

JAMES OUTRAM

A BIOGRAPHY

BY

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'Whose spirit lent a fire
Even to the dullest peasant in his camp'
SHAKESPEARE, *Henry IV.* Pt. II. Act 1, Sc. 1

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS AND MAPS

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BOOK II.—*continued.*

MIDDLE AGE.

1843-1856.

CHAPTER II.

1845-1850.

Satára—Baroda—Egypt—Return to Baroda.

COLONEL OUTRAM took up his appointment of Resident and Commandant of Troops at Satára on May 26, 1845. As in the eyes of the natives of India much of the value of these high official posts depends on the amount of rupees which they secure to the respective holders, so was this particular berth esteemed a prize, irrespectively of its honour and responsibilities. But the position of the new comer, however honourable, was not in a lucrative sense equal to that of his predecessor, because each drew the pay of his military rank in addition to the allowances attached to the office, and Outram was unfortunate in the ordinary routine of promotion. After twenty-six years of service he had only attained the regimental grade of Captain. It was a question, indeed, whether he was not in this respect the most notable instance in the Bombay army of the unequal distribution of Fortune's favours. At Satára, the consequence of his ill luck was that, while fulfilling the same duties, and put to the same expense as other incumbents of his post, he did so on an income less by 700*l.* a year than that of the former Resident. On the other hand, he had there many comforts to which his constant camp life had long kept him a stranger. Joined by Mrs. Outram, whose arrival in Bombay, for the third time, we have already mentioned, he soon realised that

he was in the pleasantest of his temporary homes, where work was not excessive, and relief from the extreme heat was procurable within his own territorial limits at Mahableshtar. But the cup was not without bitterness : the very rest and calm that he outwardly enjoyed, while affording opportunity for reflection and retrospect, made the memories of a stormy past additionally unpleasant by contrast. His mind dwelt upon the vicissitudes of his old friends the Amirs ; and the recurring rumours of military movements in the country of which they had been dispossessed, filled him with anxiety. His too thin skin and innate hatred of falsehood kept him in a state of worry and irritation at the personal attacks levelled at him by anonymous writers in Sind and Bombay ; for the 'infant Press' of the former province vied with some of the more experienced papers in the Presidency in misrepresenting his acts and words.

But the subject which most engrossed his attention was the preparation and publication of his 'Commentary,' in reply to the 'Conquest of Scinde,' a work the spirit and conclusions of which were opposed to his own reason and judgment, and to which personal concern and knowledge of the subject treated, bound him, as it were, in honour to reply. Writing to his mother on the eve of his departure from the Southern Konkan, and informing her of the success of his campaign, and congratulations thereon of the Governor-General, he had thus clearly expressed what were the drawbacks to his satisfaction :—"I cannot rest under the misrepresentations cast upon me in the Napier work, and hope it may induce Government to permit me to defend myself ; in which case I have no fear of the result. . . . I have been so incessantly occupied since the first volume of William Napier's "Conquest of Scinde" came out, that I have had no time to turn my attention to the subject, and purposed waiting for the second . . . but the second does

not appear likely to come out. . . . There is too much in the first for me to pass over, but as soon as released from my present duty, I shall turn my attention to it.'

The occasion appears a fit one to notice the fact, that of the Sind prize-money to which Outram was entitled as a Major—a sum which apparently amounted to rupees 29,941, annas 7, and pāi 9, or somewhat short of 3,000*l.*—he did not himself derive any personal benefit. To maintain the high principles which guided him in this matter, he made, as it has been correctly stated, 'a material sacrifice;' for he refused to accept a rupee of the booty 'resulting from the policy he opposed.'¹ His first impulse had been to make it over to the benefit of his ward, Mir Husain Ali; but later consideration, and consultation with friends, caused him to abandon this plan which was beset with difficulty, and to substitute a simpler arrangement. The amount was wholly distributed in charitable objects. Among other recipients were Dr. Duff's² Indian Missionary Schools, his grant to which laid the foundation of an exceptionally warm mutual regard and esteem between those two large-hearted men, drawn together by human sympathies, yet outwardly walking in very different paths of life. An extract from one of his first letters (dated March 17, 1846) to this chivalrous soldier of the Gospel—whose sympathy in his righteous cause had been warmly expressed—gives a fair sample of the tone and substance of Outram's extensive private correspondence during these days of trial:—

. . . the favour I have to ask of you, is either that you would review my book yourself in the 'Friend,' or induce Mr. Marshman to do so. . . . I do think that in your hands much may be done, while advocating the cause of the Ameers, or, rather, disapproving of the course of violence and injustice pursued towards them and their

¹ *Standard*, March 26, 1863.

² The Rev. Alexander Duff, D.D., LL.D., the first Missionary to India of the Established Church of Scotland—afterwards of the Free Church. His biography, written by Dr. George Smith, has lately appeared in two volumes.

country, to forward the interests of philanthropy, and to deter future rulers from so recklessly trampling on the rights of their equals in the eyes of the Almighty. I rejoice in the forbearing course which our present Governor-General has pursued towards even wanton transgressors against us (though there is some excuse even for them, afforded by our previous acts to others). What a contrast to *our* wanton attack on the Ameers, and greedy appropriation of Sinde !¹ Sir H. Hardinge's measures will be a salutary example to future Governors-General, who will I hope turn the resources of this vast empire to better purpose than forming costly armaments to subjugate our neighbours ; expending the resources placed at their disposal in great works, calculated to ameliorate the condition of the wretched lower classes of our subjects, and to promote the welfare of the interior of neglected India are further attempts are made to extend our dominions. . . . I have yet another favour to ask of you ; it is for your advice how to dispose of my Sinde prize-money, to the best advantage of my unfortunate ward, Meer Hoosain Ali, to whom I consider myself bound to restore this mite out of what has been taken from him. I wrote to Captain Gordon on the subject long ago, but we have yet come to no definite understanding. My share is estimated at about 4,000*l.*, which of course I never for a moment intended to take to myself. I have a good mind for the benefit of the captives to claim share as 'commissioner' on the same scale as was, I understand, granted to Mr. Robertson after the Rangoon war.

¹ The gradual development of the 'Sind question' is graphically indicated in one of Outram's undated memoranda which explains, as follows, how he first suspected that the property of the Amirs of Sind would be appropriated as *Prize* :—

'On the evening before I left Sir Charles (February 20, 1843), he and some other officers and myself were standing together, when some swords were brought from the Guard for the purpose of my selecting one for purchase, at the sale of the prize property taken on the field of Meanee, which was to take place in a few days ; Sir Charles Napier having kindly said he would buy for me the one I preferred. Having selected one, Sir Charles asked me what price I would authorise him to bid for it. I replied, "Buy it in at any price, and I will throw my share of prize-money into the prize fund in lieu of the sword, which I believe will about cover the purchase money, which cannot, I suppose, exceed 200 or 300 rupees." On this Sir Charles expressed some dissent as to my estimate of the value of my share, which first caused me to suspect that *further* appropriation was contemplated ; and I exclaimed, "Why, surely nothing can be considered prize property beyond what was actually

Towards the close of 1845, however, his attention was drawn away to the state of affairs in the Panjáb. Suddenly it became known that the Sikh army had crossed the Satlaj; and, as an immediate necessity, war followed. Outram could not resist the impulse: at the first prospect of this eventuality, he applied to the Governor-General, through the private secretary, for employment in the field. The letter was transferred to the Commander-in-Chief, who intimated that he would be happy to see the applicant in his camp, if he could obtain leave of absence from his own Government. On receipt of this reply, he had already addressed himself to that Government for six months' leave of absence; and the Bombay authorities told him they had forwarded his application to the Supreme Government, with a remark that they did not feel justified in granting the leave, though fully appreciating the object for which it was sought. Finally, the Government of India signified to the Government of Bombay concurrence in its views, 'that it would not be right to grant the request of Lieutenant-Colonel Outram,' adding the judicious words, 'whose services at this time are more than ordinarily required at his present post.' Pending this correspondence, or from December 18 to February 11 inclusive—we give the dates of Outram's first application and the final letter on the subject from the Bombay secretariat—the battles of Múdkí, Firuz-Shah, Aliwal, and Soobraon had been fought, and the overthrow of the Sikhs had been effected in an unusually brief and brilliant campaign.¹

found on the battle-field." The General did not reply, but from his look I judged that my suspicions were well-founded, and this caused me then to beg Sir Charles to excuse me from a duty which he had previously assigned to me, *i.e.* to go on his behalf next morning to take formal possession of the fortress.'

¹ How he would have travelled had he been permitted to proceed to the Panjáb, we are thus told by Colonel (then Captain) Balcarres Ramsay, who was to have been his companion: 'He offered to take me with him, riding camel-dák 100 miles a day. Fortunately for me this did not come off. I afterwards tried twenty miles one day, and was almost' dislocated by the motion.'

Outram was one of those who, with all his military ambition, was not desirous of war, for the mere sake of obtaining opportunities of distinction as a soldier; nor was he captiously prone to criticise, as do many otherwise good warriors, the victories of generals in which he had personally borne no part. A year had not expired since he had assumed charge of the Satára Residency, when we find him expressing in a letter to Lord Jocelyn his apprehensions lest the retention of so many troops as were then employed in Sind should lead to mischief, on political and other grounds.

‘I do hope,’ he wrote, ‘the advocates of war will be unable to fan the flame, and I think we have every reason to be satisfied with the settlement which has been effected. . . . I, in common with every practical man in India not blinded by self-interest in advocating extension of empire and increase to the army, rejoice heartily at the result of the most formidable war we ever have been engaged in here, and deeply feel how much we owe to Sir Henry Hardinge, whose extraordinary merits at this momentous crisis will hardly, I fear, be appreciated as they deserve, nor until the whole facts of the case are—if, indeed, they ever can be—placed before the public. I have not a doubt that the Governor-General’s moderation towards the Sikhs will have the most beneficial effects on every Hindoo State in India, each of which would have regarded our appropriation of the Panjáb as the prelude to its own absorption. The princes of India will now repose, *for a time at least*, in confidence and content.’

His duties at the Residency were not more exciting than laborious. The Rajah Shahji, *alias* Appa Sahib, a middle-aged Maratha, whom it was his province to advise and keep as much as possible in a straight path, had special cause for good behaviour, and was perhaps as fairly loyal to the foreign arbitrators of his destiny, as any descendant of Sivaji was

likely to be. Enthroned by British authority in 1839, in place of his brother Partáb Singh, he was himself a living example of British justice and adherence to those treaty engagements, violation of which had caused the deposition of his predecessor. The Jágírdárs who, under Government guarantee, were his acknowledged feudatories, 'bound to contribute towards the dignity and security of his principality either by tribute, by contingents of horse, or by the aid of all their force when required,'¹ gave little if any more trouble than their neighbours to the supervising English officer. During the government of the Peshwa, they had exercised the powers of life and death, but the conquest of the Dekhin by the British Government had subjected their proceedings in this and other respects to a wholesome supervision; and it became as much the Resident's duty to watch over the Jágírdárs in their minority, and control the financial condition and civil and criminal administration of their estates, as to attend to the interests of the Rajah himself. The work of the British officer was not, as we have said, excessive; but what with the occurrence of murder on one estate, robbery on another, charges preferred of bribery and corruption, and incessant petitions submitted on miscellaneous matters, there was generally some special question pending, for investigation or under investigation, to which the Resident might devote more or less of his time as he saw fit. The main

¹ *Memoir on the Satára Territory*, by Mr. T. Ogilvy, late Commissioner of Satára, Bombay, 1864. See also narrative of the *Early History of the Bhonslays of Satára*, by Mr. H. B. Frere, Resident (1848). The Jágírdárs with whom agreements had been entered into by the Honourable East India Company, shortly after conditional restoration of his territory to the Satára Rajah in 1819, were five in number: viz. the Rajah of Akalkot, the Pant Sacheo, the Pant Pratiniddhi, the Deshmukh of Phaltan, commonly called the Nimbálkar; and the Deshmukh of Jath and Daflápur, called the 'Daflá.' There was also a separate agreement containing certain land alienations to a second class Jágírdár, Shaikh Mira Wáikar, conditionally on his keeping up a contingent of ten horse 'constantly in the service of his Highness the Rajah of Satára.'

element of trouble in the Satára State may be said to have been the existence, at Banáras, of the ex-Rajah, whose 'Wakil' was, in Outram's time, promoting or striving to promote his master's interests in England. That the proceedings of these persons affected Rajah Shahji's peace of mind may be judged from the Resident's reports to Government, one of which, written in 1847, contains the following passage :—

Although his Highness is ever willing to do whatever the British Government requires of him, he very possibly may not now have the future prosperity of his country so earnestly at heart, as most undoubtedly he formerly had ; being led, I suspect—by the reports promulgated by the ex-Rajah's Vakeels in London giving exaggerated representations of the effect of their agitation in favour of the ex-Rajah—to apprehend that his tenure of the *Raj* is by no means secure, and feeling, as he does, not a little chagrined at the late demands upon him on behalf of the ex-Rajah, which he conceives will be principally employed in promoting that very agitation. [Allusion is here made to a remission of 12,000 rupees in an annual sum of 1,20,000, deducted from the reigning Rajah's revenues for the support of his exiled relative—which remission was afterwards revoked.] At the same time (Outram continues), it is due to his Highness to add that he in no way neglects the performance of his public duties, to which he is as attentive as ever ; and I certainly cannot but concede to him from this fact the quality of an excellent disposition which might be turned to the best account under more encouraging circumstances.

There is little of general or of lasting interest to extract from Outram's official correspondence at this period, though throughout the volumes in which it is contained, there is evidence of the same conscientious care and attention to details which is found in his fulfilment of all Government duty. If instances were required of his scrupulous regard to the interests of his employers, one is apparent in an application to Bombay for the Governor's sanction to his letting ' a

detached garden ' belonging to the Residency, so as to provide funds for keeping in repair certain buildings heretofore maintained at the cost of the State. He was informed that the garden being at his disposal while holding his appointment of Resident, he might make such arrangements regarding it as he pleased.

At Satára, he settled down into those sedentary habits, without exercise, which characterised him ever afterwards, when not employed in the field. His health can hardly be said to have been uniformly good for we find him, in March 1847, obtaining a month's leave to the Presidency on medical certificate: but it does not appear that he suffered from any serious ailment. In the previous year he had been absent for a few weeks at Ahmadnagar on court-martial duty. The two closely printed volumes of the ' Commentary ' will be sufficient evidence of how little leisure he allowed himself from harassing head-work during the years 1845 and 1846, independently of current duties and the routine of office. One was printed for private circulation, at Bombay, in the former, and one in the latter year. His brother-in-law, Mr. George Sligo, and his warm and single-hearted friend, Colonel Barnewall, looked after the publication of the book in England, where it underwent a course of condensation and trimming to meet the tastes of home readers.¹

In May 1847, Colonel Outram was appointed by Sir George Clerk, who had succeeded Sir George Arthur in the Government of Bombay, to be British Resident at Baroda. A letter addressed to his mother from the Mahableshtar

¹ In the preface to the Bombay edition he says: ' To literary elegance I make no pretensions; artistically to construct a narrative, is an accomplishment which I do not possess, and I have deemed it better to entrust my labours, in their present bulky and crude form, to friends in England on whose judgment I can rely for their reduction to a more elegant shape and readable character, than to attempt the task myself; lest in attempting to condense I might overprune, as by too much amplifying I fear I have diluted.'

hills, on the 17th of that month, informed her that Mrs. Outram and he were about to start, 'all well and quite reconciled to the change—though,' he added, 'we certainly shall look back to these pleasant hills with regret.' A steamer was to convey them from Bankot, the nearest port, to Tankaria on the coast of Gujrát, about forty miles from their destination. They expected to be about three days at sea, and to do the land journey in three stages. He expressed himself well satisfied with his transfer to the new Residency, which he justly called 'the highest political situation under the Bombay Government.' The nomination was, moreover, significant of the estimation in which his services were held by his own official superiors.

Baroda was not quite a new field to Outram. During his period of service in the Máhi-Kánta—the Political Agency of which district, as that of the Rewa Kánta and Kathiawár, was subordinate to the Political Commissionership of Gujrát—he had had some experience of its Gáikawár and people; and though the association had scarcely been promising, he hoped it might be in his power to effect wholesome reforms in the interests of ruler and subjects, and to the satisfaction of the Government of Bombay. The rampant evil of the place was the existence of a system of bribery and corruption to which we have already alluded¹ under its familiar local name of *Khatpat*. In Hindustani, the word signifies 'contention.' According to one authority—'employed in some of the languages of India to denote active, toilsome, vexatious business—it is conventionally and most frequently used in the sense of endeavouring to accomplish private purposes by means of corrupt and hidden interest; chiefly bribery is understood.'² But whatever the true verbal meaning, the thing signified

¹ Chapter V. Vol. I. Book I. p. 148.

