulder, but placed on the army regulation aiming rest, as adopted by Lord Frederick Fitzclarence, which gave a correct direction and elevation.

5. At ranges from 300 to 1,200 yards, the flight of the shell was always point foremost, and the elevation at the extreme range inconsiderable. The shells

which struck the butt invariably burst with full effect; and practice was made by the many officers who attended, at distances which could not have been attained with any other known missile.

6. The result was convincing—that, before a small body of marksmen armed with such weapons, no battery of artillery could long hold its ground. A box filled with powder was exploded by a shell fired at 300 yards, and from the effect of the shells on the butt, it was evident that the same result would have been attained at the greatest range from which practice was made, viz. 1,200 yards; for the shells on exploding at such distances tore out large fragments of the wall. Unfortunately, at this practice, the wind was very high, with much dust.

7. The expectation formed of these shells by Lieutenant-Colonel Jacob, and his experiments with them, as shown in the accompanying report, are fully borne out by the practice made at Bombay; and the result of six shots fired by Colonel Green and Major Woosnam at 1,000 yards is shown in the annexed diagram.

8. The accuracy of flight attained by projectiles of the peculiar form on which Lieutenant-Colonel Jacob's shells and balls are cast, has now carried the use of fire-arms far beyond anything which has come under the notice of officers in this country, and the experiment made at Bombay can be attested by the following gentlemen who witnessed the practice:—

His Excellency Sir Henry Somerset.

Honorable Arthur Malet, Member of Council.

Major-General Lester, Commandant of Artillery.

Colonel Green, C.B., Deputy Adjutant-General
of the Army.

Colonel Willoughby, C.B., Principal Commissary
of Ordnance.

Lieutenant-Colonel Swanson, Member of the
Military Board.

Mr. Bellasis, Civil Service.

Major Stock, Assistant Adjutant-General.

Major Shaw, Assistant Commissary-General.

Major Woosman, Agent for Gunpowder.

9. It would appear, therefore, a matter of deep importance that the subject of rifle shells and bullets *of the form recommended by Lieutenant-Colonel Jacob* be brought under the special attention of the home authorities, for they can be equally well adapted to the Enfield Pritchett rifle, now being introduced generally into the Royal army. His Excellency begs therefore to recommend that this report may be transmitted with that view to the Honourable the Court of Directors.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) H. HANCOCK, Colonel,
Adjutant-General of the Army.

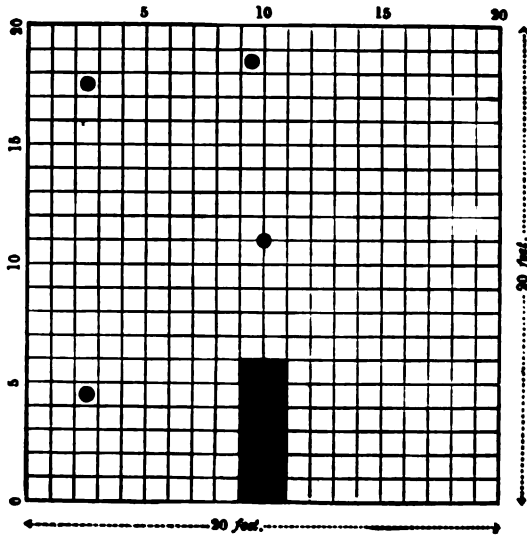
(True copy,)

(Signed) EDWARD GREEN, Colonel,
Deputy Adjutant-General of the Army.

REPORT OF RIFLE PRACTICE, BOMBAY.

Present,—Colonel Green and Major Woosnam.

Range, 1000 yards.

Scale of feet.

*Description of Rifle (Soldier's) recommended by
Colonel Jacob.*

Charge,— $2\frac{1}{2}$ drachms.

Elevation,—as marked on the sight.

Remarks,—Clear, calm morning. Six rounds fired.

H.G.

(MEMORANDUM.)

RIFLE PRACTICE AT KURRACHEE.

Friday, 5th September, 1856.

A powder-box was prepared for explosion by rifle shells, at a range of (1,800) one thousand eight hundred yards.

The box consisted of two boards, one and a quarter inch thick and ten feet square, put together with a space of one inch between their surfaces; this space was filled with gunpowder, and was found to contain a charge of above 500 lbs. The box was placed against the butt, on the ground, and after being loaded, was well tarred over. At 7 A.M. on the 5th of September, 1856, rifle practice was commenced with shells at this box, from a distance of 1,800 yards. The morning at first was dark and cloudy; but after a few shots had been fired the weather improved and soon became very favourable as regards light, although a fresh breeze was blowing across the range from right to left.

The shooters were —

Captain Gibbard, Artillery, 24-gauge army rifle.

Captain Thatcher, Major }
of Brigade } 16-gauge Manton.

Colonel Jacob..... 24-gauge Manton.

Captain Scott, A.D.C. 32-gauge Manton.

The undermentioned gentlemen were also present: —

Colonel Trevelyan, Artillery.

Lieutenant De Vitre, Artillery.

Captain Pirie, Lieutenant of Police.

T

For the first few rounds, the shells struck near the foot of the butt ; but as the morning brightened, the practice improved, and many shells in succession struck close over and around the box,— so close, indeed, that to the naked eye they appeared actually to strike it. The practice was steadily and deliberately continued, but the powder still remained untouched, till Colonel Jacob's little double rifle had been fired twenty times. The last few shots from this rifle were all very near to the box, and, when fired for the twenty-first time, the shell from the second barrel struck the box and exploded the powder. The effect was magnificent, the distance being so great, and the charge in the box so heavy. So violent was the explosion, that it was thought at first that the butt wall had been blown down ; but when the smoke cleared, the wall was seen standing uninjured. This wall is built of stone, ten feet thick at the base and one and a half at top, is 100 feet long and 50 feet high. A large portion of surface near the powder-box was a good deal shattered, but the damage was only superficial, and the butt was not seriously injured.

Throughout the practice at Kurrachee, no rest of any kind was used. The rifles were always fired from the shoulder, the shooter standing up.

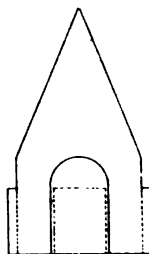
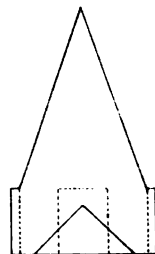
On further examination, it appeared that a large portion of the surface of the butt wall, about twenty feet square, was blown in to a depth of nine inches, and that the back of the wall near the base had bulged three inches.

N^o 2.

N^o 4.

N^o 5.

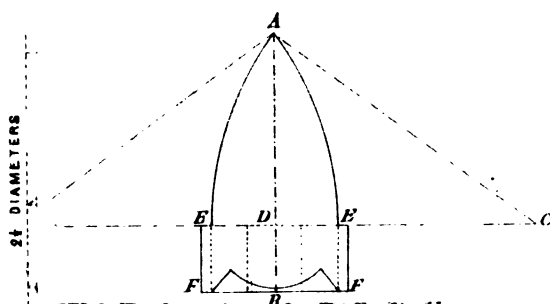
Form



March 1862

Improved Minié Balls used without Cups

N^o 6.



N^o 6 Perfect shape for Rifle Balls

A.B. 2 Diameters

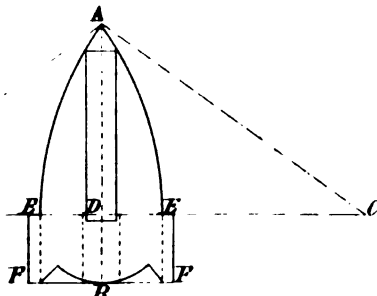
C.D. 2 " "

A.C. 2 1/2 " "

B.D. 1/2 " "

From E, to F, the ball is cylindrical, from A, to E, it is defined by arcs of circles described from the centres C, with the radius C.A.

N^o 7.



The moulds
to open
The ends of
well primed

is exactly as Ball N^o 6, but cast with a smaller end in which is fixed a Copper detonating powder.

now found to answer best when made quite flat at the cylindrical part being increased in length to 1 1/4 diameters

Hard wood bottom with Square Mortice in the Centre to fit on to the tail Tenon of the Shot, to which it is to be wedged fast

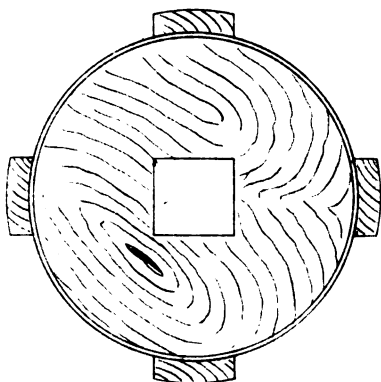


Fig. 2.

*An iron ring is driven on to each end of the bottom to secure it from splitting.
Thickness of bottom exclusive of iron rings - equal to half the Diameter.*

Four & three inch

PENETRATION OF JACOB'S IRON-POINTED RIFLE BALLS.

At Kurrachee, on the 26th of September, 1856, a 24-gauge iron-pointed ball, fired with a charge of $2\frac{1}{2}$ drachms of powder at a distance of twenty-five yards, penetrated clean through eighteen deal planks, each three-quarters of an inch thick, and smashed itself all to pieces against stones on the other side.

Present,—

Colonel Jacob.

Captain Scott, A.D.C.

Lieutenant Macdonald, Revenue Survey.

Again, at Kurrachee, on the 29th September, 1856, a 24-gauge iron-pointed ball, with a charge of $2\frac{1}{2}$ drachms of powder, was fired at twenty-five deal boards, each a little more than three-quarters of an inch thick, the whole thickness of all the boards together being twenty inches; the boards were packed close, one behind the other, and wedged fast into a box. The rifle was fired at twenty-five yards distance. The ball penetrated clean through the whole twenty-five planks, and buried itself its whole length in a block of hard wood $2\frac{1}{2}$ inches thick which was behind the mass of boards, breaking this block into two pieces.

BEST ARMY RIFLE, WITH APPARATUS COMPLETE IN CASE.

Double 32-gauge—four-grooved—DEEP grooves, of breadth equal to that of LANDS, to take four-fifths of a turn in the length of the barrel—barrels the best

that can be made, twenty-four (24) inches long, weight of pair of barrels alone about six pounds, NOT LESS—the ends of the lands to be rounded off at the muzzle—patent breech—no side vents—first sight EXACTLY PARALLEL to the bore—the muzzle sight being raised if necessary for this purpose—four points to be inserted inside the barrel near the breech for tearing open a blank cartridge when rammed down whole—full stock, well bent, of the best heart walnut wood, attached to barrels by bands—best plain case-hardened mountings—folding sight attached to the barrel 20 inches from the muzzle, five (5) inches long, secured by spring below, protected by projecting wings when lying flat on the barrel, the slide of this sight to be well secured by springs at its back, so as never to work loose—the slide to come down quite low on the sight, the top of the sight and bottom of its slot to be notched. The sight, &c., to be *strongly* made and *nicely finished*, *marked* and *engraved* for distances as per annexed scale—leaf sights, folding flush for 100 and 200 yards—muzzle sight to be fine. Best locks, *strong mainsprings*, and *heavy cocks*. Half cock *half an inch* above nipple (not less). Triggers easy to pull, plenty of play in the cocks, external vents in nipples to be *small*—six spare nipples to each, of size to fit Eley's No. 13 and No. 26 caps—one mould for balls, and two for Jacob's shells, flat-ended, two and a half ($2\frac{1}{2}$) diameters long—moulds to be made of good *steel*, to open in the *middle of one pair of bands*—the balls and their bands of size and depth to fit the barrel nicely, but *easily* with a patch, exact diameter of bore in decimals of an inch .529—

of shell or ball .524—plugs of shell-moulds to fit Jacob's shell-tubes ("long 16-gauge," as made by Eley)—plugs or cores of shell-moulds to have wooden cross-handles. *Best* double-edged straight sword, with blade 30 inches long, to attach to rifle by ring round the muzzle of both barrels, as well as by spring socket, with scabbard and belt complete (scabbard of *strong* wood covered with leather, with case-hardened mountings riveted on)—all properly fitted into gun-case (two small ammunition pouches on the belt—one to hold powder-flask or blank cartridges and caps, the other balls, patches, turnkey). The sword to be made with good steel or case-hardened iron, half-basket hilt. Short powder-flasks of copper, covered with hogskin—charges $2\frac{1}{2}$, $2\frac{3}{4}$, 3 drachms—spare tops with charges of 2, $2\frac{1}{4}$, $2\frac{1}{2}$, drachms—stout steel ramrod in the gun with deep hollow head, so as not to press on the shell-tubes in loading—the rod below the hollow head not to be filed away too much, as if thin it is liable to split on the iron balls. Grip of ramrod at both ends to be well roughened. Stout spare ramrod with knob handle and deep hollow head—brass tube of the length of the barrels for loading with powder when cartridges are not used—patch punches ($1\frac{1}{2}$ inches)—small stores, cleaning apparatus, &c., &c., as usual, fitted into a rough stout roomy case. The rifle to fit into the case when put together stock and barrel—the partitions in the case to be very strongly fixed by screws, &c., all of the best quality as to usefulness; strength and durability to be especially considered—appearance only of little importance.

Strong leather sling to attach by good *steel* loops

and screws—rifle to fit into case with the sling attached.

There should be proper receptacles in the gun-case for some shells or balls, caps, patches, &c.; the partitions, &c., to be very strongly fixed.

A pair of scissors, pair of pliers, a corkscrew, and a knife—a ladle and a shallow melting-pot in gun-case—plenty of turnkeys and screw-drivers, oil bottle, &c., all very strong and good, and serviceable for hard work.

Eley's percussion tubes for Jacob's rifle shells long 16-gauge, primed at the points with detonating powder, and filled with gunpowder.

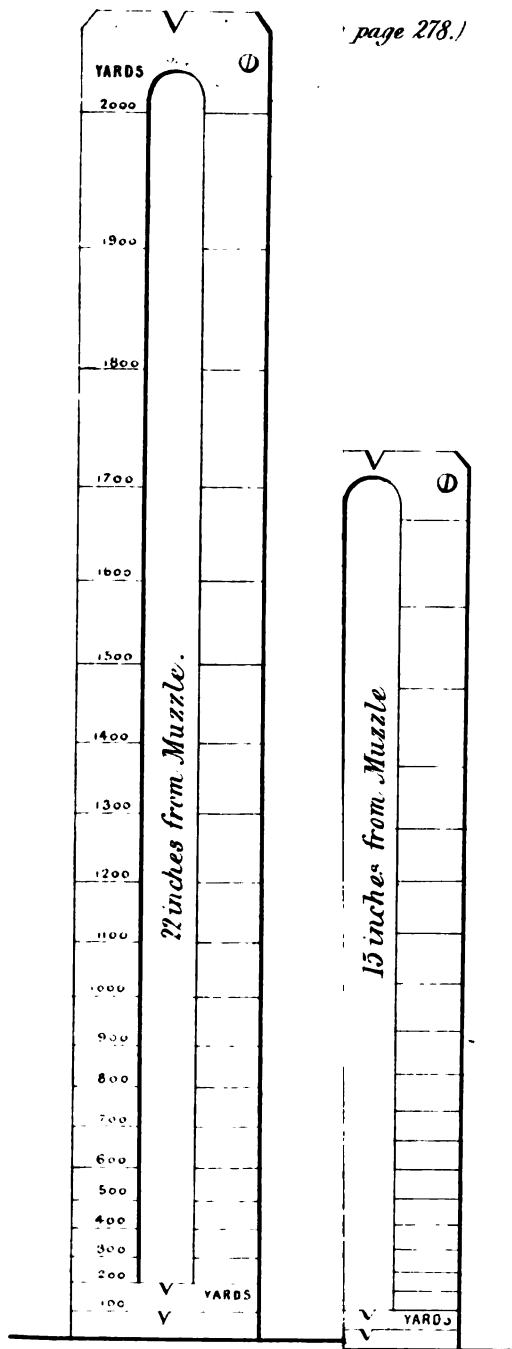
Cap and tube-makers recommended by Colonel John Jacob—

Messrs. Eley, Brothers, 38, Broad Street, Golden Square, London.

Gun-makers.	{ Messrs. Witton and Daw, 57, Thread- needle Street, London.

ELEVAT

page 278.)

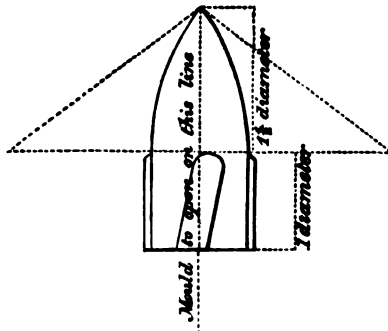


**PROPORTIONS RECOMMENDED FOR JACOB'S RIFLES
FOR GENERAL PURPOSES.**

10th September, 1857.

Gauge No. of Spherical Balls per pound.	Diameter of Bore in de- cimals of an inch.	Diameter of Ball or Shell in dec. inch.	Breadth of Grooves.	Number of Grooves.	Twist of Grooves one whole turn, in inches of length.	Depth of Grooves and height of Bands on Ball or Shell, dec. inch.	Length of Barrels, inches.	Weight of single or of pair of double Barrels, pounds.	Height of Sight, inches.	Distance of Sight from Muzzle.
16	·665	·660			30	·042	26	10	5·5	22
24	·582	·577			28	·036	23	7	5·0	20
32	·529	·524			26	·033	21	6	4·5	18
48	·463	·458			24	·030	19	5	4·0	16
64	·421	·416	Equal to land.	Four.	22 Or four-fifths of a turn in the length of the barrel.	·026 Or about one-sixteenth of the diameter.	18	4	3·75	15

Ball or Shell, $2\frac{1}{2}$ diameters long, shaped as below, the end quite flat :—



N.B.—It is found that the double rifle performs better than the single. The weight of the single barrel, to perform satisfactorily, must be equal to that of the pair of the double barrel.

For general purposes with *shells* the 32-gauge is recommended. But if *balls* only are to be used, one of the smaller calibres will be found to answer admirably.

EXPLANATION OF THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MINIÉ AND JACOB RIFLE BALL.

The Enfield rifle is peculiarly adapted for use with the Minié ball, with which it performs well up to 800 yards. But the very peculiarities which make the Enfield rifle answer perfectly for the Minié projectiles quite unfit it for use with mine. Let us consider what these peculiarities are.

The Minié ball possesses IN ITSELF the tendency to keep its proper end foremost in its flight; it therefore requires very little twist to keep it in the right path.

The large hollow in its hinder end makes it comparatively light in proportion to its diameter; a less charge, therefore, of powder is required to give it the same *initial* velocity, as one of my projectiles of like calibre. Again, the hollow in the Minié ball renders it likely to be blown into a tube if much projectile force be suddenly applied to it.

For this ball, therefore, a *thin* barrel only is necessary, and the grooves may be shallow, and have but very little twist. At the same time, in order to get as much projectile force to act on the ball as it will bear without injury, it is requisite to lengthen the barrel, so as to make the power act *for as long a time* as possible on the ball; while it is actually found that an inferior description of powder (that is, a slow burning powder) is the best for the Minié ball and Enfield rifle. The Minié ball will not stand a great force acting with great velocity on it—the lead gives way under the shock; wherefore it is necessary to impress this ball with a *more feeble force, acting for*

a longer time on it, in order to produce an adequate projectile effect.

Well, then, the long weak barrel, with very little twist in the grooves, answers admirably to fulfil the conditions required so far. But, on the other hand, the shape of the Minié ball is by no means well adapted for overcoming the resistance of the air ; while its want of solidity, owing to the hollow in its after-part, also very much lessens its virtual specific gravity and momentum, and thus adds to the effect of the air's resistance on its fore-part.

The shape of the ball used by me (those of two and a half diameters in length are, I think, best,) is that which I find by experience to be the best adapted for overcoming the resistance of the air, and, being perfectly solid behind, this ball is capable of sustaining the shocks of ANY CHARGE OF POWDER WHATEVER.

It has, however, a strong tendency to fly with the wrong end first, exactly contrary to the behaviour of the Minié ; and to counteract this perversity, a great twist in the rifle grooves, giving a rapid spiral motion to the ball in its flight is necessary.

In proportion to its calibre, this ball is very much heavier than the Minié : to give it the same velocity, then, it is necessary to use a larger charge : but the advantage of the shape of its fore-part in overcoming the resistance of the air, as compared with other projectiles, is only fully developed at high velocities, which CANNOT BE ECONOMICALLY USED WITH ROUND-ENDED BALLS LIKE THE MINIE, on account of the excessive increase of resistance which they sustain. With my projectiles, then, a HIGHER velocity than

that given to the Minié is proper ; the charge, therefore, must be still further increased for this purpose ; wherefore the barrel of the rifle must be very strong. Again, the ball is capable of standing the force of any sudden shock, so that a large charge of the best powder procurable may be used to advantage ; and no great time is required in which to impress the necessary projectile velocity on the ball,—a short barrel, therefore, is indicated. For my projectiles, therefore, we require a SHORT STOUT BARREL WITH DEEP GROOVES AND GREAT TWIST. If we attempt to use these projectiles with a long thin barrel, like the Enfield, THEY MUST FAIL SIGNALLY. The weight of the ball and its solid resistance are too great for the weaker barrel, which trembles, shakes and vibrates, when fired, to a degree which shows it to be altogether overstrained ; in fact, the iron of the barrel must be distorted into a series of waves as the ball passes along it, and the elastic action of so thin a tube near the muzzle end must make it jerk the ball about in a wonderful manner as it leaves it. Under the operation of this irregular elastic action of the metal of the barrel, the heavy end of the ball is almost certain to get foremost, or it may even fly about sideways,—in fact, its flight must be altogether irregular. *For it is only to the steady quiet action of a rapid spiral motion that these balls remain in their unnatural position of point foremost*, which, however, they retain accurately and invariably DURING A FLIGHT EVEN OF A MILE AND A QUARTER, WHEN FIRED FROM A PIECE ADAPTED TO THEIR USE, with a proper charge.

The short barrel, if found sufficient to enable us to

impress a proper velocity on the ball, has very great contingent advantages. The effect of all sorts of errors, personal and instrumental, on the flight of the *ball*, must evidently be proportionate to the time during which the causes act: the effect of the recoil, for instance, on the ball, must be twice as great in a rifle thirty-six inches long as in one of eighteen inches, for the gun must have been acting on the shoulder, and the giving way of the shoulder, &c., on the ball, twice as long in the one case as in the other.

In practice, the proportion of advantage is very much MORE IN FAVOUR of the SHORT BARRELS; because a certain time is required to act at all, or at least to act at all sensibly, on the shoulder; and with a short barrel the ball may have left the gun before the latter may have changed its position in the least.

With regard to the sizes of rifles, I think 32-gauge is large enough for anything, and that twenty-four inches is long enough for the barrel *of any calibre whatever*; the grooves should be full deep, of breadth equal to that of the lands, and may turn once in three feet of length. For an army rifle, requiring to be adapted for use as a pike, the short barrel is no disadvantage, for the requisite length may easily be made up by using a longer sword.

The 24-gauge is, however, quite unexceptionable, and I think the best rifle I have is of that calibre.

The balls and shells of two and a half diameters long, are, I think, the best.

Swinburn & Son, 16 & 17, Russell Street, Birmingham, are the best men, I think, for army rifles

in England. They know my pattern, and have worked for me.

A fourth edition of my book on rifles has just been published by Smith, Elder & Co., 65, Cornhill, and you would find its contents interesting, as would all others engaged in such pursuits. The thing costs two shillings, I believe, and contains the results of twenty years' labour.

* * * * *

PART III.

RELATING TO

THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER OF INDIA.

THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER OF INDIA.

MEMOIR OF THE FIRST CAMPAIGN IN THE HILLS NORTH OF KUTCHEE, TO THE NORTH-WEST OF THE FRONTIER OF SIND.

IN the year 1839, after Lord Keane and his army had passed through Kutchee *en route* to Affghanistan, the predatory tribes inhabiting the eastern part of that province, namely the Doombkees and Jekranees, with others of less note associated with them, infested the road from the neighbourhood of Shikarpoor to the mouth of the Bolan in such numbers, and with such boldness, that a whole regiment was required to escort a convoy in safety from Shikarpoor to Dadur. The matter was of serious importance, for the safety of the army in Affghanistan might depend on the supplies forwarded to it from Sind; while the number of troops in Upper Sind was totally inadequate to the furnishing, for a continuance, the strong escorts required. The heat, also, in this part of the world, from April to October, is more deadly than the sword of a human enemy, and scarcely an escort at this time marched through the country without losing many men from this cause alone.

Mr. Bell, the political agent, in vain made every

effort to obtain a free passage through Kutchee by negotiation and pecuniary arrangements with the plundering tribes; their chiefs were deaf to all persuasion, and scorned every offer.

The Doombkees and Jekranees reside wholly in the plain of Kutchee, and possessed the towns of Lahree, Poolijee, and Chuttur, with some villages in that neighbourhood and the adjoining lands. Their fighting men were all mounted; they were, indeed, tribes of horsemen. The Murrees and Boogtees inhabited the neighbouring hills; the chief town of the former Kahun, of the latter Deyra. These mountain tribes were nearly all footmen, and seldom or never ventured in hostile guise into the plain country. While the Doombkees and Jekranees were in power, the horsemen were far too strong for them in the plain, while, on the other hand, they were safe in their mountain fastnesses from the attacks of the lowlanders. Such being the respective positions, these warlike tribes, with occasional exceptions, were usually on friendly terms, and afforded each other mutual support.

The head of the whole Doombkee tribe by birth was, and is still, Belooch Khan, of Lahree: but he being of a quiet, peaceable disposition, preferred a life of ease at home to one of stormy adventure and predatory warfare: he never joined in any plundering excursion, and quarrelled with nobody, but lived like a quiet country gentleman, in the midst of his turbulent brethren. He was, on this account, held in contempt by the warlike part of his tribe; and Beejar Khan, in power, influence, and all else but name, had,

long before we entered the country, made himself the real head, not only of the Doombkees, but also of the associated tribe of Jekranees. Beejar Khan was a man of considerable ability ; he not only kept his wild riders completely under his authority, but was far-famed for his justice and excellent civil arrangements. His ryots, far from being oppressed, were protected and made much of ; his lands were well cultivated, and the traders, as well as the peasantry of the whole country, were safe and contented under his rule. He paid his revenue regularly to his feudal lord, the Khan of Khelat, who therefore seldom troubled himself with regard to his other proceedings. All this internal good management enabled the Doombkee leader to carry on his predatory excursions systematically, and on an extensive scale, against any of his neighbours offering a fair prospect of a valuable booty. Beejar had at this time under his control from one thousand to one thousand five hundred horse, the best and boldest in the country ; and incited by his prince, Mehrab Khan (or rather by his traitorous wuzeer Mahomed Hussun), as well as by inclination and habit, he now directed all his efforts against the valuable British convoys, &c., passing within his reach through Kutchee. This was the state of the people. It may be well also to describe their principal towns.

Lahree, the abode of Belooch Khan, is—or rather was at that time, for it has since been ruined by Murree plunderers—a considerable town, well supplied with shops, containing about two thousand inhabitants, and surrounded by a good sound mud wall,

about twenty feet high, and well flanked with round towers. From the character of the chief, Belooch Khan, already described, his town had no connection with the predatory riders of Kutchee.

The chief town possessed by Beejar Khan and his part of the Doombkee tribe was Poolijee. This place consisted of two villages, about three-quarters of a mile apart; that one towards the north was a small place, about seven hundred yards in circumference; it had been originally surrounded by a good high mud wall with towers, but these had been allowed to decay; some of the towers and large portions of the wall had fallen down; manure and heaps of rubbish had accumulated in and outside these openings, and this place could not be considered as at all defensible against a resolute enemy. The other village was much larger, being a mile and a half in circumference: it is surrounded by a mud wall about seven feet high, and, for about two feet from the top, not more than four inches thick. On the south side, where is the principal entrance, the wall is flanked by round towers; but by far the greater part of the whole circumference of the place is unprovided with any flanking defence. The wall is, and was when first seen by the British, in a wretchedly crazy state; in it were numerous holes and wide cracks, which had been filled up with a few thorns, to prevent the egress of the cattle of the village. A man standing at the foot of the wall, and laying hold of the top, which was within easy reach with his hands, could with ease pull down many square feet of the wall at once; and this has several times been done by way of experiment by the writer of this paper.

Within this enclosure, not far from its north-eastern side, was another small square mud building, with round towers at the angles: this was also completely decayed, but was still capable of some defence by determined men. It could not, however, have held out after the town had been taken. The place was supplied with water from five temporary wells outside the town, on the south side, about one hundred yards distant from the wall.

Durya Khan, the Jekranee chief associated with Beejar and the Doombkees, occupied the town of Chuttur, nine miles south of Poolijee. This is an older, and was a more important place as regarded its peaceable inhabitants, and it contained a good bazar. It is about the same size as the principal Poolijee, and surrounded by a wall a little higher than, but of a similar description, and in a similar state to, that above described.

The village of Shahpoor, belonging to a Syud, by name Enayut Shah,—a peer or saint by birth, but by birth only, for his private character was and is anything but saintly. This place was protected chiefly by the holy character of the peer; it was occasionally occupied by the Doombkees and Jekranees, but none of them permanently resided there. In size it was about a mile in circumference; it is not surrounded by a wall for defence, but the houses, touching each other nearly all round, leave only two regular entrances. The houses generally are the usual low mud huts of the country, but there are two fine large upper-storied and terrace-roofed houses adjoining the north side of the village, and a high square tower

towards the eastern side. From the roofs of these houses the whole place was overlooked and commanded, and they were well adapted for defence.

The permanent inhabitants of Shahpoor amounted to about one thousand. But there were generally nearly double that number of Jutts encamped in their mat tents close to the village. These were the attendants of the syud's camels, of which he possessed some ten thousand. The channel of an occasional mountain torrent runs near the south side of Shahpoor, and an abundant supply of good water is found by digging pits in its beds. This good supply of water, which is a very rare thing in Eastern Kutchee, is the sole advantage which this spot presents as a site for a town,—the immediate neighbourhood is a dreary waste of barren plain, and hills of drift-sand; at a distance, however, of four or five miles from Shahpoor, abundant forage exists for horses as well as camels.

The place is remarkable for its dust-storms, which, bad everywhere in Upper Sind and Kutchee, are here of almost incredible violence and density. They occur frequently, at all seasons of the year, sometimes changing the light of mid-day to an intensity of darkness to which no ordinary night ever approaches, and this darkness in severe storms lasts occasionally for one, two, or more hours. These dust-storms on both sides of the desert are sometimes accompanied by blasts of the simoom, a poisonous wind, which is equally destructive to vegetable and animal life.

Such was the state of the people and of the country, when, at the request of the political officers, a detachment was ordered, in the month of June 1839, to

proceed from Sukkur and Shikarpoor against Beejar Khan. The season was one of intense heat, which has never since been equalled: the thermometer in the hospital shed at Shikarpoor stood commonly at 130° , and on several days reached the astonishing height of 140° —one day it even stood at 143° . The wind appeared like a blast from a furnace, and this even at midnight. Such was the weather in which British soldiers were sent forth for the first time to proceed against the wild tribes of Eastern Beloochistan.

There had been left behind, from the army of Lord Keane, at Sukkur, about one hundred and fifty European soldiers, men chosen from every regiment of the army, Royal and Company's, and from every troop of horse and company of foot artillery, of both the Bengal and Bombay presidencies.

These men were of course the worst which could be found: they were composed of those who could not march, who were troublesome, disorderly, discontented, or feeble. These men were placed under the command of Lieutenant Jacob,* the only artillery officer in Upper Sind, and of Lieutenant Corry, of her Majesty's 17th Regiment. Lieutenant Jacob was now directed to choose men from these Europeans to form a company of artillery, to proceed with the force to Kutchee. Accordingly he selected twenty artillerymen, the best he could find, twenty men belonging to the infantry, and, with Lieutenant Corry and these forty men, marched from Sukkur on the 3rd June,

* The Author of this Memoir.—EDITOR.

1839, *en route* to Shikarpoor, having sent his battery in advance by water to that place.

On the first day's march of ten miles, seven of the soldiers were struck dead by the heat, and Lieutenant Corry was brought in dying; the poor fellow rallied a little at night, but as the heat returned next day he also relapsed and died. Four other men were sent back to Sukkur on camel litters, but they also died, either on the road or immediately after reaching the hospital. No treatment appeared to have the smallest effect in checking this fearful mortality. The men became appalled, and wished not to proceed; but a few words from their officer roused their English hearts to further exertion: at night the detachment marched on, but though the men were never directly exposed to the sun, the heat was too great for human nature to bear, and four men died before or on reaching Shikarpoor. Thus, in three very short marches, out of a detachment of two officers and forty men, one officer and fifteen men had been struck dead. It appeared to the military authorities that it was impossible at such a season to prosecute the intended expedition, and the attempt was abandoned for the present, to be renewed when the deadly heat should be moderated.

Accordingly, early in the month of October, 1839, a force consisting of a wing of the 1st Grenadier Regiment of Bombay Native Infantry, about four hundred and fifty strong, the light company of the 5th Regiment of Bombay Native Infantry, about eighty strong, and a bullock battery, composed of two-24-pounder howitzers and one 6-pounder gun, marched

from Sukkur *en route* to Poolijee, for the purpose of operating against Beejar Khan, and the predatory tribes of Kutchee described above.

It was thought inadvisable to have any European soldiers with the force; and Lieutenant Jacob was ordered to form a native company of artillery as he could. He had a havildar and eleven Golundauze sepoy, and a few gun lascars, to commence with; and he was allowed to select a party of men from the Bombay 23rd Regiment, to complete the number required.

A company of pioneers was also formed, consisting of one regular sapper, and three regular pioneers, the remainder of store and tent lascars, to the number of fifty in all. These companies, notwithstanding their motley appearance, were soon sufficiently trained and organised for service, and proved afterwards eminently efficient, with the exception of the men of the 23rd Regiment. This regiment, it appeared, had the fashion of priding itself on the *caste* of its members, instead of on their soldiership—more like a regiment of the Bengal army than one of Bombay; and, notwithstanding the ridicule of the havildar and sepoy of the Golundauze, who happened to be all Brahmins, but who thoroughly despised such nonsense, gave so much trouble, and proved so very useless in consequence, that the artillery officer soon left them behind, and they were replaced by a native officer and men of the Bombay 5th Regiment of Native Infantry. This regiment was at this time one of the best, perhaps *the* best, in the Bombay army: its men were perfect specimens of the Bombay sepoy, as described

by Sir John Malcolm—"The true descendants of Seewajie's mountain rats, whom not all the pride and power of the armies of Hindustan could prevent from marching to the gates of Delhi"; small, and not at all good-looking, but of an amazing energy and activity, and full of zeal and courage, and with sinews that no labour could tire, and hearts that no danger could daunt. Very respectful and warmly attached to their officers, they not only feared no enemy under their guidance, but rejoiced at the prospect of meeting a formidable foe for the sake of the "name of the regiment." They were full of soldier-like pride and zeal for the service, while they shrunk from no sort of labour or fatigue, and endured cold, hunger, and continual duty with an admirable cheerfulness and alacrity.

Major Billamore, of the 1st Bombay Grenadier Regiment, commanded the whole force; Captain Raitt the Grenadier regiment; Captain Lewis Brown, afterwards well-known as "Kahun Brown," the light company of the 5th; and Lieutenant Jacob the artillery.

This little force crossed the desert, and marched to Shahpoor without incident worth relating; thence it proceeded to Chuttur and Poolijee,—the former place was then occupied by Lieutenant Amiel with four hundred Belooch horsemen, lately enlisted into the British service by the political agent, Mr. Bell. On the arrival of Major Billamore at Shahpoor, Beejer Khan, with the chief part of the Doombkee and Jekranee tribes, still occupied Poolijee; but on the force reaching that place, it was found deserted, nearly

destroyed by fire, and still burning. Beejar Khan and all his people had abandoned the town, and taken to the hills for safety.

The force now encamped at Pooljee, until the political officers, from whom the commanding officer had to receive his instructions, should make up their minds as to what further was to be done. The part of the Doombkee tribe, under the chief, Belooch Khan, inhabiting Lahree and its neighbourhood, had once offered complete submission to the British political officers: this was accepted; nor could the utmost efforts of Beejar, nor persuasion nor reproach, ever afterwards induce him, Belooch Khan, to commit himself in hostility against the English.

While the force remained encamped at Pooljee, Beejar, having in vain summoned aid from Belooch Khan, suddenly left the hills with his own followers, and entered the plain near Pooljee, as if to attack Major Billamore. The Major had at that time no cavalry with him; but on this particular day, Lieutenant Amiel, who was not in any way under Major Billamore's orders, had arrived at Pooljee with two hundred of his Belooch levy of horse, and occupied the town.

The town of Pooljee is distant from the hills little more than five miles. About three miles of this distance, next the hills, is open stony ground; there is then thick jungle for about one mile, and the remaining space next Pooljee is richly cultivated arable land, which was at this time covered with high standing corn. Having received information of the enemy having left the hills, Major Billamore moved

from his camp for the purpose of meeting him in the plain. Meanwhile the intelligence had also reached the officer in command of the Belooch horse in the town, who immediately galloped out with his men, passed by Major Billamore's force, then moving through the jungle, and entered the plain beyond. Here the horsemen fell in with the enemy, and immediately turned and fled at speed; some twenty-five of them were cut down, the enemy not losing a man; the remainder escaped, owing to the fleetness of their mares. So quickly did all this take place, that Major Billamore, on clearing the jungle, had only a distant view of the enemy filing over the first low range of hills. Without cavalry, pursuit was hopeless; to attempt it, absurd; and the major returned to his camp, Lieutenant Amiel and his cavaliers again returning to Chutta, and shortly afterwards to Shahpoor, where they thenceforth remained.

On the representation of Major Billamore as to the necessity of his having cavalry at his disposal, to enable him to act effectively against these border robbers, a detachment of one hundred and eighty irregular horse, under command of Lieutenant Clarke, of the 2nd Bombay Grenadier Regiment, was ordered to join the force at Poolijee. This detachment, formerly posted in Kutch (Bhooj), had just before been transferred from the Poona Irregular Horse, in order to form the nucleus of the new corps, at that time ordered to be raised in Sind, since well-known by the name of the Sind Irregular Horse.

On the arrival of Lieutenant Clarke and his detachment at Chuttur, he received information of a

strong party of Beejar Khan's horsemen having left the hills that evening to plunder. Acting at once on this information, and guided by a man of the village who had been plundered shortly before, Lieutenant Clarke went out about midnight with one-half of his men, and managed matters so well, that just before daybreak he fell in with the Doombkees, about three hundred in number, dismounted in a corn-field; they had just time to spring on their mares before Clarke closed with them, and in doing so, abandoned some of their arms, and nearly all the plunder. They fled up the dry bed of the Teywaugh river, and were vigorously pursued by the Sind Irregular Horse. About fifty of the marauders were killed, and eleven were taken prisoners.

To appreciate this exploit as it deserves, and properly to understand the position of Major Billamore's force, it should be borne in mind that the country, its people, and all belonging to it, were at this time entirely unknown to the officers and men of the Indian army. Everything was as different as can well be imagined from anything any one had experienced in India. Since then all has become as familiar to them as the localities of Guzerat or of the Deccan; but at that time all of them, officers and men, were "griffins" in this country, and had to find out everything for themselves. No information was to be acquired from anyone; no European had previously entered that part of the country, while the few natives who could have assisted the British officers were more afraid of the border robbers than inclined to trust to British protection.

Lieutenant Amiel, who had lately been joined at Shahpoor by two hundred and fifty of Skinner's Hindoostanee Irregular Horse, now reported to Major Billamore that a strong body of the Doombkees and Jekranees had for some time past been assembled at Ooch, and that they came nearly every night to plunder about Shahpoor. On this, Major Billamore, with thirty infantry and sixty of the Sind Irregular Horse, accompanied by Captain Brown, Lieutenants Clarke and Jacob, proceeded to Ooch.

As this Ooch is one of the most curious places in existence, it may be as well to describe it. The place is not only curious in itself, but very interesting, as affording proof positive of the correctness of the description given, by "the Father of History," of places on the caravan roads in Africa, where fresh water runs out of hills of salt. East of Shahpoor is a low and very irregular range of hills, composed of soft sandstone, in masses more like hard earth than rock, and mingled with pebbles of limestone and flint, and with a good deal of gypsum. At a spot twelve miles E.S.E. from Shahpoor there is in these hills the entrance to a little valley some five or six hundred yards wide. Through this runs the bed of an occasional mountain torrent, known by the name of the Muzzerdaun; and along the northern side of this torrent bed, for an extent of a mile and a half in length, some twenty-five or thirty feet in height, is a rounded bank, partly covered with coarse reeds, and, where it is not so, entirely covered with a thick *incrustation of efflorescent salt*. On the top of the bank grow a few date-trees, which trees are found nowhere

else in Kutchee. From this bank, nearly all over it, *from top to bottom*, continually exudes water, which, though not exactly sweet to a fastidious taste, is highly esteemed by a thirsty traveller, and is largely drank by man and beast without any ill effects, except to strangers. The natives, who are accustomed to its use, appear not to think it bad or disagreeable, and call it fresh. This water, trickling down the bank of salt, collects into a small stream, which, at a distance of about a mile from the hill southward, is lost in the desert.

The only permanent inhabitant of this spot is a solitary fakeer, and even he is not always at home; there is no building whatever, nor remains of a building, save the fakeer's hut of reed sticks and mud. The place is, however, in tolerably quiet times, the favourite resort of large numbers of Jutts, who, with camels and other cattle to the amount of many thousands, sometimes encamp there for several months together.

The country all around is of the most desolate appearance; perfectly bare and barren, hill and plain, varied by drift-sand, being alone visible anywhere, and this makes the green and moist spot Ooch the more remarkable. This place Major Billamore and party had to discover for themselves; no one could be found to guide them; the general direction alone was pointed out, and the distance given.

As the Major approached Ooch, single horsemen were seen galloping from all quarters towards one spot, and towards this also rode the British officers and horsemen: they soon found themselves in the

middle of the Belooch encampment. The enemy's horsemen, in number about one hundred, had time to spring on their mares, which are always kept ready saddled, and, well knowing the country, which is of a nature most difficult to a stranger, easily effected their escape unhurt. The footmen, in about equal number, with some women and children, while the cavalry had in vain attempted to close with their fleet-footed foes, climbed to the top of the hills, whence, having secured the women and children in caves, they opened a smart matchlock fire. The infantry detachment was of course far behind, but Clarke soon dismounted some of his men, when Major Billamore, with them and his European officers, immediately attacked the enemy on the hill. In entire ignorance, as they at that time were, of our usages, the barbarians refused to surrender till about twenty of their men were killed, and several others wounded; when, seeing resistance hopeless, and the women in our possession, the remainder surrendered, and were forwarded to Shahpoor with the cattle, &c., taken from the enemy. Major Billamore had received information from these prisoners that the leaders of the party he had surprised at Ooch were Janee and Rahmut, the two most enterprising and most famous of the Belooch warriors.

In the hope of again meeting with these noted freebooters, and thinking it possible, from their well-known boldness and personal courage, that they might even attack him, Major Billamore determined to remain for the night at Ooch; and, sending back the infantry to Shahpoor, to endeavour in the morning to

follow up the enemy with his cavalry. This was carried into effect; but after wandering next day many miles in vain, over an unknown and pathless waste, the attempt to reach such active enemies was unwillingly abandoned, and the troop returned to Ooch. Scarcely, however, had the horses of the party time to drink, when, as if by magic, suddenly appeared, not half a mile off, opposite to an opening in the hills, Janee, Rahmut, and a hundred Beloochees, mounted and drawn up in regular line, as if to charge the British detachment. With the speed of thought, the men of the latter were in their saddles, the next instant they were formed and riding at the enemy so fairly opposed to them. Janee and his men drew their swords and advanced with a shout, and valiant deeds appeared about to take place; the ground looked firm and level for a fair passage of arms, when suddenly every horse of the British detachment sunk into the earth, some planted over girth and saddle-flap, many rolled over and over, and all in helpless confusion. The cunning Belooch had drawn them into an extensive quicksand! One European officer of the whole party, being admirably mounted, alone struggled on through it; but Janee carelessly or generously took no notice of him as he still rode towards him, but with shouts of laughter the Belooch riders went off at speed, and disappeared from, almost as suddenly as they appeared on, the scene. Major Billamore and party, unable to catch their active and subtle foes, returned to Shahpoor, and thence to Poolijee, where, at last, final instructions were received from the political officers, and, in

the beginning of the month of November, 1839, the force proceeded in two detachments to enter the Murree and Boogtee hills, wherein the Doombkees and Jekranees had found refuge.

One party proceeded *viâ* the Goree Pass, near Poolijee, towards Deyra, and the other *viâ* Lahree, and the pass near that town, towards Kahun.

The first party consisted of Major Billamore and Captain Brown, who acted as staff officers to the force. The light company of the 5th Regiment, under Lieutenant Stanley, a company of the Grenadiers, the artillery under Lieutenant Jacob, and one hundred and twenty men of the Sind Irregular Horse under Lieutenant Clarke. The detachment proceeding to Kahun was commanded by Captain Raitt, and consisted of the main body of the Grenadier regiment, and sixty of Clarke's horsemen.

Nothing whatever was procurable, it was said, in the hills, but water, wood, and a little grass; so that, even for so small a force to be in an efficient state, extensive commissariat arrangements were required. With little or no assistance from either the military or civil authorities at head-quarters, and without public treasure, these arrangements were admirably made by the officers of the force. There was little experience, indeed, for all were on their first campaign; but the officers were full of unconquerable zeal, of an energy which nothing could tire, and thrilling with those chivalrous thoughts of military service to which the youthful soldier, alas! is alone allowed to give place in his mind, but which cause fatigue, hardship, danger, difficulty, and impossibility

itself to disappear before them. The greatest point was to provide food for the artillery bullocks, of which one hundred and twenty necessarily accompanied the force. The mention of bullocks may raise a smile on the face of the modern artilleryman. In these days a bullock battery is unknown—its place has been taken by the well-appointed and well-horsed battery now in use, equipped and provided in every possible way, fully manned and officered, &c. &c.

The modern horse battery is beautiful, soldier-like, and complete; nevertheless, when I hear sometimes its *immeasurable* superiority over “the old beef affair” talked of, I cannot help silently thinking of Major Billamore’s artillery in the Murree Hills, and of the subsequent performances of the Bengal Horse Artillery and of Bombay horse batteries in the same locality; and a thought then crosses the mind that the *material* is not all in all in these things! Let, then, those laugh who may. The bullocks were the object of great care and attention; it was managed not only to carry a full allowance of grain for a month, but a supply of forage enough for a week’s consumption was also taken; all this care was well repaid in the sequel.

There was no baggage corps nor camel corps, but there was common-sense; nothing was forgotten that foresight could provide for, or means at command procure. Thus provided, the two detachments entered the hills, and both reached the respective halting-places, Deyra and Kahun, by regular marches; not without much labour certainly, owing to the difficult nature of the country. Neither detachment was

opposed by the enemy, who attempted no serious molestation to the advance of the troops into the very heart of their mountain fastnesses. Major Billamore was met at Sungseela, eighteen or twenty miles from Deyra, by Islam Khan, the son and heir of Beebruck Khan, the head of the Boogtee tribe; this Islam Khan is now grey-headed, old-looking, careworn, and feeble; he was then a young, active, handsome man. So well does trouble supply the place of years! He spoke tolerable Hindoostanee, was very civil, full of expressions of friendship in his father's name and his own, and thus conducted the Major and party to Deyra.

The town of Deyra is a small place, about one hundred and fifty yards square, surrounded with a good strong mud wall, twenty feet high, with towers at the angles, and one gate in the middle of the eastern face. It is supplied with water by a small sparkling stream from the hills on the north side of the valley, distant about two miles. On this little stream, about half a mile from the town, Major Billamore's camp was pitched.

The town was full of people; there was a good bazar apparently in it, and in and about the place there must have been some seven hundred or eight hundred armed men. At first everything was smooth and friendly; but after a few days, when the British detachment had been well scrutinised, its very small numerical strength appeared to be exciting contempt among the proud mountaineers. They soon showed their hostility in various ways, and private information was received that the main body of the Boogtee tribe,

under Alim Khan (chief of the Kulpur branch of that tribe), was fast assembling at a spot in the hills near Deyra, for the purpose of attacking the British detachment. Nearly all the armed Beloochees gradually left Deyra; Islam Khan still came daily to call on Major Billamore, full of professions of friendship, &c., until one day, on which these professions had been more than usually profuse, he also disappeared from Deyra. The old chief, Beebruck, was still in the town; he was very feeble, and could not, without much difficulty, ride any considerable distance on horseback.

Information then reached Major Billamore that the whole Boogtee tribe was ready to attack the detachment, and that, on the departure of old Beebruck, this attack would take place. Measures were taken to prevent the old man's departure; he made an attempt to leave the place during the night, but was stopped and detained.

Meanwhile, very similar proceedings had been going on at Kahun; at both places the apparent weakness of the British detachments tempted the treacherous Beloochees to attempt their destruction.

Captain Raitt, finding his provisions likely to run short, and that, from the hostile bearing of the people, no more would be in all probability obtainable, under orders from Major Billamore, left a company of the Grenadiers, under command of Lieutenant Peacocke, strongly posted in a small fort about a mile from the town of Kahun, and marched with the rest of his detachment to Deyra.

It was on the night after his arrival at that place

that the old Boogtee chief attempted to leave it, in order to join his tribe, now up in arms against Major Billamore. The British detachment at Deyra was under arms the whole of that night, but no attack was made until after daybreak, when the videttes galloped in, reporting the enemy to be approaching in full force. The Boogtees, about twelve hundred in number, were soon seen approaching through the jungle from the eastward; their line presented a most formidable appearance to the small British detachment; they were strong, fierce-looking men, and came on with loud shouts, with much flourishing of swords and firing of matchlocks. During this advance of the enemy's line, the old chief, Beebruck, had been allowed, on some specious pretence, to go to a little distance outside the town, in charge of a file of sepoy; and an attempt, very nearly successful, was now made by the Boogtees to carry him off. A small party of horsemen contrived to approach unseen up the bed of a nulla, and suddenly made a dash at the sepoy guarding Beebruck; these, however, stood firm, and in an instant Clarke, perceiving what was going on, sprang to the spot, struck one of the Boogtees from his horse, seized another by the throat, and brought him, as well as the old chief, back prisoner. The enemy continued to advance, but the firm, silent array of the British detachment appeared to appal them. Savage and fierce as the Belooch warriors appeared, they feared to close with their foes; not a musket-shot was fired, nor was a man hurt on our side. A tremendously noisy but distant and harmless fire of matchlocks was maintained for some

time by the mountaineers, who then withdrew, with a loss of thirty-three men and some horses killed by the fire of the British artillery, in addition to others wounded.

The town of Deyra had hitherto been treated as a friendly place; it was now taken possession of, and all property found in it proclaimed to be lawful prize. The British detachment moved inside the walls, and was quartered in the houses in the town. A considerable quantity of grain and flour found in the town was handed over to the commissariat, and formed a most opportune addition to the means at Major Billamore's disposal; while a great part of the force henceforth lived chiefly on mutton and beef, so that the slender stores of the detachment were made to last during the whole period it was in the hills, or for three and a half months, without the smallest assistance or support during that time being ever received from headquarters, or from the plain country.

The Boogtee chief, Beebruck, was sent to Shahpoor, well guarded, and handed over to the political officers.

The enemy occupied the hills round Deyra, cut off the stream of water which supplied the place, and prevented any forage being brought in. Captain Brown proceeded with a detachment to turn the water on again, which he succeeded in doing after a slight skirmish, in which a few of the mountaineers were killed; he then remained at the spring all day, by which time a large pit close to Deyra had become filled with water, so that the shutting off the water, if repeated, could give no further annoyance for many days to come.