² Mr. John Chapman, author of *The Cotton and Commerce of India, considered in Relation to Great Britain*.

was unfortunately a local institution. Like the dragon of classical and fabulous times, it poisoned the atmosphere, and defied all but extraordinarily gifted assailants. Dangerous to oppose in any circumstances, it could only be overcome by deliberate and continuous warfare, for it was hydra-headed and, to be destroyed, must be beaten in detail. Outram had taken note of this monster in 1835. His report on the affairs of the Máhi-Kánta, prepared at Baroda in that year for Sir Robert Grant's information, refers to it vaguely, perhaps, but with evident meaning,¹ in its concluding paragraph, from which the following is an extract :—

I am not quite certain whether it is the wish of Government that I should enter into details respecting what I conceive to be the origin and causes of the existing disturbances in Guzerat : but I may perhaps be permitted to state, that every authority that I had an opportunity of consulting, attributes them in a great measure to the decline of our influence at Baroda, and to the very opposite system of policy pursued towards his Highness the Guickwar by the Governments of Sir John Malcolm and the Right Honourable the Earl of Clare. I greatly fear that our character for integrity and good faith has received a severe shock—not that I pretend to pass any opinion upon the merits of the measures pursued by either Government. A general bad feeling exists, and this is not surprising, when it is considered how many interests have suffered from our change of policy. The payments to the Baroda Sowkars are reported to be fictitious—those who held our pledges preferring rather to trust to the Guickwar, than to believe in guarantees which they saw, or fancied they saw, we had no disposition to enforce ; and all the officers who adhered to us, connected with the Guickwar contingent, have either been dismissed, or have been compelled to pay large fines (in the shape of *nuzzeranas*), for their services to us, and for readmission to favour. Several hundred men have been discharged, who propagate accounts through-

¹ In his famous report of October 1851, he distinctly states that 'the existence throughout Guzerat of a firm belief in the efficacy of *khutput* was brought to his notice soon after assuming the office of Political Agent for the Máhi-Kánta, in 1835.

out the country (no doubt exaggerated) of the unworthy treatment (as they naturally consider it) they have received from us. The consequence is that the European character is no longer respected as it used to be in Guzerat, and I fear it will be a long period before a more favourable impression can be created. Certainly not while those who support us are not efficiently protected.

One cause for the deterioration of the British name in the eyes of the natives he assigned to the supposition that our public officers could be swayed in the administration of justice by secret influences—that favouritism could be purchased by gold, or gain of some kind—that *khatpat*, however openly an acknowledged idol of the Hindu, might meet with a certain regard from even the Christian legislator. As regards his own early proceedings in the matter, the story is a long one and somewhat out of date. We shall therefore only attempt it in outline.

Sarabhái, a Nagar Brahman, influential among his fellows from caste and position, was *kárbári*, or managing clerk and confidential native agent of the Political Commissioner in Gujrát, when Captain Outram took charge of the Máhi-Kánta in 1835. This man's relatives, connections, and friends had been planted here and there in Government offices within his immediate range of personal supervision, and also in comparatively distant localities where British administration prevailed. Hence had been obtained a *personnel*, which the support of wealthy bankers and, it might be, of the Gáikawár himself (their sleeping partner), had enabled to grow into a secret family association, working a considerable amount of mischief. A disputed claim to succeed to the property and chieftdom of a deceased Thákúr soon enlightened the new Political Agent on the character of their intrigues. The elder widow in this case pleaded the right of a relative of her own whom she had adopted: the younger

widow claimed the inheritance for a posthumous son. On seemingly conclusive evidence that the child put forward by the second was illegitimate, the British adjudicating officer in Gujrát decided in favour of the former. Outram had cause for doubting the justice of this decision, which was consequently called in question, and, on a fresh inquiry, reversed. It was found that bribery and subornation of perjury had been resorted to; and the two suspected parties were the brother-in-law and successor in office of Sarabhái, and another Nagar Brahman, also employed in the commissioner's establishment. Contrary to Outram's wishes, these men were not formally tried on the evidence brought forward against them; and the investigation which was substituted for the trial was transferred from the hands of the political officers to those of the sessions judge, or from Sadra to Ahmadabad. As a result of the inquiry, one, the more important offender, escaped conviction, though his conduct was admitted by Government to have been 'not free from suspicion.' The other was convicted and dismissed from his official situation; but here his punishment ended: Government declined to adhere to the practice of a public notification of dismissal, which they preferred to reserve for more 'extreme cases.' Outram's view of the effect produced upon the native mind by these proceedings is clearly recorded in the published retrospect which forms the first part of his 'Khatpat Report' of later years. 'Can it be wondered at,' he writes, 'that the natives of Guzerat, cognisant of the circumstances above detailed, should have believed the Nagurs, when they pointed to this act of clemency as a new illustration of the secret power they exercised over the members of Government? They beheld the accomplice of Sarabhoy's brother-in-law made one of the first exceptions to the rule of public proclamation. And the Nagurs took good care to inform them that, three weeks

prior to the refusal of Government to proclaim Dowlut Ram, Mr. Sutherland, who had then become Political Commissioner, had sought permission to investigate the authenticity of a document which, if proved genuine, would have convicted Sarabhoy himself of disgraceful corruption; but that his letter remained unanswered.¹

It was, indeed, the story of the hydra. Outram was to cut off the heads, looking to Government for the fire, without the application of which other heads would arise from the maimed neck; but which, if instantly applied, would be the means of the monster's total destruction. The first effectual wound had been given, but the champion of right had not been supported, and new enemies appeared. And so on for the remainder of the 'khatpat' story. Outram followed up the case of the two native Government *employés* by further cases of perjury, subornation of perjury, and corruption arising out of it; and more than one honest fellow-countryman lent his aid to the cause where such was available, or his sympathy where he could not lend his aid. On the other hand, the members of the Bombay Government were unwilling to play the required part. They either could not, or would not, see with the eyes of their zealous representative, or admit the presence of an evil such as he described. They were supine, when he would have had them active; indifferent, when he would have had them indignant; and weakly lenient, when he would have had them justly severe. At length the time drew near for his departure to Afghanistan, and matters had not improved. There was much comfort in the thought that he might be useful in his new sphere; but he could not feel otherwise than sad at the ill-success which had attended his efforts to do honour to the British name in Gujrât. One letter from Government especially distressed him: it was a tardy reply to a request which he had made

¹ *Baroda Blue Book*, pages 1344-45.

for the punishment of an offending Thákur. He had used language, stronger, perhaps, and more dictatorial than customary for a subordinate to adopt in addressing a higher authority; and, after six months, he was informed that the 'judgment of Government was not to be influenced by public opinion;' that 'its object was alone to do justice,' and more to the same effect—in other words that he would do well to agitate himself less, and have more confidence in the discrimination and good sense of his passive official superiors. As a parting venture, he determined, in acknowledgment of this communication, on making a new appeal to the feelings of those who so little appreciated his acts and motives; and, thus resolved, indited a long letter, through the Commissioner of Gujrát, to the Bombay Government in the 'Secret Department.' Those who knew the writer's ways were not surprised that this missive partook rather of the character of an *argumentum ad hominem* than of a regulation despatch.

Outram explained the reason for putting his letter into the 'Secret Department' to be that he was, in it, 'reluctantly compelled to tell unpleasant truths' which it might be 'deemed unadvisable to place on record.' He also expressed his readiness to suppress the letter, provided its justice were admitted, and Government 'impressed with the necessity of adopting measures to remedy the evils' exposed. 'Otherwise,' he added to the Political Commissioner, 'I must solicit permission to proceed to Baroda, where I require the assistance of the records of your office to prove, beyond the power of refutation, the facts I advance; and this I pledge myself to do.' The better to accomplish this most unpleasant duty, he proposed, with a self-denial which needs no comment, to sacrifice his most cherished ambition: viz. the opportunity of field service first offered to him under the most favourable auspices.

What this would have cost him, and how the proposal fell through, will be seen in the following selection from the paragraphs of his own report :—

In the event of Government doubting the accuracy of any of the foregoing propositions (he is here referring to fifteen carefully summarised statements of fact)—I avowed my readiness to substantiate them beyond the possibility of cavil, even though to do so would have involved the relinquishment of an object very dear to my heart. For preparations were then making for the invasion of Afghanistan; Lord Auckland had done me the honour to express a wish that I should serve on that expedition; and Sir John Keane had kindly enabled me to do so. And as I expressed myself to Government, ‘Having fully acquitted myself of the task assigned to me in the Mahee Kanta, and having seen the reformed police of Guzerat secured on a permanent footing, I could now depart with a free conscience, in the happy conviction of the continued and increasing prosperity of Guzerat,’ were I only assured that Government would at length arise, put forth its strength, and utterly crush the corruption it had hitherto so leniently dealt with. But till I had such an assurance, I had expressed my determination not to avail myself of the opportunity now presented to me of enjoying the exercise of my profession in the field, but to resume the arduous, distasteful, and seemingly thankless sphere of labour in which I had latterly been occupied.

My letter, as has been already said, was sent through the Political Commissioner, the prescribed official channel of my communications with Government. Soon after its despatch, I myself repaired to Bombay; and, lest some delays or doubts should occur to Mr. Sutherland, in respect of its transmission, I carried with me two copies of it. These I lost no time in placing, demi-officially, in the hands of the authorities. . . . One of the copies was submitted, through his private secretary, to the acting Governor, the other to secretaries of Government, and both were meant to be considered deliberate verbal communications of facts and opinions about to be submitted to them, on my behalf, by Mr. Sutherland. It was not long ere I discovered that my observations had made a considerable impression in the quarters where they were designed to produce that effect; and it was equally obvious that those who had perused my letter felt that, in volunteering

substantiate my fifteen propositions, I had offered to do no more than I was fully competent to perform.

Such being the case, there was no necessity for sacrificing the opportunity of proceeding on active service—but, at the same time, I was hardly satisfied that the points thus gained entitled me to suppress my letter, as I had expressed my readiness to do, provided its justice was admitted, and Government was 'impressed with the necessity of adopting measures to remedy the evils I have now to represent.' But I was urged by my friends in office to do so, on the score that, officially speaking, Government was ignorant, and could take no cognisance of my letter till the original was received from Mr. Sutherland, which was then not the case; that the letter would thus come before Government in my absence, when I should not have it in my power to justify, qualify, explain, or apologise for the many strong phrases I had employed; and that having indirectly communicated my sentiments, I might safely rely on full justice being done by Government and Mr. Sutherland to the objects I had in view. At length, on the very day the force was to sail, the original not having arrived from Baroda, I agreed to leave a letter for Mr. Sutherland in the hands of one of the secretaries, in which I expressed myself as follows:—

'I have been anxiously looking out for the arrival, in Bombay, of my secret despatch, sent through you on the 26th ultimo, that I might have answered in person any remarks that Government might have to make; but, as it has not yet reached Government, my friends think that I should be placed at a great disadvantage by the letter coming after my departure, and I thus precluded from the possibility of defending myself. They have strongly advised me, therefore, to withdraw my letter, and to content myself with informing the Governor of my sentiments verbally. The latter I have accordingly done, and I do hope that Mr. Farish¹ will now see the necessity of doing something to destroy the power of *Nagurs* to do evil in future, and to clear us from the imputations under which we now suffer. . . . And I informed Mr. Sutherland that I had authorised Mr. Willoughby to return my letter to him.'

Not to find the reader perplexed on a later reference to the subject, we will add one more incident of Outram's early

¹ Acting Governor of Bombay at the time (1838).

sojourn in Gujráť. Venáik Moreshwár Farki, commonly called Báábá Farki, had accompanied to Baroda in 1831 the daughter-in-law of his deceased relative or connection, Hari Pant Farki, once commander-in-chief of the Peshwá's army. His client had claims upon the Gáikawár and the banking-house of Hari Bhúgti, a settlement of which it was Báábá Farki's province to obtain, if practicable. He had, moreover, a personal claim of his own against the same defendants. After a period of fruitless negotiation, however, the lady returned home, leaving a deed of attorney in her kinsman's hands empowering him to act for her. In 1836, for some cause not apparent, the Gáikawár expelled Farki from the city of Baroda, and applied to the acting Resident to have him further excluded from the dominions of his Highness. Mr. Malet, the officer addressed, seeing that the man was a British subject, declined attending to the requisition until the personal claim had been adjusted. This was accordingly done, though not until many months had elapsed; and the Gáikawár renewed his application for Farki's expulsion from the territory. A qualified order to this effect was given; but the matter was referred to Bombay—the Bombay Government asked for more information—and the measure was never carried out in its entirety. Eventually, in 1837, Mr. Malet appointed Farki head *kárkun*¹ in the establishment of the first assistant commissioner at Rajpípla, an office which he discharged to the Resident's thorough satisfaction up to the departure of that gentleman in August 1839. Before this date, Outram had left Gujráť; but he had not failed to take note of Báábá Farki. 'That which most commended him to my own admiration,' he afterwards wrote, 'and that for which I think a deep and lasting debt of gratitude is due to him by Government, was the bold and

¹ Clerk, or native manager.

valuable assistance rendered by him to Mr. Malet and myself, in our attempts to trace out, expose, and crush the wholesale and detestable system of corruption, some of the features of which I have endeavoured to disclose in the foregoing sections. Without the zealous and unflinching assistance of Bábá Fudkey during the years 1837, 1838, and 1839, it would have been utterly impossible to convict the delinquents. No other native of any grade or caste, not in the public service, dared to render us open assistance at Baroda; but this man stood boldly forth as our co-operator before he had any office under Government, in defiance of all the power, wealth, and unscrupulous villainy by which the delinquents were supported. Keen, deep, and unforgiving was the hostility he thus drew on himself from all who were implicated in any degree in the hitherto rampant corruption of Guzerat; and these, as I have shown, embraced not only the leading people in the city and court of Baroda, but almost, if not every, individual in the native political establishments, of Guzerat and Kattywar.'

So long as Mr. Malet officiated as political commissioner in Gujrát, and indeed for three and a half years after his departure from Baroda, Bábá Farkí's star was in the ascendant; but Fortune subsequently ceased to bestow her favours upon him. Falling under the displeasure of his immediate superiors, he was lowered in position, mulcted of salary and, because he did not readily accept degradation, turned out of office altogether. In a petition addressed to Government, he set forth the hardship of his case, and solicited that he might be appointed native agent; but his papers were referred for report to the very authority ruling his degradation, and the reply was such that Government, on receiving it, intimated an opinion that the petitioner was 'a very unfit person to be employed in any political capacity.' Notwithstanding this heavy blow, Farkí remained at Baroda in the hope that the

sentence might be revoked, but he was also, in some measure, detained there to prosecute the claim of his kinswoman.

So much will suffice in explanation of Outram's first association with the votaries of 'Khatpat.' On departure for Afghanistan in November 1838, his official relations with Gujrat ceased. They were now, nearly nine years later, to be renewed by his appointment as Resident at the Gaikawar's court. In the interim, the corrupt State had benefited little from any actual reform. He has left on record that he returned to Baroda 'to discover that the doctrine of "Khatpat" was as rife and rampant as ever, and that the officer who should endeavour to root out corruption, and vindicate the purity of British justice, must lay his account to experiencing as many obstacles as those which Mr. Sutherland, Mr. Malet,' and he himself had to encounter. Yet, outwardly, the aspect of affairs was not unpromising: the Nagar Brahmans had been expelled from office; and among the councillors of the Governor of Bombay were gentlemen whose presence in the secretariat at the time of the early prosecutions should have made them well acquainted with the intrigues of the original offenders, and, therefore, watchful against their revival.

We need not stop to inquire upon whose shoulders rests the onus of responsibility for the little progress made towards eradication of the detected evil. The views in favour at head-quarters were undoubtedly at variance with those entertained by the new Resident at Baroda; and it is probable that allowance for native custom and hereditary practice (however questionable) was considered too expedient a principle of centralised government to become secondary to any outward assertion of British morality within the narrow limits of a 'mofussil'¹ State. That natives were unscrupulous in our eyes, and affected ways and means which we should call

¹ Properly *mufassal*; the word is commonly used in India to indicate 'up country' localities, as opposed to the Presidency town and its environs.

dishonest, were facts so well established that demonstration may have been deemed superfluous; and as for our own honour and honesty, it may have been presumed that the Lion, having dwelt for a sufficiently long time among inferior animals to be well known to them, could afford to repose, with undisturbed conscience, upon its proved merits. In some such light only, can the action, or rather inaction, of Government be reconciled with the occurrences at Baroda, and amid the surroundings of the Gáikawár's court, since 1838; and it is matter of no surprise that Outram, when revisiting the scene of corruption in 1847, and again inhaling the same tainted air, armed himself *cap-à-pie* as of old and, furbishing his weapons of war, set forth to renew the conflict with his ancient enemy. While actively engaged in it, a change occurred in the Government of Bombay which may reasonably be said to have materially affected its course and results. Sir George Clerk who, fully understanding his nominee, had appointed him to Baroda, gave place, in 1848, to Lord Falkland, as Governor of the Presidency.