Next day, a party consisting of one hundred and fifty infantry under Captain Raitt, and one hundred of the Sind Irregular Horse under Lieutenant Clarke, proceeded with all the camels of the detachment to some fields, about seven miles west of Deyra, to bring in forage.

This was too tempting an opportunity for the Boogtees to lose; they accordingly assembled in great numbers in the hills at a place called Tructnee, close to the spot, and the camels had hardly been loaded with forage when the mountaineers, outnumbering the British detachment in the proportion of five to one, came down sword in hand and with loud shouts on the sepoy. Captain Raitt, an excellent and stout-hearted officer, received them with a rapid and well-sustained fire; but, unchecked by the musketry, the swordsmen rushed on, and were not ten yards from the bayonets of the infantry when Clark let loose his horsemen: in an instant the mountaineers were broken, struck down, trampled under foot, and compelled to flight; seventy-nine of them were killed, a great many more wounded, but the remainder found safe refuge in their hills, and the horsemen were recalled. The loss on the British side was trifling: three men of the infantry were killed, and nine or ten wounded, some of them severely; of the horsemen one only was slain, but many were wounded, including their gallant leader Lieutenant Clarke. There were three leaders of the Boogtees, remarkable by being the only mounted men among them: these were all killed, and this severe defeat convinced the whole from that day forth that it was useless to attempt a

fair fight against the British troops. Major Billamore now determined to leave part of his force at Deyra for a while, and to proceed with the remainder to Kahun, thence to return to the plain by the best route he could find.

It was considered of importance that his artillery should accompany him to Kahun, in order to show the mountain tribes that their most difficult high and rugged hills were not inaccessible to our guns; but the nature of the country was reported by the officers who had just passed through it to be so difficult as to render the transport of artillery through it a matter of *absolute impossibility*: the artillery officer was however still confident; wherefore Major Billamore allowed him to take a detachment, and examine the worst part of the road himself.

He therefore proceeded from Deyra with a company of infantry under Lieutenant Stanley, of the 5th Regiment, and a troop of the Sind Irregular Horse under Lieutenant Clarke. On entering the Murrow valley they were fired on by a small party of the Boogtees, who immediately fled, but one of them was overtaken and killed by the horsemen. The plain was covered with corn-fields, and in these were numerous flocks of sheep and herds of cattle. These were with much trouble secured, to the number of several thousand sheep, and about one thousand head of oxen and cows; and the artillery officer, with his detachment, then halted for the night at a small walled village, by name Meerza-ke-Ghuree, which he found newly deserted. Lieutenant Peacocke was known to be on his march from Kahun, and Lieutenant

Jacob expected him next day, when he intended to hand over to him the captured cattle to convoy to Deyra. This accordingly took place: Lieutenant Peacocke brought the cattle safely to Deyra, where it proved of the greatest service to the British troops, rendering them independent of all further supplies, most of the men living on flesh meat as mentioned above.

The artillery officer and his party proceeded onwards towards Kahun, and encamped at Kateychee-ke-Ghuree. The enemy, both Murrees and Boogtees, prowled about the camp at night, and fired into it, but, finding everyone on the alert, attempted nothing serious. On the next and two following days, the extemporary pioneers who had accompanied the party from Deyra were set to work on the road, and four very bad places were made passable for the artillery; the rest of the road was thought difficult, but still practicable. Beyond Kateychee-ke-Ghuree, towards Kahun, Captain Raitt and his officers had reported that there were no parts of the road absolutely impassable; wherefore, having removed the worst difficulties of the route, Lieutenant Jacob thought it unnecessary to proceed further, returned with his party to Deyra, and reported to Major Billamore that he was ready to proceed with his artillery to Kahun, and to reach that place in two marches from Deyra, if necessary, while Captain Raitt's detachment had performed the journey in three. A few days afterwards, Major Billamore, Captain Brown, with the light company of the 5th under Lieutenant Stanley, a company of the Grenadiers under Lieutenant Wise-

man, a troop of the Sind Irregular Horse under a native officer, and the artillery under Lieutenant Jacob, marched from Deyra towards Kahun; they marched at six in the morning, and, working hard without ceasing all day, reached Kateychee-ke-Ghuree, distant twenty miles, at eight o'clock in the evening. Here it came on to rain heavily, and it was necessary, in consequence, to halt for two days. The weather was intensely cold; everything was covered with a thick coating of ice: the sepoy were almost frozen to death, but they bore all cheerfully. Kahun was distant about twenty-five miles; there was water only at one spot on the road, and this was about half-way to Kahun. Information was now received that the whole Murree tribe had assembled near the water, expecting the detachment to halt at that place, and intending to attack it unawares: to defeat this purpose, it was proposed to march at once straight to Kahun, and take possession of the place. This was carried into effect. As soon as the rain ceased, and the state of the ground would admit of camels moving, Major Billamore and his detachment proceeded direct to Kahun. Some difficult hills occurred on the road, over which the artillery-carriages were transported with great labour; but starting early in the morning from Kateychee-ke-Ghuree, the detachment reached Kahun in safety shortly after dark, having met with no opposition, and having seen no enemy by the way. The town was found quite deserted, and was occupied next day by the British troops.

The artillery officer who had examined and sketched, as well as he could, the whole of the country passed

over by the force since leaving Poolijee, now thought that a nearer route could be found back to that place than the long, very difficult, and circuitous road *vid* Lahree; he had picked up a man* of the Mussoorree branch of the Boogtee tribe, who had long been resident as a herdsman in the Boogtee and Murree hills, and this man, in answer to inquiries, said that there did exist a path over the mountains bounding the south side of the valley of Kahun, which he was willing and able to point out. Under his guidance the artillery officer, with some difficulty, proceeded to the top of the mountain; the path was only a sheep-walk, and seemed tremendously difficult even for a single horseman; the part over and through the mountain was about four miles in length. This was the pass of "Nuffoosk," a place whose name has since become so familiar, then first beheld by European eyes.

The rock, though hard, was found to yield to the pickaxe and crowbar; and the artilleryman thought that he could in a few days, notwithstanding the apparently awful difficulty of the task, cut a road out of the hill-side over which a gun might be dragged.

Major Billamore gladly assented; for the objects, to effect which the force had entered the hills, had been completely accomplished. Beejar Khan, with Durya Khan, the head of the Jekranees, Toork Ali, Janee, Rahmut, with other chiefs of less note—in short, the whole of the border robbers who had taken refuge in the hills—finding, from the proceed-

* By name Shere Beg; the same who was afterwards of much use to Major Brown, when besieged in Kahun.

ings at Kahun and Deyra, that the mountain tribes themselves were not safe in their rocky fastnesses, had gone in and surrendered to the political officers. The mountaineers had seen that they could not stand before the British troops, even in their own hills; and that these hills, even the highest of them, proved no obstacle to the transport of the British artillery. Such, then, being the case, it was desirable to return to Poolijee and the plain country with all despatch.

The pioneers and all the camp followers were then set to work at the road over Nuffoosk, and in three days it was thought practicable for the artillery. The Murrees offered no serious opposition to the work. They collected in great numbers about the neighbouring hills, and occasionally approached so near to the workpeople, gesticulating and flourishing swords, that they had to be attacked and driven off by the guard; but in general they contented themselves with firing long shots at the artilleryman and his party, which did no damage.

On the fourth day the 24-pounder howitzer and the other carriages were dragged over the mountain. The road was found passable enough; but, from the great steepness and length of the pass, the labour was very great. However, before evening, Major Billamore and his detachment had crossed "*Nuffoosk*," and encamped on the very spot on which Major Clibborn, in 1840, gained so signal a victory over, and with tremendous loss to, the Murree tribe; and then, appalled by the fearful heat and want of water, unfortunately followed up his victory by all the consequences which usually attend on a disastrous defeat.

Next day the detachment marched to "Surtoff," safely descended that great mountain, and thence proceeded, without further adventure, in three or four marches to Poolijee, which it reached on the 11th of February, 1840, about three and a half months since it had marched from that place to enter the hills. Here also, shortly afterwards, arrived in perfect safety Captain Raitt and the remainder of the force. Every object had been fully accomplished, without serious loss, and without a shadow of a disaster. The mountaineers had been thoroughly beaten whenever encountered: the robbers, who had fled for shelter among them, compelled to surrender. The mountains had been penetrated in every direction, and roads made in the very heart of them. In short, nothing could have been more complete than was in every way the success of this expedition.

So little was this success understood, that unthinking persons supposed a similar feat to be easy enough for *any men* to perform, and this idea led to serious disaster. Little detachments were sent to occupy dangerous posts; little parties sent to guard immense convoys of camels: carelessness prevailed everywhere; the fierce and formidable mountaineers were despised, and this contempt met with severe punishment.

The secret of the success of Major Billamore's detachment was, that every member of the force, down to the humblest bullock-driver and camel-man, worked and felt as if he had some very dear personal object in view. To produce this feeling appears to me to be one of the chief attributes of a good soldier.

The beneficial effects of the first hill campaign

were very great—they are still felt: for the mountaineers, having once seen the British troops and artillery march all over their worst mountains, know that the same can be done again.

The proceedings of the British troops, who first entered the formidable mountains north of Kutchee, and encountered their fierce inhabitants, are but little known beyond this country. Their commanding officer hated writing, contented himself with a verbal report of the matter to his superiors, and very soon all appeared to be forgotten. In the account above given are omitted numerous adventures, many slight encounters, personal fights, and single combats with the enemy, and such like, which, if duly set forth in glowing terms, might, without any exaggeration, have given an air of romance to the story. As it is, the simple truth has been told in the plainest language. Such was the hill campaign of 1839-40, conducted by one major, one captain, and six subalterns, with seven hundred native soldiers, totally unaided by others.

SUBSEQUENT PROCEEDINGS ON THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER OF SIND, UP TO THE CLOSE OF THE YEAR 1847.

When the British forces first entered the country in 1839, the position of these tribes was as has been already described under the proper head.

After the hill campaign in 1845, that portion of the Doombkee tribe which had surrendered at Trukhee was placed under a chief, by name Jummal Khan, on lands near Janadeyra, on the Sind Frontier.

Durya Khan and Toork Ali, with the Jekranees and some men of other clans, were settled at Jana-deyra itself and its neighbourhood.

The lands were granted to these men free for three years, which grant was afterwards, at Major Jacob's request, altered to a free grant in perpetuity, and it was expected that they would now take to agricultural pursuits, and entirely leave their former predatory habits.

A commissioner was appointed to reside at Jana-deyra, and superintend the reformed Beloochees.

A strong detachment was posted at Shahpoor, in Kutchee, and the other frontier arrangements were made as before described.

These arrangements did not prove successful. The Doombkees, Jekranees, Kosahs, Boordees, &c., with or without permission, made repeated plundering excursions from British Sind into the neighbouring countries, both hill and plain. The Boogtees did the same from their side into Sind: murder and robbery everywhere prevailed.

The troops were shut up in forts, and did nothing to protect the people. The people themselves were encouraged to bear arms, and to commit acts of violence; the lives and property of the Boogtees being ordered to be taken and destroyed wherever and however found, and a reward of ten rupees per head being offered for the destruction of the whole tribe, and proclaimed throughout the country.

The district along the border was left uncultivated; the canals were not cleared out for many years, and nearly all the peaceable people left the country. The

he looks & dreams

"The sleep & the dream."

p392 "My own service - to the present time."

p394 "The bishop - to the uttermost."

Study, minute & complete, of the
Queen's education

p421. "To re-establish - it will succeed."
"What we require - to stand alone."

p431. Lytton's presentation. - Elaboration
followed.

p424. Ep: Bussy, Clair, London, Cornwall, Frederick the Great.

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he looks & dreams

pp 4, 5. "There been a worker & not a dreamer."

"Attesting has attended these endeavours, & these principles have, in practice, never failed."

p 56 "an outline of nature."

views & opinions

b 222. "Perthown is one of the very few places where I could build a fortress."

p 334 (notes) of the Brothers: they are the Brothers of the Indies!

p 353. "waste of sand?"

p 357: b "it was intended to make this country habitable & to make it our permanent residence?" & context.
(1957)

p 355. "Huts were kept going, night & day, along the whole line."

p 361. "very strong fortifications on the border is certain (to be) steadily reported."
"Two hundred men Khongpa & c. - Khongpa."

p 362. "There are no fortifications & field works at any of my posts."

pp 378-383. 391

384, 5.

Inspection Upper India arrangements pp 396 & 399 he clearly has studied in his eyes.

he looks & dreamer

pp 4, 5. "The worker & worker & not a dreamer."

"Attesting has attended these endeavours, & these principles have, in practice, never failed."

p 56 "an outline of nature."

views of Menzies

b222. "Perthown is one of the very few places where I would build a fortress."

p 334 (notes) of the Brothers: they are the Pundras of the Hindus!

p 353. "waste of sand."

p 357:6 "it was intended to make this country habitable & to make it our permanent residence?" & collect.
(1954)

p 355. "Huts were kept going, night & day, along the whole line."

p 361. "every thing for the first time as the border is certain to be steadily reported."
"Two prisoners taken to the camp & released."

p 362. "There are no prisoners & I will make it one of my posts."

pp 378-383. 391

384, 5.

Inspection Upper India arrangements pp 386 & 389 the church has been in his eye.

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troops were perfectly isolated in their entrenchments no supplies were drawn from the country-folk but all were fed as if on shipboard, by the commissariat, even at the distant outpost of Shahpoor, in Kutchee. The troops and camp followers were supplied with every article of consumption from the public stores, forwarded by the commissariat department, at an enormous cost, from Shikarpoor, some sixty miles distant. Even the horses of the cavalry were fed in like manner.

The troops, so placed, being completely separated from the inhabitants of the country, and holding little or no communication with them, were entirely ignorant of their nature and habits ; knew not friend from foe ; were always in a state of alarm, and expecting to be attacked, even at Shikarpoor itself.

Notwithstanding that the Boogtees had been proclaimed outlaws, a price set on the head of every man of the tribe, and all of them ordered to be treated as enemies wherever found, they were not subdued—not, indeed, in any way weakened, by any of the proceedings of the Governor of Sind.

The removal of the Jekranees and Doombkees from Kutchee left the Sind border temptingly open to their incursions, and they failed not to take advantage of the circumstances, until at last, becoming more and more bold by impunity, they assembled a force of some 1,500 armed men, mostly on foot ; and on the 10th December, 1846, marched into Sind, passed through the British outposts, who dared not to attack them, to within fifteen miles of Shikarpoor, and remained twenty-four hours within the British territory, secured

every head of cattle in the country around, and returned to their hills, some seventy-five miles distant, with all their booty, in perfect safety.

The Boogtees on this occasion conducted their proceedings in the most cool and systematic manner: they brought with them, besides the armed force above mentioned, nearly five hundred unarmed followers, to drive the cattle, of which they obtained, by their own account, some fifteen thousand head. This inroad was thought to be in too great force for the detachments on the outposts to attempt anything against it.

Timely information reached the Shahpoor post, but no troops moved from it against the invading Boogtees.

A regiment of cavalry and two hundred native rifles were sent from Shikarpoor to repel the invaders. The cavalry came on them at Hoodoo, some forty-five miles from Shikarpoor—the Boogtees *en masse*, their unarmed attendants meanwhile diligently continuing to drive on the cattle towards Loree Kooshtuck and the hills. However, the British troops were ignorant of the ground, thought the robbers too strong to be attacked, and returned to Shikarpoor without attempting anything further, the Boogtees ultimately reaching their hills, with all their prey, without the loss of a man, save one killed by a distant random shot from the matchlock of a Jekranee.

One regiment of the Sind Irregular Horse, then at Hyderabad, was now ordered up with all speed to the frontier, where it arrived on the 9th January, 1847.

Major Jacob was appointed to command the frontier,

and since then has held this post. On arrival at Khanghur, desolation and terror was found to prevail everywhere in the country. No man could go in safety from place to place, even on the main line of communication from Shikarpoor to Jaghun, without a strong escort.

Not a man of the Belooch settlers, the Jekranees and Doombkees, had as yet attempted any peaceful labour, or ever put his hand to any agricultural implement. There were no made roads in any part of the country, and no bridges; indeed, there was not a single mile of good road in all Upper Sind.

At Khanghur there was no village and bazar, and but four or five wretched huts, containing twenty-two souls in all; the cavalry detachment was found on arrival *locked up* in the fort, the gate not being opened at eight o'clock in the morning; and this was the normal state of things.

On the night before the arrival of the Sind Irregular Horse, the Boogtees had carried off some camels from a detachment of the Baggage Corps between Jaghun and Shikarpoor; and this was their last successful attempt at plundering in Sind. Our predecessors, during the previous four years, knew little or nothing of the country, or of the people on the border; the men of the Sind Irregular Horse were familiar with both, and this gave them confidence and power.

After assuming the command and relieving the outposts, Major Jacob at once ordered all idea of defensive operations to be abandoned; every detach-

ment was posted in the open plain, without any defensive works whatever ; patrols were sent in every direction in which it was thought an enemy might appear, and these parties crossed and met so often that support was almost certain to be at hand if wanted. The parties were sent to distances of forty miles into and beyond the desert, and along the frontier line.

Whenever a party of the Sind Irregular Horse came on any of the plunderers, it always fell on them at once, charging any number, however superior, without the smallest hesitation.

Against such sudden attacks the robber horsemen never attempted a stand ; they always fled at once, frequently sustaining heavy loss in men, and never succeeding in obtaining any plunder.

These proceedings, and particularly the tracks, daily renewed, of our parties all over the desert, and at all the watering-places near the hills, far beyond the British border, alarmed the robbers, and prevented their ever feeling safe, and they soon ceased to make attempts on the British territory, although still plundering all Kutchee. Meanwhile, Major Jacob had discovered that not only the Boordees and Muzzarees, who were always inveterate marauders, but the Belooch settlers at Janadeyra, had been, all along, systematically carrying on plundering excursions on a considerable scale, entirely unknown to their commissioner, residing among them.

The horses of these Jekranees and Doombkees had been taken from them a year before, by order of Sir C. Napier, and sold by auction ; but Major Jacob

found that the sale had been fictitious, and that, according to the custom of the country, the former owners still retained shares in these horses.

It may be proper to explain here, that, among the Belooch border tribes of Sind, a horse (or rather mare, for they ride only the latter), very seldom belongs to one man only; and sometimes the property in one mare is shared among as many as twenty men.

Thus, when the horses of the Jekranees and Doombkees were supposed to have been finally disposed of, only certain shares in them had been sold; the animals were kept by various zemindars all over the country, and whenever a foray from Sind was agreed on, the horses were ready for their old masters. The men left Janadeyra, &c., by ones and twos, went for their horses, and then proceeded to the appointed rendezvous, generally in the territory of Meer Ali Moorad, the village of Thool being a favourite place.

These musters sometimes amounted to as many as a hundred horse or more, with many other men on foot. After the foray into the hills, or elsewhere, the booty obtained was shared at some place beyond the British boundary, the plunderers dispersed, replaced the horses with the zemindars, and returned, one by one, to their homes.

The existence of these proceedings had never been suspected until pointed out by Major Jacob, and then at first they were thought impossible; but having good information of what was going on, Major Jacob caused the places of these predatory rendezvous to be suddenly surrounded by parties of the Sind Irregular Horse, just after the return of a body of Jekranee

plunderers from a foray ; the robbers were all secured, with their horses, arms, and a large quantity of stolen cattle.

Concealment was no longer possible, and Major Jacob now obtained permission to disarm every man in the country, not being a Government servant, which was at once done.

At the same time, Major Jacob set five hundred of the Jekranees to work to clear the Noorwah canal (a main feeder cleared by Government, then belonging to Ali Moorad). The men were very awkward at first, but were strong, energetic, cheerful, and good-natured ; they soon became used to the tools, and were then able to do a better day's work, and of course to earn more pay, than the ordinary Sindhee labourers. The men seemed proud of this, and the experiment was perfectly successful.

Soon afterwards the Belooch settlers took to manual labour, in their own fields, with spirit and even pride. From that time they were really conquered and reformed. They are now the most hard-working, industrious, well-behaved, cheerful set of men in all Sind.

Their numbers amount to about two thousand adult males, but, for three years past, not a man of them has been convicted, or even accused, of any crime whatever, great or small ; yet seven or eight years ago they were the terror of the country, murderers and robbers to a man.

* * * Our own subjects ceased to be robbers, the occupation of a "lootoo" ceased to be respectable, and has now become a subject of shame

instead of glory to the wild hordes themselves. Peace, quiet, safety for life and property, were thus established along the border; while the Boogtees, who, now shut out from Sind, persisted in making predatory inroads on the plains of Kutchee, were, on the 1st October, 1847, in one of the incursions, intercepted by a detachment of the Sind Irregular Horse, under Lieutenant Merewether, and signally punished. On this occasion, about one-half of the whole fighting men of the tribe were killed or taken prisoners. The strength of the tribe was completely broken, and the Boogtee chiefs soon came in to the British authorities in Sind, and surrendered at discretion. They, with the greater part of their followers, men, women, and children, to the number of some two thousand, were settled on lands near Larkhana.

The prisoners were released, and some of the men taken into the British service as police, and all might have remained in peace and comfort at their new settlement, had it not been for the intrigues of one Aliff Khan, a distinguished Patan officer, then native adjutant of the Sind Police. Frightened by continual threats and demands of bribes by the police officer, Aliff Khan, the Boogtee chiefs, in March, 1848, fled and again returned to their hills. On this occasion, one of the wives of the chief Islam Khan, the families of some others of the principal men of the Boogtees, and altogether some seven hundred or eight hundred persons of the tribe, remained in Sind.

The chiefs, who had fled to the hills, made several attempts to renew predatory inroads, but without success, and, after a while, they again came to the

political superintendent on the frontier, to beg for mercy and favour, the tribe being completely broken, and incapable of further mischief. That portion of it settled in Sind was allowed to return to the hills, and they did so in October, 1851. Some of the best of the men belonging to it were afterwards taken into the British service, and the Kulpur chief, Allum Khan, with thirty of his followers, are now enrolled in the Belooch Mounted Guides, employed on the Sind Frontier, in which capacity they have proved faithful, diligent, and generally very useful.

APPENDIX.

Field Orders by Major BILLAMORE, Commanding, &c.

Poolijee, 11th February, 1840.

As the field force under Major Billamore is about to be broken up, the commanding officer has much pleasure in testifying to the general good conduct and steady behaviour of the troops composing it.

For upwards of three months they have been subjected to many hardships and privations, which have been encountered and overcome, not only without a murmur, but with a cheerful alacrity which reflects the highest credit on them.

To the officers and men composing the force, the commanding officer offers his thanks for their willing and cordial co-operation, in effecting the objects for which they were ordered to take the field.

To Lieutenant Jacob, commanding the artillery, the thanks of the commanding officer are especially due, for the very able and efficient manner in which he conducted his battery, over an unknown and difficult country, offering obstacles of no ordinary nature.

Major Billamore will have much pleasure in bringing to the notice of the brigadier commanding in Upper Sind, the uniform good conduct of the troops employed under him.

By order,

(Signed) L. BROWN,
Captain 5th Regiment N. I., Staff Officer.

*Brigade Orders by Brigadier GORDON, Commanding
in Upper Sind.*

Sukkur, 3rd February, 1840.

Brigadier Gordon, in turning over the command of the troops in Upper Sind to Brigadier Stevenson, cannot take leave of them without expressing his warmest feelings for their general good conduct, and the cheerfulness with which they have performed their duty, under, perhaps (at the season their exertions were called for), one of the most trying climates in the world. To the commanding officers his thanks are justly due.

To the field force under Major Billamore, and to his judicious and zealous operations, the present tranquillity of those hitherto barbarous tracts may be mainly attributed;* and the active exertions of

* This shows the immediate effect of the first hill campaign.

Lieutenant Jacob, now commanding the artillery, under Major Billamore, have repeatedly come to the notice of the brigadier, and afforded him the highest satisfaction.

By order,
(Signed) T. CLIBBORN, Captain,
Major of Brigade.

No. 2556 OF 1842.

*From the POLITICAL AGENT in Sind and Beloochistan,
to Lieutenant JACOB, Commanding the Sind
Irregular Horse.**

Sukkur, 9th November, 1842.

I cannot depart from Sind without performing my duty to yourself and the corps you command, in acknowledging the great obligations I am under to you, to Lieutenants Malcolm and Fitzgerald, and to the native officers and men of the Sind Irregular Ressala.

For the first time, within the memory of man, Kutchee and Upper Sind have been for a whole year entirely free from the irruptions of the hill tribes, by which villages were annually destroyed, lives and property sacrificed, and the whole country kept in a state of fever.

During the past year, the emissaries of our enemies had been unremitting in their exertions to instigate the northern hill tribes to resume their marauding

* This letter, published to the Sind Irregular Horse by order of the Political Agent, shows the state of the Sind frontier during the year 1842, up to the arrival of Sir C. Napier in the country.

habits, with a view to disturb our communication with Affghanistan through Sind and Kutchee, and so far succeeded, that large bands of freebooters were at one time assembled for the purpose, under some of the most noted of their former leaders; but in vain they strove to effect their objects, which were solely counteracted by the indomitable zeal with which you, your officers, and men, so constantly exposed yourselves, especially throughout the hot months, whereby every attempt of the marauders to enter the plains was baffled; the extraordinary vigilance you have exerted, and strict discipline you have maintained, not merely in the Sind Ressala, but also among the quotas of Belooch horse which were under your orders, has deterred the northern tribes from committing themselves in hostility during the late exciting period, in dread of the corps you so ably commanded.

I am bound, accordingly, to attribute to the Sind Irregular Horse the profound tranquillity which has been preserved in Upper Sind and Kutchee; and I beg you will accept yourself, and convey to your officers and men, my grateful thanks.

I have the honour to annex an extract, paragraph 11, from despatch I addressed to Mr. Secretary Maddock, the 9th ultimo, expressing my obligation to you personally.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) J. OUTRAM,

Political Agent in Sind and Beloochistan.

*Manifesto by His Excellency Major-General Sir C. J. NAPIER, G.C.B., Governor of Sind.**

Sukkur, 13th January, 1845.