Almost the first item of information given to him, on assuming charge of the Residency, was that his previous acquaintance, Bába Farki, had been dismissed from office for misconduct. The intelligence in no way surprised Outram, who believed that the temptations with which this individual had been assailed in the midst of intriguing fellow-countrymen had overpowered his better instincts, and that, in course of time, frail nature had succumbed. One Narsu Pant had been appointed head native agent at the Residency, to fill the vacancy caused in 1843 by the dismissal, for corrupt practices, of a former incumbent, named Hira Lál. The post, as we have already shown, had been applied for by Farki, but without success. In such plain terms had the chapter of accidents declared the ruin of the latter, that he was not even admitted to an interview with his old employer,

who felt it obligatory on the Resident to seek from his more fortunate competitor the aid and information he could himself have so well supplied. Narsu is described by Outram as 'a man of most winning manners, plausible and unobtrusive in his demeanour;' and the description is borne out by the testimony of other officers under whom he served, some of whom have confirmed their verbal opinion by more substantial advocacy of his merits. But the value of this outward glitter would not stand the test to which it was necessarily subjected. 'I had not been long in office,' wrote the same observer, 'ere I had good grounds for suspecting that my native agent was a rogue;' and, as the suspicion had reference to probable collusion with certain parties in an intricate case then under investigation, Outram 'sought for, but failed to obtain, extraneous aid.' The only person coming up to the standard required was the dismissed Farki, but a ban had apparently been set upon him. Honesty was a scarce article in Baroda, and without honesty, any amount of ability would be useless.

It was not, however, clear to the new Resident upon what grounds the decision had been passed to his late *employee's* detriment; so he resolved to look into the matter and judge for himself. The result of a careful study into the proceedings satisfied him that 'Government had been misled into an act of great injustice. . . . Impressed with this conviction,' he wrote, 'I should have appealed on his behalf for a reconsideration of his case, had I not discovered that the prohibition against his re-employment had been virtually annulled by the permission granted to him, on July 5, 1847, to apply to the local authorities on the recurrence of a vacancy—a permission which appeared to me to be a tacit acknowledgment on the part of Government that its former condemnation had been hasty and unmerited.'

Outram accordingly sought his aid in investigating the

case then before him. 'At first,' he added, 'he objected. . . on the ground that by exposing the rascality of Nursoo Punt, he would assuredly bring on himself a series of persecutions so soon as I left Baroda; and, in justification of his fears, he reminded me of what he had already suffered in consequence of his exposure of the Nagur intrigues. I laughed at his fears. I assured him that no such persecutions as he dreaded would be tolerated at the present day; and I succeeded in securing his services, much to the alarm and indignation of Nursoo Punt, my native agent, whose conduct the investigation placed in a very unfavourable light, and who, aware that I had obtained a general idea of his real character, and that I never forgave rascality in a political servant, thought it well to get his house in order, and to make arrangement for retiring on his pension.' The zeal and ability displayed by his assistant were such that Outram, trusting to the support of the superior authorities in Bombay, felt himself justified in recommending him for the office of native agent about to be vacated by Narsu Pant at his own expressed intention. But we shall revert to this subject in the next chapter.

Before completion of the first year of his residential labours, the condition of the Panjáb again gave Government serious cause of anxiety. When Lord Hardinge left India towards the end of 1847, Northern India was outwardly calm; but the new Governor-General was soon to discover that the vast empire committed to his charge could enjoy no permanent peace until the process of annexation had been applied to the more turbulent of its neighbours. In April 1848, the murder of Mr. Vans Agnew and Lieutenant Anderson by the soldiers of Diwan Mulraj, and the treachery of the native artillerymen and escort, who should have protected them, commenced the all-engrossing series of important events which abruptly recalled the attention of all India to the country of the Five Rivers. The subsequent

action of Lieutenant Herbert Edwardes soon caused the movements of that distinguished young officer to become the central point of interest and admiration. About a month before the battle of Kineri, Outram suggested to Sir Frederic Currie, then Resident of Lahor, the propriety of making a requisition for the services of the Sind camel corps and one regiment of Sind horse for the protection of Bhawalpúr from the inroads of the Multán rebels. He himself, if permitted, would undertake, in concert with Major Jacob, to carry out the proposed arrangements in detail. If you entrust my friend Jacob and myself with this duty,' he wrote, 'depend upon it we shall not lay idle, nor allow the Mooltanees to cross to this side of the river with impunity, and shall so puzzle Moolraj by our feints and movements as to deter him, in a great measure, if not altogether, from attempting any distant operations until our regular army can come down upon him.'

This proposal was afterwards somewhat modified into a more general suggestion that the two should be entrusted with a roving commission, in conjunction with the chief of Bhawalpúr, to distract the attention of the rebels to the utmost, pending preparation for their thorough subjection.¹ Later again, Outram submitted copies of his letters to Sir Frederic Currie, in an official form, to Lord Dalhousie, through the private secretary, with an offer of service. The reply was to the effect that the Governor-General would gladly see the applicant's services made available in any operations to be undertaken against Multán; but that as a force would probably be despatched from the Bombay Presidency to co-operate with the Bengal troops, he would do better to

¹ On learning that the siege of Multán had been raised, Outram proposed a measure for strengthening General Whish's force by 800 sabres of the Sind horse and its light field guns, 8 flank companies of native regiments, and 450 bayonets of the Sind camel corps, with 500 camels for carriage purposes, to be thrown into the camp, on his own responsibility, within twenty days after receipt of order.

apply for active employment to his own Government. The course indicated was followed, but with no success, although there was a lengthened correspondence on the subject, concluding with an expression of regret on the part of the Governor that advantage could not be taken of his offer.

As incidentally expressed in his first letter to Sir F. Currie, the loss of a dear and valued relative, by an act of perfidious treachery, gave additional stimulus to his hopes in volunteering for military duties. Lieutenant Anderson was Mrs. Outram's brother, and the intelligence of his death had shed a gloom over the Residency circle at Baroda. In a letter to his mother from that place, dated May 16, 1848, Outram thus alludes to the circumstances of the murder :— 'It is indeed a sad, sad termination to the career of one of the noblest young men I ever knew, when he thought he had attained a sure path to fame and honour. Our last letter from him, written the day he embarked at Lahore to sail down to Mooltan, was full of hope and joy. . . .'¹

Once more Outram addressed himself to the private secretary of the Governor-General; but at this juncture the state of his health rendered a change of scene and climate imperative. We gather from one of Mr. Willoughby's many letters to his address that he had suffered from an attack of erysipelas in the autumn of 1847. Again, at the same season in the following year, as we read in the printed Memoir from which we have before quoted, 'the excessive mental fatigue' he had undergone, 'co-operating with the proverbial unhealthiness' of the locality in which the Gaikawár had established his court, 'developed symptoms of an alarming nature.' Egypt had been recommended to him by his medical advisers as a suitable climate, and his application for leave to proceed thither had been in the hands of the local Government before receipt of his request

¹ See Appendix I.

for employment in the field. The circumstance had called for comment; and to this he had replied:—‘ Were the cause of my availing myself of this leave (my first absence from India in thirty years, except once for nine months to England) of such a nature that my health might be endangered by changing Mooltan for Egypt, it need be of little consideration where the risk of death itself is of course disregarded by a soldier; but it happens that active exertion is what my medical advisers consider most beneficial for me, wherever obtained, to avert recurrence of the malady which nearly caused my death about this time last year, on which account they have recommended Egypt as affording the means of active occupation and relaxation for a time from sedentary duties. . . . I trust his Lordship will bear in mind that, in wishing to substitute hard service with the army for pleasant travelling in Egypt, I could only be actuated by the same zeal for the public service which has ever heretofore impelled me to seek service in the field, at whatever sacrifice of personal comfort or pecuniary cost.’

He embarked, with Mrs. Outram and his recently-widowed niece, Lady Harris, early in November, and reached Suez during the same month. Those were the days of vans, when parties of six were made up on board ship for selected companionship in the journey, to and fro, across the desert. It was quite natural and easy for the outward-bound to stop the homeward-bound, should one convoy cross the other between Suez and Cairo. Such incidents, notwithstanding the delay occasioned, could not be otherwise than agreeable to travellers uninfluenced by special motives for hurry or seclusion. To some the mere temporary cessation of jolting, obtained by accident to horse, van, or harness, necessitating a halt, was a welcome relief; and many a pleasant half-hour has thus accrued to the weary Anglo-Indian traversing Egypt

by van. We learn from a recently-published memoir of exceptional interest,¹ that the van containing the Outrams on this occasion met that in which Sir Henry and Lady Lawrence were returning towards India from a brief sojourn in England. Lawrence, we are told, 'got out, and, in the twilight, had ten minutes' talk with Colonel Outram.' The much esteemed lady who records the circumstance, in a letter to her son, adds :—'They have long known each other by character, and corresponded pleasantly, but have never met before. There is much alike in their characters; but Colonel Outram has had peculiar opportunities of protesting against tyranny, and he has refused to enrich himself by ill-gotten gains. You cannot, my boy, understand the question about the conquest of Sindh . . . but I wish you to know that your parents consider it most unjust. Prize-money has been distributed to those concerned in the war. Colonel Outram, though a very poor man, would not take money which he did not think rightfully his, and distributed all his share in charity—giving 800*l.* to the Hill Asylum at Kussowlee. I was glad, even in the dark, to shake hands with one whom I esteemed so highly.'

Singularly enough, this was the first meeting between two men who, with all their diversities of taste and disposition, were, despite of separation, instinctively drawn to each other. James Outram could not but admire so true a man as Henry Lawrence, and did not hide his appreciation of his noble qualities. Lawrence not only admired and spoke his admiration of Outram, but recorded his opinions of him in widely circulated contributions to periodical literature. On reaching Cairo after the incident above noted, Outram seems to have written to his natural friend, proposing to discard the superficial formality which a newly-acquired title might

¹ *Life of Sir Henry Lawrence*, by Sir Herbert Edwardes and Herman Merivale, C.B. (Smith, Elder, and Co.)

have introduced into their correspondence, had it not been fairly brushed away by the chance interchange of personal greeting. For in Sir Henry's reply from Suez, thanking him for his kind letter, we read :—' You seem to have forgotten that before we met we had got beyond the ceremonies in addressing each other. I hope our hasty glance at each other's faces by starlight will not make us more ceremonious. My luck having been greater than yours is certainly no reason; for no man is more of opinion that *you* ought to have been a K.C.B. years ago than myself.' Allusion is made to the sum paid to the Kasauli Institution, in a few lines from Lady Lawrence, added as a postscript to her husband's letter just quoted :—' We have received newspapers telling us who is the benefactor of our Hill School Asylum. Your benefaction is not the less acceptable because it comes in the form of allegiance to what we believe a righteous cause.' The subject had clearly been broached at the brief interview, but Outram had then veiled, as he was always accustomed to veil, his own identity when dispensing charitable gifts.

Mrs. Outram left Egypt to return home in December. ' I longed to get off from Alexandria, which was intolerable after you left,' he wrote to her on the 19th of that month, ' but was obliged to stay four days on a steamer offered, and then I came up in the same little steamer in which we went down the Nile, much more crowded than before, almost entirely with Turks and foreigners. Fortunately we had rather a quick voyage—twenty-seven hours and a half.' In the same letter he referred with interest to his proposed land route to Tunis, and mentioned that, through the aid of the Rev. Mr. Lieder, the well-known missionary at Cairo, who had procured him a teacher, he had commenced the study of Arabic. But he thus diffidently expressed his doubts of attaining proficiency in that most difficult language :—

‘As I have had no practice in learning languages for thirty years past, I fear I shall prove a very stupid pupil.’

Of Outram’s life in Egypt during the year 1849, we are enabled to form a tolerably good idea from his home correspondence and the bulky volume of his Confidential Memoir on the country of his sojourn. The first gives us an insight into his varying tone of thought and outdoor occupations; the second supplies in itself conclusive evidence of the serious nature of his labours with the pen. One of the earliest annoyances which he experienced on being left alone, was the receipt of a disappointing letter from the Governor-General’s private secretary. It was a reply to his renewed application for employment in the field, explaining that, as his own Government had considered compliance with his request ‘inexpedient with reference to the public service,’ so would it ‘be contrary to all precedent and propriety for the Governor-General to interfere’ in the matter. This abrupt disposal of his suit—coupled with other indications of disfavour—jarred upon his sensitiveness. He looked upon it as virtual shelving—a slight from superior authority such as he had in no way merited.¹ There was no better remedy than turning to the best account his presence in the land of the Pharaohs. He would study that region, not as shrouded in the mist of antiquity—for he was no antiquarian—but in its modern political and military aspect. He would not go

¹ One of the annoyances to which he was subjected about this period arose from a claim erroneously made against him by the Pay Department for a refund of Sind prize-money, on the plea that, as he held a civil appointment when the battle of Miáni was fought, he was not entitled to draw any. This matter was all the more serious, as, the money having been all distributed in charity long before, he possessed no funds whence to make good so ruinous a demand; and the large sum required could only have been recovered by instalments out of his pay—no pleasant prospect for a sick and wearied man! Nor was it until the Court of Directors had pointed out the mistaken interpretation put upon his position by the local authority, that the difficulty was removed.

back to Cambyzes and the Ptolemys, but confine his retrospect to the more distinct and intelligible period of Napoleon and Kleber. At the same time he would learn the Arabic language, so commonly spoken or understood in the cities and surrounding country; and if opportunity offered he would explore routes of international traffic. Travel and practical investigation—with the knowledge that he was working for a purpose, and in the hope that his recorded experiences might be advantageous to his country—these would, perhaps, enable him to shake off the disappointment occasioned by want of active professional occupation such as it had been a solace to him to dream of in the corrupt atmosphere of Baroda.

But the distant Panjáb war-note, while, in one sense, it had healthily diverted his mind from the less obvious hissing of the dragon of 'Khatpat,' had in other respects disturbed his equanimity for regarding things immediately before him. And much more was this the case in Egypt, where he was holding no recognised official position. The intelligence from the seat of war distressed him; he feared lest our ill-success at Ramnagar might have a bad effect throughout the interior of India; he wrote to Mr. Willoughby to have a news letter waiting for him at Cosseir on the north-western shores of the Red Sea, meaning to terminate the first section of his local wanderings at that point, and, if necessary, embark there for Bombay. Mr. Willoughby did write, but his letter was not delivered to Outram until he had returned from Cosseir to Cairo on March 3. As in this and other communications from Indian correspondents, the critical state of our affairs in the Panjáb, notwithstanding the battle of Chilianwala, was described in gloomier colours than those shown by the writers in the public press, he deemed it his duty to repair at once to his Indian post, thinking, as he himself expressed it to his wife, in the idiom of the day, 'that *every officer who*

has eaten the Company's salt is bound to do so likewise, in whatever part of the world he may happen to be situated. Thus reasoning, 'I have determined,' he continued, 'to return to India with the mail expected from home the day after to-morrow, being quite sure you will approve my resolve. Indeed, as a man of honour, I could not do otherwise, were I tenfold more enamoured of Egypt than I really am; but I regret much not having time left me to visit Rosetta and Damietta, with which and all the western coast I wished to be thoroughly acquainted—as well as with the route between Alexandria and Tunis. That, however, I now find by my Indian letter is a sealed book to me, for, in reply to the queries I sent to Bombay, I am informed that my tether extends only to 36 degrees of north latitude, and 30 longitude E. of Greenwich.'

So that after about sixteen weeks, the invalid was re-crossing the sea to his work again, when his health required that he should have remained for at least as many months. As it happened, his voyage eastward ended this time at Aden.¹ There he learnt full particulars of the success obtained by Lord Gough over the Sikhs at Gujrat; and its effect had been to dissipate the cloud in which defeat, or doubtful victory, had begun to envelope the British name. He had nothing now to do but retrace his steps. In any case, had he proceeded direct to Bombay, he could not have rejoined the office of Resident at Baroda; for his *locum tenens* was entitled to a year's tenure of the acting appointment, and half that time would not have expired until late in May. On his return passage to Suez, he passed the H. C. steamer 'Firúz,' the signals from which vessel communicated the circumstance

¹ The present biographer can certify the fact from personal knowledge, having been an outward passenger by the 'Oriental,' which conveyed Colonel Outram from Suez on this particular occasion. The passage occupied some seven or eight days, and the steamer had consumed all her coal before reaching Aden.

that Sir Charles Napier had been appointed Commander-in-Chief of the army in India. Though he could hardly be indifferent to a nomination which augured little advancement to his interest at head-quarters, Outram afterwards admitted that the Court of Directors could not well have done otherwise, under the popular pressure resulting from a *quasi* panic.

Returning to his self-imposed labours in Egypt, Outram visited Damietta: coming back to Cairo for the English and Indian mails due early in May, then proceeding to Rosetta, to inspect its fortifications as he had done those of Damietta.¹ In June, at Alexandria, he was seriously ill from acute spinal rheumatism, brought on by imprudently bathing, when a sufferer from a slight attack. To shake this off he took a cruise to the coast of Syria, embarking for Syra, in an Austrian Lloyd's steamer, on the 20th of the month. For the first few days, he described the 'excruciating agony suffered' to be such as, had he not experienced it himself, he 'should have thought mortal frame could not bear;' food he could not 'touch of any sort,' living 'entirely on tea;' and he had become so reduced as to be unable to 'walk without support.' But after completing his quarantine at Syra, his health began to improve, and at Smyrna, under the care of 'an excellent physician,' Dr. Wood, he found himself 'almost free from rheumatism,' and, though still very weak, 'able to sit up and write.' After a further cruise, he finally left the last-named place on the 13th, and arrived at Bairût on the 17th August. Hence he rode up to the Lebanon, where he had once contemplated passing the hot weather, but the trip was enough to satisfy him, and he forthwith rode down again. The possibility of meeting his friend Mr. Bax, on his outward journey to India, may have hastened somewhat his return to Egypt; but in a letter to Mrs. Outram from Cairo, dated

¹ On this occasion he was too ill to leave his boat, but he revisited Damietta and Rosetta both, at a later season of the year.

October 2, he says that he was never better in bodily health ; so that he may have considered the object of his trans-Alexandria tour to have been accomplished, and that there was yet work for him to do in putting a finishing stroke to his Memoir. Moreover, in the same letter, he mentions his intention of making 'one more trip to Damietta, to complete survey in neighbourhood.'

From this time until re-embarkation at Suez in the 'Ajdaha,' on January 21, 1850, his letters home were not long or many. But we remark in them his naturally-expressed disinclination to remain in Baroda, where he was placed so unfortunately in opposition to his own Government. To such extent, indeed, was he influenced by this feeling, that he applied to Lord Dalhousie for an exchange to Nagpur, on the occurrence of an expected vacancy; though he entertained little hope of receiving a favourable reply. 'It went much against my grain,' he wrote, 'to make the application—the first time I ever asked for anything: ¹ but I would submit to much rather than return to Baroda.' He 'longed for' home, and indulged in visions of some quiet retreat there, in which he and his wife and son might live together in peace, until time should bring about a more propitious state of things—probably a change in the *personnel* of Governments. His only practical course, however, was to return to India for a while alone, and by 'saving every penny' (to him an entirely new process), scrape together enough to eke out his furlough pay for two or three years. He would have almost preferred retirement from the service altogether, had his means permitted; and to have become Lieutenant-Governor of Addiscombe, in succession to Sir Ephraim Stannus, then shortly to retire, would have been to him a

¹ This, of course, alludes to a distinct substantive appointment, and can have no reference to service in the field, for which he was always ready to volunteer.

most acceptable contingency. Readers will not be wanting to sympathise with and appreciate Outram's feelings at this time. There is no doubt, however, that physical suffering served to heighten the despondency with which he beheld, and to darken the colours in which he depicted, the vexations of his position in India.

We have already said that Outram's 'Memoir on Egypt' bears on the face of it evidence of heavy work at the desk. But it is also indicative of much thought and research; and is an admirable example of the useful account to which an able and active-minded soldier may turn a twelve or fifteen months' furlough in a foreign country. The body of the Memoir consists of more than a hundred pages of closely-printed foolscap, divided into twelve sections. Of these, the first deals mainly with the fortifications of Alexandria, but is in other respects a political review; the second is a valuable notice of the resources of Egypt, touching on military establishments, revenues, agricultural products, and means of transport; the third is a retrospect of French campaigns under the first Napoleon; and the remaining nine may be generally classed together under the heads of political, strategical, and hypothetical. The appendices are more bulky than the Memoir itself. Unlike the latter, however, which underwent revision at the hands of a friend unnamed, they were submitted as first put together, the original matter being transcribed from entries in a commonplace book, or 'memoranda made on the backs and margins of the documents to which they refer.' Outram was anxious to lay before Government, as soon as possible after his return to India, the data he had collected, and there was much statistical and geographical information to be imparted in these rough accompaniments to his main report. 'To have attempted,' he wrote, 'to correct and prune the masses of appended matter which accompany this Memoir, would have entailed a

delay in its presentation which I was most anxious to avoid, and I have consoled myself with the reflection that, if the information contained in my appendices is, as I believe it to be, worth obtaining, the labour and time spent in traversing its details, pursuing its repetitions, and overcoming its hasty style of expression, will not be grudged, or, at all events, will not be entirely misspent.’¹

In the preface to the whole collection of papers he acknowledges his obligations to Mr. Thurburn, the Hon. Mr. Murray, then British Consul-General, and his brother Captain Murray, R.N., Captain Stoddart, R.N., Mr. Lane, and his nephew Mr. Stuart Poole, the Rev. Mr. Lieder, and the leading members of the English community in Egypt; also the valuable co-operation which he received from Colonel Le Messurier, Lieut. Constable, I.N., and Lieut. Playfair of the Madras artillery. Of one of the friends above named, Mr. Stuart Poole, Outram wrote that ‘his knowledge of the country and its languages was of great service’ to him; moreover, that he accompanied him in the most important of all those journeys to and fro, for which sufficient explanation must be found in ‘a tourist’s whims’ and the injunctions laid on him by his medical attendants ‘to keep constantly on the move.’ To this gentleman we are now indebted for a few reminiscences of the subject of our biography at the period under review, which we make no apology for presenting to the reader, in completion of the present chapter:—

‘My recollections of Sir J. Outram when I first met him in 1849, though vivid as to his appearance and character, do not supply much of the details of his history. The strength and individuality of his disposition, his warmth of heart, his great unselfishness, his absolute confidence in me, and his fatherly kindness, have made an ineffaceable impression on me.

¹ This Memoir will be further noticed in the penultimate chapter.

‘At that time he seemed to me in full strength of body and mind. He struck me as not unlike Cromwell in face, though of a far more refined type, marked in the firm and delicate modelling of the mouth, especially in the upper lip. He had a soldier’s piercing eyes, changing in a moment from command to gentleness. In speech he was hesitating, but when he was warmed by his subject he could speak forcibly. He was consumed by ambition, yet I never knew a more modest man.

‘Our journey up the Nile, in January and February 1849, was undertaken with a view to reporting on the practicability of the route across the Desert from Kuseyr to Kinè, followed by the Indian contingent of our expeditionary force in the war with the French at the beginning of the century. To carry out the mission, Colonel Outram not only examined the route, but took note of every good military position on our voyage to Thebes. He would say of a fine temple, “What a splendid position!” With a great respect for learning he cared very little for antiquities. In starting for the trip across the Desert from Kinè he mounted his camel wearing a regulation sword. I said, “Colonel, don’t wear that; they will find you out!” “Do you think,” he answered, “I will wear anything but the Queen’s sword?” So he went undisguised, and the suspicions that his frankness excited nearly led to my being carried off during his absence.

‘At, or soon after our start for, the return voyage, the news of the disaster of Chilianwallah reached us. Outram was excited to the verge of madness. “I will go back at once,” he said, “and serve as captain in my old black regiment.” During the voyage, he kept the boatmen at work night and day. Sleeping in the cabin next to his, I was constantly roused by his shouts to the exhausted men to go on rowing. A mutiny broke out, and the men were taken before a Turkish governor, who politely offered to have them bastinadoed all

round. Outram, of course, could not consent, and the old state of things returned. When we reached Cairo, the news of the victory of Gujerat had come, and Outram was full of regret for the discomfort his impetuosity had caused. An incident of the voyage made a lasting impression on me. One day when we had no meat for dinner I shot a pigeon. Outram, ardent sportsman as he was, said to me sadly, "I have made a vow never to shoot a bird." He would not eat the bird, which was given to an old peasant woman, and we dined as we could.

'At Cairo he completed the materials for the report which is to be found in the confidential papers of the E. I. C. My uncle (Mr. Lane) and my brother were of good service in its preparation. At this time I saw much of Colonel Outram. His conversation usually turned on the wrongs of the Ameers of Sind, the Baroda bribery, and not seldom on the native races and how they should be governed. It now strikes me that he lost mental strength from the power an *idée fixe* had of getting entire command of him. On native questions I may add that without being sympathetic, owing possibly to his want of linguistic facility, he was full of a desire for equal justice to all, and commented on acts of spoliation or harshness with the keenest indignation. He was so sensitive to fair play that he spoke of being hurt with his brother-officers for picking off Afghan matchlock-men who innocently came within range of their rifles. He never could be made to tell or verify any story of his own achievements. Whatever I knew came out by accident. Thus once he said, "I like that stick; I took a hill-fort with it!" Another time he told how, as a subaltern, he had called out the Commander-in-Chief of the Bombay army, for not giving him a chance of active service in Burmah, when that gallant old officer, while regretting he had not the chance of a shot at Outram, whose challenge no one at Poona would carry, yet sent him at once to the front.¹

¹ Probably to Kittur. See vol. i. p. 43.

Even the incidents of his tiger-hunts were withheld from us. The deep scars on his head were admitted to be the marks of claws, but he would never acknowledge or deny the story that his head was once in a tiger's mouth, when a well-directed bullet from a friend's gun relaxed the brute's jaws. He lived sparingly, but lavished everything in presents to his friends. His only amusement was chess, and his only indulgence smoking either a hookah, of which he took half-a-dozen whiffs, or a cigar. I wish I could remember his conversation on political matters, but except in the cases of Sind and Baroda and his strong indignation against those who would not have rescued our captives in Afghanistan, I cannot venture at this distance of time to put on paper what he said of those high in office. He had a strong feeling of personal responsibility, and spared no one who was not true to this test. Consistently he was the first to see and reward merit in young men.'

CHAPTER III.

1850-1854.

Return to Baroda and results.—England revisited.—Baroda, a third time.

COLONEL OUTRAM returned to Bombay from sick leave to Egypt, on February 7, 1850; but he did not immediately proceed to Baroda. Special duty, having reference to military matters and the completion of his Egyptian Report, kept him until the month of May at the Presidency. The Memoir was officially submitted on April 20; and in conveying to its author the thanks of Government for the 'very valuable document' received, the Chief Secretary thus expressed himself:—'I am directed . . . to communicate to you the highest commendation of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council for the distinguished and honourable zeal for the service of your country which you have so energetically exercised under the pressure of ill-health and other unfavourable circumstances; and his Lordship in Council, in transmitting by the mail of this day your Memoir to the Honourable the Secret Committee, will have much satisfaction in expressing his sense of the value and importance of the information it contains, and of the intelligence and ability which you have displayed in its preparation.'¹ From other parts of India he also received highly flattering testimony to the work he had so ably and gratuitously undertaken when on his

¹ The Governor-General's reply to the despatch of the Bombay Government forwarding the Memoir, communicates Lord Dalhousie's 'full concurrence in the praise which the Right Honourable the Governor in Council has very justly bestowed upon Colonel Outram and the officers named by him as his associates.'

year's leave. Nor were his labours unrecognised by Cabinet Ministers at home. He had written, before leaving Cairo, to his warm and steady supporter, Lord Jocelyn, giving a summary of the data collected and views formed thereon, and he was told in reply that Lord Palmerston considered his information 'most valuable,' and that, had the Russo-Turkish differences continued, he would no doubt have been requested to remain in Egypt.

Outram's presence in Bombay soon became known and acknowledged by both European and native acquaintances. He had put up on first arrival with his old friends the Willoughbys, and when the weak state of Mrs. Willoughby's health caused their removal to Mahableshwar, the worthy member of Council—his unfailing correspondent through a long series of years—wrote to him repeatedly from the hill sanatorium in terms of affectionate friendship, interspersing the ordinary chit-chat of letters with words of wise and kindly advice. Pleasant written greetings also reached him at this time from the Lawrences. In one letter dated from Lahor, which Sir Henry had left his wife to complete owing to a sudden call for his services in camp, Lady Lawrence thus referred to their former meeting:—'We often talk of our *ten minutes'* acquaintance with you in the Desert, and only wish it could be carried somewhat further.' Of his native correspondents, the most noteworthy was Bárá Farki, the receipt of a communication from whom caused him great annoyance. He had taken this individual, on conscientious grounds, under his special protection, and, when leaving Baroda, had, as we have shown, recommended him for the office of native agent at the Residency. He was now, it appeared—fifteen months later—a vagabond and an outcast. Not having obtained the employment suggested from the British Government, he had taken service under the Gáikawár, but, after some months, having

incurred that Prince's displeasure, he had been imprisoned and subjected to much personal indignity. His degraded position—that of a bailed prisoner at the Gaikawar's capital—rendered him liable to be confounded with the many petitioners, whether in the *Mufassal* or Presidency towns of India, writing themselves, or getting others to write for them, long, high-flown petitions to the local ruler—called in Bombay the 'Lat (Lord) Sahib,' as in Calcutta. But his words and sentences were more happily chosen than those usually produced from the conventional mould which has long served, and may still serve, for the multitude of his fellows: and Outram, naturally well-disposed towards him from old association, was at once struck by the seeming truth of his appeal. As for Narsu Pant, who, when the Resident handed over his charge in 1848, was to have resigned the native agency, in mild requital of malpractices, that individual had reconsidered his intention, and was still holding the post in 1850, when the Resident was about to resume his functions. It was clear that the tables had been turned as regards Farki and his more successful rival: and a change of the kind could not have been effected without the sanction of high authority.

The petition to Colonel Outram was submitted to Government, who referred it to the acting Resident; but it was not until the return of the former officer to Baroda that he was enabled to investigate the case. The reversal of his condemnation of Narsu Pant was then discovered to have been so far irregular, that it had been effected on a petition sent directly by that smart native to a friendly member of the Governor's Council,¹ and not through the prescribed official channel: and its writer had thus received a moral support over and above that to which he would have been entitled in

¹ It should be observed that Outram, however he may have criticised this gentleman's action in the *khatpat* proceedings, regarded him as 'a man of incorruptible integrity;' whom he would as soon have believed 'capable of cannibalism as of bribe-taking.'

the ordinary course. Such support had been sufficient to procure for him the option of recalling his resignation: the exercise of which option was tantamount to declaring secret criticism of European superiors by native subordinates to be a legitimate act, and worthy of encouragement—a dangerous and revolutionary doctrine which, if applicable to the Resident at a native State, should be equally so to the Governor of a Presidency in India. Another blow to Outram's influence—not the less serious because less direct—was the omission of Government to refer to him the complaint which questioned his proceedings, when it was within their power to do so without the smallest inconvenience—for he was at Bombay from September 17 till November 3, 1845. He had left Baroda on September 12, and no sooner had his back been turned than the enemies of Bábá Farkí set all their wits to work to enlist the sympathies of the new *régime* on behalf of his opponent; to frustrate the good intentions which had been entertained for the eradication of *khatpat*, and to mar the programme prepared for the cleansing of an Augean stable. The plausibility of Narsu, and the preconceived opinions in his favour of more than one high official at the Presidency, whose word on the subject would be law, were in themselves powerful means towards attainment of the desired end. Under the circumstances the result is not surprising. In bare outline the following are the facts:—Two natives were contesting the coveted office of British agent at Baroda. Outram supported one, because he pinned his faith on his goodwill, and he had satisfactorily tested his capabilities; while he rejected the other in the conviction that he was an untrustworthy public servant, though an outwardly prepossessing and undoubtedly clever official. The exigencies of the Resident's position demanded the presence of an assistant possessing as much honesty as could reasonably be credited to the native Indian character, and the moral

courage to subordinate caste to conscience : and his selection was carried out accordingly. It was not, however, ratified, but annulled by his immediate superiors. We have no occasion to discuss their motives in the procedure, for their acts have been since condemned by the home tribunal.

It is difficult, almost impossible, to tell the whole story of these two men without introducing a number of other actors, each of whom represents an individuality needing careful description ; and the drama in which so many persons bear a part is of too complex and wearisome a plot to lay before the reader in detail. We may, however, say, without fear of contradiction, that the dragon of *khatpat*, the existence of which at Baroda had been proclaimed to the Bombay Government, was no myth or imaginary creation of Outram's brain ; nor could any right-minded Englishman deny that its destruction was essential to the credit of our Government in India. And thus persuaded, we cannot well understand how the authorities could so far weaken the hands of their recognised representative in his legitimate attempts to put an end to the monster, by taking occasion of his absence to disavow his proceedings, to support one man whom he had openly denounced for fraud, and to imprison and otherwise degrade another whom he had sought to promote on account of service well and faithfully performed to the State.