Being about to cross the Sind frontier at the head of a strong body of troops, I think it right to state to the neighbouring tribes why I thus invade the territory of our friend the Khan of Khelat, in order that these tribes may be satisfied as to the cause of my movements, and that they may not think the said movements arise from the desire of acquiring territory or molesting allies.

His Highness the Khan of Khelat has given us permission to enter his territories; and had he not done so, I must still have invaded them for the protection of our own subjects.

These territories are occupied, as regards our immediate frontier, by three powerful and predatory tribes, the Doombkees, Jekranees, and the Boogtees (there are also others of inferior note). These tribes are in open rebellion against their sovereign, the Khan of Khelat. During the whole of last summer they were excited by the hopes of pillage, to make, without the slightest pretext, frequent predatory inroads on the Sind territory, plundering villages, murdering many of the inhabitants, and devastating the country. In several instances they were engaged with our outposts; and on one occasion, falling on two hundred unarmed and unopposing grasscutters, they massacred nearly the whole of them, together with an officer's party of

* This manifesto clearly shows the state of the Sind frontier after two years of Sir C. Napier's administration.

cavalry who were guarding these poor people, and whom the robbers surprised. Many villages on our frontier were left desolate; the inhabitants of which, abandoning their crops, fled further into the interior of Sind, calling aloud upon me, as Governor of the province, to give them protection. On my part, I applied to their sovereign, the Khan of Khelat, to control his subjects. He promised to do this; but they were not controlled.

I believe his Highness the Khan has the most friendly intentions with regard to the British Government; but it was evident that the arch-robber and rebel, Beejar Khan Doombkee, was too powerful in arms to be reduced to obedience by his prince. So true is this, that he openly bestowed in jaghire large tracts of his sovereign's territory, and to which the latter was constrained to submit. I was, therefore, obliged to reinforce our outposts against this unexpected and unprovoked enemy; and on one occasion our troops wholly failed in an attack made upon Beejar Khan. This was at the period of the year when the heat was so very great as to be insupportable to human beings exposed to mid-day sun.

My orders to the frontier posts were then issued to remain on the defensive during the hot weather. These orders, together with the success of Beejar Khan, rendered the robber tribes more daring. They frequently entered the Sindian frontier in search of plunder, and were on two or three occasions attacked in our own territory, and defeated by the troops, the police, and the villagers themselves, who several times turned out to aid the troops.

It must be evident to every one, that such a state of things could not be suffered by any regular government; and I was directed by the Governor-General of India to take such steps as were necessary to tranquillise the frontier and protect the people of Sind.

I have here to remark that the Ex-Ameer, Shere Mahomed, had located himself among these robbers, and excited them to plunder Sind. He was also in hopes of exciting an insurrection in his favour. But the chiefs of Sind had no desire for his return; still less would the people of Sind assist him, conscious of having a degree of protection under the British Government which they never experienced under that of the Ameers. The Ameer consequently gave over his attempts, and retired to the Sikh territory.

Such was the state of things on the frontier when the cold season arrived; and, in consequence of the solicitations made by me to the Khan of Khelat, His Highness made a feeble effort against his rebel subjects: he advanced from Dadur to Poolijee.

It is evident the rebels well knew the danger they would incur were they to meet their prince on the plain, when he would be assisted at any moment by the British, and each day's march brought him nearer to our outposts.

The strength of the rebels lay in the Boogtee mountains: and to the mountains they of course retired. Among these celebrated defiles and passes the Khan dared not pursue them. The amount of his forces did not exceed two thousand men, and these were by no means under his command: an immediate retreat was decided upon by His Highness.

While this prince was at Pooljee, I sent a vakeel to beg that he would allow me to have a conference with him either at Pooljee, at Dadur, at Bagh, at Gundava, or any other place His Highness chose to appoint. His answer was a refusal, for reasons which I cannot make public, without doing His Highness an injury.

My vakeel therefore returned; but I felt that it was necessary to have in writing His Highness's formal acknowledgment of his inability to control his subjects, the Doombkees, Jekranees, and Boogtees, and his desire that I would punish their rebellion and their murderous inroads upon the Sind territory.

It was also necessary that I should have His Highness's reasons in writing for not meeting me. I therefore despatched Mr. Brown, the Secretary to the Sind Government, who is a personal friend of the Khan's, and possessing my highest confidence, in hopes some arrangements might be made for a united exertion to repress these mountain tribes; but in vain. The state of the Khan's territory beyond the Bolan Pass rendered him unable to attend to the affairs of Kutchee; and he appeared to hold nothing but a nominal sovereignty over that rich tract of country, of which Bagh is the centre.

On Mr. Brown's return from Bagh, so daring were the robber tribes, that he was nearly taken (and to be taken by them is synonymous with being murdered), by three hundred cavalry belonging to the rebels, who had pushed about eighty miles from their haunts for the express purpose of waylaying Mr. Brown. The course to be pursued by me has now become clear and

decisive. It is to enter the Boogtee mountains, and attack these robber tribes in their fastnesses. They are the Pindarees of the Indus.

As Mr. Brown rode through the villages he found them miserable. I will use the words of his report to me:—

“The route I pursued through Kutchee was by Kunda, Kassim-ke-Gote, and Bagh, which line I remember in former days to be richly cultivated. It is now a desert. I did not meet with an acre of cultivation in Kutchee: the condition of the people is most miserable. They have no security for their property—villages are daily plundered by the hill robbers. I heard many villagers (some of whom were wounded) declare that, if they were not protected, they would fly the country and come to Sind.” It is certainly not my duty to protect these poor people, the inhabitants of Kutchee; but it is my duty to protect the inhabitants of Sind; and therefore I shall march, on the 16th of January, beyond the frontier, at the head of a strong force, accompanied by the Sindian chiefs Wullee Mahomed, Chandiah, Ahmed Khan Mugsee, and many others, at the head of many thousands of their followers*, all determined to revenge their plundered villages upon the mountain tribes. I shall also be assisted by His Highness Ali Moorad, Talpoor, who will march against the enemy, by whom his frontier has also been molested.

It is no small satisfaction to me that I find the Sindian chiefs, who but two years ago stood opposed to us in battle at Meeanee, now eager to draw the

* The whole of these thousands amounted to about six hundred.

sword and fight under British colours. It gives no equivocal proof of their contentment with the government of Sind.

What the result of these operations may be, it is impossible to say ; but I hope it will be such as permanently to secure the tranquillity of the Sindian frontier, and enable our ally, the Khan of Khelat, to recover the rule of his country from these robbers. With this last I have nothing to do. The moment I have punished the robbers I shall retire within our own frontier*, satisfied that I have performed my duty to the East India Company, to the people of Sind, and to humanity.

(Signed) C. J. NAPIER, Major-General,
Governor of Sind.

*General Orders by His Excellency Major-General
Sir C. NAPIER, G.C.B., Governor of Sind.†*

*Head-Quarters, Camp Shahpoor,
19th January, 1845.*

No. 1.—There are two circumstances, which occurred in the opening of this campaign against the robber tribes, which excite the admiration of the

* Sir C. Napier did not withdraw his troops within the Sind frontier ; a strong detachment was posted at Shahpoor, thirty miles beyond the British frontier, and retained there for more than three years.

† The breadth of the desert between Sind and Kutchee is, from Khanghur to Manootee, twenty-one miles ; from Rojaun to Shahpoor, where the Sind Irregular Horse marched on the occasion referred to in this order, is thirty-seven miles ; from Khanghur to Ooch, where

Major-General and Governor, and which he thinks it right to make the subject of a separate order. The first is, that in the prompt and dangerous attack for cavalry of a village like Shahpoor, in the highest degree defensible, and built for defence, and which was defended, that Captain Jacob and his men carried it with the rapidity of lightning, and, while losing men, did not injure one of the defenders, but captured them all. This is a very rare and very glorious instance of perfect discipline, as well as courage, on the part of the Sind Horse; and though to men less acquainted with war it may appear trifling, yet, in the mind of the Major-General and Governor, it stamps both the Sind Horse and its commandant as first-rate soldiers—prompt, resolute, obedient, and humane, even in the momentary excitement of action, against the most furious of enemies.

The Major-General Governor feels the greatest satisfaction in thus publicly mentioning Captain Jacob and his corps, for thus setting an example so honourable to themselves and to the army.

This order to be translated, and to be read to every regiment, European and native, serving in Sind.

By order,

(Signed) E. GREEN, Major,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

Sir C. Napier marched on commencing the hill campaign, is twenty-eight miles. This last-named distance Sir C. Napier in his despatch calls forty miles; Sir W. Napier doubles this, and says that the desert is eighty miles wide.

*Extract from General Orders by His Excellency
Major-General Sir C. NAPIER, G.C.B., Gover-
nor of Sind.*

Head-Quarters, Trukkee, 11th March, 1845.

Twenty-five brave robbers, on foot, well armed with swords, shields, and matchlocks, met twenty of the Sind Horse patrolling in the desert. The robbers gave a volley and charged. The Sind Horse met them; a combat with sabres ensued. The Sind Horse had one man killed and two wounded; four horses killed and two wounded. Of the enemy, every man fell, sword in hand. Quarter was repeatedly offered to these stern gladiators, but they refused, and every robber bit the dust. Honour be to their courage—more honour to their conquerors. Another laurel leaf has been added to the rich wreath of Jacob's Horse. The conduct of Jemedar Guffoor Mahomed and his companions demands the Governor's highest approbation; and he will report their gallantry to the Governor-General of India, and to the Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay army, as soon as Captain Jacob sends in the names of these brave men.*

(Signed) C. J. NAPIER, G.C.B.,
Governor of Sind.

True extract, (Signed) E. GREEN, Major,
Assistant Adjutant-General.

* Sir W. Napier calls the detachment of the Sind Irregular Horse mentioned in this order "Moguls;" he might as well style the Men of Kent "Jutts."—The men of the Sind Irregular Horse are Hindoostanees.

No. 1201 of 1846.

*From Captain GOLDNEY, Collector and Magistrate,
Shikarpoor.*

SIR,—I beg to report for your information, that, in obedience to His Excellency's instructions, I have issued notices that a reward of ten rupees will be paid for every Boogtee prisoner delivered to frontier posts.

May I request that you will intimate the same to the officers commanding the outposts, both native and European, lest any untoward circumstances should occur in the receipt of the prisoners, or the payment, or certificate for payment, of the stipulated reward, to damp the zeal of our borderers.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) P. GOLDNEY,*
Collector and Magistrate.

Shikarpoor, 8th August, 1846.

*Directions of His Excellency the GOVERNOR OF SIND,
regarding the Treatment of the Boogtees after
the Hill Campaign.†*

Dated 8th January, 1846.

SIR,—By direction of His Excellency the Governor, I have the honour to inform you that the Boogtees

* This letter, with proclamation in English and Persian, was published all over the border country, by order of Sir C. Napier.

† This order was also published throughout Upper Sind, and was never countermanded.

are outlaws ; and all cattle belonging to them, and themselves, are to be captured or killed when they come near the frontier.

I have the honour to be, sir,

Your most obedient servant,

(Signed) E. J. BROWN,

Secretary to the Government of Sind.

Kurrachee, 8th January, 1846.

NOTIFICATION, *Political Department.*

Bombay Castle, October 27th, 1847.

The Honourable the Governor in Council is pleased to direct that the following despatch from Colonel the Honourable H. Dundas, commanding the troops in Sind, to the Adjutant-General of the Army, with the accompanying reports from Major Jacob and Lieutenant Merewether, of the Sind Irregular Horse, be published for general information.

The skilful arrangements and judicious precautions of Major Jacob, and the admirable conduct and daring spirit of Lieutenant Merewether, and the party of the Sind Horse under his command, have combined to achieve a signal and most important service. By the destruction of this large body of marauders assembled on the frontier, the peace of the British territories has, it may be hoped, been effectually secured, and the Governor in Council feels that the highest praise is due to all who have borne any part in this gallant and successful exploit. The Sind Horse on this occasion has added another to the many recorded instances of valour, and devo-

tion to its duty, which have always been conspicuous in the short but brilliant career of this distinguished corps.

By order of the Honourable the Governor in Council,

(Signed) A. MALET,
Chief Secretary to Government.

To the ADJUTANT-GENERAL of the ARMY, Poona.

SIR,—It is with the greatest satisfaction I have the honour to transmit, for the information of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief, the enclosed copies of despatches received through Lieutenant-Colonel Shaw, commanding in Upper Sind, from Major Jacob, commanding the Sind Irregular Horse and the frontier, and from Lieutenant Merewether, Second in Command of the 1st Regiment, and commanding detachment at Shahpoor, detailing a most complete and decisive success, gained by Lieutenant Merewether and one hundred and thirty-two men of all ranks of the 1st Regiment Sind Horse, over the combined Boogtee tribe of Beloochees, on the 1st instant.

These reports are so complete in themselves that it only remains for me to submit them for the perusal of his Excellency, adding, however, the meed of praise due to Major Jacob and Lieutenant Merewether.

To the former officer for the excellence of the arrangements which have been made by him, since the frontier has been placed under his charge by His Excellency Sir Charles Napier, G.C.B., who, having

the highest confidence in Major Jacob's skill and ability (always conspicuous), that officer has now shown how fully it was deserved. To these arrangements may be attributed the most signal success that has ever attended the careful watching of this long-vexed frontier, which has ended in the total destruction of the most notorious freebooters in Kutchee.

Major Jacob's activity, skill, and judgment, have been long known to his military superiors, and I am most happy in being the means of reporting the success which has at last attended his unremitting vigilance and untiring exertions.

To the conduct of Lieutenant Merewether I would also most particularly call the attention of His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief. This officer, though young in years and service, has been most actively employed in the field almost throughout that period of service, and always with credit to himself. He wears a medal for the battle of Hyderabad, and, since he has been with the Sind Horse, formed under the eye of Major Jacob, he has now proved himself a first-rate cavalry officer.

His conduct on the present occasion speaks for itself, in his well and modestly worded despatch. Watching for months, in the desert, an enemy artful and daring as these Boogtee robbers have shown themselves, he has bided his time, and, when that time came, has swept them from the face of the earth.

He appears to have manœuvred his squadron with great skill and judgment, and the fearful loss of life on the part of the robbers will prove to His Excel-

lency with what gallantry and determination the charges were made and executed.

While mentioning the conduct of the European officers, I must not fail to speak of the squadron which Lieutenant Merewether commanded and led. Officers and men of the Sind Horse appear to be of one heart and mind, and the devotion to the service, and gallantry of the native officer, non-commissioned officers, and troopers, which formed Lieutenant Merewether's small force, is beyond all praise. I have therefore thought it right to send the whole of their names to his Excellency, for such notice as he may think their gallant conduct deserves.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) H. DUNDAS, Colonel,
Commanding the Troops in Sind.

Head Quarters, Kurrachee, 7th October, 1847.

*To Lieutenant-Colonel M. SHAW, Commanding in
Upper Sind.*

SIR,—I have the honour herewith to forward a report from Lieutenant Merewether, commanding at Shahpoor, of proceedings with regard to the inroad of the Boogtee tribe, reported by me to you yesterday. Lieutenant Merewether's letter requires no comment,—it sets forth distinctly and fully the particulars of the most perfectly successful affair of the kind I have ever witnessed or heard of. One hundred and thirty-three men killed nearly six hundred enemies, and made prisoners one hundred and twenty, in two hours' fighting, the enemy resisting manfully the

whole time, and obstinately refusing quarter. Five hundred and sixty dead bodies have been counted, and there are probably more lying about in the jungle.

The conduct of Lieutenant Merewether himself has been beyond praise, and shows a rare and most excellent unison of implicit obedience and great military skill, of cool and careful prudence with the most daring courage.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) J. JACOB, Major,

Commanding Sind Irregular Horse, Frontier.

Shahpoor, 2nd October, 1847.

To Major JACOB, Commanding Frontier, Khanghur.

SIR,—Having received the good intelligence of the whole Boogtee force having entered the plain, as already reported to you, I have the honour to inform you that I started at half-past one o'clock on the morning of the 1st October, with a party of the Sind Irregular Horse, amounting to one hundred and thirty-three men of all ranks, from Shahpoor, in pursuit of the enemy. I arrived at the Zemanee river just as it became light enough to see clearly the tracks of the enemy. I observed a spot in the bed of the Zemanee river where they had apparently halted for a short time; from the marks, I was of opinion that their strength might be six or seven hundred footmen, with a small party of horse. I thence proceeded, according to your instructions, along the foot of the small hills, intending to take post in the

Teywaugh, thinking that the enemy would certainly return that way, and the ground being favourable for cavalry to act on. However, I had not proceeded a quarter of a mile beyond the Zemanee river, when Jan Mahomed Kyheeree, who was a short distance in advance, came back and informed me that he heard loud shouting and much noise in the direction of Koonree. My detachment was marching in column of troops; I wheeled them into line, and proceeded in the direction of Koonree. When near the jungle about that place, I saw the enemy formed in a deep and long line to my left. They appeared to be making a side movement towards the jungle. I therefore passed rapidly along their front, to cut them off from the jungle, and drive them to the open plain. They were at this time posted in some rough broken ground, with sand hillocks and bushes: but apparently fancying, from my galloping along their front, that I did not intend to attack them, they left their vantage ground, and rushed forward to attack me, with much firing, loud shouts, and howls. This at once gave me all I wished for, namely, a fair field; I immediately changed front to the left, which the men did most steadily, as if on parade. When my change of position was executed, I charged. The charge was made steadily and rapidly, with irresistible effect. The Boogtees had formed a solid mass to receive us, but were overthrown at the first onset, with terrible loss. They then moved off towards the hills, distant about three miles, in disorder, but shouldering together as closely as they could. We continued our attacks, killing numbers, until on

recrossing the Zemanee river, they made another short stand. They were again overthrown, and driven into the open plain. They were now approaching the low hills, when Russaidar Shaik Ali, very judiciously getting some men in advance, cut them off from that place of refuge, and they turned back towards Koonree. Their numbers were now getting small; but though repeated offers of quarter were made to them, they obstinately continued to fight, until the destruction was so great that their numbers were reduced to about one hundred and twenty, many of whom were wounded. At last, seeing resistance utterly hopeless, they were induced to throw down their arms and surrender. Not a single footman escaped capture or death; two horsemen alone out of the whole force of the enemy, stated by the prisoners to have been full seven hundred in all, including twenty-five horseman. Among the slain are several chieftains of note, in fact, all the leaders of repute in the tribe. The undermentioned were recognised among the dead:—

Hundoo. Nothane.

Kora. Kulpur.

Kurreemdad. Raimoozye.

Jumah. . . (Outlaw) Jekranee.

Chuttah. . . (Outlaw) Jekranee.

(Killed in the attack on Kundranee.)

Kumber. Nephew of the

Shumbrane chief, "Lango."

Also a nephew of Hundoo's, name unknown.

Sunjur. Rind.

There were also many others, esteemed as warlike

characters, but of less note, killed. Neither Islam Khan nor Alim Khan were with the party.

Our own loss has, I am happy to say, been trifling compared to the result, as shown by the annexed return of killed and wounded: nine of our horses were killed and ten wounded, seven of them mortally so. Amongst the wounded is your own horse, which I was riding at the time; he has received two severe sword-cuts, one on the loins close behind the saddle, and the other on the heel. After all was over I returned to Shahpoor, *via* Chuttur, to which latter place I had sent all the prisoners able to march, under the custody of Naib Russaldar Azeem Khan. Russaidar Shaik Ali, with the remainder of my detachment, I left at Koonree, to take care of the wounded till I could send out assistance and carriage from this place. All returned to Shahpoor this morning.

Before I fell in with the enemy, they had attempted to plunder the village of Kundranee, whence they were beaten off by the head man, Deen Mahomed Kyheeree, in splendid style; Deen Mahomed and his people killing the notorious "Chuttah" Jekranee and others, and taking one prisoner. Three determined attacks were made by the Boogtees on the fort, and at one time the assailants had actually reached the top of the wall, but were thrown back by the defenders.

All my native officers and men behaved well in this affair: nothing could be more perfect than the steadiness, resolution, and quickness which they showed throughout; but I beg particularly to bring to your notice the excellent conduct of—

Russaidar Shaik Ali.

Naib Russaldar Azeem Khan.

Sowar Sulleen Khan.

„ Bujjoo Khan.

„ Bahadoor Khan.

„ Kurreem Khan.

I saw these four sowars each kill several of the enemy in fair stand-up fight, hand to hand ; but nearly all must have done equally well, although it be not possible for me to specify every man's deeds individually. I beg leave also to remark that the destructive effect of our little carbines, used in the hand, at close quarters, was quite terrible to behold. Every shot appeared to kill or disable an enemy, who were often, by reason of the bushes and broken ground, enabled just to keep out of sword's reach.

I must not omit to mention that Jan Mahomed Kyheeree, with four of his followers, was close to me during nearly the whole of the action, and behaved exceedingly well. Jan Mahomed fought stoutly, killing several of the enemy before his sword broke over the head of another.

I have made the best provision I can for the wounded prisoners, who are being carefully attended to by Assistant-Surgeon J. Pirie.

I have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) W. MEREWETHER, Lieutenant,
2nd in Command S. I. H., Comg. Outposts,
Shahpoor.

Shahpoor, 2nd October, 1847.

General Orders by the COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF.

Head-Quarters, Poona, 30th October, 1847.

1. Lieutenant Merewether, Second in Command of the 1st Sind Irregular Horse, has, with one hundred and thirty-two men of that corps, executed a brilliant exploit. He routed and totally defeated a body of seven hundred freebooters, belonging to the Boogtee tribe of Beloochees, on the 1st instant, who, notwithstanding quarter was repeatedly offered to them, obstinately refused the boon, and provoked their own destruction.

The coolness and military science this officer exemplified in taking up his position, the promptness with which he wheeled his men into line, and the gallantry with which he instantly attacked his numerous enemy, merit the Commander-in-Chief's warm approbation, which he thus publicly offers to Lieutenant Merewether, and the men of the Sind Horse who participated with him on this occasion.

The Sind Horse, on every service on which they have been employed, have conducted themselves in the most gallant manner; and to Captain Jacob, who commands, and has brought them to this state of perfection, the Commander-in-Chief offers his meed of praise and approbation, and begs that officer will accept the high opinion his Excellency entertains of his distinguished merit.

(Signed) H. HANCOCK, Lieutenant-Colonel,
Acting Adjutant-General of the Army.

MEMORANDUM ON THE PRINCIPLES OF PROCEDURE ON THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER OF SIND.

Entirely offensive measures on the part of the troops, the possibility of attack by the marauders never being contemplated. No defensive works whatever allowed anywhere; existing ones destroyed or abandoned; the troops always freely exposed, and obstacles to rapid movements removed, as much as possible. The people protected.

No distinction permitted between plundering and killing by private persons, whether friend or foe. Robbery and murder treated as equally criminal, whether the victim be a British subject or not.

The plea of family blood-feud, or retaliation, in such cases, considered as an aggravating circumstance, as proving the most deliberate malice aforethought. No private person allowed to bear arms, or possess arms, without written permission.

The highest moral ground always taken in all dealings with the predatory tribes, *treating them always as of an inferior nature so long as they persist in their misdeeds; as mere vulgar, criminal, and disreputable persons*, with whom it is a disgrace for respectable persons to have any dealings, and whom all good men must, as a matter of course, look on as objects of pity, not of dread—with hatred, possibly, but never with fear.

As perfect information as possible of all movements, or intended movements, of the plundering tribes residing beyond our border. Such information acted

on with the greatest activity, our knowledge of the nature and habits of the Belooch robbers being sufficient to enable us in almost every single instance to judge correctly of their probable proceedings, and effectually to check and counteract them at a distance from the British boundary.

The feeling instilled into every soldier employed being, that he was altogether of a superior nature to the robber—a good man against a criminal; the plunderers being always considered, not as enemies, but as malefactors.

The strictest justice always acted on; and no success, or want of success, or any other circumstance whatever, being allowed to influence the terms offered to, or the treatment of offenders, whether whole tribes or individuals. Violence, robbery, bloodshed, held as equally criminal and disreputable in all men; the abandonment of such practices, and the adoption of peaceful and industrial habits, being considered as most honourable, and encouraged in every way. A few words will sum up the whole system. At first, put down all violence with the strong hand; then, your force being known, felt, and respected, endeavour to excite men's better natures, till all men, seeing that your object is good, and of the greatest general benefit to the community, join heart and hand to aid in putting down or preventing violence.

This is the essence of the whole business.

The principles on which we have acted on the Sind Frontier since January, 1847, have always been exactly the same. The great power of a machine is shown by its smooth and easy working; a noise and

struggle show the effects of opposition, and therefore, in fact, a deficiency of power. The working of true principles is now apparent here, in the almost total absence of open physical force.

When we came to the Sind Frontier in 1847, the people had no idea of any power but violence. The proceedings of the British authorities tended to confirm this state of feeling.

When the men of Kutchee plundered in Sind, the only remedy applied was to encourage the Sindhees to plunder in Kutchee. Both parties then were equally guiltless or equally criminal; no idea of moral superiority was thought of.

Such being the case, it was absolutely necessary, in the first instance, to have recourse to violent measures, to show the predatory tribes that we possessed, in far greater degree than themselves, the only power which they respected—mere brute force.

Our first year (1847) on the border was one of enormous bodily labour; we had, literally, to lie down to rest with our boots and swords on, for many months together. We crushed the robbers by main force, and proved far superior to them even in activity. And at that time but one regiment of the Sind Irregular Horse was on the frontier.

When our frontier was in a disturbed state, I had my posts close to the hills, esteeming this arrangement to be an *advantage*. Since quiet has been established, I have withdrawn them, save as respects some Belooch guides. But though we had succeeded in forcibly subduing the robber tribes, I should have considered our proceedings as a failure

had it been necessary to continue to use violent measures.

Having, by the use of force, made ourselves feared and respected, we were able to apply better means, and to appeal to higher motives than *fear*. This I had in view from the very first.

The barbarians now feel (which they could hardly imagine before) that strength, courage, and activity may be possessed in the highest degree by those also influenced by gentle and benevolent motives.

Under the influence of this growing feeling, the character of the border plunderers has been changed; whole tribes, within and without our border, amounting to more than twenty thousand souls, have totally abandoned their former predatory habits, and taken to peaceable pursuits.

Our Jekranees and Doombkees, formerly the wildest of the border riders, are now the most honest and industrious people in all Sind.

Every man of the Sind Irregular Horse is looked on and treated as a friend by all the country-folk. In truth, the moral power of their bold and kindly bearing and proceedings has spread far and wide through the country, and effected what no mere force would have done. Even the Murrees, who have not felt our physical force much, are fast coming under this influence, and are beginning to feel themselves disreputable.

If the irritation and excitement to evil practices, caused by the incursions of our Muzzarees, and other proceedings practised and permitted elsewhere, do not interfere with the full development of the causes now

at work on our border, it seems to me certain that perfect peace and quiet will be established among *all* the tribes in hill and plain, whose sole or chief pursuits have hitherto been robbery and murder.— (1854.)

SUMMARY OF ARRANGEMENTS MADE ON THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER OF SIND.

At first the country appeared not to be habitable by man. It was a dreary waste of sand, swept for eight months in the year by burning and noxious winds, and was almost wholly deserted. Even at Khanghur (now Jacobabad) there were but five miserable families, amounting in all to about twenty souls. The troops at Khanghur, Shahpoor, and the other posts, were shut up within walls and entrenchments, completely isolated from the country-folk.

The troops were fed, both man and horse, as if on ship-board, by the commissariat department. Provisions, even to forage for the cavalry horses, were stored at the various fortified posts for their use. So completely were the troops without fresh supplies, that, to remedy the effects of stale provisions, it was thought necessary regularly to issue with each man's daily rations a quantity of lime-juice, and large stores of this article were found at Khanghur, &c., when the Sind Irregular Horse took charge of the posts.

Everything was as in a state of siege in an enemy's country. Even the outpost of Shahpoor was, until the arrival of the Sind Irregular Horse, supplied with every article of food from Shikarpoor, a distance of sixty miles, at enormous cost to the State.

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The troops, both officers and men, were necessarily totally ignorant of the country and of the people; and their sole and most anxious and most natural wish was to get away as speedily as possible from such an unpleasant abode.

On taking charge of the frontier, and finding matters as above mentioned, I earnestly considered what would be the best means of remedying this deplorable state of affairs.

It appeared to me that the thing of the first importance to this end was to make it apparent to every one that it was intended to make this country habitable, and to make it our permanent residence. So long as the Government officers and the troops were in a wild, unsettled state, and demeaned themselves as if in a hostile country, it could not reasonably be expected that the poor people could feel secure or tranquil.

I therefore proceeded to build a large house as a residence for myself and lieutenants, to plant a garden in the desert, and to make all other arrangements for myself, officers, and men, as if they were to remain on this frontier for the remainder of their lives.

The forts I pulled down, as impertinent to cavalry, and peculiarly improper for Oriental border war, in which moral force is of such mighty power.

But though the proper principles of action were determined on, it was no light task to carry them into effect: the country was a desert, almost wholly destitute of permanent inhabitants, and a great part of the year without water,—the water naturally in the soil being as salt as that of the sea, while rain

was excessively rare, the average fall not amounting to one inch per annum. The difficulties to be overcome were great; but knowing the excellence of my officers and men, and confident in the cordial support of all under me, I thought them not insuperable; and the result has justified my opinion: steady perseverance in sound principles has commanded complete success.

The old mud fort of Khanghur has disappeared, but near its site there is now the large and flourishing town of Jacobabad, completely open, without the least attempt at any sort of defensive arrangement by means of walls or works, with bazars containing some four hundred well-stocked shops.

On the formerly desert border of Upper Sind there are now always supplies for *an army*, without any assistance from, or interference on the part of the State at all, in any way. Where there was formerly only sufficient brackish water for a squadron of horse, there are now tanks and wells affording an unlimited supply of excellent fresh water. Peace, plenty, and perfect security everywhere prevail in a district where formerly all was terror and disorder on the one hand, or a pathless, silent desert on the other.

Not only has peace and quiet been thus established, but, during the last three years, under the direction of the Commissioner in Sind, roads and bridges have been constructed by me all over the country, in communication with the frontier, to Shikarpoor, Larkhana, Kusmore, &c., &c., amounting altogether to nearly six hundred miles in length. Canals have been excavated, which are bringing a great part even

of the desert under cultivation, and are rapidly changing the whole face of the country from arid waste to corn-field and pasture.—(1854.)

MILITARY SYSTEM INTRODUCED FOR THE PROTECTION OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER OF SIND.

The officer commanding the frontier in 1847 resided at Shikarpoor, which place was considered as the frontier head-quarters. The outposts were,—

Strength of Detachment.

Shahpoor. . . .A troop of regular cavalry, two companies of infantry, and one field-piece.

Khanghur . . .A troop of regular cavalry.

RojaunTwenty-five men of regular cavalry.

Mobarukpoor. Twenty-five men of regular cavalry.

Meerpoor. . . .A troop of regular cavalry, and fifty infantry.

The lines of the detachment at Shahpoor were constructed so as to form a species of field fort. There were mud forts at Khanghur, Rojaun, and Mobarukpoor, of considerable strength, which were occupied by the detachments. The detachment at Meerpoor was quartered in the town, which is nearly open, being only protected by some detached towers. At Janadeyra the Jekranee tribes were located under the superintendence of an European commissioner. At Shahpoor were five European officers, at Khanghur one, and at Meerpoor two.

The frontier to the westward, from Khyree Ghuree to Kumber, was guarded by the Camel Corps at

Larkhana, but they had no regularly established outposts.

Boordeeka, from Meerpoor to Kusmore, was unoccupied by our troops. At Kusmore was a strong detachment of police. Each post reported separately to Shikarpoor. The people along both sides of the border were permitted to bear arms, and an unarmed man was very rarely seen. The disorder prevailing was such, that our own subjects, living within the Sind border, were in the habit of proceeding on predatory excursions in considerable numbers, with perfect impunity.

There was no system of patrols along the border; the detachments at the posts were independent of each other, shut up within walls, and thinking only of acting on the defensive. The communication from post to post was difficult, for want of roads and bridges; and the district of Boordeeka was a nest of robbers.

Terror and alarm prevailed everywhere along the frontier, which were greatly increased by the impunity with which the hill plunderers invaded Sind, and carried off their spoil close to our posts and even from the neighbourhood of Shikarpoor, at which place even the troops were continually expecting to be attacked.

Under these circumstances, it appeared to me that the power of the robber tribes consisted in the terror with which they were regarded; that their real strength was contemptible; and that a great deal of the disorder which prevailed in the country was caused by our own subjects.

That it was impossible to protect the people of the country, or to gain their confidence, while our detachments were shut up in forts, and acted chiefly on the defensive.

As soon as I had been entrusted with the necessary discretionary power, I proceeded to disarm every man in the country, not being in Government employ, and to imprison all men found leaving Sind and crossing the border, on predatory excursions. A road was cut, and the canals bridged between the posts; patrols were kept going, day and night, along the whole line; and from Khanghur, which was made frontier head-quarters, strong parties went daily and nightly to one or the other of the watering-places at the foot of the hills on the other side of the desert, such as Ooch, Punnian, Hoodoo, Goree Naree, &c.

These patrols were accompanied by good Belooch guides and puggies; and were, as often as possible, commanded by myself or my European lieutenants. Belooch scouts were also kept at Hassan-ke-Ghuree, and spies were frequently sent into the hills. The Shahpoor detachment patrolled the country from the Teywaugh to Hoodoo, and various persons were, from that post, maintained as spies in the hills. Good information was thus generally obtained of the assembly and intended movements of the hill tribes in force; and as the whole desert was crossed in every direction by our patrols daily, even through the hot season, no small parties of robbers could ever approach the British border with impunity, for no party of the Sind Irregular Horse, however small, ever hesitated to fall on any body of the robbers, however large; and

after two or three encounters such as that alluded to by Sir C. Napier in General Order of 20th February, 1847, where eighteen men discomfited two hundred and killed several of them, the latter scarcely ever attempted a stand when met with.

It was a curious circumstance, and one very characteristic of the predatory border tribes, that while the mountaineers were in the habit of plundering the whole country, they disposed of much of the plunder in Sind, and the marauding chiefs and others had regular accounts current with Bunyas living in the towns and villages in Sind, who were, for long, never even suspected of being in league with robbers, with whom they were in constant intimate communication. Not only was a ready market for the plunder provided, but the hill robbers, who were laying waste the country, were supplied with food from Sind and the plains of Kutchee; while, from their close connection with the Sind Bunyas, they were always kept fully informed of all our proceedings which might in any way concern them. I had in my possession, in 1847, the account-books of some Bunyas of Meerpoor, showing most extensive dealings with Islam Khan, Boogtee, and other predatory chiefs in the hills, for years past; and a number of intercepted letters placed the existence of the correspondence above mentioned beyond doubt.

The establishing of our frontier patrols, and the strict watch kept day and night on the border, entirely put a stop to these proceedings; but such impudence had been caused by long impunity, that a merchant of Shikarpoor loudly complained of my

having stopped a camel-load of matchlocks, which he was sending to the hills across the frontier near Hassan-ke-Ghuree. The predatory tribes, finding themselves completely cut off from Sind, and totally unable to plunder, as heretofore, in small bodies, assembled in force, and, after threatening a descent on Sind in various points, proceeded to attack the Kyheerees in Kutchee; but —, in command of the Shahpoor post, had been long and patiently watching their proceedings in that quarter; and this skilful officer, on the 1st October, 1847, having thrown his squadron between the mountaineers and their hills, fell on them in such sort, that, although they outnumbered him more than five to one, he nearly annihilated the Boogtee tribe.

Since that day, the task of keeping the border has been comparatively very easy. Soon after that affair, I was allowed to make my own arrangements for the permanent guarding of this frontier. I then withdrew the posts from Shahpoor and Meerpoor (that at Mobarukpoor I had long before transferred to Dil Morad-ke-Ghuree), established a chain of posts from Kumber to Kusmore, with lines at each place; sunk wells where required, and cut a road from Hassan-ke-Ghuree to Kusmore, through the dense jungle of Boordeeka.

The duty of guarding this frontier has now become a simple matter of routine: patrols always go daily from post to post in both directions; my Belooch scouts, who are kept always moving about the desert, and who have constant free communication with the country-folk, give timely information of everything

stirring, when a special party is immediately sent to any point indicated.

Having gained the entire confidence of the peasantry of the country, who now despise the mountaineers as much as they formerly dreaded them, these people also are of material assistance to us, and every strange footstep on the border is certain to be speedily reported to one or other of the posts, and to be immediately followed.

For the relief of the detachments at the frontier posts, the plan I have adopted is this: two parties leave Khanghur on the first of every month; one proceeds to Dil Morad-ke-Ghuree, and the other to Rojaun; the parties at these two posts, being relieved, proceed to relieve the detachments at the next posts; and so on to the end of the chain—the last party, on being relieved, returning to head-quarters at Khanghur.

By this means, the men become well acquainted with the country, familiar with the duties of each post, while the work is fairly apportioned. A good body of men is kept at head-quarters, so that drill and discipline do not suffer; and troops are always moving about the frontier, in addition to the regular patrols.

On the Kutchee side, the Kyheerees living at Poolijee, Chuttur, &c., keep me fully informed of all proceedings in their neighbourhood, and in their hills in that direction.

While, having full political powers, and the vakeels of the Khan of Khelat and of Meer Ali Morad residing with me, I find no difficulty in dealing with the subjects of those princes, who have issued strict orders

to all their people to obey me as they would themselves.

The greatest physical difficulty I have found on this frontier has been the want of water. In the year 1847 we were greatly distressed on this account, and I had to bring water from Janadeyra, on camels, to supply the men, who, in the hottest weather in May and June, scarcely ever obtained a full allowance of even brackish water; this was the more felt as we were without shelter, the lines not being built, and had to be out patrolling to such distances that we were in the saddle frequently for twenty-four hours together.

Arrangements have been made for permanently correcting this evil, which I have every reason to believe will prove successful.

There are no fortifications or field works at any of my posts; and I am certain that the moral force gained by the absence of such works very far exceeds any strength they could give in border war. There was a fort at Khanghur, which was occupied by a detachment when we came to the frontier; but I had this fort pulled down and totally razed, with the happiest effect on the country.

DISARMING OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER OF SIND.

None who are not in the service of Government are allowed to bear arms without a special license.

The rule forbidding all but the military and police to carry arms without such a written license is strictly enforced. Of late years, no penalty has been found necessary beyond the forfeiture of the arms, when no

good cause could be shown for ignorance of, or non-compliance with, the rule.

As the possession of arms in a man's own house is not forbidden, and no search is ever made for them without special cause, the rule can never be made an instrument of oppression or extortion by our native officials.

Nor does it leave the people defenceless in case of their villages being actually attacked by a band of plunderers.

Its simple operation is to draw a clear line of distinction between the armed servants of Government and all other persons. It thus helps a people, long used to obtain redress for themselves, to understand that there are such things as public wrongs, and a public agency to redress them.

Moreover, it marks every armed man not in the service of Government who may move about the country, and renders it easier to trace him. Every shepherd boy learns to distinguish the armed malefactor from a neighbouring shepherd or traveller, which cannot be done when all bear arms. The effect is found to be, that petty thieves and robbers cease to carry with them their arms, which would excite observation, and facilitate their detection.

But the most decided and remarkable effect is to put a stop to private feuds, and retaliation between frontier tribes, and to check inroads of armed men from beyond our frontier. Our own people, when they can do so with impunity, are as much addicted to plunder and aggression as their foreign neighbours. On a frontier where clan-feuds have been rife for

centuries, it must be impossible to say what is aggression and what retaliation. As long as it is supposed that we allow our own subjects to retaliate, our neighbours will feel justified in doing the same; but when we begin by prohibiting our own people from taking the law into their own hands, and compel them to submit their feuds and claims for compensation to the arbitration of the Government authorities, foreigners as well as our own subjects become convinced that we are in earnest; and such sense of justice as may still exist, even among the rudest, is enlisted on the side of good order, and excites some respect for measures which might otherwise, perhaps, not be fully comprehended.

MISTAKEN LENIENCY TOWARDS MARAUDERS.

With reference to the commutation of the punishment of these prisoners (two borderers, convicted of murdering a policeman in the execution of his duty) from death to transportation, I have the honour most respectfully to point out that, from my knowledge of the habits, feelings, and modes of reasoning among these border tribes, I am convinced that serious mischief will be caused by this apparent mercy.

No one living can be more impressed than I am with the evils of unnecessary severity.

The only legitimate object of punishment is the prevention of crime—that is, the protection of man from injury.

The practice, or attempt at the practice, of revengeful, retaliatory, or retributive punishment, is

itself criminal, and always defeats the real object and intention of all just human punishment.

It has been chiefly by keeping this principle constantly in view, always acting on it, and endeavouring to impress its truth on the semi-barbarous people of the country entrusted to my charge, that I have succeeded in replacing the state of terror, disorder, bloodshed, and rapine, which prevailed here throughout the whole land up to the year 1847, by the profound peace, tranquillity, and safety for person and property, which has existed on this border for long past.

I have endeavoured, and with partial success, to convince these wild Belooch tribes, that attacks and inroads on their neighbours, where their property may be carried off and their lives destroyed, are merely vulgar robbery and murder, alike hateful to God and man, and likely, under our rule, to be as disastrous in their consequences to the perpetrators as they are totally unnecessary for their protection. I have endeavoured, in all things, and with some success, to appeal to the highest and most generous feelings of human nature, rather than to the basest, such as fear.

One of the most manly and warlike tribes in the whole country is the Doombkee tribe, of which the murdered man in this instance was a member.

Under the old state of things, a severe and bloody revenge would have been taken by them on the Muzzarees. As it is, the quietest, best behaved, and best disposed people on the border are these Doombkees, who have completely adopted our principles, and

abandoned their lawless pursuits, trusting entirely to our power and will to protect them.

The commuted punishment to which the murderers in this case are sentenced will, perhaps, be thought by the prisoners themselves as worse than death; but if the object be, not to hurt the criminal, but to prevent crime, it will be equivalent to no punishment at all; as it will be so regarded by the people of this country.

I know well what now will be the feelings of these men, the Muzzarees, when they hear that the murderers are not to be executed. It will be considered as a triumph for the Muzzaree robbers, and a disgrace for the brave and faithful Doombkees. It will be thought and said on both sides, that the Sirkar is more tender of the lives of those who openly defy its authority than of those of its most orderly and faithful subjects. The Muzzaree will taunt the Doombkees with their having killed one of their tribe with impunity, and the Doombkees will feel shame.

I have lived for nearly seventeen years among these people, and long experience and intimate knowledge of their habits and modes of reasoning assure me that such will be their thoughts, words, and deeds.

Knowing this, it seems to be my duty to bring it to the notice of higher authority, otherwise the best intentions of Government may result in deplorable evil.

Under all the circumstances of the case, I beg leave most respectfully, but with most serious earnestness, to recommend that Government be moved to

confirm the sentence of death on these and other similar murderers, and that the sentence be carried into effect by the execution of the criminals at Kusmore, near where the crime was committed.—(1855.)

STANDING ORDERS FOR THE FRONTIER POSTS OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER OF SIND.

No policemen are employed on frontier duties.

With regard to the instructions given to the frontier posts, something is left to the discretion of the native officers in command. The standing orders are, to send patrols along the border road and the northward daily; to keep the Belooch guides constantly at work; to send a party instantly in the direction in which an enemy may be indicated; to report all occurrences to the posts on each side of them, and to cause the information to be rapidly forwarded to head-quarters; to stop all armed men, not having passes signed by me, nor being servants of Government, and to disarm them; to be particularly attentive to all complaints of the country-folk, and to preserve the strictest discipline in their detachments.—(1853.)

ASSESSMENT ON THE LAND OF THE FRONTIER DISTRICT OF SIND.

I have fixed the assessment on all lands in the district under my charge at one rupee per beega of 2,500 square yards per annum, without any regard to season or crop.

I have maturely considered this matter, and feel quite convinced that this low and simple assessment

would yield a very greatly increased, and, probably, ultimately a maximum revenue.

I should propose that, as at present, one-third of the area of the land held by a zemindar, and specified in his grant, be accounted as under cultivation, and that on this the revenue, at the rate of one rupee per beega per annum, be levied, however the land may be employed, and without respect to produce.

Under the proposed arrangement, all vexation whatever would be removed from the collection of the revenue; the ground once measured, and the area recorded in the zemindar's "putta," there will be no possible room for fraud by any party, and the whole business would be reduced to the simplest possible form.

While the moderate rate of assessment proposed would enable us to dispense with all remissions and other temporary or casual adjustments, which are the most fertile sources of injury and fraud—of loss of revenue on the one hand, and of careless improvidence on the other.

It seems to me quite unnecessary, and of evil consequence, to vary the assessment with the nature of the produce cultivated. Where this is done, it is tantamount to giving a premium for the inferior grains, &c., and also of inferior skill and industry.

Let all pay alike for the use of the land, and the free action of natural laws will speedily adjust everything in the best possible manner, and on the soundest possible basis.

That which yields the greatest return will be most cultivated, and the best lands will be first taken; but

increased cultivation of the more valuable grains will speedily bring down their prices, and if there be a real demand for inferior kinds they will rise in price, and again be cultivated, in exact proportion to the wants of the people.

As respects the quality of the land, it does not vary so much in Upper Sind as to render it advisable to have a varying assessment on this account, while there is an almost unlimited extent of new, and hitherto waste, land in the district, which is all perfectly able to bear the amount of assessment proposed.

There is sufficient good land available for all, and more than all, the cultivators, and this will be the case, probably, for ages to come.

Under such circumstances, no inconvenience can arise from taxing all the land alike ; while the simplicity and certainty of the arrangement will, as much as the moderate assessment, prove inducements to extend cultivation.

I should propose to guarantee to the zemindars—and to mention this in their puttās—that there should be no increase of assessment for a period of twenty years, when revision might take place, if thought necessary.

Payment of the land revenue to be considered due on the 1st May annually for the past year.—(1855).

ADVICE TO A NATIVE PRINCE.

It must be evident, from my actions as well as words, that from the first I have had but one plain object in view ; that my sole object, and that of my Government, in this business, is to arrange matters

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so that there may be a strong and friendly Government established throughout the dominions of your highness. To bring this about, it is necessary that the officers of your highness should be faithful, active, and united.

Your highness engages to prevent all outrage by your subjects on British territory; but to cause the country to be prosperous and wealthy, and the Government of your highness to be respected, it is necessary to do more than this.

Measures should be taken to protect life and property within your highness's own dominions also; and I strongly advise your highness, as your very true friend, to adopt means to ensure this result.

No oppression or violence should be allowed, whether by great or small.

Justice should be strictly administered to all men. Cultivators and traders should be encouraged and protected, roads made safe and easy, and no private transit, or such like exactions, should be allowed. All this cannot be accomplished without exertion; but if your highness attend to this advice, and act on it, the State of — will, under your highness's rule, by God's blessing, become rich, powerful, and respected. But without some such arrangements, and efforts from within, no amount of external assistance alone will make it really strong and flourishing.

Your highness should understand that the pecuniary aid now to be given to you by the British Government is really of far more value to your highness than would be assistance by force of arms, inasmuch as, in the latter case, it must be apparent to all that your

highness, wanting strength yourself, is only upheld by British troops. On the other hand, the aid now to be afforded to your highness will, with proper arrangement, materially assist your highness in establishing a strong Government of your own, in improving your own resources in various ways, and in making such arrangements as will cause your country to become rich, flourishing, and powerful, as it is the wish of the British Government that it should be.

The matter stands as if a man, being sick and weakly, were assaulted by an enemy, and a friend at hand strike that enemy down : in this case one enemy may be overthrown, but the weak man is no stronger than before, nor in any way permanently benefited. But if, instead of acting thus, the friend, when the other is threatened, administer food, medicine, &c., and thus cause the weak man to become healthy and vigorous, and able to support and defend himself by his own strength, the assistance thus afforded is far more important than the other, and the benefit is evidently infinitely greater.

Your highness may rest assured that no effort will be wanting on my part to enable your highness to carry out measures such as I have alluded to ; and that they, and they only, can lead to the happiness and prosperity of your highness, your nobles, and your people.—(1854.)

**THE BRAHOOEES, AFFGHANS, AND PATANS (BEING A
POPULAR APPELLATION OF THE AFFGHANS) CON-
SIDERED AS RECRUITS FOR OUR ARMIES.**

To obtain recruits to be made cavalry, or any other

soldiers, from the kafilas arriving from Affghanistan, &c., is an absolute impossibility. We might as well expect to enlist soldiers from among the Bunyas of Shikarpoor.

Leaving, however, the kafilas out of the question, and supposing recruits to be obtained from the *élite* of the Brahokees and Affghans, I am of opinion that enlisting such men would be found in the highest degree injudicious, and injurious to the service.

A residence among, and close association with, these people, for more than fifteen years, with opportunities of observing and trying them in every way, enables me to write with confidence and certainty regarding them.

Every Brahokee (the Belooch of Khelat) whom we enlist is certainly either a thief, a coward, or a traitor, or is, very probably, all three combined.

The Affghans are more ferocious, but have far less real courage than the Hindoostanee; they have more cunning and less intellect: they have more muscular development with *far less* endurance.

Both the Affghans and Brahokees are absolutely faithless and untrustworthy, whereby they are *never* to be depended on as soldiers in war.

Both are quarrelsome, unruly, and murderous, in quarters in peace; and in domestic life both are given to the most detestable vices, which lead to all manner of evil.

Whatever may be thought of these people by those who do not know them well, it is certain that the Mussulmans of Hindoostan are altogether superior beings in every way to the Affghans and Beloochees,

and are incalculably better adapted by nature to make good soldiers.

In my opinion, not rashly formed, one good Hindoostanee soldier carries as much military power with him as any three of the best of the others.

At the battle of Goojerat, 4,000 of the very best men of Affghanistan, the *élite* of Dost Mahomed's army, splendid men, on splendid horses, as they were described by the officers present, commanded by the son and nephews of the Ameer in person, were overthrown, beaten to pieces, and driven from the field with tremendous loss, by 243 Hindoostanees of the Sind Irregular Horse, leaving their leaders slain, and their standards in the hands of the victors.

I might point to numerous other similar instances against the Belooch, also, if necessary. Even where there is no suspicion of faithlessness, the Affghans and Beloochees are then, as the materials for soldiers, altogether inferior to that which we have in such abundance ready to our hands in India.

But these Affghans, &c., are also utterly *faithless*, and we can never feel a just confidence that they will be true in the hour of need. The Hindoostanee Mussulman has a high feeling of honour—these men have *none whatever*: their absolute faithlessness and treachery appear incredible to those who do not know them, and form a startling contrast to the frank, open manner, the free, manly *bearing*, the burly forms and fair faces, of these Affghan men; which, until taught by experience, we naturally associate with the possession of European virtues. Of late years, I have never admitted either Belooch or Affghan into our ranks,

and there has not been for many years past a man of either race in the corps, though the *élite* of both are at my disposal.

But formerly, when they were in our ranks, I have seen these great, strong, tall, fair-faced warriors throw themselves from *their horses, and weep like children* in fatigue, difficulty, and danger, amidst the derision of the Hindoostanees, who were always ready to dare or to endure anything, without a murmur.

The subject of enlisting men of these foreign tribes, who are, undoubtedly, immeasurably inferior to the men of India in all military qualities, and, in fact, in everything but personal appearance, appears to me to be one of considerable importance; yet so little is the truth of the subject known, that great numbers of Brahooees, foreigners from the Khelat territories, have been enlisted in the —, and are now sepoy in the corps.

It must be evident, that this practice is fraught with extreme danger; for in case of service against the tribes beyond the border,—*the brethren of these people*,—we should assuredly have in our ranks as many spies and traitors as we had Brahooees. For service in other parts of the world, the objections to these men as soldiers would be general only, but on this frontier they become special and overwhelming.