Even if such result had been arrived at by a process the justice of which could not have been gainsaid, it was hardly desirable that the Resident, whose errors of judgment had been so glaringly advertised, should be sent back to the scene of his failure to resume inquiries which it must have been apparent he could conduct in no other spirit than that which his conscience approved. And was there no humiliation to him to find himself attended by other advisers and other assistants than those he had himself chosen—nay, by

those whom he had actually pronounced unworthy of trust ? This was very much the position in which Outram would find himself on return to the Residency at Baroda, however earnestly his loyal nature and the solicitude of his friends might strive to keep it out of sight.

He left Bombay, and resumed charge of his office in May. In the following month he addressed a long communication to Government, soliciting a reconsideration of Farki's case, and pleading that the persecution which the petitioner had suffered arose from the assistance rendered by him in exposing the depravity of the more corrupt native officials. The Governor of Bombay regarded this letter as 'intemperate and indiscreet,' and saw 'no reason whatever for the interference of our Resident between Farki and his Highness the Gaikawar.' One of the two members of Council recorded a minute much to the same effect, and a reply was despatched accordingly. The other member was Mr. Willoughby, who knew and understood both Outram and Baroda better than his colleagues. It is not surprising that he dissented from their verdict ; and we feel both justified and constrained by a sense of duty, in extracting the following passages of his able minute on the subject :—

The extent of bribery and corruption among our native establishments in Guzerat, and especially at Baroda, is unhappily notorious. Some cases of this kind have very recently been before the Board, and more may soon be expected, in connection with the case of Joitabhaee, the widow of the wealthy banker, belonging to the firm Hurree Bukty & Co., at Baroda, who has for a long time past failed to obtain a hearing by the most corrupt means, to the great discredit, I fear, of the British Government.

It is evident that Lieutenant-Colonel Outram believes, and I have not a doubt honestly and in good faith believes, that Baba Pherkeea has been subjected to oppression and ill-treatment for having aided him in bringing corrupt practices to light . . .

With reference to paragraphs . . . of Lieutenant-Colonel Outram's present report, so far from considering that officer, with the impressions therein stated, to have acted indiscreetly and intemperately in submitting this representation to Government, I do not see how, as a man of honour, he could have avoided doing so.

I cannot therefore concur in the censure passed upon the Resident; but in order to support his meritorious exertions in the exposure of corruption, and in order that other persons may not be deterred from assisting those exertions by seeing, from the example of Baba Pherkeea, that maltreatment instead of reward is the result, I think the case should, as proposed by Lieutenant-Colonel Outram, be fully investigated.

The story of Jetha-Bái, to which Mr. Willoughby here alludes, has been recorded with sufficient fulness of detail for the general reader, in a despatch of the Court of Directors, reviewing its merits on the whole evidence before them, and noting its main features. It is there stated, as an established fact, that the said lady, the younger widow of the head partner in the firm of Hari Bhugti,¹ had been 'the victim of a nefarious plot concocted by one Baba Nafra,' the managing *gumáshta*, or agent of the house, 'and of which the instruments were forgery, coercion of witnesses, subornation of perjury, and the forcible abduction of a child.' This infant, acknowledged for eighteen months as the legitimate son of Jetha-Bái, had been delivered over by Baba Nafra to certain persons alleged to be his real parents, under pretence of spuriousness, and had died in their hands.² The widow, 'kept for nearly three years under a guard, without any provision for her support,' had been disgraced and expelled from caste. Baba Nafra's 'powerful influence

¹ See *ante*, Chapter II., Book II., p. 20.

² Baba Nafra was the principal trustee of the will of Jetha-Bái's husband; and he was charged with endeavouring to set this aside to the prejudice of the widow, visiting the treasury in which were the moneys of the estate, unattended by his two co-trustees, and appropriating to his own use a portion of the trust funds. These events occurred in 1845-46, when there was an acting British Resident at Baroda.

with the ministers and servants of the Gaikawār' had enabled him to practise his villainy with success; and though Jetha-Bái had claimed British protection, under guarantee given to the banking-firm, her complaints had been unavailing.

There had been petitions to the Bombay Government from this lady referred to Colonel Outram in 1847; and her grievances had been further agitated during his absence in 1849; but the truth was not elicited until his return in 1850, when 'a quarrel among the conspirators led to disclosures,' which he 'followed up under great difficulties, with an indefatigable industry and zeal' entitling him to 'high commendation.' His labours resulted in a 'long and elaborate report' eventually laid before the Court, who thus eliminated what may be considered to be the main issue:— 'Baba Nafra having been tried by a *punchayet* appointed by the Guicowar, has been found guilty of a part of the charges preferred against him, and has been sentenced by the *punchayet* to a fine of 15,500 rupees and seven years' imprisonment, to which his Highness has added the further penalty of irons. Lieutenant-Colonel Outram contends, with some appearance of justice, that the *punchayet* was unduly influenced in favour of Baba Nafra. But . . . we are fully satisfied that the guilt of that individual is established to an extent sufficient to justify the punishment to which he has been sentenced by his sovereign. And as it was reported . . . by Lieutenant-Colonel Outram that Baba Nafra's confinement was almost nominal, we approve your having directed the Resident, if the statement should be confirmed on inquiry, to represent to the Guicowar the impropriety of an indulgence to this criminal.¹ . . .'

One of the papers upon which the foregoing decision of

¹ Reply of the Honourable Court of Directors to Letters of the Bombay Government in the Political Department, dated June 2, 1852.

the Court was based is a minute by the Governor himself, who, although he does not see occasion to support the Resident, is constrained to admit his conscientious ability in the following terms: 'I now turn to the case itself, which the more it is studied must more and more impress the mind with admiration of the extraordinary ability and patience displayed by Colonel Outram, in investigating the obscure and secret conspiracies which are the subject of his report, dated 30th March 1851, in baffling native intrigue upon its own ground, and in unravelling with much ingenuity, if not always successfully, the frauds, perjuries, and the mass of contradictory depositions which have been taken and committed. . . . The task he undertook to perform may indeed be termed an extraordinary one. Once persuaded that Joitabae's tale was true, and that she was the victim of a foul conspiracy, he has alone and unaided stood by her, has opposed the active machinations of her powerful enemies, deriving a strong support, as they must have done, from their success with the acting Resident, and through him with this Government; has openly met the secret hostility of the Baroda Durbar (for the Gaekwar himself, however well-meaning he may have been, has been evidently and wholly passive in the matter), and finally unveiled and exposed the treachery of the native agent, which would appear to be but too clearly established by the facts and reasoning of this report.'

But Outram had a heavier task to fulfil at Baroda than the defence of a native subordinate. He would have to consider the whole question of *khatpat* and illustrate it by cases such as that of Jetha-Bái, and other sufferers from the unrestrained iniquity of their fellow-mortals. In May 1850, the very month of his return to the Residency, the ruling powers at Bombay addressed this locally famous circular to

the Political, Judicial, and Revenue Departments respectively, in the following terms :—

Government has been led to believe that an impression prevails in some parts of the Mofussil, that, by means of intrigues at the Presidency, the arrangements of local officers can often be defeated or superseded by the parties interested secretly obtaining the friendship of persons in power, who, it is expected, will, irrespective of right and wrong, interest themselves for the party soliciting their favour; and that, by these means, objects are attainable which, if left to be sifted and reported on in a deliberate and regular manner, could never be secured. This species of intriguing is termed, in the Mahratta and Canarese districts, 'making *khutput* in Bombay;' and it is stated to be regarded as a remedy under difficulties of whatever kind. It is even held to be considered as effectual in obtaining the restoration to place of official servants who, for incapacity or dishonesty, have been discharged from Government service, and to be even capable of effecting the release from gaol of a convicted felon. A belief in the existence of a system of this nature is calculated greatly to embarrass the officers of Government, and to undermine the confidence of the ryots in the justice of the system by which they are governed. I am accordingly directed to request, that you will have the goodness to report, after making any inquiries you may deem requisite, whether you have reasons for supposing that any such belief prevails generally, or amongst any particular class of persons, within the limits of your charge; and, if so, that you will offer any suggestions that may occur to you, as to the best means of eradicating the same.

We propose briefly to summarise the purport and results of Outram's reply to this important call, in itself a huge volume; after which little more will remain to be said on a matter already detailed in blue-books and pamphlets. But as this procedure will take us to the beginning of 1852, a glimpse of the Baroda Residency during the two preceding years, and while the great work was progressing—obtained by the medium of family letters unrestricted to official sub-

jects, though, towards the end, insensibly drifting into them—may not be unacceptable to the reader.

On first return, the Resident, now reduced to bachelor discomforts, found all outer things much as he had left them: one regiment was the same, while another had been replaced: there were only two ladies in camp. 'Fortunately,' he wrote, 'the day after my arrival the Fulljames's came . . . and stayed with me, which somewhat broke the melancholy of the great house.' His 'quiet, steady routine,' was to rise at 4 A.M., ride till sunrise, breakfast at 9, work more or less till sunset, when he would drive to the parade-ground, 'to avoid the intermediate dust,' walk for half an hour, and return to dinner at dusk. Lieutenant Battye, Assistant Resident, 'kind and honest-hearted as ever,' was his regular evening companion; there were sometimes one or two from camp, but 'never more than six.' A little later, the number was increased—for he speaks of having 'occasionally had from eight to ten at table, by which means I have now gone through the whole society.' But his sociable and hospitable nature has not been satisfied thus far; for we also note, in the letter just quoted, the following passage, which reads to us more like the unconscious revelation of a generous act than the explanation of a diplomatic expediency:—'I am about to perpetrate one piece of extravagance you would think uncalled for, did I not explain that I have a political object in view, i.e. to remove the impression that I purpose going away immediately—consequently, to put an end to intrigues which would be prosecuted under that supposition. Ostensibly, however, I have merely the welfare and amusement of the officers in view, for the grand undertaking is a bathing-tank, to be erected beside the well near the flagstaff: it is to be 40 feet long and 12 broad, which will be a great luxury to all, for at present there is no place where they can get a swim.' In October he described his life to be exactly

as before shown, 'very jog-trot.' Not a single lady was at the station: 'Battye dines with me almost every night, and occasionally two or three others. . . . I never go to the mess.' The messes were good, and he liked the officers: 'but as I always go to bed at nine to enable me to get up before day-break, I cannot suit myself to the late hours.' He was then 'still engaged in corruption cases—a thankless office,' but one which afforded him abundant occupation. Failing the support of Government, he proposed to resign his post and go home so soon as his means would allow. His military pay and 1,000*l.* would, he reckoned, suffice for three years, 'by which time,' he wrote, 'I should be sure of a brigade on my return to India, which, after all, is perhaps better, though not perhaps so well paid as my present position, being free from responsibility and vexation.' The year 1850 closed with apparently little change in the routine of his Baroda life. In the first of two letters written to his wife during the month of December, he acknowledged the receipt of 'a charming, cheerful letter' from his mother, to whom he sent the following message relating to the Jetha-Bái case:—'Say I am bringing my battle . . . on behalf of the widow, which she so much approves, to a successful termination.' And he added: 'My crusade against corruption goes on. No light work . . . which so incessantly occupies me that for three months past I have been at my desk from sunrise (when I return from my ride), till nine (when I bathe and dress): breakfast over by half-past, and again at the desk till half-past five, besides generally writing after dinner two and three hours.' He did not, however, complain of this: quite the contrary. Such occupation, he declared, agreed with him 'better than the greatest exercise out of doors,' and he 'never was better.' But he disliked the shallow forms and ceremonies and outer routine of his office, and would have been glad of any excuse to get away from a place 'the petti-

fogging duties of which' he found as 'distasteful' as the climate was 'disagreeable.' In the second December letter, dated three days after Christmas, the thought of the festive season was inseparable from that of home. His heart yearned towards his wife and son, and those whom he knew to be with them. 'Oh, how I wish I could be of the party!' was the outburst of his heart: 'what a contrast to a happy Christmas is my solitary condition here!' Lieutenant Battye had left him for two months, owing to ill-health; and he was alone, still incessantly employed in 'prosecuting corruption cases,' in the teeth of a strong opposition from natives of all ranks and classes, who hated him, as he expressed it, for exposing a state of things in which all were more or less concerned. Especially did this alienation apply to the members of his own establishment, 'debarred from their unholy gains.' He thus further expressed himself on the character of the prospect before him: 'I am progressing slowly but surely in spite of every obstacle, and assuredly shall succeed; but the villainy, hypocrisy, and unblushing perjury I meet with at every turn—together with the apathy of the Government—so thoroughly have disgusted me that I am determined to shake the dust off my feet, and leave Baroda when I have finished the work. . . . Hereafter I shall confine myself to my profession, which ensures the command of a brigade to me when I return to India, and a handsome competency, though scarcely half the salary of my present position.'

In April 1851, he ran down to Bombay, to take leave of Mr. Willoughby, then about proceeding to Europe. Shortly before accompanying this gentleman, his 'oldest friend,' to the homeward-bound steamer, he wrote:—'with his departure I feel as if almost my last tie to India were severed.' In the same letter he referred to a likeness of himself which

he was sending home. 'Such a grim old fright they picture me!' are his words; 'but not more so than I really am. The last two years have aged me more than ten.' Before the end of May he was back at the ungenial Residency. His stay at Bombay had not been satisfactory in respect of official progress. 'After receiving the strongest assurances that Government had every desire to aid and support' his 'endeavours to uproot and expose the corruptions of Baroda,' and after he had been 'induced by such assurances to expunge' from his 'Statement of Facts,'¹ then under preparation, all obnoxious passages calculated to make those who should have supported him become opponents in self-defence, all had ended in the appointment of a special Commission to re-try the cases which he had himself investigated. By this arrangement Narsu Pant, against whom Outram had sent in five charges, with full particulars—and whom he had wished to keep in arrest until actually placed on formal trial—was enabled to appear in the Gaikawár's capital, a fortnight before the arrival of the Commissioner in the middle of June, 'with free liberty to do whatever he pleased, and attended by a train of peons, &c., as if in the full power of his office.' In such a condition of affairs it was not unnatural for the Resident to believe that his own resignation was aimed at, and that 'every man at Baroda, from the Gaikawár downwards,' was satisfied that Narsu had 'the secret support of Government.' The Commissioner, Mr. William Frere,² of the Bombay Civil Service, was fortunately an officer who could be designated 'an upright and just judge, acute and indefatigable, and not likely to be influenced by party

¹ This statement related mainly to the case of Narsu Pant. It was restored to nearly its original shape when afterwards embodied as a section of the general report.

² Since Member of the Governor's Council at Bombay, and, more recently still, one of the Royal Commissioners appointed to inquire into the treatment of Indian immigrants at Mauritius and elsewhere.

feeling.' But the action taken warranted Outram in preparing so full a statement of the *khatpat* case, without respect of persons, for submission to the Court of Directors, that it would serve, if necessary, for eventual submission to the British Parliament and public. One appeal to the Court against the Bombay procedure had been purposely drawn out by him and dated before the sitting of the Commission, that it might not appear to be an ebullition of temper at the result of any of the coming trials. In November, Outram mentions that this is reserved, as it may not be found necessary: but he has sent in his '*Khatpat Report*,' and will anxiously await the result. Captain Battye and the Fulljames's were then with him; and he had used the Residency as a hospital for the sick in camp during the rains.