Were I proceeding on service against the tribes bordering on our frontier, I should consider the real strength of my force to be increased by the absence of such soldiers. They could not be trusted without imminent risk of failure and disgrace.—(1853.)

SUGGESTIONS TOWARDS THE PERMANENT DEFENCE OF THE NORTH-WEST FRONTIER OF INDIA.

It seems to me that if arrangements for the permanent defence of our North-West Frontier be not speedily applied, and manfully carried out, they will have caused the loss of our Indian empire within the next generation of men.

The first enormous error consisted in not at once, after your report of the state of the Turkish army at Erzeroom, sending a strong force, under an able commander, to that country, and then driving every Russian back to the north of the Caucasian range. The next error was allowing Kars to be taken; and thirdly, after all this had been committed, another egregious error was perpetrated in not making Russia withdraw from Turkish Armenia BEFORE we moved a man out of the Crimea.

The fall of Kars caused Persia to quarrel with our ambassador; but, with true Oriental cunning, wishing to be prepared for our ultimate success, the Persian Government pretended that the quarrel was personal only.

Now Kars is still held by Russia, and Persia invades Beloochistan and Affghanistan; being of course quite convinced that we have been well beaten, and that Russia is all powerful. This effect is all that Russia proposed to produce by the delay in evacuating Kars, &c. She will now withdraw, and remain apparently perfectly quiescent.

But the result will be, that Russia, all-powerful in Persia, will use that country as she pleases, herself

unseen all the while ; she will—as she is now in fact doing—endeavour quietly and steadily to place Persia in settled possession of Herat, and probably of Kandahar, as well as of a considerable portion of Beloochistan.

While firmly securing her hold of these countries by means of the Persian Government, Russia will be recruiting her own strength for another European war. In this it is *possible*, though in my opinion not altogether probable, France may NOT be our ally. If we remain friends with France, the renewal of the war will only be deferred a little ; but in any case, whenever the next occasion of war may arise, Russia will, under the policy she is now pursuing in the East, be able to occupy, not Herat only, but Kandahar, with an army of 50,000 Europeans and as much Persian rabble as she pleases, *before we have begun to think seriously about the matter* ; and Russia might then soon be in full possession of the Punjaub and Sind, in spite of all the tardy efforts of our stupid and unwieldy though really gigantic strength.

It is Ulysses and Polyphemus all over ! I would now make the giant mind his eye.

If not—if we persist in our present blindness—and our rulers, instead of attending to questions of really vital importance, persist in occupying themselves in miserable fiddling about the salaries of the hardest working men on earth, while they should be looking the coming danger to the whole empire fairly in the face, then good-bye to England's Eastern power—we shall gradually recede further and further, till all be lost.

The time for action is now, and the wise proceeding is that which I have proposed. Nothing short of this will answer, or will be safe.

By the arrangements proposed, we should place between us and the enemy several wild and warlike nations, devoted to our service, and render it *impossible* for an European army to approach our Indian frontiers with hostile intent.

Ultimately, Herat might become an English fortress; but this move would not be required for many years, and long before it had become advisable to make it, all Affghanistan would be devoted to us.

However, looking onward to a great European war, with a fortress at Herat, and a garrison of 20,000 men there (which would not *necessarily* involve any increase to our Indian army, or at least to its cost), India would be as firmly locked in our grasp as if surrounded by the ocean. For no invader could ever enter by any of the paths over the Hindoo Khoosh, &c., without exposing his flank or rear to destructive attacks from a strong force, fresh, vigorous, and well supplied, from the garrison of Herat.

But this is looking far forward, to the time when Russia, having been shut out from her long-cherished schemes towards Constantinople, shall have again matured her preparations for advance in a new direction, and have poured her whole strength on our Indian frontier.

At present, all that is required to be done is to ensure the certainty of success and security on our own frontier. * * * * *

I have for long past thought over the subject of

the arrangements proper to secure our North-Western Frontier of India permanently in such a manner as to obviate the necessity of any alarm, unusual stir, or hasty operations of any kind, in consequence of movements of enemies, or possible enemies, from without.

At present, it appears to me that we are in a great measure in the position of a mighty army without any outposts of any kind. The whole host is liable to be perplexed and disturbed to its centre even by any small body of adventurers, who may confidently approach its unwieldy strength with impunity.

It seems to me that we now have the best possible opportunity of remedying this state of things—an opportunity offering a combination of circumstances favourable to our purpose such as must very rarely occur.

Beloochistan is entirely at our disposal, the people being really most friendly towards us, and, since the late treaty with Khelat, more so than ever; Dost Mahomed and the Affghans generally are inclined to favour our advances, and the fairest possible reason for precautionary measures on our part exists in the Persian advance to Herat, and through Seistan; while we have peace throughout the old provinces of India and in Europe, with perfectly settled tranquillity in Sind and in the Punjaub.

There are but two great roads into our Indian empire from the north-west—but two roads, in fact, by which it is possible for a modern army to march.

One of these, the Bolan, lies through an entirely

friendly country. The Khelat territory extends to Pesheen, forty miles beyond the head of the pass, in the table-land of Affghanistan, and is inhabited by Belooch and Brahoosee tribes, who are of an entirely different race from the Affghans.

The road through the Bolan is, even at present, generally good, and sufficiently easy for an army to proceed by it, with all its artillery, stores, &c. This road is also the shortest from Herat to British India, and is the natural outlet to the ocean of the commerce of a very large portion of Central Asia.

From the foot of the Bolan, one continuous and almost dead level plain extends for nearly six hundred miles through Kutchee and Sind to the sea.

The only other great road, the Khyber, is very differently circumstanced. The people are unfriendly and barbarous, the country is far more difficult, and the distance greater; while there is already a strong division of our army at Peshawur, so that we are tolerably well secured in that quarter—quite sufficiently secured, indeed, under the arrangements contemplated by me, because from Quetta we could operate on the flank and rear of any army attempting to proceed towards the Khyber Pass; so that, with a British force at Quetta, the other road would be shut to an invader, inasmuch as we could reach Herat itself before an invading army could even arrive at Cabool.

Such a position would form the bastion of the front attacked, and nothing could, with hope of success, be attempted against us until this salient were disposed of. We may, I think, then, leave the Khyber without further discussion of the statistics of

this road at present, and confine our attention to the Bolan.

The more the matter is considered in all its bearings, relations, and consequences, the more certain it will appear that there should be a good British force at Quetta, a good made road from that place through the Bolan Pass to Dadur, and thence continued through Kutchee to the British frontier, to connect with the lines of road in Sind. The portion of this road from Dadur to the sea must, I think, eventually become a railway, but probably not till a very long period has passed by.

When we were fairly established at Quetta, we might, I think, then subsidise the Affghans with advantage; but UNTIL WE WERE SO ESTABLISHED, such a measure would, it seems to me, be unwise. The Affghans would not be true to us if we really required their services, and might probably turn against us the very means with which we had supplied them. Such a proceeding would only be characteristic of the people.

But in the first instance, on commencing the arrangements for establishing ourselves at Quetta, in addition to the subsidy now payable to the Khan of Khelat under the present treaty, I would take into our pay a body of his troops, both horse and foot, to be entirely under their own officers, and managed in their own fashion.

Such wild irregulars are invaluable *when there is a certain force of our own soldiers* to form a nucleus of strength, and give tone to the whole. Such a nucleus would be formed by the frontier field force

which I have proposed for Sind, and these troops of Khelat would completely connect us with the people of the country generally—a point of great importance. They would take the ordinary escort duties, and such like, and would perform all the work which the Cossacks do for the Russian army, which is that which in general our regular soldiers perform the worst, and which is that by which they are most exhausted and demoralised.

The numbers of these auxiliaries could at any time be increased to any extent thought proper; their employment would make us in a great measure independent of the Affghans, while the enjoyment of regular pay by the Khelat people would have great influence on the Affghans generally. All would be anxious to obtain the same advantages, while our evident strength, independent of Affghan aid, in their immediate neighbourhood, would be the best security for their good faith.

We might then, if we pleased, and it were necessary, safely, and with advantage, subsidise all Affghanistan with money and arms; and the propriety of so doing would, under the proposed conditions, be in no way dependent on the success or on the life of Dost Mahomed; nor would there then be much danger or possibility of our subsidy being misapplied to the prosecution of internal feuds, for such abuses could not occur without being immediately known to and checked by the political agent at Quetta.

If we really intend (as I always suppose that we do really intend) to be fair and just to all men, and to conduct our public proceedings towards other states

and other people according to the principles which guide the intercourse of honest men in private life, the true interest of Affghanistan must be one with our own, and be felt to be so by all its people.

If all distrust of us be removed from the Affghan mind, as it has been removed from the minds of the Government and people of Khelat, the whole country would aid us heart and hand, and an invasion of India would be *impossible*. The invaders would be starved, or destroyed in detail.

The confidence in us, and the perception of their own interest being identical with ours, which would certainly be engendered in the minds of the Affghans by the development and full operation of the means proposed, would constitute the surest, and indeed, the only needful precautions required. The amount of subsidy would be determined by the course of events.

But it is certain that the state of feeling towards us among the Affghans would depend on our real intentions towards them. It is useless to attempt to conceal these from the cunning Affghan; but straightforward honesty and justice, if habitually exercised, in accordance with our real nature, exert irresistible control at all times over all Asiatics, and they will do so in this instance; although we must expect, at first, to have to undo the evil caused by the impressions left by our proceedings and practices during our former invasion and occupation of Affghanistan. But however well disposed they may be, or may become, towards us, neither Affghan nor Belooch will obey or live at peace with their equals; the tribes have endless and deadly feuds with each other, and, if left to

themselves, or only supplied with arms and money by us at a distance, they could not be kept to any combined purpose or long-continued effort. The greatest public considerations would always be postponed to the gratification of private revenge or personal pique. No good effect would be produced by our assistance, and the means supplied would be wasted in unworthy quarrels and intrigues.

The English mind, to whose leading all these wild spirits will bow, must actually be present among them, and a sufficient British force be on the spot to support moral power and dignity, and to give tone to the whole.

There is nothing in the arrangements proposed by me in the least degree resembling our first proceedings in Affghanistan. History has now justly decided that the former measure was in itself at the very outset a great crime and a great error; and in carrying it out, the principles of common justice, common honesty, and common-sense, were at every turn ignored and offended against.

These proceedings were alike foolish and wicked to that degree which must always appear incredible to those who were not, as I was, partly behind the scenes at the time, and in a position to be acquainted with the whole details of the business after its completion.

In the arrangements now proposed, we should act in no respect otherwise than as we might be prepared to justify before all good men in the world, or before the throne of God; and those entrusted with the work should be "men with some conscience in what

they do," than which nothing has more influence over Oriental minds. To attempt to compete with them in cunning, as did poor —— and ——, is to ensure failure; we command the Asiatics by high moral power alone.

We should in the present case occupy a position in the undisputed territory of an ally, with his most cordial assent and approval, and to his great advantage.

We should offend or threaten no one whatever, save those who came to attack and invade our Indian empire. We should have all the people of the country with us.

Our worst enemies could not reasonably object to such a move on our part. Russia, it may be said, might on our move found an assertion of right or necessity of advancing on her side to Khiva or elsewhere. Be it so! I would not make the smallest objection.

Those know but little of Russian policy who imagine that most plausible pretexts would ever be wanting when she thought that she could move with advantage.

If Russia bring with her advance a better civilization, and a higher moral tone—if she introduce European honesty, European ideas, and European commerce into Central Asia—the better for us. All that tends to good must ultimately be for our advantage—for the advantage of free England. But can Russia do this?

Will she, can she, make known to the clever Asiatics a better, nobler, and higher moral power than they are now acquainted with? I much doubt this.

If Russia attempt to proceed by violence, injustice, and falsehood, she will exasperate the whole people against her, and will entirely fail, or will at all events be powerless against us with the people on our side.

In any point of view, and under any circumstances whatever, the arrangement on the frontier of India can never be wise or safe while, AS AT PRESENT, THE UNDISTURBED TRANQUILLITY OF THIS VAST EMPIRE IS DEPENDENT, NOT ON ITS OWN MIGHTY INTERNAL STRENGTH, BUT ON THE FORBEARANCE OF OUR ENEMIES OR NEIGHBOURS OUTSIDE.

I would remedy this at once, effectually and permanently, by establishing ourselves firmly, and in sufficient force, in a position the mere possession of which would preclude all possibility of successful invasion; which would give us, by moral influence, a full control over Afghanistan, establish the most friendly relations with us throughout the country, and which would ere long bring down a full stream of valuable commerce from all Central Asia to the sea.

Supposing these views to be approved, and that it were intended to carry the proposed measure into effect, I should propose to arrange the details as mentioned in a separate paper accompanying this letter. * * *

**MEMORANDUM OF PROPOSED ARRANGEMENTS IN CASE OF
A BRITISH FORCE BEING STATIONED AT QUETTA,
OR AT ANY OTHER CONVENIENT SPOT ABOVE THE
BOLAN PASS.**

In the first instance, to enable the Sind Irregular Horse, now forming the frontier force, and the officers

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there employed, to be advanced, some permanent arrangement should be made for the administration of the frontier district of Upper Sind.

This should be constituted, as at present, an entirely separate charge, under an officer in subordination to the Commissioner in Sind; with orders to communicate with the Political Commissioner at Quetta on the political business of the frontier, and to attend to his instructions. This officer to be styled "Superintendent of the Frontier Districts of Upper Sind," and to receive a salary of Rupees 1,500 per mensem, with travelling allowance of ten rupees per diem.

A Lieutenant of Police to be appointed for the Sind frontier district, on the same scale of allowances as the other lieutenants of police in Sind. This officer, and the Sind frontier police, to be under the orders of the political superintendent, and quite distinct from the general police of the province. The mounted police now employed in the frontier district to be increased to 400 men, and 300 foot police to be raised, and to be armed and equipped like the rural police of Sind, to complete the frontier police force.

A civil surgeon and an assistant surgeon, in charge of the police, to be appointed, on the usual allowances. An ample establishment of medical subordinates should be allowed.

No troops to be stationed on the frontier, which would become a purely civil and political charge. No troops to be quartered in Upper Sind at all.

The military stations of Shikarpoor and Hyderabad,

together with the arsenal at the latter place, to be abolished.

A Political Commissioner on the Frontier of India to be appointed, with full powers, civil and military, over all departments, &c. To have his head-quarters at Quetta, or any convenient spot above the Bolan Pass, with a staff of—

- 1 Military Secretary,
- 1 Political Secretary,
- 1 Assistant Secretary,
- 1 Private Secretary and Aide-de-camp.

Under the orders of the Political Commissioner it is proposed that there should be a field force, organized as follows:—

FRONTIER FIELD FORCE.

Cavalry.

The whole of the Sind Irregular Horse to be moved to Quetta, with 2,000 Belooch irregular cavalry, armed, equipped, and officered after the fashion of the troops of Khelat, attached to form the cavalry brigade of the proposed frontier field force. Each regiment of horse, with 1,000 Belooch attached, to be under its own regimental commander.

This cavalry brigade to be commanded by a brigadier, with a major of brigade, and a quartermaster and interpreter of brigade, as his staff.

Infantry.

Two regiments, armed with Jacob's rifles, each 1,000 strong, with 1,000 Belooch irregular infantry attached, formed into one brigade, commanded by a brigadier, with staff as mentioned for the cavalry.

Artillery.

Two troops of horse artillery,
 Two horse field batteries,
 Brigadier and staff as above,
 Ordnance depôt as for a division,

The artillery to be raised for the purpose, not forming part of the Indian artillery, or in any way under the authorities of the Indian army.

Engineers.

- 1 Executive engineer,
- 2 Assistant executive engineers.

The whole field force to be commanded, under the Political Commissioner, by a brigadier-general, with the usual staff of a division.

In case of war or other circumstances occurring to render the proceeding advisable, any number of regular troops might be stationed and accommodated at Quetta.

But, in the first instance, the irregular field force above detailed should alone be established above the Bolan Pass. This force should form the solid nucleus of, and give strength and tone to, the subsidiary troops of the native powers; and eventually, all arrangements being previously completed, regular troops might follow when required, their numbers being regulated by the position of affairs and the prospects towards the North-west. But permanent accommodation need only be provided for the frontier field force of the strength detailed above. * * *

The resources of the Khelat State are considerable. If the chiefs were united, as they formerly were, against us, they could bring forty thousand good men

into the field; but their Government and nobles generally are very poor, and their whole social framework was dreadfully shaken by our proceedings with regard to their former head.

Much has, however, lately been done to remedy the ill effects of these proceedings; and the great want now in the Khelat State is an able man to guide the councils of the Khan.

Were we established at Quetta, as I have proposed, all the resources of Beloochistan would be completely at our disposal, while none would be wasted. And though assistance in arms and money from us may, and probably will, enable the Khelat people for a time to prevent the Persians from overrunning or establishing themselves in their country, yet I am quite convinced that Beloochistan, if seriously invaded by a regular army of Persians, under Russian guidance, will not be able successfully to resist without the aid of European minds from our side to direct its force.

Jalk, or Julluck, is close to the Khelat frontier.

This frontier, wherever the country is inhabited, is sufficiently well recognised; but it is not very definitively marked; the country itself is mostly wild desolate hills, and sands without water; the fertile spots being at long intervals and of small extent.

Nooskee is the nearest place to the frontier where the Khan of Khelat maintains any troops. Even this is a very miserable place,—a little fertile plain, three or four miles long, and of about half that breadth, surrounded by barren rocky hills and drift-sand. There is, however, a good stream of water there, and

the spot is well adapted for the first place of assembly of the Khelat troops to resist attack from the North-west.

It is quite clear to me, that the occupation of the Persian seaports, however valuable a measure as a diversion in aid of other operations, will not suffice really to protect our Indian frontier from insult, even if such proceedings should suffice, as seems to be thought doubtful, to relieve us of the immediate pressure now commencing on the side of Beloochistan.

It is evidently not merely Persia with whom we have now to deal, but Persia guided, moved, and aided by Russia; and from this circumstance, the proceedings near our frontier now appear to be of a much more serious nature than any mere Persian occupation or threatenings of Herat, which have been so often made or attempted during the last twenty years. Wherefore, our demonstrations by sea, if no simultaneous proceedings be undertaken by land on our North-west frontier, will, it seems to me, have no effect but to make Russia push Persia on the more vigorously in this direction while we are still unprepared.

A descent on the coast of Persia would not now cause such consternation as did our first demonstration in that quarter. The Persians have learned to regard such attacks at their real worth. If an invasion in force of the interior of Persia were not contemplated, the Persians would possibly not regard the capture of a seaport with special dread; and the Russian officers would not fail to perceive (when such is really the case) that our proceedings by sea are

really demonstrations only. They would also explain to the Persians, that even if we were to attempt a real advance into the heart of Persia, our movements must be slow and inconsequential, compared to the mighty effect of a rapid but steady advance in force on our unprotected North-western frontier, whereby the Persians would be able to place themselves in firm and secure possession of Kandahar. Such a move, they would argue (and I think justly argue, if we did not meditate permanent conquest in Persia), would soon compel us to withdraw our forces from Persia, to concentrate them for a severe struggle with a Russo-Persian army on the plains of Northern India; and the Russian argument would be sound and just in proportion as the temporary occupation of Lahore or Delhi by an enemy would be more injurious to us than the like occupation of Ispahan would be to Persia.

I would occupy Quetta—NOT MERELY AS A SUDDEN MOVE, CONSEQUENT ON THE HOSTILE DEMONSTRATIONS OF PERSIA, BUT PERMANENTLY, AS A PEACEFUL ARRANGEMENT NECESSARY FOR OUR FIXED REPOSE.

I am convinced that no other measures than such as I have proposed can possibly secure our Indian frontier, and that some such measures must of necessity be ultimately adopted.

Unless we do advance in the direction indicated, it is doubtful whether ultimately even Beloochistan may not fall under Persian and Russian influence. And with regard to Affghanistan, if we do not so advance, there can be no reasonable doubt whatever but that Kandahar must ere very long become a Persian—

that is a Russian—province. The cleverness, activity, watchfulness, and steady perseverance of Russia in such matters are well known; but these powers will fail before us if we proceed with open honesty and wisdom.

Success is now in our own hands, and may be commanded with ease. Our position may be permanently secured with perfect safety, and with comparatively trifling labour and cost.

But if we remain idly looking on from the valley of the Indus at the movements going on above the Bolan, we shall, it seems to me, be throwing away the fairest possible opportunity of settling for ever the question of the invasion of India by Russia; and the results will be, it seems to me, ultimately, such as no English statesman would like to contemplate. * * *

We should not view this question with the eyes of men who served in Affghanistan during the Affghan war. My own service, and consequent personal knowledge of the statistics of these countries and people on our frontier, have been continuous from our first entrance into Affghanistan to the present time. I am thus well acquainted with the very great changes which have taken place during the last ten years, and which are such as to render altogether inapplicable to the present state of affairs most of the supposed drawbacks to the advantages of the plan of operations on which I propose now to act, however just the objections urged might have been under the conditions formerly existing.

There is as much difference between the question of posting troops above the Bolan at present and

formerly as there would be between now moving troops up the Bhore Ghaut, and doing so under the conditions of the road being as it was up to 1829, and the country above being occupied by a hostile Muratha army and population. The Bolan Pass *presents no difficulties for the party which holds it*, and we should hold it securely at Quetta.

The road through this pass I would improve, so as to make it the easiest mountain road possible for us; but I would make such arrangements that the force at Quetta could, *by occupying the pass itself, if necessary*, hold it against all the world.

I would connect the foot of the pass at once by a good road with Sind, and ultimately by a railroad, and, by means of the subsidised troops of Khelat acting as police, I would maintain the most perfect security along the whole line.

The British camp at Quetta would not then be in any way isolated; it would, indeed, be as little isolated in reality as are the camp and town of Kurrachee at present, which, owing to the want of connection by canal with the Indus, are still chiefly supplied, even with such things as grass, grain, and firewood, by sea.

As regards the tribes which hang about Quetta, I may observe, that for many years past the frontier districts of Sind, and the whole plain of Kutchee, have been as quiet and peaceable as our old province of Guzerat, or even more so.

The most formidable and most famous of the robber chiefs and their tribes have quietly settled down into the condition of contented, happy, and most industrious agriculturists.

The former exploits of the old plunderers are fast becoming forgotten, and, as the last generation of border riders is passing away, no others are being formed to take their places.

The tribes which formerly overran all Kutchee and Northern Sind,—the Boogtees, Doombkees, Jek-ranees, &c.,—so far from being now under little control, are, almost to a man, ready to obey my orders to the uttermost. They are our most obedient, humble servants, and have been brought to this state without any loss of self-respect or manliness on their part. The men have actually been reformed, and now feel themselves stronger, better, and happier than before. The Kahurs of the Bolan have for years past been perfectly quiet and submissive, while the great mass of Brahooee subjects of the Khan of Khelat to the westward of Kutchee and the Bolan are as quiet and peaceable a race, with respect to their conduct towards Government, as any in the East, although they are by no means unwarlike in their own fashion, and under their own chiefs.

The country intervening between our proposed camp at Quetta and Sind would be perfectly occupied and governed for us by the Khelat authorities,—more perfectly so, indeed, than it could probably be by our own officers and police,—not only without our incurring any odium as foreign rulers, but while we should be looked on as the best of friends. * * *

For the last seven years, in fact, the Khelat territory from the Bolan to Sind has been as much under our influence and real control, for just and useful purposes, as any part of our own provinces.

With regard to the capability of Shawl to support the force which I propose to entertain there, this point was certainly not overlooked by me; for I have always been in the habit of considering such arrangements to be the most important of all in military operations, and I have had to attend continually to such matters on a sufficiently large scale during a long course of years. * * *

Yet, by acting on what seemed to me to be just principles, I have found that all difficulties disappeared; and, under the steady action of such principles, some hundreds of square miles, even of the desert itself, have been converted into fertile fields while a town sprung up spontaneously, adjoining our camp, in a wild desolate region, and contains already more than six thousand inhabitants, quite independent of the troops and camp followers, with a flourishing bazar of some hundreds of shops. This town now affords supplies sufficient for an army, and is still rapidly increasing in size and importance.

I would apply similar principles to those which have been acted on here, with a certainty of the like effect, to my proposed advance to Quetta.

The pecuniary cost of supporting the troops, after the first outlay on account of quarters and public buildings, would be absolutely nothing beyond their regular pay. The proposed roads, and the other arrangements for the forward move generally, would ultimately be a source of commercial profit; while, as to the other considerations, I may observe that such civil government as we already exert in Kutchee, through the political superintendent on the frontier,

we should continue to exert ; but it would not be at all necessary or advisable to assume, in these respects, greater power, either in nature or extent, than we now virtually possess and exercise.

Indeed, it seems very probable that it would not be found necessary that any other troops should be permanently posted there ; for, with the means of communication and transport which I proposed to establish, any force of regular troops which circumstances might call for could with ease and rapidity be sent from Sind, or the old provinces of India, to Quetta, where every species of provision would be ready for their accommodation, and which place would then form the point from which military operations would commence.

The road from the frontier of Sind to the head of the Bolan being improved, and made available at all times and seasons, and a body of the Khelat troops being subsidised, as I propose, by us, no further public arrangements would be necessary for supplying the irregular field force in Shawl, and no extra cost need be incurred on that head.

The valleys of Moostung, Pesheen, and Shawl, produce large quantities of excellent wheat and lucern ; sheep are procurable by millions, and all that the neighbouring country could supply would assuredly flow into our camp ; while grain and cattle from Kutchee (where the prices are generally very much lower than in Sind itself) would be brought up the Bolan by private traders, in any quantities required to meet the demand.

Provision must undoubtedly be made for consump-

tion during the winter season, as is habitually done by all the inhabitants of that country. But no Government commissariat arrangements would be requisite; while, in case of unforeseen accident, or any emergent necessity arising, the cavalry, who require the greatest provision, could, during the winter, when the ground is covered with snow, and military operations are necessarily suspended, be moved in a march of six days to Dadur, where supplies are at all times abundant.

However, I consider it to be certain that the establishment of the field force at Quetta would result in the growth of a large commercial town at that place; the resources of which would, as in the instance of Jacobabad, suffice for the wants of an army.