In December, the long-pending blow had fallen. His Report had called down the wrath of Government. He had received 'a very angry letter,' announcing the resolution of the Right Honourable the Governor in Council to remove him from the office of Resident at Baroda, but leaving it to him 'to withdraw in the manner least offensive' to his own feelings, and 'least calculated to embarrass Government, or affect their amicable relations with H.H. the Guicowar.'¹ His reply was a request for

¹ As Secretary to Government, Mr. Arthur Malet had to send the official *congé*: but as a private friend, he at the same time addressed a kindly note to Outram, who thus replied:—'I, of course, bow to the blow which I well knew I risked by what I considered the performance of my duty; and the consciousness that I have performed my duty to the best of my ability, and with a sole view to the real interests and honour of Government—however I might be mistaken in the means I adopted to carry out that view—bears me up under the infliction. Where is the merit of seeking to do good, if our exertions are to be confined to the limits of our personal interests? My interests have been sacrificed, perhaps necessarily—but I trust good to this country and people will result from the sacrifice: for I am satisfied Government must now be convinced that the belief in *khatpat* does prevail, and that it is most necessary to take steps to remove that belief, and to substitute therefor a more wholesome faith in the honour of my countrymen and purity of my

permission to proceed to the Presidency on a month's leave from December 15, with the understanding that his successor be appointed at the expiration of that time. In the letter which conveyed the intelligence to his home circle, and his intention of immediately returning to England, he thus reviewed his altered position :—

‘ Do not fancy that I am at all cast down by this. I fully expected it, and am not sorry to get away from this sink of iniquity ; though, of course, I should have preferred a more honourable retreat. . . . I really believe I shall be quite contented to lead a very humble and retired life, different from what we passed when last together in London. A very small lodging (in London at first, where I may have much to do in the India House) will suffice : nothing so expensive as what we had in Lower Brook Street—for I shall shun all great people, and indeed the fewer acquaintances of any sort the better. . . . You must not think that I am coming home to *agitate*, or to induce the Court to censure or annul the measures of the Bombay Government. Under any circumstances I should never be induced to place myself in opposition to my own Government ; and the wording of their present letter certainly would not warrant me in doing so now. All that I shall do is . . . to submit to the Court a respectful appeal as to whether I could . . . have pursued, in duty, and with a clear conscience, any other course than that I have followed ; and I shall then throw myself entirely under their protection—for I am certain that a careful perusal of the whole correspondence, and especially of the *Khutput* Report, upon which the Government's letter is based, will assure the Court that however right Government may be in removing me from hence, there rests not the shadow of a

Government. If such be the result, my removal, to make room for a better man, will not be regretted by me.’

stain on my character as a man, or as a diplomatist. You will know the intense labour I have undergone in the vindication of the high principles which I have endeavoured to inculcate at Baroda, and you will not, I think, be sorry that I am about to leave a station where my health has suffered a good deal, and where, as you know, I have so long remained much against my inclination, because I considered it an imperative duty—*since I had been sent here*—to carry through the arduous and hazardous task, which, having happened to devolve on me, I had no right to shirk and leave to others who should come after me. I have little doubt every member of the Court will appreciate my endeavours and applaud my motives in their hearts individually, however they may be compelled as a *body* outwardly to support the Government; and as there is nothing in the Government letter which should tend to exclude me from political employment elsewhere, especially under the supreme Government, I doubt not that in a selfish point of view I shall not eventually have cause to regret even in this world having pursued an upright course, although nothing can ever efface from my memory the ill-effect my absence will have in respect of the public interests here. . . . But nothing the Bombay Government could do would diminish one jot my devotion to the Court, who have ever proved themselves just and kind masters to all their servants in India—whether high or low: to them alone shall I look therefore, not to the public of England, for any redress they may be pleased to afford me, in their own way. And I shall do my utmost to prevent the press of Bombay from raising a cry against the Government, which they are ever so prone to do, and have been doing of late a good deal in respect of Baroda matters.'

But on this subject he wrote privately to the Secretary, begging him to assure the Government that he had had

nothing whatever to do with any attacks upon them on account of the Baroda intrigues, or indeed any allusions to those intrigues, which had appeared in the local papers. He was in no way, directly or indirectly, cognisant of them; they were to him a source of vexation, as calculated to irritate against himself those whom it was his wish, and most certainly his interest, to conciliate.

The *Khatpat* Report—or, as it was called, ‘Report on the Popular Belief in *Khutput*’¹—was submitted to Government, accompanied by a transmitting letter, dated October 31, 1851. It was in two parts, one in ten and one in six sections. Of Part I., the first two sections, while introductory, stated the writer’s conviction that the ‘doctrine of *khutput* was generally accepted throughout the country,’ and that ‘its general acceptance was mainly owing to the singular leniency with which Government treated those servants whose guilt had been established’—a leniency which caused the native public to form an erroneous estimate of the moral character of their rulers. The remaining sections reviewed the occurrences in Baroda up to Outram’s connection with that State in 1835, when called away to Afghanistan. Some of the principal actors have been spoken of in the last chapter. Of others it may be sufficient to mention two of the more notorious—Dhákji Dádaji and Moti Lál Parshotum—agents selected by a native potentate to bribe a British governor with 100,000*l.*, and a British councillor with a quarter of that amount, to betray the trust reposed in them and defeat the ends of justice. Fortunately, we may still believe that neither governor nor councillor could be found to accept, or entertain the project of accepting, *douceurs* on any pretence, whatever the amount.

¹ This and following quotations, marked by inverted commas, are from the Report itself.

The second part of the Report described the situation at Baroda on Outram's assumption of office in 1847. Section II. is devoted to Bábá Farki, and Section III. to Narsu Pant. The remaining three sections exhibit the action of Government after the Resident's charges against the latter had been submitted, and are, more or less, the later history of the *khatpat* campaign up to date of writing. They vividly relate the story of the Commission, while sitting at Baroda—and when it was the current idea 'that in reality the Resident, not the accused, was on his trial'—together with Narsu Pant's vain attempts to enlist the Commissioner in his favour; but space will not here admit of extracts from this remarkable record. A supplementary section indicated, in a more direct manner than the preceding sections, the mode by which the perpetuation of the doctrine and 'practice of *khutput* might be most effectually prevented.' The first step proposed was for Government to address the Gáikawár, asking his cordial co-operation with the Resident to put a stop to the prevalent system of corruption acknowledged in his dominions. His Highness was to be urged to dismiss his adviser, one Bháo Tambayker, whose connivance and support had enabled the enemies of order and good government effectually to obstruct the Resident's investigations. He might also be induced to proclaim his resolution to punish severely any of his subjects seeking to tamper with British officials in furtherance of their own unlawful designs; or purposely to thwart the objects and embarrass the proceedings of a British court or commission. The other proposals were, to address a communication to the Resident himself, to be read in open *darbár*, expressing the interest of Government in his efforts to destroy *khatpat*; to reward Bábá Farki for his services in a substantial and public manner; similarly to acknowledge the zealous co-operation of the then native agent, especially his rejection and exposure of Bábá Nafra's

attempt to bribe him; publicly to notify Narsu Pant's offences and their punishment; to authorise the Resident to express the sympathy of Government with the persecuted Jetha-Bái; to establish a court at Baroda before which Government officials could be tried and punished for bribery and corrupt breach of trust—failing the latter institution, to pass a legislative enactment providing a punishment for such offences; and finally, to amend a particular Act, then in local force, so as to render it more applicable to Baroda in certain specified instances.¹

We have said that Outram had applied for leave of absence from December 15. Press of work previous to giving over charge of office and breaking up his personal establishment delayed his actual departure until the 20th of the same month. On the former date, however, he addressed a long despatch to Government, tendering his formal resignation of his appointment, and vindicating himself from the injurious interpretation which his privileged censors had put upon the letter before stated to have accompanied the *Khatpat* Report. That letter, it was alleged, more than the Report itself, had been the cause of his dismissal. Doubtless it had been unacceptable; but it could not well have been otherwise. Couched in strong, plain language, it set forth the mischief that had resulted from the little regard paid to the British Resident at Baroda by his official superiors. The credit of Government, it urged, had, owing to the policy pursued, been seriously impaired; and the wishes and authority of its representative had been set at nought by a clique of native intriguers, at the head of whom was no less a person than the minister of the Gáikawár. Nay, more, the writer's life

¹ A singular comment on the conduct of the Bombay Government, in removing Colonel Outram from his Baroda appointment, is afforded in the fact that the greater part of these proposals, however disregarded at the period of their submission, was actually carried into effect in 1854 and 1855, under orders of the Government of India or Court of Directors.

but it was suggested
to be bad. In the ~~mean~~
I referred to my servant
Amplum Obacorniat.
might have seen in
the man instantly of
man can become, the
apervating in a couple
manners that he had in
for each, — a suspicious
simply replied that I
any more. Next day I
to tell him that, when
the doctor thought I
if I died my body would
of my death ascertain
detected suspicious was
being supplied by C.
forward my symptoms

to that my goracho might
~~be~~ most offend manner
my fear that the Bromley
of whom I had bought it
- an inferior quality &
as white as a black
embled all over, as began
and conscience struck
not put any poison into the
- that I had expressed - I
did not mean to make
known I thought it right
either justly or unjustly
had been tampered with - that
it be examined and the cause
D. - and that, if poison were
could then fall on him as
killers. From that day
- abate, as I had had no
- strike him a stick with
fail to

had been attempted by poison: three medical men who attended him at the time pronounced that it was so; and on more than one occasion had this villainy been practised.¹

Having taken friendly leave of the Gáikawár after the approved form, and received from his Highness his expressions of regret at the discontinuance of their personal relations, Outram repaired to Bombay, which he reached about the close of the year. When there, he met the members of the Governor's council and secretaries in the same spirit as before, but, for some motive apparently unexplained, the Governor himself declined to see him. Perhaps it was well that an interview was thus avoided, which could scarcely have been satisfactory on either side. In fact, during Outram's whole stay at the Presidency, while his time was much taken up with the preparation of a memorial and its voluminous accompaniments, besides other papers in support of his case, Government was engaged on the other side in making out a case for themselves. Especially worthy of notice is a third part of the *Khatpat* Report, in five sections, bringing the narrative of the Resident's proceedings

¹ For Outram's own account of one of these attempts, by tobacco, see facsimile of P.S. to letter to Captain Eastwick annexed. It seems that poison was tried twice, if not three times. One 'Amir,' who had been his servant from a boy, actually stood convicted of being the agent, and the effects were only too decided. Serious derangement to the constitution was evinced, though the slow poison had not been sufficiently long administered to produce fatal results. His life was, unquestionably, saved by the watchfulness and skill of his devoted friend Dr. Ogilvie, who, in addition to other precautions, combined with four or five associates in an arrangement that one of the band should partake of every dish which the Resident tasted—a task of some risk in more ways than one, for he seemed to have a preference for what was most indigestible. It was understood in Bombay that at least one previous Resident at Baroda (Mr. Sutherland) had been removed by poison. The more recent attempt to dispose of her Majesty's representative at this perilous court—Colonel Phayre—in the same way, which resulted in the trial of the Gáikawár and his deportation to Madras, will recur to the reader's mind. The doctors came to the conclusion that the serious and mysterious illness which drove Colonel Outram to Egypt in 1849, the nature of which they 'could not clearly comprehend,' was attributable to the same subtle cause.

up to the date of his departure from Baroda. This important supplement, though nearly completed at that time, could not be despatched in draft; and its transcript had been unavoidably delayed from want of a fitting amanuensis, only procurable in Bombay. It includes a copy of the despatch in which Outram tendered his resignation of office, and concludes with a copy of his memorial to the Court of Directors.

‘We proceed in the “Achilles” to Suez on the 17th, and from Alexandria in the “Ripon,” which will reach Southampton about the 17th proximo,’ he wrote to Mrs. Outram on February 3, after explaining the causes of his detention at Bombay. He foresaw that his furlough would not be one of repose or amusement; he had work to do and battles to fight which would either keep him to London, or within easy reach of London and its public offices; and after stating what were his plans on first arrival, and his intention to proceed North as soon as possible, he alluded to his probable stay in Scotland as necessarily short. The conditions of his second return home looked indeed very similar to those of the first. Rest and recreation would be exceptional: work and mental anxiety would be the rule. Even supposing him to gain the day in the appeal against his official treatment, the chances were that his victory would be almost immediately followed by his return to the East. The portmanteau, and etceteras of travelling paraphernalia, would be ever at his side. There was no prospect of settling down anywhere, during the continuance of the coming struggle, and still less for the period after declaration of the final issue.

And thus it happened. When he rejoined his wife, they remained in London till the middle of summer, then went for a while to Brighton, then to Dover, Boulogne, and Paris—returning to London in November, in time for the

Duke of Wellington's funeral, which Outram attended, at St. Paul's Cathedral. At each place visited, it was the same restless life. He liked the sea both from the variety of its aspect, the out-of-door liveliness of the beach, and the charm of boating. He delighted in a rough sail, and would bribe the boatmen to brave the waters when it was too stormy for them to go willingly. If he could readily tire of a long life on board ship, he was generally set up as well as pleased by a short voyage. We continue the sketch of his home life in these days, as supplied by a most reliable informant.

At watering-places and in Paris it amused him to sit out on the frequented promenades, and watch what was going on—always with a cigar in his mouth, and, if possible, with an Indian friend. But his acquaintances were not necessarily Anglo-Indians: he had a great faculty of attracting strangers and making the most of their society. His frank and open manners and quiet fun made him an agreeable companion, and wherever he went he picked up friends who retained an unusually permanent interest in their fellow-traveller.¹

During this, as in the previous visit to Europe, he was, on the whole, in good health, saving a cough to which his active habits frequently exposed him, and which took its course unheeded. But his mind was full, and his life was one of disagreeable preoccupation, hard work and, perforce, mere time-passing. He could not tolerate idle moments, and, having no special resources, liked to be where 'something was going on'—he did not mind what, so long as there was not quiescence or stagnation. When anything occurred to cheer or interest him, his spirits would visibly rise, and he would shed his brightness around. His town

¹ Shown in after years by kindly attentions when he was from time to time comparatively helpless as an invalid.

lodgings were small, but in a good situation, generally in or about Mayfair, i.e. Brook Street, Green Street, or Curzon Street. He liked a friend to drop in there to breakfast or dinner, and to meet people at the club or other places of rendezvous. But he disliked parties, and shirked them persistently. Being made a lion of he could not endure, and as his name had attained considerable notoriety (now more than in 1843), he was subjected from the first to what he looked upon as a painful persecution in this respect. Such demands on his patience made London distasteful during the season. He liked to attend places of amusement for the sake of passing the time, and was a shrewd observer, as his many anecdotes testified.

In the morning, after a punctual breakfast, he would sally out to the Oriental Club. Some of his son's friends, who lived in a house a few doors from his lodgings in Green Street, noticed that at almost the same minute every morning, as regularly as clockwork, when they were at breakfast, he would come up and light his fusee on a particular part of the railing in front of their window. In the evening, he would often return to the Oriental, to read and hear the day's news; then go on with a friend to the Cosmopolitan Club, the mixed society of which interested him. Though a member of the Senior United Service, he seldom went there at this period. The Exhibition pleased him: for, when at Baroda, he had been active in encouraging the despatch of products thither; and a bronze medal had been awarded him for his exertions. He had also been instrumental in the presentation, by the Gáikawár, of two tigers to the Zoological Society in London—a circumstance which called forth expressions of gratitude and a free ticket from the officials of that institution.

At home, and during the day, he was generally occupied with his disagreeable Baroda recollections; annotating

blue-books ; hunting up matter, often from out-of-the-way sources ; corresponding or having interviews with his many parliamentary or India Office friends ; and filling up wakeful hours at night, or odd times in the day, by miscellaneous reading. Mrs. Outram (then in very indifferent health) and her son had plenty of work, copying out notes into blue-books or accomplishing similar 'impositions'—as they may well have been considered when the novelty had worn off, and the multiplication of copies seemed infinite. Finances were very low, even below zero ; and to economise on nothing in such unsettled circumstances was no easy problem, apart from printer's and bookseller's bills, which were no trifles in themselves. Old Mrs. Outram was with her son and daughter-in-law during a great part of their sojourns in London, and enlivened many a sociable breakfast by her wit and freshness. Mrs. Sligo also came up from her temporary home at Exeter shortly before her brother's departure in 1853, completing the family circle ; and a remarkable trio the mother, son, and daughter were both for talent and for energetic individuality of character.¹

From the time of his return to London, in November 1852, till July 1853, a short visit to Scotland in the spring was perhaps the only occasion of his absence from the metropolis. In the last-named month he left England—nominally for Calcutta, but really in the fond hope of something turning up for him in the impending hostilities with

¹ Of his French life, he has been heard to describe a scene which presented itself during one of his daily walks upon the pier at Boulogne—where, as at Dover, he made the most of that promenade, waylaying friends on arrival or departure. On one occasion of these marine rambles he was surprised by seeing an unfortunate Englishman, in *puris naturalibus*, pursued along the beach at top speed by a mob of stalwart portresses, whose delicacy had been outraged by his proceeding to bathe after the English fashion. Wooden shoes and French screams assailed the wretched fugitive as he made for the shelter of the pier.

Russia. Knowing his anxiety to be so employed, his near relatives and friends had united in entreating him not to press himself forward in such a sphere. In this they were influenced even more by consideration of his peculiar and critical position with respect to Baroda, and the prospect of advantageous re-employment under the Government of India, than by their natural reluctance to see him exposed to unnecessary physical dangers.

But let us follow out the story of the *Khatpat* Report, for on the nature of the reception accorded to this paper may be said to have depended the issues of Outram's future career. His position—that of a distinguished Indian officer, removed by his own Government from a lucrative and responsible post on the ostensible grounds of over-conscientiousness, involving disrespect to his superiors, and a disposition to exceed his powers as Resident—had, from the first, called forth strong expressions of sympathy on the part of his brother-officers and others in India, who knew something of, if not all, the particulars of his case. Letters from men of more than local reputation—some whose names were very household words—assured him that, in his seeming degradation, he stood higher than ever in their esteem. ‘What are my small troubles,’ wrote one of India's best soldiers and administrators, ‘to the loads of vexation you have manfully endured? Yours has indeed been a hard case. You have, however, the satisfaction of having risen above your enemies.’ Another, referring to Outram's treatment in a letter to a third party, thus expressed himself:—‘It is by far the worst thing that has happened to Guzerat since I have had to do with it, and the great mischief it will do is incalculable.’ A constant correspondent of his own, long since deceased—whose name we may not mention, because he would not himself have sanctioned the disclosure—writing from an Indian frontier station, which his energy had

organised out of a mere hamlet in the desert—thus gave vent to his feelings, and interpreted the sentiments of others gathered around him:—‘You have seldom been absent for a day from our thoughts and conversations. . . . You have nothing to reproach yourself with: let, then, nothing shake you. As to friends, you have many, I am certain, besides poor me, who would be more proud to stand by your side in any danger, difficulty, or evil report, than to command all imaginable success with your opponents. . . . Return to India, and to work, if necessary, with your regiment. The more lowly your outward position, the more, believe me, will your real greatness shine forth. . . . Genuine greatness of soul appears, and actually becomes greater in misfortune than in prosperity.’ The same writer, knowing the pecuniary loss to his friend involved in the Baroda business, had, shortly before, placed at Outram’s disposal a sum of 300*l.* left him by will in England, which he had not himself drawn, and of which he stood in no immediate need. That his friend did not avail himself of this generous offer is no proof that his finances were in a flourishing condition. Such, indeed, was far from the reality.

At home there was no want of interest in his case; but, except in respect of individual Directors and certain private acquaintances, the sympathy was less personal. It was rather for the destroyer of *Khatpat* as an historical figure—a modern St. George—a champion of Truth—than for James Outram, the soldier-political, now known and admired throughout the length and breadth of India. In June 1852, the Court replied to the references of the Bombay Government on the question of their Resident’s removal from Baroda, in three separate despatches. The latest of these discussed the *Khatpat* Report, and was a brief, unsatisfactory missive: indecisive if significant, and enigmatical if suggestive. Paragraph 9 recorded the opinion that Lieutenant-

Colonel Outram's communications 'were not conveyed in terms consistent with that respect for the Government under which he was serving, which ought to be observed in all such representations,' together with the regret that he had not been reprimanded at an earlier opportunity, and required 'to withdraw or modify any objectionable expressions which rendered him justly liable to . . . censure.' The next and final paragraph gave 'Lieutenant-Colonel Outram credit for the zeal, energy, ability, and success with which he prosecuted inquiries attended with great difficulty;' and expressed the hope that, on that officer's return to India, a suitable opportunity would be found of employing him 'where his talents and experience . . . prove useful to the public service.' A remarkable descent to this despatch was recorded by Lieutenant-Colonel Sykes in a paper of considerable length. The reader, not 'coached-up' in the Baroda blue-book, will obtain some idea of its contents from the following passages in the last paragraph:—

Sufficient notice has been taken of cases, facts, and dates, without entering into elaborate details, to demonstrate in the clearest manner the comparatively eminent success of Colonel Outram, under the most embarrassing difficulties, in his praiseworthy and honourable efforts to relieve the British Government from the scandal attached to its name of being indifferent to the corruption of its servants and agents, and to discriminate and to fix upon the proper parties, not only criminality, but the punishment due to criminality. It appears to me, therefore, that the draft does not sufficiently dwell upon the eminent services and persevering zeal of Colonel Outram; that it does not make a natural and reasonable allowance for the irritation consequent upon finding his efforts for a great public object through a course of years constantly thwarted, or inadequately supported; and, above all, that it does not take that elevated tone befitting the character of a great Government, in reprobation of corrupt conduct on the part of any of its servants, and in reproof of parties, however high their stations, whose apathy, prejudices, or misjudgment may have led

to the continuance of an odium and a scandal which a vigorous manifestation at an early period might have either obviated or crushed at once.

This was followed by a separate dissent on the part of Mr. Mangles, concurred in by three other Directors, thus brought to its conclusion :—

It appears to me that, in the case before us, the general policy and duty of supporting the Government falls into a secondary place in comparison with the paramount obligation upon the Court to take no step, and allow no step to be taken, calculated to damp the spirit with which officers of high station and trust ought to be encouraged to maintain the honour and vindicate the character of our administration, when labouring under suspicion, or tending to afford even plausible ground for the continued prevalence of such suspicion in the minds of our native subjects.

Wherefore I am compelled to dissent from a despatch which appears to me to lose sight, in a great measure, of the great interest at stake, namely, the honour of the British Government of India ; to censure heavily the zealous and honest public servant, who was doing his utmost to vindicate that honour, for lapses of respect, and for an error of judgment, which, however gravely to be condemned, are of little importance when compared with the vast moment of the one grand object in view ; and to give at least implied approbation to proceedings on the part of the Government of Bombay, which appear to me to be of very questionable policy, and to be fraught with consequences most injurious to the character of our administration of British India.

A third dissent, bearing the signatures of Mr. William Butterworth Bayley and eight of his colleagues, mainly referred to paragraph 9 of the despatch which has been already quoted. The cause of objection was because the paragraph, as originally drafted, had better expressed the sentiments of the dissentients than an amended form which had been accepted by the majority. In the first instance, it had pointed out that, had the objectionable expressions in

Colonel Outram's letter been indicated to that officer, his removal might have been rendered unnecessary, and 'the prosecution to a more complete and satisfactory issue of the very important inquiries in which he was engaged,' might have been secured. Although only fourteen names appear as signatures of the protests, there is every reason to believe that eighteen out of the twenty-three Directors actually voted against the despatch which was transmitted to Bombay.¹

Discussion of the Baroda scandals was, however, not limited to Leadenhall Street. On June 30, 1852, only four days after the date of the Court's despatch just noticed, the Commons, on the motion of Mr. Chisholm Anstey, ordered a return of 'copies of all correspondence and papers on the subject of Colonel Outram's removal from the office of Resident at the court of the Guicowar, or on the alleged corruption of officers of the Bombay Government with bribes from Baroda.' The mover had, some two months previously, broached the subject to the House in a speech to which Outram, with his wonted chivalrous loyalty, had felt constrained to take exception. In the statements put forward

¹ The story told is a singular one, and we give it as it reached us on trustworthy evidence:—When the despatch was submitted to the Court by their chairman, the large majority of eighteen to five was opposed to it, as insufficiently marking their disapprobation of the proceedings of the Bombay Government. They therefore substituted another despatch, so strongly animadverting on those proceedings, that the chairman implored them to withdraw it, on the ground of the political embarrassment which would ensue at a time when discussions were pending on the Indian Charter. As the majority, however, were not to be turned from what they deemed strict justice and right by any considerations of expediency, and adhered to their decision, the chairman was obliged to submit the substituted despatch to the President of the Board of Control (Mr. Herries). This gentleman rejected the latter, and maintained the original despatch. The Court were compelled—by the anomalous law which then existed—to adopt and send out to India the very despatch which they so strongly disapproved. Thirteen out of the eighteen dissentients recorded their protests, which the remaining five were only prevented from signing by being obliged to leave town.

he had read, as it were, imputations on the personal honour and integrity of certain officers of position in India, which might be supposed to have had foundation in his own writings—and, although placing himself by the act in dangerous antagonism to a parliamentary champion of his cause, he had at once come forward to disavow the possible connection. As a servant of the East India Company, he admitted the submission of a memorial to the Court of Directors through the legitimate channel: but, having done this, he relied on receiving redress from those to whom he had appealed, nor would he, in the then existing circumstances, take any part in bringing the question before the public. Once made known or asked for by the outer world, the case was different.

Late in October the return was published. Two enormous blue-books, containing 1,514 folio pages, were presented to Parliament, and to as many readers out of Parliament as the question was likely to interest. The size of the volumes was fatal. Few of the uninitiated would look at them a second time. Setting aside the controversial correspondence, there was interest and even romance in the illustrative narration: but interest was absorbed in bulk, and the element of romance had become imperceptible in official chaos. Old Mrs. Outram foresaw the result of this unwieldy and ill-arranged publication as prepared by Government, and warned her son accordingly. He thus replied to her in a note of affectionate greeting on New Year's Day 1853:—‘You tell me not to be disappointed if few take interest in the Baroda papers. I expect *none* to do so, even after all the expense I shall have gone to in getting them condensed.’

The case dragged slowly on in official circles; and towards the end of May 1853 remained outwardly much in the same state as in the previous June. Yet Outram had then received the assurance of the Directors, or those connected

with them to whom he had had access, that the Court's feeling in his favour had been greatly strengthened by the perusal of the papers which had gradually come in from Bombay, and otherwise accumulated before them; and his friends led him to believe he would have a complete triumph. But, pleased as he may have been at the reality of his support from individual functionaries of high character and position, he could not be sure that these gentlemen would collectively do anything so impolitic and unconventional as to proclaim the victory gained by a servant over his Government. How they were to administer justice in the matter was the problem to be solved.

In May 1853, Outram, naturally impatient for action, addressed a letter to the Court, soliciting their intervention to recommend him for political employment under the Government of India. He referred to the hope expressed in their despatch to the Bombay Government, that employment would be found for him in which his 'talents and experience might prove useful to the public service;' he showed that the Baroda Residency was really the only appointment he could accept from the said Government without official humiliation and degradation in the eyes of the natives; he argued that it was most unlikely he would be reinstated, by those at whose hands he had received his dismissal, into the very office for which they had pronounced him disqualified; he recapitulated the more favourable sentiments of the Court on his conduct in the unpleasant matter which had so long occupied their time and attention; and concluded by reporting that, owing to the treatment he had experienced, his pecuniary losses had amounted to 'a virtual fine of not much under 6,000*l.*,' for an offence which was nothing more than 'the theoretical expression of an opinion' with respect to his authority as Resident, and 'the use of terms to the Government of Bombay which were deemed

disrespectful, but which resulted from an earnest and honest desire to overcome difficulties in carrying out 'what he believed 'the sincere wish of Government, to have corruption in every branch of the political department detected and punished.' A reply, dated June 9, acknowledged the request, and stated the intention of the Court, on Outram's return to India, to recommend him, in such a manner as was 'consistent with their practice . . . to the Governor-General in Council for political employment.' Consequent on this correspondence, the following despatch was addressed to the Governor-General of India, dated June 22 :—

Para 1. Lieutenant-Colonel Outram, lately resident at Baroda, has received our permission to return to his duties in India by way of Calcutta.

2. You are fully acquainted with the circumstances under which Lieutenant-Colonel Outram was removed from the Baroda Residency, and you are aware that while we considered him to have taken, in one respect, a mistaken view of the extent of his official powers, and while we regarded the tone of some of his representations as objectionable, we gave him credit for the zeal, energy, ability, and success with which he prosecuted inquiries attended with great difficulty, and expressed our hope that on his return to India he would be re employed in a capacity suitable to his talents and services.

3. In any ordinary case we should not feel ourselves called on to make any further reference to the future employment of an officer so situated, but you are no doubt aware that unless Lieutenant-Colonel Outram were restored to the very office from which he was removed (a course which we do not think it expedient to direct) there is not at present, nor is likely soon to be, any arrangement in the power of the Bombay Government, by which that officer could be placed in any employment approaching, in point of political importance and of emolument, to that which he last held ; while under the Government of India (to which also Lieutenant-Colonel Outram has rendered distinguished services) employments suitable to his standing, and to which he is eligible by the rules of our service, are much more frequently at the disposal of Government.

4. In these peculiar circumstances, without desiring in any degree to fetter your discretion in the choice of the officers for whom you are responsible, we think it due to Lieutenant-Colonel Outram's past services to express our hope that you will include him among those whose claims to employment deserve, on any suitable occasion, to be favourably considered.

Outram had written to Lord Dalhousie in January, offering himself for employment in 'any part of India' where he could be useful, and the Governor-General had promptly replied; but no hope was held out of compliance with the applicant's wishes, owing to the presence of claimants who could not be passed over, in the circumstances, without apparent supersession. In June, however, on receipt of the intimation that Lord Dalhousie would be addressed by the Court on his behalf, he was able to solicit his Lordship's good offices on a sounder plea than before. He added his intention of personally paying his respects at Government House, Calcutta, in about two months from the date of writing. We shall presently note the reply given to this later application. In the meanwhile, Outram asked and obtained permission to return to his duty in India, *viâ* Calcutta, on July 4.

All was arranged for his departure. His position was too unsettled to take Mrs. Outram with him: so he was to return alone. On the morning of July 3, while engaged in dressing, a note was brought to him from Lord Clarendon, who had recently taken charge of the Portfolio of Foreign Affairs, asking him to call on that day. He went at the time appointed, and learnt that, instead of proceeding direct to Suez and Bombay, he would be requested to await at Alexandria a communication from Lord Stratford at Constantinople. The probability of a rupture with Russia had caused her Majesty's Government to seek the best officers available for special employment in Turkey; and Outram's established

reputation as a soldier and political, added to his recent experience and proved knowledge of Egypt, had naturally marked him as a foremost man for the occasion. The Minister was kind and courteous, and said he would write to the Governor-General to ensure that his visitor's detention should not prove detrimental to his professional interests. His Lordship further expressed the hope that Lord Stratford would yet be able to avert hostilities between Russia and the Porte. The following day, Outram took leave of his family, but neither to his mother nor his wife did he say a word of the confidential interview to which he had been summoned on the eve of his return to the East. This reticence was thus explained in a letter from Malta :—‘ You would, I feared, be occupied with gloomy fancies enough, without my adding to them by informing you of a circumstance, which I thought it better on that account to defer telling you from hence—when you will be surrounded by your kind, cheerful relatives.’ Then, after revealing the matter in detail, he added :—‘ As it appears, the European Powers are not to consider the passage of the Pruth by Russia a *casus belli*, I have little doubt the latter, after effecting that object, will be more open to reason, and that negotiations will then commence which will end in a pacific solution of the problem. I have little expectation therefore that Lord Stratford will summon me. He cannot have had time to write to Malta, at any rate, so I shall go on to Alexandria. There of course I must wait till I hear from him; but that will involve the delay only of a fortnight, for I must hear from him before the next Indian mail arrives from England.’

To the Ambassador Outram had addressed a letter from Malta on July 14, but it was not until August that he got a reply. As Lord Stratford held out no immediate prospect of employment—though he substituted a most hospitable invitation, should his correspondent be ‘ inclined to come

up for amusement, and to take his chance'—the communication was interpreted as a release from further delay in the outward journey to India. Replying therefore to the eminent diplomatist to the effect that circumstances did not admit of his availing himself of an invitation which, at another time, would have been readily accepted,¹ Outram proceeded on his way to Suez and thence by the mail steamer to Aden and Calcutta. But he did so with a heavy heart and great reluctance. He felt bound by a promise given to Mrs. Outram that if Lord Stratford's instructions left the issue of war or peace doubtful he would go on to India without further delay. Ever afterwards he bitterly regretted having thus turned his back upon what proved to be the Crimean war, and having in consequence so narrowly missed the opportunity of gratifying his most ardent desire by participation in a European campaign. It was in fact *the* great disappointment of his life.

Otherwise he returned to India under circumstances of peculiar gratification, having achieved, owing to the sheer force of the justice of his cause, a victory such as has seldom, if ever, fallen to the lot of a dismissed Anglo-Indian official. Yet he bore his honours with exceeding modesty, never obtruding them for his own glorification, or allowing any display of exultation, on his behalf, over the defeated Bombay Government. He rejoiced sincerely at the blow dealt to the typical rascality which had appeared to triumph so signally at Baroda, and at the elevation of our good name which would ensue throughout India. But he regretted anything calculated to lower the prestige of the Bombay authorities, however much they deserved it, and however much it might redound to his own credit, or benefit his career. The cer-

¹ Threatened at Alexandria with a recurrence of his old Egyptian attack of sickness, he had moved to Cairo, as a more genial locality. Again at Cairo he was prostrated by heat, and even longed for the 'Red Sea breezes.'

tainty of soon obtaining suitable employment under the Government of India enabled him to contemplate without distress the nett result of his thirty-four years of hard public service, which he was constrained thus to sum up in a letter written at this period :—‘ For the first time in my life, I am absolutely in debt beyond the means of repaying in case of sudden death. But, to secure themselves from risk of loss, my agents have executed a policy of insurance on my behalf.’ Indeed, such considerations little troubled *him* at any time, the burden of domestic care always being sustained by one who made it the business of her life to relieve him of it by her patient and careful—but, for many a year, sorely perplexed—management of their finances. All anxiety regarding their son’s future had been happily set at rest by the gift from Captain Shepherd of a nomination for the Indian Civil Service.