In a financial point of view, as I have already observed, the cost of the proposed measures, when compared with the results, would be positively trifling; and, in considering the cost of *these* arrangements, IT MAY BE WELL TO BEAR IN MIND, ALSO, THE COST OF SUCH EXPEDITIONS AS THAT NOW BEING UNDERTAKEN AGAINST PERSIA BY SEA, and the value of the stake which the arrangements proposed by me are intended to secure to us. This value is, I am fully convinced, commensurate with that of our Indian empire. * * *

You wish the red line of England on the map to advance no further. But to enable this red line to retain its present position,—to prevent its being driven back or erased from the map,—it is, it appears to me, ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO OCCUPY POSTS IN ADVANCE OF IT. I cannot see how, consistently with

safety, it can *ever* be otherwise with regard to a great empire held by a FOREIGN government as we hold India.

If our deeds be true and JUST, no consequences whatever need be feared. But supineness on our part now would, it seems to me, be most unjust towards India.

A war WITHIN our own territory, with a European enemy, might be ruinous to our reputation, and might entirely undermine our strength, although that strength might have sufficed successfully to meet a world in arms in a field BEYOND our own boundary.

The evils even of successful war are terrible; and such evils are undoubtedly most severely felt—are most intolerable, in fact—in those countries the most accustomed to regular civilization, and uniform undeviating routine of civil administration.

A severe struggle WITHIN our own established and long settled limits with a powerful invader—although attended with immediate success to us—might shake our power in India to its very foundation; might certainly for a while overturn all our civil arrangements, destroy our revenue, and render it necessary to maintain large armies in the field in the interior of our dominions for a protracted period, in order to restore that internal tranquillity which might not be in the LEAST DISTURBED even by MANY BATTLES fought BEYOND our frontier, and which would be completely preserved by the arrangements which I have contemplated.

PART IV.

RELATING TO

THE PERSIAN WAR.

THE PERSIAN WAR.

ITS POLICY.

I HAD proposed to undertake such arrangements as would result in placing the frontier of our Indian empire in a state of *permanent* and INCREASING security and repose ; to create such organization, in fact, as would render India *unassailable* by a European or other power from the north-west ; and I propose to effect this without any rushing about or appearance of much unusual exertion at all. None of the plans of proceeding which I find advocated or thought of elsewhere will do anything like this, or will even tend to induce such a result ; which could, it appears to me, be as little attained by *sending armies up* the Bolan, as by sending armies to Persia, if mere military expeditions were intended.

The effects of such expeditions as that now being undertaken against Persia will be momentary only, will be enormously expensive, and will leave matters on our frontier of India, as regards security from threat, insult, or real attack, exactly as before.

If the expedition be undertaken in order to punish Persia for insolence, &c., well and good : let us then understand that revenge is our sole object ; and this

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we may indeed accomplish, if thought worth our while. I have nothing to say to such proceedings. But if our object be to secure India, we **MUST** fail lamentably, and, after wasting immense resources, be compelled, under far greater difficulties than any which now exist, to undertake, ultimately, some such course of proceeding as that indicated by me. * * *

With regard to possible operations against Persia, it appears to me that Persia might be assailed, *if need be*, with full effect from her sea faces.

We might take possession of Bunder Abbas and of Bushire, from which places we threaten Kirman and Shiraz.

No sudden, hurried operations appear to me to be necessary or advisable. We might strengthen ourselves at Bushire, and show an intention of permanently retaining it until Herat were relinquished by Persia, and such other arrangements established there as we might approve of.

If necessary, we might, when our position was settled and secured at the seaports, and all arrangements were matured, march an army on Shiraz without any very great difficulty. From Shiraz, should it be necessary to continue the war, the very heart of Persia is open to us, *vid* Ispahan.

But I am convinced that all this will not be requisite to insure the complete submission of Persia, and to place our Indian frontier generally in the most permanently secure state for the future.

It might be advisable to occupy the seaports mentioned above, and in force sufficient to threaten seriously all Persia: but we should, I think, find

really proceeding further with invasion in that quarter unnecessary; for it appears to me that we could command success by another far more easy and more certain mode of proceeding.—*Vide* Frontier Arrangements.—(*January*, 1857.)

ON THE POLICY OF INVADING PERSIA.

I hold a decided opinion that the Persian expedition on which we are engaged, carried out on the plan of invasion, which has been determined on by the English Government, is a great error; and I am quite convinced that ere long this will be as evident to others as it now is to me. But the course of action having been determined on, no effort on my part shall be wanting to command success in any part of the proceedings which it may fall to my lot to conduct; and I trust, that having strong convictions of my own, conscientiously arrived at and expressed, I shall not be found deficient in the force and energy necessary to the just execution of those of others.—(*February*, 1857.)

THE VALLEYS OF THE KAROON AND EUPHRATES; AND RUSSIAN POLICY.

——'s report is not very encouraging, but I think that we have better information regarding the valley of the Karoon, and that its statistics are not quite so unfavourable as would appear from ——'s report.

We know what the country was formerly; and it appears to me that such a tract, watered by such a river, must be able to supply forage and grain for a large cavalry force.

My own opinion with regard to the plan of proceeding is not at all in favour of making a rush through the hills into the interior of Persia, in the hope of frightening the Shah into submission.

Russia would not fail at once to see and inform the Persian Government of our faulty position, with the sea for our base, barren countries all around the isolated valley in which we were operating, immense ranges of mountains across our communications with the sea, and across the line of our further advance.

Under such circumstances, the wisest advice which Russia could give, as our enemy and to our enemy, would be,—“Induce them to advance into the interior as far as you can; every step they make must render ultimate success less and less possible for them.” I would not advise any such course, but would occupy the whole maritime provinces between the mountains and the sea, from the Euphrates to Bunder Abbas. This would give us, either in our own possession or in that of perfectly friendly allies, the whole line of land communication between the Mediterranean and India, and render us independent of Egypt and of French influence there.

I would inform the Shah that, he not having afforded us the satisfaction which we required, and which we had a right to require, we intended to keep this country permanently, and to annex it for ever to the British empire.

Kuzistan would undoubtedly prove a most valuable possession to us, while the ancient wealth and ancient history of Ormus seem to prove that Bunder Abbas

is the natural outlet for the whole commerce of Persia by sea. The interior of the country must undoubtedly be more accessible from that port than from any other.

In establishing ourselves in these provinces, the mountains, now presenting such formidable difficulties in our way, would prove rather an advantage to us, as forming a wall of defence to us on the north.

We might proceed steadily to organize the whole country we had taken, and might probably restore the district of Kuzistan to its pristine fertility and importance, while the whole of the warlike and manly tribes of Khoords, as well as the Arabs, would be ready to serve us against all the world—*for money*.

In possession of this line of country, opening on the valley of the Euphrates, taking these maritime provinces, especially the valley of the Karoon, as our base, with full arsenals, magazines, and supplies of all kinds ready there, instead of being immediately dependent on distant support from Bombay and Sind, we should be in a position, in case of a renewed war with Russia, to march an Anglo-Turkish army into Georgia, and, there co-operating with other forces sent, if necessary, *vid* Trebizond, to drive the Russians behind the Caucasus, and to keep them there.

With complete command of the Black Sea, and being paramount on the ocean generally, England then could not be in a better position for engaging in a war single-handed with Russia.

We should be independent of the French alliance in a great measure, and have the most direct route to

India in our own hands, or securely open to us ; while, without first taking Constantinople, no other power could interfere with us on the battle-field, or ever approach the seat of war.

Russia must see all the consequences of our permanently settling ourselves in possession of Kuzistan ; and, unless now prepared to fight with us “à l'outrance,” and to throw her full strength on India (which she undoubtedly is not), would assuredly be inclined, on perceiving symptoms of such intentions on our part, to advise the Shah to accede to any terms whatever rather than risk placing us in such a favourable position for offensive measures against herself. All this seems worthy of consideration.—*(February, 1857.)*

CAVALRY FOR TRANSPORT BY SEA TO THE PERSIAN GULF.

Whatever cavalry I shipped for the Gulf, I would ship complete in every respect ; and I would do this even if it were certain that one-half of the horses should die on the passage. The despatch of dismounted troopers would end in failure in the event of cavalry being required. As regards the description of cavalry to be shipped, I would select it from the Bombay regular corps. The 3rd, which it seems alone is available for this service, is as good a regiment as could be. The organization which gives the silidar cavalry a great advantage by land is the worst for transport by ship ; the readiness and completeness of the latter is in great measure dependent on a great number of followers, baggage cattle, &c., which to

transport by sea is intolerably troublesome, and very costly, while without them the efficiency of a sildar corps would be materially injured. European cavalry, particularly as at present organized, should never be employed upon service like that about to be undertaken. They would be in the way in Persia. They could not stand the sun; and would be unable to move without supplies, and shelter, and baggage cattle, very greatly in excess, or of a description more difficult to procure than those which would be required for the march of any native corps. It would be more difficult, also, to provide for their wounded; and the men themselves are, as at present trained, by no means so handy for light cavalry duties as natives of India are. They are, in fact, unable to shift for themselves; and are totally ignorant of the habits and feelings of the people among whom they would be serving.—(*February, 1857.*)

MILITARY REQUIREMENTS IN THE EXPEDITION TO THE PERSIAN GULF.

All the proposed reinforcements of infantry and artillery, native and European, should be sent to us without the least delay. The European infantry are invaluable. But we want no European cavalry; they would only trammel us, and be a continual source of weakness, rather than an addition of strength in this country, and upon such a service. Plenty of materials for temporary barracks, huts, &c. for the troops should be sent at once from Bombay, also from Kurrachee. If necessary, the European infantry and artillery might, with proper protection, be kept at

Bushire during the summer, without any serious inconvenience or suffering. Plenty of carpenters and tools should be sent to us with all speed from Kutch, from Sind, and from Bombay; also some smiths. We can get none below the passes, and I doubt if we shall be able to get any in Persia at all. The Persian authorities have secured all the artificers in the country for their own arsenals. The climate of Bushire has been represented as being worse than it really is.

Large supplies of provisions, including screwed hay, should be sent from Kurrachee, Bombay, and other places in India, without any delay, for the monsoon is close at hand. I would also despatch all the steamers we could spare with transports to Kurrachee, for this purpose, and would also have all manner of supplies sent in country craft from the Euphrates.

With full supplies at Bushire, and with the reinforcements which you mention it is proposed to send us, we shall, I am confident, be in a position to undertake any military operations you may think proper to enter on at present.—(*March, 1857.*)

ON HOLDING OUR OWN GROUND AFTER VICTORY.

The Persian forces at the entrance of the hills at Nanarck must be attacked in the first instance: they would probably escape into the mountains without much loss; but no matter,—we should clear the plain of them, and should then get such supplies as the country might afford—which would not be much, however, I imagine.

After beating the enemy at Nanarck, WE MUST NOT

GO BACK A FOOT: we must make all our arrangements beforehand for remaining on the ground, and holding it up to the hills.

We might then place our European troops at Gurikhan or elsewhere, as you propose, and all our proceedings in this quarter might, I think, be carried out most satisfactorily. Indeed we might, I think, if we had troops enough, even advance to Shiraz this season.—(*March, 1857.*)

KUZISTAN, HAVING BECOME OURS BY CONQUEST, SHOULD
BE PERMANENTLY OCCUPIED.

It is clear to me that we should not have invaded Persia by sea, and that it was most unwise to do so with the intention of penetrating into the interior, or indeed for any purpose but a diversion in favour of more serious operations elsewhere; unless we were prepared for, and determined, if necessary, to engage in a great war with Russia.

We *have*, however, invaded Persia in force; we *have* obtained possession of Mohumra, and, virtually, of the whole line of the Karoon river, and now to abandon this district, and to restore it to Persia, appears to me to be an error equalling the original fault we committed when, with a view to the security of India, we came here at all.

We should hold the province of Kuzistan by the fairest possible right which war can give to any power. Persia was engaged in an invasion of India, and was endeavouring by every means to create a rebellion in our own provinces.

To retain this piece of country, which we had been

compelled to occupy, and from which we had driven the Persian forces, would be most *just*. This appears to me to be the first consideration, for the wrong is *never* the expedient, and those are not profound politicians who think or act otherwise.

Further, the possession of Kuzistan would confer on us the most important advantages. The province was once most fertile and wealthy; its natural advantages are as great as ever, and the former prosperity of Susiana might, under our rule, be easily restored. The province is divided from the rest of Persia by ranges of mountains, forming a most complete natural barrier; it is inhabited by people of the Arab race, who generally dislike the Persians, and who would warmly welcome our rule.

It is traversed by rivers navigable throughout, from hill to sea, and it adjoins the valley of the Euphrates, completely commanding the outlet of that river to the ocean.

The possession of this province of Kuzistan would, it appears to me, be as valuable to England as Georgia is to Russia. In the event of another war with Russia, England, in possession of Kuzistan, would be able to meet Russia independently of all aid from allies. The advantages of the position are self-evident: it is now our own: and to abandon it would be to resign an advantage which may hereafter be of paramount importance.

In possession of Kuzistan, the ports of Persia elsewhere would be of comparatively little importance to us; but I would recommend the retaining of Bushire. —(*April, 1857.*)

WATER SUPPLIES AT BUSHIRE AND KARRACK.

I am convinced, myself, that the very best place for troops in the Persian Gulf is the island of Karrack, which abounds in fine springs of beautiful water. But I am quite convinced that this peace will be confirmed, and that our best proceeding will be to get the troops, especially the Europeans, out of the country as soon as possible.

I have no doubt but that the aqueduct you mention could be made easily enough; but there is plenty of good water for the supply of the camp here in the numerous wells in front of the lines, and all over the ground, as far as Bushire, and further.—(1857.)

MOHUMRA, KARRACK, AND BUSHIRE, CONSIDERED AS PLACES FOR TROOPS TO SUMMER IN.

We know what the deltas of large rivers are all over the world.

I care not what particular spot you select in them or near them; a few miles here or there, or a few feet, or a hundred feet, of higher or lower level, make no difference. The locality is deadly, and must be so, during and after the inundation.

Mohumra, or other place near the mouth of the Euphrates, is only valuable, and should only be occupied, as the extremity of the Karoon line. If we have not this line, to attempt to hold the mouth of the river is *madness*; we should have all the injury and inconvenience, and none of the advantage.

The loss by sickness in one season would probably be fifty times greater than any which we could suffer

in retaking the place if necessary; while in the one case the survivors would be broken-hearted and demoralised, and in the other strengthened and encouraged to further exertions.

There are but two places in the Gulf where you can quarter your troops, under existing circumstances, with any sort of wisdom or propriety. These are Karrack and Bushire. The former is a beautiful place, with plenty of excellent water.

Send a sufficient force there, without any cavalry of course, and then provide cover for the coming hot season.

Keep the native cavalry, two batteries of artillery, and four native infantry regiments, here at Bushire, as detailed by me in my former letters to —— and yourself; and send away all the rest at once to Kur-rachee and Bombay.

It appears to me a very grave mistake in keeping a man at Mohumra at all. The ships would hold the place for the present. Keep two large ships of war at Mohumra; if the crews get sickly, the ships can leave alternately, and go on a cruise for health.—
(*May*, 1857.)

INSALUBRITY OF MOHUMRA.

The —— had to be withdrawn from Mohumra long ago, her crew having become totally disabled by sickness, and nearly all the men on board having been in raving delirium from fever. They are slowly recovering here. But the ships generally are much less healthy than we are on shore; and it is clear to me that the evil opinion of this climate was formed in

consequence of those who described it having resided either in the town, which is a dreadful hole, or afloat.—(*July, 1857.*)

SUPPLIES FROM BOMBAY.

I certainly had not imagined before that the Bombay Presidency possessed such mighty resources at once available, or that its departments were at all capable of the gigantic efforts necessary for successfully carrying out such admirable arrangements on so grand a scale.

Well, indeed, it is that it has been so ! for our information regarding the resources available for us in this country seems to have been sadly defective, and it is now clear to me, that the wonderful efficiency of the arrangements for supplying, from Bombay, every possible want of this force in Persia, has alone prevented the most serious ill consequences occurring to this expedition, which I am, now more than ever, convinced we ought never to have entered on.—(*May 1857.*)

SUPPLIES FROM THE VALLEY OF THE EUPHRATES.

It may be well to remark, that on the occupation of Mohumra I was informed that no supplies could be sent to us from the Euphrates, and none have been sent except building materials, mats, reeds, &c., of which we have received a great quantity from the river. Indeed, at first, after the landing at Mohumra, the commissariat department at Bushire was called upon to send up forage and firewood for the troops there.—(*June, 1857.*)

EMPLOYMENT OF THE MEN IN HUTTING THEMSELVES.

The employment of men and officers on the work of hutting themselves is most advantageous, as affording healthy and interesting occupation for mind and body, in making themselves comfortable.—(*June, 1857.*)

IT IS BETTER TO BE THAN TO SEEM STRONG.

* * * But it seems to me that it will be quite useless to attempt to conceal from the Persian Government, or the world generally, the state of things existing in an Indian army at present; and, more, that such attempt will be thought to be the surest sign of weakness, while it must deprive us of the real strength which the presence of the troops would give us in India. In fact, we should make ourselves really weaker, without causing people to believe that we were stronger.

Wherefore I do not see the absolute necessity of retaining this force, or any force, at Bushire, even if the terms of the treaty be not fully carried out by Persia.

The wisest management which suggests itself to me would be to establish the Resident in the Persian Gulf permanently at Karrack, where the British representative could be perfectly protected by an escort of a wing of a native regiment and a war steamer.

This would not involve the *necessity* of our taking possession of Karrack as British territory.

This being done, the whole force might be embarked for Kurrachee, when it would be ready for service in any quarter; and afterwards the Herat question could, if still undisposed of, be settled in the

most direct, the most safe, and most certain manner, by moving a force up the Bolan, which movement would most effectually erase from the minds of Persia and of Russia all impression of our weakness in India owing to internal disorders therein.—(*June, 1857.*)

BUSHIRE AS A POINT OF EMBARKATION.

Bushire is a terribly bad harbour ; it is, in fact, no harbour, but merely an open roadstead. Whenever a breeze springs up, all harbour work by country boats is at once stopped, and even the small steamers can very seldom work more than six hours out of the twenty-four, namely from 3 to 9 A. M., when the weather is sometimes more favourable. When there is any sea on, even the small steamers lie alongside of the ships, and all is at a stand-still, communication with the shore being at an end.

Under the most favourable circumstances, with the aid of the small steamers, and all other means at our disposal, it is considered a good day's work to embark a troop of cavalry complete.

To send on stores and building materials to Karrack appears to you simple enough : but with an unlimited number of ships, I am informed that the operation would occupy at least two months' time.—(*July, 1857.*)

ORIENTALS ARE COMMANDED, NOT BY ETIQUETTE, BUT BY HABITUAL NOBILITY OF BEING.

— can scarcely be considered a high authority as to what is or is not likely to give offence to Eastern princes. He seems to assume that the British reputation can depend upon the proceedings of a

miserable Persian writer. But happily, both reason and experience assure us that a high moral nature, a nobility of being, appearing habitually in our actions, our conduct, and bearing towards all men, *command* from all Orientals such a respect as it is far beyond the power of any number of moonshees, or of any defects as to matters of etiquette and formality, to injure in the least.—(1857.)

THE SCHOOL OF SMOOTH WORDS.

The strictest justice and fairness, with a generous liberality, should be followed ; but a confident courage and most uncompromising firmness should be shown in all our dealings with these Asiatics. I have no patience with the school of smooth words, low cunning, and present-making. * * *

In truth, it appears to me to be above all of the utmost importance to England, that she be represented in this country by straightforward, open, liberal English gentlemen, not by clever and cunning diplomatists.—(1857.)

PART V.

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

PRESENT CONDITION OF INDIA,

AND ON THE

REORGANISATION OF ITS CIVIL AND MILITARY
ADMINISTRATION.

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PRESENT CONDITION OF INDIA, &c.

THREE EXTRACTS ON THE PRESENT CONDITION OF INDIA.

Extract No. I.

I HAVE long foreseen what is now occurring, and long ago pointed out that the worst effects of the system prevailing in our native army were degradation of the European mind, and destruction of those powers by which we command the Asiatics. For twenty years past, the Europeans connected with Bengal have been sedulously occupied in concealing faults instead of attempting to remedy them. The causes of the defects were never fairly investigated, while, for discussing them, I was threatened with expulsion from the service. The only remedy proposed or attempted was, to add more European bodies to the Indian army, instead of cultivating European brains.

However, I have no apprehension regarding the ultimate results of the present outbreak. And so let us have no recrimination,—no blaming individuals,—or saying “I always said so.” Let England set to work manfully, by her own forces, energies, and resources, to remedy the existing evils—asking no help, craving no forbearance from any foreign nation ;

and though the effort required may be great, it will be successful, and will be nobly repaid. Everything in the East thereafter will be established on a firmer and sounder basis. I have no fear for the English *nation*; the people will, I am sure, rise with indignant energy, and make any effort which may be requisite to restore health to our Indian empire.

Meantime, I believe, if the English now in India would only retain confidence, we could re-conquer India with the forces we still have at our disposal. For myself, I am most willing and ready to lead against the mutineers the force now with me, which is composed of native soldiers alone; and I am as certain as I am of my own existence that they would do their duty as faithfully as any European on earth. And I am grievously disappointed—more so than I have ever felt in my life before—at this force being detained in Persia, when, had it been landed as one body in Sind, it might have marched to any part of India.—(*July, 1857.*)

Extract No. II.

I cannot express to you how gladly I would now be at work in India; and I am now begging hard for permission to leave a small detachment at Karrack, and return with the remainder of my field force. It is composed, with the exception of a few European artillerymen, wholly of native troops, who are in excellent condition, and in good temper for work. If I could land them as a whole at Kurrachee, we should be ready to move anywhere. And, as you know, the military power of 6,000 men who have

already worked together, and become accustomed to their commander, is not to be estimated by the muster-roll.

As regards the mutiny, I see no reason to change a thought or a word which I have formerly expressed on the subject of our rule in India. To my personal knowledge, for twenty years past, and for how much longer I know not, the European mind in Bengal has been sedulously engaged in concealing faults, instead of remedying them. And, as I have been endeavouring to convince the public during the past ten years, the consequences of such deception could not be other than we now see them.

This degradation of the English mind is worse than all; because it deadens the perception of right and wrong in those who should, from their positions, be able to remedy the evils now disgracing us. In this diseased body, the most diseased particles now seem to have been selected as the centres from which to generate new life and health. Indeed, it seems to me that Bengal has not within itself nearly sufficient vitality to recover, if it ever possessed, a healthy tone. To re-establish our Indian empire, an imperial effort of all England and India will be required, and I feel certain such an effort will be made, and that it will succeed. But it must proceed from a very different order of mind from that which has been formed in our Indian, especially our Bengal, school. What we require are men of power, firmness, and insight; possessing causality, original thought, perception of general law, and able to stand alone. * * *

The difficulties now encountering us are of our own

creation. India, and the people of India, offer us none—positively none whatever. They aid us at every town, and cry aloud, “Govern us”—“We are satisfied to have your rule, and are most willing to follow if you lead.” What practically has been our reply?—“No; we will not govern; we will sink ourselves to *your* level of moral power, and we will all govern together.” In fact, we first destroy all our own power of Government,—by making our officers contemptible, by making them degraded in their own eyes, by stopping the whole moral growth; and then we suppose, or pretend to suppose, that, by so doing, we have rendered the natives of India capable of self-government.

Truly, no person, no thing opposes us except our own follies—our own persistence in opposing natural law. On this subject, there is an excellent passage in Macaulay’s *Essay on the Life of Clive*, where he criticises the remarks of Sir J. Malcolm on the Omichund business. It truly describes the whole source of our power in the East; and, indeed, of real permanent power everywhere. But it is very rare to find men who will always *work* with such principles; most of the very best that I see faint at heart when they think of applying them to others, even although they think that they are themselves convinced of their truth.

I have myself always been looked on as a visionary for applying and inculcating them, at all seasons and to all things: yet nothing can be more practical—more adapted to every-day use—than they are; and we *must act* on them, or we shall fall.—(*July*, 1857.)

Extract No. III.

— writes about the non-introduction of Christianity and ensigns passing in Hindoostanee as the props of the falling empire. Good God! has the manhood of our nation altogether departed, and dissolved into such streams of drivel as these?

The poor missionaries are good, harmless men; harmless because unconnected with Government—which is as well known to the people as to us. But the passing of the poor ensigns is only ADDING GREATLY TO THE VERY EVIL which is crushing our power in the East, and which has produced all the lamentable results now taking place. The ensign would be infinitely better employed on the hill-side after a boar, than in breaking his heart and stupifying his brains over his Hindoostanee books.

Search for *honestly*, promote, and employ the best men, each according to his peculiar ability in any given line; and *whatever acquirement may really be necessary or advantageous for the work will always be forthcoming in abundance*. No examinations are wanted—they are all *deceptive*. Responsible heads of departments and commanding officers are the best examiners and the best teachers. They will for their own sakes educate—draw out the powers of—their own assistants, the men of their choice. If these will not learn, let them be rejected; but let the master workman judge, not the committee. It is useless to attempt to drive English gentlemen by force, in the hope of improving them,—such a course only destroys whatever good they may have by nature.

The remedy proposed by —— regarding the ensigns is exactly equivalent to attempting to increase the supply of cotton by ordering all the cultivators to be flogged periodically until they had passed a book examination on agriculture.

I have been preaching till I am wearied out. I have practised what I preach, on a large scale: a whole people have been civilized, and warmly attached to this rule, by this practice. The principles applicable to our native army I have proved before the whole world for fifteen years together; yet still the attempt is made to govern the Asiatic by *emasculating* the mind of the European gentleman, and using English bodies rather than English brain. Failure, anarchy, and contempt must follow! The attempt is like trying to think with one's muscles.

Yet, have I advocated any wild, doubtful, or partial theory? or have we indeed no MEN left? So far from this being the case, the truth of the principles I preach is self-evident; and any honest, true-hearted, and manly English gentleman can apply them everywhere with *certainty of success*.

My excellent lieutenants —— and —— took them to Turkey, and though they applied them under circumstances of great difficulty, they found them as truly powerful to govern Bashis and Arnauts as they had proved with Hindoostanees and Beloochees.

The Asiatic bows before generous honesty and high moral power—before manliness, in fact. He scorns moonshees, and laughs at “passed” men.

A SCHEME

FOR THE REORGANISATION OF THE CIVIL AND MILITARY ADMINISTRATION OF INDIA.

PRELIMINARY OBSERVATIONS.

THE faults which have led to the existing lamentable state of the native army of India are not those of individuals, but of system.

Whatever may be the general causes which have now convulsed the Eastern World,—*and these are not unknown to me*,—it is certain that no external influence would have sufficed to have turned our own native Indian army against us, had not that army been internally in a most weak and unhealthy state.

This weak state has *not* been the primary cause of the outbreak which has taken place, but the absence of healthy strength in our army has certainly enabled external influences, which otherwise would have passed unnoticed, to act with fatal effect.

The cause of our weakness is inherent in our Indian military system. We have, since the great Madras mutiny in 1806, sedulously persisted in separating the sepoy from his European regimental superiors. We have endeavoured to place him “*en rapport*” with the Commander-in-Chief—a potentate who is generally as a myth to the native soldier! and have made

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him despise his own European officers, and cease to regard them as superiors.

This state of things acts and reacts on both parties ; and perhaps the most fatal effect of long persistence in the system we have pursued is the actual degradation of the European mind which follows on the stagnation which it produces.

The sepoy has been taught to despise his English officers, and to consider them as his natural enemies ; and the English officers have consequently become, to a certain extent, unworthy of his respect.

Without due exercise, the strongest natural powers fade and disappear. Slavery unfits men for freedom ;
AND THE POWER OF COMMANDING COMES WITH THE EXERCISE OF COMMAND.

The natives of India are quite incapable of self-government. *They do not in the least understand what it means. They cannot conceive that a subject can have any rights whatever not dependent on the favour of the sovereign.* They expect their sovereign to govern them absolutely, and according to his own superior knowledge and ability, not according to their instructions.

We have never appeared to them to have acted as sovereigns in India ; we have, on the contrary, shown what appear to the Asiatic to be marks of fear, *and of distrust of our own rights*, throughout our whole administration ; and we have, with unaccountable infatuation *hitherto maintained a descendant of Timoor on the throne of his fathers as Emperor of India at Delhi !* We hold India as foreign con-

querors only ; but we have been perpetually proclaiming to the natives of India that they are our equals ; that we only rule as their representatives, and by their sufferance ; that they are not bound to obey us, and that we have no right to command them.

Our "regulations," civil and military, are all to the same effect.

Our articles of war form a ludicrous specimen of this unwise system.

The English soldier, as a free citizen, is on an equality with his officer : he has rights as such, which he well understands, and which he is able to make use of ; and a portion of such rights he voluntarily surrenders on entering the army. Our mutiny act defines what portion of such rights he thus surrenders ; and he retains all others.

The pre-existing equality is the very essence of the articles of war.

But this equality is precisely what does NOT exist with respect to the Indian soldier ; he does not even want such equality, he understands nothing about it. In his ordinary state, before enlisting as a soldier, he must either be a despot himself, or be subject to despotic rule.

It is, indeed, only because the European officer is a superior being by nature to the Asiatic, that we hold India at all.

The native of India enters our service without an idea beyond that of implicit obedience to his officers being his duty. He cannot even imagine any other state of things, if the officers are to have any authority over him at all.

Yet, with amazing absurdity, the first thing we do is to read and explain to him our articles of war, in order to impress on him the belief that his *natural and ordinary state is to be one of disobedience to his officers*; and that he is not bound to obey them, except in certain special instances defined by the articles!

He soon perceives that his officers are quite powerless, and that their demeanour, formed in the regulation school, shows that they do not in the least expect him to be obedient. His obedience is always, even by Government, treated as a great and somewhat unexpected favour.

Nothing can be weaker than this.

Such a state of things must tend to develop the worst qualities only of both parties, native and European.

The army is therefore not bound together by any strong internal force, AND THE LEAST PRESSURE FROM WITHOUT MUST CAUSE IT TO FALL TO PIECES.

Brought up in such a school, but few of the officers of our native Indian army can be expected to be qualified to carry out the measures necessary for the reorganization of that army.

An almost superhuman power of original thought and character would be requisite to enable a man successfully to resist the baneful influences, exposed to which he has passed half a lifetime or more; and it would be most unjust now to visit the officers of the army of Bengal with severe punishment for what has occurred, and the scheme which I have here proposed seems calculated to meet every difficulty in this respect.

Under the arrangements indicated, it will ere long be discovered what each officer on the general list may be fit for, and he may then be employed accordingly to the greatest advantage.

If on fair trial he appear to be totally useless, let him be removed, and let him retire on full or half-pay, according to his period of service. But in the variety of work required to be performed in India, this will rarely be requisite.

It is essential to the successful working of the organization proposed, that the officers on the unemployed list should be fairly and even liberally paid. The presence alone of a number of English gentlemen in India is attended with much advantage to the English Government; and these should have the means of living respectably, and of pursuing those studies and occupations which may qualify them for public employment in this country.

Under a system by which every man must feel that his standing and advancement in the service and in society depended wholly on his own industry, acquirement, and cultivated natural powers, the greatest possible amount of mental power and moral growth must be developed. And while the *numbers* of Europeans in the public service in India might even ultimately be much reduced, their *commanding power* would be very greatly—almost infinitely—increased.

Where cases of abuse of power occur, as occur they must and will, let them be dealt with *individually*. Avoid, as much as possible, making *general* regulations, which destroy all healthy mental development. Avoid striving too much after outward uniformity:

the same just principles, applied equally well and with equal success by different men, may cause different arrangements with respect to unimportant details.

No two leaves on a tree may be exactly alike, but the same vital process has produced all from the same substances.

Forcing all men's minds into one mould is fatal to mental power.

Let the system be such as to tend to cultivate and to develop such power. Let men apply their powers as they find best adapted to produce the desired effect, *making them strictly responsible for results.*

If officers will not exert themselves, or if they have done their best in vain, and the results are unsatisfactory, such officers are in their wrong places; remove them to the unemployed list, till work more fitted for their powers be ready for them.

The obvious objection to the organization proposed, is the difficulty of finding properly qualified officers for the higher commands. But it is certain that time will speedily remedy this,—*the school will soon form such officers, and nothing else will do so.*

We must expect to meet with some difficulties at first in remedying such long-continued and deep-seated errors; but if our *principles* of action be sound, their tendency in practice will be to bring about the best possible state of affairs.

However the *details* may be arranged and carried out, it appears to me to be quite certain, that until the principles here maintained be acknowledged and be acted on, the British Indian empire can never be in a sound or satisfactory state.

I have studied the subject with all the patient research and observation, and with all the power of thought, I could bring to bear on it. I have had, in practice, opportunities of applying, on a tolerably extensive scale, the principles which I advocate, such as have fallen to the lot of few men living. They have never failed of success. They are of universal application, being founded on natural laws; and, if carried out fairly in India, they would speedily render our Asiatic soldiers quite as trustworthy as their European brethren in arms.

THE GOODNESS OF THE SEPOY DEPENDS ON WHAT HIS ENGLISH OFFICER INSTILS INTO HIS MIND.

THE RAW MATERIAL HAS NO POWER FOR GOOD, AND VERY LITTLE FOR EVIL.

The native Indian soldiers are to us collectively exactly like the limbs of our bodies individually. They are the bones and muscles of the whole frame, of which the Europeans are the brains and nerves; and when the latter are healthy and vigorous, the former will always be perfectly obedient, and strong only to do our bidding.

Our system has paralysed the brains, and it is not surprising that the limbs should have lost all healthy vital force, and be moved about convulsively under the action of any external influence to which they may be subjected.

SCHEME.

The Queen of England formally to assume the style and title of Empress of India.

The armies of the several Indian presidencies to be henceforth styled the royal armies of India.

In each of these armies, the whole of the European officers of the cavalry and infantry of all ranks, and the European officers of the artillery and engineers above the rank of colonel, to be formed into one general gradation list, in which, under ordinary circumstances, all will rise by seniority.

Rank in this list to be the only permanent rank ; all regimental and other rank being temporary only, and to continue only so long as officers may be serving with regiments, or be otherwise actively employed.

In case of officers being promoted for good service, &c., by the Queen, they are to take their places in the general gradation list according to the dates of their promotions, and to enjoy every advantage, exactly as if they had risen to such places by seniority only.

This general gradation list to be styled the "unemployed list." All the officers borne on it, who may hold no special appointments, will reside in India at such places as Government may direct, but will perform no public functions.

A fourth presidency and fourth army to be added to India ; our Bombay and Bengal armies together being divided into three equal parts for this purpose. The new presidency and army to be styled the North-West presidency, &c.

The whole establishment of European officers may be somewhat less than at present ; but under the proposed arrangement the number of officers to form the whole general list can readily be adjusted in practice to meet the demands of the public service. When

these are once correctly ascertained, no further change will probably be requisite.

For an army of the strength of the present army of Bombay, the following establishment might be proper :—

No.	Battalions or Regiments.	Colonels.	Lt. Cols.	Captains.	Lieuts.
5	Artillery	5	10	50	50
4	Engineers.....	4	8	40	40
3	Cavalry	3	6	30	30
33	Infantry	33	66	330	330
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45	Totals	45	90	450	450

Generals 5, Lieutenant-Generals 10, Major-Generals 15.

The ranks of Major and Ensign to be abolished.

The several ranks of officers while unemployed in India to receive pay as follows :—

Generals	Rs. 1,500	per mensem.
Lieutenant-Generals	„ 1,200	„
Major-Generals	„ 1,000	„
Colonel	„ 600	„
Lieutenant-Colonel	„ 400	„
Captain	„ 300	„
Lieutenant	„ 200	„

These rates of pay to be received wherever residing, by permission, in India, and the like number of pounds per annum being allowed to each while absent from India on leave to Europe. The option of retiring on full pay of the rank attained to in the general list to be allowed after thirty years' residence in India, and after twenty years on half-pay. Leave of absence to be granted at the discretion of the local Governments.

No distinction to be made with regard to leave on account of ill-health or of private affairs.

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Subscriptions to military and all other funds to cease to be compulsory.

A distinct and separate civil service to be prospectively abolished.

All candidates appointed to the Indian service to be educated at a military college in England, and to reside at such college for at least two years, and not more than four years. The minimum age for admission to be fourteen, and the maximum eighteen years.

The course at the college to include full instruction in mechanical and physical science generally, and in political economy; also riding, rifle practice, and hardy exercises.

The residence at the college to be free of all pecuniary charge to the cadet, unless he decline proceeding to join the service in India in due course; in which case, to cover all cost to the State, he should pay at the rate of 100*l.* per annum for the period during which he has resided at the college.

From the general list, formed as above mentioned, officers are to be selected for every species of public employment, civil and military.

For each native Indian infantry regiment the establishment of English officers may be as follows; the pay assigned to each being in all cases staff pay, to be drawn in addition to the pay due to each according to his rank in the general list. But though an officer may hold a lower rank on the general list than that which is assigned to his position in a regiment, &c., the temporary rank is always to hold good for precedence and command during the period of employment.

For a Native Indian Regiment.

1 Colonel	Rs. 600	} Regimental pay, in addition to unemployed pay, as per rank in general list.
1 Lieutenant-Colonel	" 400	
2 Captains (to be Adjutant and Quartermaster) each	" 300	

For the cavalry, the like establishment to be allowed, with an allowance of one hundred rupees per mensem extra to each rank, to meet the cost of horses and other expenses.

For the General Staff of the Army.

1 Major-General, to be Adjutant-General of the Army, with staff pay	Rs. 1,500
1 Colonel, to be Deputy Adjutant-General	" 500

And the like for the Quartermaster-General's department.

For a Brigade of any strength.

1 Major-General	Rs. 1,000	Staff pay.
1 Captain (Major of Brigade)	" 400	"

For a Division.

1 Lieutenant General	Rs. 3,000	Staff pay.
1 Lieut.-Colonel (Adjutant-General)	" 400	"
1 " (Quartermaster-General)	" 400	"
1 Captain (Aide-de-Camp)	" 300	"

Proper office establishment, &c. &c., to be allowed to commanding and staff officers. Company allowance, &c., as usual.

All officers, when absent on leave beyond the division in which they may be serving, are to receive unemployed pay only; and, if other officers act for them when absent, even within the division, otherwise than on duty, the like rule is to be in force; the officer acting for the absentee receiving his staff pay in addition to his own.

Officers of the rank of Captain on the general list to be considered eligible for selection for any of the

higher regimental ranks. Lieutenants on the general list are not to be considered as eligible for higher regimental or other active employment than the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel.

At their own request, and with the approbation of regimental commanding officers, any unemployed officers may be attached to do duty with regiments, without extra pay.

The recommendations of officers commanding regiments, with respect to the appointment of officers to fill vacancies in their corps, or to their removal therefrom to the unemployed list, in consequence of proved incapacity, to be attended to.

All enlistments, discharges, promotions to, and reductions from, every rank, of native officers and soldiers, are to rest with the Colonels of regiments, and are to be signified by them, with reasons, &c., if necessary, in regimental orders.

Articles of war for native Indian troops to be entirely abolished.

Colonels commanding native regiments to have full magisterial authority over all ranks of natives in their regiments, soldiers, and followers.

The extent of such powers to be the infliction of imprisonment with hard labour for a period of seven years, without the confirmation of higher authority being required ; to imprisonment with hard labour for fourteen years, subject to the confirmation of the General Officer commanding the brigade ; to transportation or capital punishment, subject to the confirmation of the General commanding the division or field force.

Regimental Lieutenant-Colonels and Captains are likewise to have magisterial powers, under the control of the Colonel commanding the regiment, and to such extent as he may think proper to authorise. In all cases involving the award of a graver punishment than three months' imprisonment with hard labour, the infliction of a corporal punishment of twenty-five lashes, or of a fine above fifty rupees, regular proceedings of the trial are to be recorded in full, to be laid before the General Officer commanding when required.

Cases of less serious nature may be dealt with summarily, on due investigation by the commanding officer at public orderly-room; a record of all such summary proceedings being kept in a book provided for the purpose, for the inspection of the General Officer commanding.

Colonels of regiments are to be held strictly and solely responsible to their superior officers, and to the State, and not to the native Indian soldier, for the propriety of such proceedings.

Permanent head-quarters to be established for each regiment, and carriage to be kept up at all times.

For the European infantry, the establishment of officers per regiment may be—

1 Colonel.....	Rs. 600	Staff pay.
2 Lieutenant-Colonels, each	400	„
10 Captains, each	300	„
1 Adjutant	300	} To rank above the Lieutenants.
1 Quartermaster	300	
10 Lieutenants, each	200	

Artillery.

Artillery and Engineer officers each to be in a separate general list, up to the rank of Colonel

inclusive, and thereafter to be incorporated into the general list of the whole army, the senior Colonel of artillery or engineers, when senior in the army, being promoted to Major-General as vacancies may occur.

Unemployed pay to be the same for all arms. Employed pay, whether regimental or ordnance, &c., to be allowed as for the cavalry.

Each battalion of artillery to have field officers and staff as for a European regiment, the number of Captains and Lieutenants being regulated according to circumstances, to the number on leave, and required for the ordnance and other professional staff services.

All artillery officers in India to be considered as "employed" when not on leave.

In the ordnance department the rank and pay of the various grades to be adjusted as follows:—

Senior Commissary.....	as Colonel.
„ Deputy	as Lieutenant-Colonel.
Commissaries of Divisions	as Captains.
Assistant „ „	as Lieutenants.

Engineers.

Engineer officers, attached to the engineer corps, or holding other military appointments, to be on the same footing as artillery officers. But the duties of engineer officers generally in India are purely civil, and their salaries, &c., must be adjusted specially for each appointment.

In all appointments other than military, officers will receive their unemployed military pay in addition to such emolument as may be assigned to them in their civil capacities; and when absent on leave, or

on any account other than public duty, beyond the range of their immediate superior, they will receive only the unemployed rates of pay.—(*October 1857.*)

REPLY TO SOME OBSERVATIONS ON THE SCHEME OF REORGANIZATION.

The objections which you mention to my proposed arrangements for the reorganization of the Indian service are such as have frequently been adduced against such proposals.

I think that such objections have been brought forward by myself, when considering these matters in my own mind, even more strongly than they have been urged on me by others.

I think also that I have discussed them fully; and however formidable they may at first sight appear, it seems quite certain that these objections are without real force; and, indeed, that they rather point to advantages than to defects, to strength rather than to weakness. Their sum total appears to me to amount to this—where there is life there is also liability to disease. But, while admitting this to be self-evident truth, we surely need not conclude therefore, that, in order to prevent disease, it would be well to allow of no life.

The stock of power which in the case in question—the Indian administration—we have to apply to the work before us, is the *total amount of the moral and intellectual faculties of the English gentlemen in the service.*

Whatever tends to lessen the higher mental attributes and the general energy of mind of these English

gentlemen, does in like proportion *diminish* our administrative, our ruling forces ; and whatever tends to produce misapplication of existing individual attributes and energies, in like manner uselessly *wastes* our disposable administrative power. In the organization existing at present in the Indian service, these defects are essentially inherent to a ruinous extent. Moral growth, and the development of mental power and of cultivated individual energy, are systematically crushed. Natural forces are never recognised or thought of, and mechanical regulation is ever substituted for vital power. SUCH ARRANGEMENTS CANNOT ENDURE.

There is no LIFE in our present system ; there was none in it from the first : and the whole structure has now fallen to pieces before the eyes of the world.

The stoutest prop of dead timber will, after a while, decay and fall down ; but each single little grain, even of mustard seed, contains in itself a *living principle*, which may expand and grow and reproduce for ever !

One of the greatest evils of our present system is, that its long continued habitual action has so obscured the judgment of many of our best authorities, that the very defects which have been produced by it appear to them to be reasons for its continuance.

Our system has crushed the life out of the minds of our officers, and destroyed individual power ; and now it is said that we cannot change this system *because* individual force of character is wanting, and we can find no living men fit to exercise the powers with which it is proposed to entrust them. This is

exactly equivalent to saying that slaves are unfit for freedom, and therefore slavery must continue.

The decisive answer to this is, that the objection refers to an evil of an ephemeral nature only, which must speedily disappear before the remedy proposed, —to an evil which is indeed caused solely by the measure it is proposed to alter.

Slaves may often be unfit for freedom; but the existing slaves are individuals only, who will soon disappear from the scene; while the action of the proposed remedy is perpetual. Establish freedom, and men will become worthy of being free. Few men by nature may be fit to command others; but let our system be such as to TEND TO DEVELOP, instead of to destroy, commanding power, and a sufficient supply of such power will not long be wanting. In the administration of a great empire, useful employment can always be found *for men of every capacity, high and low*. The great thing is to get men into their natural places, where they *can feel themselves useful*, and justly respect themselves. They will then continually grow in mind, and daily acquire more and more power to command themselves, and others. This applies to high and low, without exception. The proposed condition is one of health, and must add to individual power. Let it never be forgotten, THAT THE POWER OF BEING COMMANDED IS ESSENTIALLY THE SAME AS THE POWER OF COMMANDING; even as the corpuscles of a living body are most vigorously alive *when they most completely conform to the general life-current which pervades the whole frame, and to which they contribute*. The power of being commanded is not the

mere blind submission of an inanimate substance to external impulse, but a living and powerful force, *which contributes greatly to the controlling power of a living HEAD*, but which has *no* existence under blind and dead mechanical regulation.

We have few men able to command, and NO SUCCESSION OF COMMANDERS, BECAUSE we strive to command by crushing the individual power of those under us.

The organization which I propose to introduce would effect two objects of vast importance: it would create a strong *tendency* to cultivate, to draw out, to expand, and to increase, moral power and mental energy generally; thereby giving us a very great, and continually increasing, *addition to the total amount of administrative and governing forces at our disposal*. It would also cause a strong tendency to such adjustment as would place every individual in that position in which his powers could be *most usefully applied*; thereby enabling us to produce, with the forces at our disposal, the greatest possible effect. It is the CREATION OF SUCH TENDENCIES, SUCH LAWS OF PROGRESS,—to keep continually and silently acting in our system,—which appears to me to be of paramount importance. The mustard seed principle should be continually thought of in such matters. *It will indeed remove mountains!* We are always inclined to over-government—it is the greatest evil in India: we cannot bear to leave anything to natural forces, and to the action of living principles; but must have a blind, unyielding, unexpanding regulation for everything. Nothing can live by such regulation! We should rather confine our attention to removing

obstacles to natural development, and to the action of natural law.

We should expect to meet with all manner of absurdities and extravagancies and disorders AT FIRST under the system which I proposed. A very great number of the men trained and habitually formed under the old system would probably not be able to work under the new; as their unfitness became apparent they should be removed elsewhere, or got rid of altogether.

Gradually, things would become better and better, till the best possible condition of affairs had been arrived at; when mighty energies under perfect control would everywhere appear.

Our administrative machinery may, I think, well be likened to the steam-engine. Our apparatus is old, weak, and badly adjusted; and instead of improving the working-gear as it became unable to bear a strain on it, we have nearly extinguished our fires, and reduced the steam so low, that the engine can only just move itself, and can do no work at all: there may be no danger now of anything breaking, even as not a farthing can pass the Indian audit office—but THERE IS NO POWER.

I would do with the machine of the State as with the engine.

Stoke the fire, and get up the steam a little. The old engineer would probably exclaim that the boiler would burst, and the engine go to pieces. The reply might be, very possibly—they may do so, for there is a lot of rotten stuff in them; but we will go quietly to work at first, and we will soon restore each part

which may fail. The steam being now turned on, the worn-out old nuts, bolts, rods, and valves probably begin to break, and fly off in every direction ; and perhaps the triumph of the old party might be completed by a plate flying out of the boiler, and putting the fire out altogether. But the WORKMAN, the real engineer, nothing appalled, would say—all this I was prepared for: this is just what we wanted: we now know where the weakest parts are, and will soon put all to rights. Accordingly, under his directions, on goes a stout plate to the boiler; valves, rods, and bolts, of due strength, are all speedily in their places; and the engine in a few days is again in motion, as smoothly and as easily as ever, *but now with full power, and doing an infinity of work.*

The analogy appears to me to be complete, and exact.

The principles advocated by me appear to be natural laws: I cannot conceive that they *could* fail of success when fairly acted on.

I have applied them myself for fifteen years together, on every occasion and at every opportunity: they have never failed of complete success; although, in every instance, almost all men were against me; and those supposed to be the ablest authorities looked on my proceedings as little short of madness—"Utopian nonsense."

There is an order of mind which cannot conceive how the earth can be held to the sun without some such contrivance as a chain cable. But we know that the most powerful forces are those which are least apparent to our vulgar senses. The smallest seed re-

presents a greater force than the heaviest and most massive rock.

I should be obliged if you would again look over my "Observations" on the Reorganisation Scheme ; I condensed them and made them as short as I could ; but I think you will find that all real difficulties are satisfactorily disposed of.—(*December 1857.*)

A D D E N D A.

SECURITY FOR THE GOOD CONDUCT OF RECRUITS.

* * * You are aware that during many years it has been our practice to require security from two silidars for the good conduct of every recruit enlisted. This security is absolute ; to the end that the securities deem a fault committed by the soldier for whom they are responsible as chargeable against themselves. The advantages of this system are at present being curiously illustrated, by the fact that the men of the two regiments already formed cannot be induced to go security even for their own relatives in Hindoostan, who are desirous of entering the third regiment, and from whom they may have been separated during the past two years. Many applications have been made to our silidars for such security ; but the reply has been—"No ; it is true you were loyal when we parted. But God knows what may be in your hearts now. The times are treacherous. Come first, and show what you are, and what you have been doing, and then we may agree !"—(1857.)

ORDER RELATIVE TO THE MAHOMEDAN FESTIVAL OF
THE MOHURRUM.

[*Note by the EDITOR.*—The subjoined order was issued by General Jacob in 1854, in a camp adjoining a town where some ten thousand Mussulmans resided. Yet no murmur or dissentient voice was heard; and the Mussulman soldiers, whom the order affected, have not only themselves abstained from infringing the command during subsequent years, but have, by their example of cheerful obedience, prevented a corps of Bengal irregular cavalry, recently stationed in the same camp, from attempting any infringement of it also.

The order directly interferes with the religious ceremonies of the natives. Yet it was felt by the men to be based not on mere regulation, but on reason, and cheerfully obeyed accordingly; for they felt that the sole relation between a military commandant and his soldiers is the military relation.

A discipline which so controls and guides the minds of men, while developing and increasing their individual power and sense of freedom, must absolutely be founded on true and lasting principles—principles which, if applied to our Indian armies, would add tenfold military power to our arms, at one-half the cost to the State.]

The camp at — has been, for the last week, the scene of wild disorder, such as is in the highest degree disgraceful to good soldiers.

A shameful uproar has been going on day and night, and this under the pretence of religious ceremonies.

The commanding officer has nothing to do with religious ceremonies.

All men may worship God as they please, and may act and believe as they choose, in matters of religion ; but no men have a right to annoy their neighbours, or to neglect their duty, on pretence of serving God.

The officers and men of the —— have the name of, and are supposed to be, excellent soldiers, and not mad fakeers.

They are placed at the most advanced and most honourable post in all the Bombay presidency. The commanding officer believes that they are in every way worthy of their honour, and would be sorry if, under his command, they ever became unworthy of their high position.

The commanding officer feels it to be the greatest honour to command such soldiers, but that it would be a disgrace to be at the head of a body of mad and disorderly fakeers and drummers.

He therefore now informs the ——, that in future no noisy processions, nor any disorderly display whatever, under pretence of religion, or of anything else, shall ever be allowed in, or in the neighbourhood of, any camp of ——.

This order is to be read on the first of every month until further orders, and is to be hung up in the bazar in the town of ——, and at the kutcheree.
—(1854.)

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