On September 12, he arrived at Calcutta, where a letter from the Governor-General, dated August 12, awaited him in reply to his own letter of the previous June. It was couched in flattering terms, and breathed the honourable spirit of the writer. Frankly explaining the reasons why the Residency of Haidarabad could not be offered him, Lord Dalhousie informed his correspondent that if, as it had been proposed, Baroda was to be transferred to the Supreme Government, his first act would be to replace him there. He had intimated his views in this respect to the Court of Directors; the grounds of his determination had been stated; and he enclosed for confidential perusal copies of the minutes recorded in the case. But the final decision of the Court on the transfer of Baroda, in itself the strongest possible condemnation of the Bombay Government—must be received before his Lordship could move further in the matter. Outram describes the situation, in a letter to his wife, as follows :—

‘On the day after my arrival I had a long and *most satisfactory* interview with Lord Dalhousie, who expressed his regret that he could not show any hospitality, being unfit company for any one. In fact he sees no one, and never moves out of his room even for a drive.¹ . . . He is, however, assiduous in business, and the amount of work he gets through is, I am told, perfectly astonishing ; indeed, excessive work seems to be his only solace under his deep affliction. You will be disappointed at my return to Baroda ; but being sent back *in such a manner*—and as the Governor-General’s agent, with his full support—is very different from my former unsatisfactory position there, and I have every reason to be thankful. I never was at all sanguine that Lord Dalhousie could employ me elsewhere ; and certainly, under the circumstances he mentions, it would have been unjustifiable to have sent me to Hyderabad. On the other hand, it is most gratifying to find it recorded that his Lordship, under other circumstances, would have given me the Hyderabad post. This will ensure my advancement at some future time ; and, in the interim, we must not grudge a few months at Baroda.’

In acknowledging the Governor-General’s letter, Outram thus alluded to the exceptionally high terms in which he had been mentioned in his Lordship’s Minutes :—‘ I cannot presume to give expression to the feelings of gratification and pride with which I have perused your Lordship’s condescending appreciation of my humble services, and will merely venture to say, therefore, that I regard the mode of disposing of me—proposed by your Lordship—as the strongest evidence that could be afforded that I am still honoured by the confidence of the Government of India ; and that, consequently, I cannot but consider my restoration

¹ The death of the Countess of Dalhousie had occurred in May, and was to him the cause of profound sorrow.

to Baroda, by your Lordship, as most highly honourable to me publicly and personally.'

The ratification of peace with Birmah and cession of Pegu, occasioned Lord Dalhousie's absence for a short time on the Eastern side of the Bay of Bengal. Before going, he took advantage of the Bombay officer's special knowledge and experience to consult with him on the affairs of Kalát, receiving from him a brief memorandum in reference to the more material points at issue. His Lordship, expressing regret at Outram's unavoidable detention, offered to appoint him an Honorary Aide-de-Camp on his Staff—a distinction gladly accepted as marking authoritative approval of his official conduct, and in the conviction that such evidence of support in high quarters would add much to his 'weight at Baroda,' and 'tend to lighten the difficulties' of his position there. On return from Pegu, the Governor-General informed Outram, in a semi-official note, that the Government of India had 'resolved to assume at once the direction of affairs at Baroda,' and that he was the Resident selected. That same night a banquet was held in the Town Hall, of a somewhat exceptional character. It was attended by about 150 persons and, as we learn from the local newspapers of the day, by the 'élite of Calcutta society, including the Members of Council, the Judges of the Supreme Court, the Judges of the Sady, the most distinguished members of the Civil and Military Services, and a considerable number of legal and commercial gentlemen.' The occasion was to do honour to Colonel Outram.

This dinner was a great success. Sir James Colville occupied the chair, and, after the usual loyal toasts had been drank, spoke long and fluently in honour of the guest of the evening. Outram followed; and his eloquence, if it astonished his friends and the public, was no less a cause of felicitation to himself. Indeed, he wrote to his wife that

she would have been as much surprised as he was, 'at the ease and fluency with which he addressed the party for upwards of half an hour, without the slightest hesitation, and in a voice which filled the room.' The speaker was doubtless inspired by the ovations which he received. We are told by one paper, that when Sir James Colville 'depicted the proud and brilliant career and the gallant actions of their distinguished guest,' he was frequently interrupted by 'thunders of applause;' and that the latter, before commencing his return address, stood 'for some time to let the reiterated bursts of welcome and cheering that greeted his rising subside.' Even the 'Friend of India,' which objected to the entertainment 'as a political dinner,' admitted that 'the respect paid to Colonel Outram was as honourable to Calcutta as to the officer on whom it was bestowed.'

Not until late in February could Outram leave the City of Palaces. He had become heartily tired of the place, and of what he considered the 'utter idleness' in which he passed his time, 'literally doing nothing but reading' books, procurable 'to any amount at the rate of six rupees per mensem subscription to the library.' He had, however, to make response to a call from the Governor-General, on return from Birmah, for certain information, which he supplied in the shape of a 'Memorandum on the Invasion of India from the Westward.'¹ This reference had been occasioned by the receipt of letters from home, showing the probability of a European war and much consequent political disturbance. It was natural that the state of forced inactivity to which he had been doomed in Calcutta should have led the referee to revert to Lord Stratford's invitation to himself when in Egypt,

¹ Appendix K. Though written under circumstances hardly analogous to those of the present day, especially as regards the position actually attained by Russia in Central Asia and Armenia, these extracts may doubtless still be of use and profit.

and regard it as a missed opportunity to be deplored. 'Had I not made that promise to you not to go to Constantinople,' is the beginning of a regretful passage in a letter of this period to Mrs. Outram: and further on is this expressive retrospect:—'What a chance! sent there under the auspices of the Cabinet of England!'

On March 19 he was again at Baroda. Once reinstated, his victory in this, his last official campaign, had indeed proved complete; still it was not his wish to remain long at that most distasteful and indeed dangerous post; and, among other projects for the future, he had contemplated an early renewal of his home furlough. But on the way to resign his old appointment under its new conditions, an offer was made to him of employment in a different field. Of this we shall have to speak in the next chapter.

CHAPTER IV.

1854 1856.

Farewell to Baroda.—Appointed Political Resident and Commandant at Aden.—Chief Commissioner in Oudh.—Home.

LORD ELPHINSTONE had succeeded Lord Falkland as Governor of Bombay on December 26, 1853, when Outram was in Calcutta in expectation of orders to return to Baroda. This amiable and, at the same time, resolute and clear-sighted nobleman had already had some experience of India during a five years' tenure of the Government of Madras; but his duties in the Southern Presidency had been of a far less active and important character than those which he was required to undertake, at a later period of life, on the Western coast. Fortunately, he was found equal to the occasion, and history will give him an honoured place among men rendered eminent by the ordeal of a great political and military crisis. The friendliness and confidence which, from the first, marked his relations with Outram, continued to the last unshaken. At the time of which we are now writing, the dark Indian storm-cloud had not appeared in sight, and the Russo-Turkish complication drew the attention of Indian Governors from their more immediate surroundings to the critical state of affairs in Europe.

At Bombay, Colonel Outram met with a most cordial reception in all quarters—more especially from Lord Elphinstone in person. At the first meeting, the Governor, taking

him aside after dinner, informed him that a reply had just been received from Lord Dalhousie, regarding a proposed transfer of his services from Baroda to Aden. He himself had suggested the advisability of offering him the Political Agency at the latter place, which had fallen vacant, and, in the event of acceptance, the military command would be combined with the civil responsibility. The Governor-General had expressed his willingness to sanction the proposal, provided Outram would first go to Baroda—a proceeding held indispensable on public grounds.¹ How the offer was received, we gather from the following passage in a home letter:—‘I said I should be happy to go wherever my services should be deemed desirable, only that I thought the intention . . . should not be made known for the present, as the effect of my return to Baroda would be weakened thereby.’ Another passage shows that, from a private point of view, the change of locality was considered convenient, under new furlough regulations, for a run home to see the old Mrs. Outram, who longed for her son’s society:—‘I shall hope to pay her a hurried visit after we have been a year or so settled in . . . Aden—which being a fortnight nearer . . . would enable us to visit home for two months, going and returning through the Continent.’

Outram, accompanied by his former Assistant, Lieutenant Battye, reached Baroda, as we have said, on March 19; and the following day visited the Gaikawár. The latter was at

¹ After arrival at Baroda, Outram received through Lord Elphinstone the Governor-General’s friendly and flattering letter to himself on the subject. In this he read with reference to Aden:—‘The great importance of that position in the event of a war being commenced in Europe, which may take any imaginable turn in the course of its progress, has caused me to enter fully into Lord Elphinstone’s anxiety to see you there, and to share with him the anticipation of the confidence which your presence in such a position would give to all of us.’ Nor did Lord Dalhousie fail to point out how favourable to his public character was the circumstance that his selection for the office had been the act of the Governor of Bombay.

first confused, but, before the termination of the interview, had regained his self-possession ; and personal relations were resumed much on the old footing of mutual cordiality. One source of necessarily unpleasant feeling was the retention in office of the 'Bháo,' who was obnoxious to the Resident and, through the Resident's reports, to the Government of India ; and it was impossible that their conversation should avoid allusion to the subject. The removal of this person both from the high post of Minister which he then held, and from 'any situation whatever' in the *darbár*, was insisted upon by Lord Dalhousie ; and Outram felt that, in spite of protest and evasion, the order must be obeyed. He, therefore, from the first, took a firm attitude in the discussion of the dangerous favourite's case, and turned a deaf ear to the Gáikawár's entreaties to be spared a concession unwisely declared to be a disgrace. Two or three days later he had received the Chief's return visit without abandoning an inch of ground. A month afterwards, all had been satisfactorily settled : no matter of unusual importance demanded the presence of a special British Agent ; and arrangements were in progress for a change of Residents at Baroda. 'The Guicowar has not only dismissed the Bháo as required to do'—so ran the faithful, if non-official report—'but has gone much further, having expelled him from the country, and dismissed all his allies besides, solemnly pledging himself never to readmit any of them to his counsels.'

Amid current events of local interest, perhaps the most worthy of record during the weeks immediately succeeding Outram's reappointment to his unenviable post in Gujrát, are the deaths of Narsu Pant, and a *Khatpat* agent, deputed by the Gáikawár to Calcutta at the instigation of his dismissed Minister ; together with the robbery of a mail containing an important packet on Baroda affairs addressed to the Government of India. In the Resident's own account of the

former circumstance—which had ‘had considerable effect on the superstitious minds’ of the natives, and would have much strengthened his hands had he then ‘to commence a campaign against corruption-mongers’—he notes the ‘extraordinary coincidence’ that the said Narsu, the man who had been the chief cause of his removal from Baroda, died suddenly at a place distant seventy miles from that city, at the *exact hour* on which he himself re-entered his official quarters. The other individual was taken so ill on the road to Calcutta that he had to be brought back to Baroda, where he died about the time of Outram’s arrival in Bombay.

We need not enter more fully into the details of Baroda duties. Before the close of April, Lord Dalhousie had written to Outram giving him authority to summon his successor, and permission to leave as soon as he pleased after relief. The officer appointed in his room was Major Malcolm, Agent at the Court of Sindia, whose nomination had been quite in accordance with his own wishes. Indeed, of the Governor-General’s three nominees for the post, all were his personal friends—a fact which might reasonably be interpreted as an evidence of kindly feeling towards the vacating Resident. Lord Dalhousie’s appreciation of the way in which the reins had been again, for a brief interval, taken in hand by his representative at the Gaikawár’s court, will be seen in these few lines of his letter written in May from Calcutta:—

‘The mingled sternness and consideration with which you have treated the Guicowar, will, I hope, have a lasting effect on the Guicowar himself; and will teach both him and those about him, that while the Supreme Government is desirous of upholding him, it must be obeyed in all things. . . . You must accept my personal congratulations and thanks in regard to the complete success of your return to Baroda.’

His training for the politics of Yeman, though com-

menced in India, had not been long or complete. That it was entered upon with a will and energy may be taken for granted; but the following extract from a letter to Lord Elphinstone, dated Baroda, April 16, supplies interesting particulars of the spirit in which he buckled on his armour. The Governor had sent him a summary of a recent despatch from Brigadier Clarke—the officer whom he was about to relieve from a temporary charge—affording ‘some little insight into the nature of the work’ before him:—‘I had previously been studying the Aden Blue-Book; but I shall have to go through the intermediate correspondence up to the present time, to which perhaps the Political Secretary will permit me to have access when I arrive in Bombay, ere I can well understand the state of our relations with the Arab tribes, and theirs with each other. When I have mastered the subject, and had the advantage of hearing your Lordship’s sentiments respecting the course of policy you wish to be pursued towards the Arabs, I shall proceed to Aden with so earnest a desire to carry out your views and do good, that I trust my exertions may meet with success.’ A letter of hearty and unreserved congratulation, addressed to him on April 24 by Sir Charles Wood, shows that his acceptance of the post had been thoroughly welcome intelligence to the India Board at home.

Early in June, he embarked from Bombay for his new destination in the H. C. steamer ‘Ajdaha.’ As the monsoon had fairly broken, the passage across was long and unpleasant. But the storms might have been better weathered with better means at disposal. The vessel was badly manned for a voyage at that particular season. Two-thirds of the native crew were worthless, coal was insufficient, and there was available but a single set of sails.¹ On reaching Cape

¹ The situation is thus described by Outram in a letter to Lord Elphinstone:—‘Had they (the sails) been ever so strong or so necessary, the crew

Guardafui, there was left only one day's fuel—not enough to accomplish half the remaining distance to Aden. But the Captain wisely stopped the engines, and, taking advantage of the light breezes and currents known to be then prevalent along the north-western coast of Africa, worked on for three days under canvas, hugging the land, until he had reached a favourable point whence he could safely steam again. By this judicious management he made his port on June 23, 'the sixteenth day after leaving Bombay,' with scarce a ton of coal to spare.

Aden at any time is an unattractive residence. In June it is to be carefully avoided; and when Outram disembarked there to take up his appointment, no improvement in respect of climate could be anticipated for at least three months longer. On leaving Baroda he had assured his relations at home that all with him was as 'merry as a marriage bell;' yet he was not apparently in good bodily condition. He thought he had again been tampered with by the poisoners. Dr. Ogilvie had entreated him to be on his guard against their iniquitous intrigues, and to pay due attention to his health; but it was probable that he had not implicitly followed these instructions, nor could it be said that the most scrupulous regard to them would have ensured him from the apprehended harm. In any case, removal across the water was rather prejudicial than otherwise; and he had not been three months on the Arabian Peninsula, when he was informed by his medical attendant that, unless a change for

were utterly unequal to their management; even in very moderate weather it took them several *hours* to set the main and topsails (once only, I think, they ventured to set the fore-top-gallant-sail)—and, as they could not have taken them in without much delay and difficulty had the wind increased, the officers never dared to carry "stunsails," or half the allowance of canvas they otherwise would have done, so that we were unable to avail ourselves of the full advantage of such favourable slants of wind as would have enabled us to economise our fuel, which Captain Barker, by his judicious skirting of the cyclones, generally secured for us.'

the better were effected in one month longer, he would have to seek a temporary leave of absence. We must not, however, anticipate the glance which we propose to take at the work accomplished during his brief tenure of office at the dreary station called by Lord Dalhousie his 'Patmos.'

Colonel Outram received charge of the duties of Political Resident and Commandant at Aden at a period of political difficulty. Our relations with the Arabs in that neighbourhood had long been conducted on a most unsatisfactory footing. The land approaches to our fortified position were unsafe; our occupation was regarded with disfavour and jealousy; and the behaviour towards us of some of the chiefs had become 'menacingly insolent.'¹ Moreover, the repeated stoppage of supplies from the interior, and the murder in cold blood, not far from the fortifications, of several of the garrison, gave direct and palpable evidence of hostility on the part of those whose respect and good-will it was our interest to secure.² But no satisfaction had been exacted for

¹ 'We obtained possession of Aden thus: A Madras ship, belonging to the niece of the Nawab of the Carnatic, and under British colours, went on shore a few miles distant from Aden. She was plundered, and her passengers forced to submit to every kind of indignity. The Government of Bombay sent Captain Haines, I.N., to demand reparation, and, if he could not obtain it otherwise, to purchase Aden. The Sultan of Lahej paid an indemnity, and, after signing a bond to cede the peninsula to the British for an annual pension of 87,000 dollars, proved treacherous. Captain Haines was reinforced by a body of 700 troops from Bombay under Major Baillie, and took the place by assault on January 16, 1839. Since then the Sultan has been continually setting up the other tribes, the Foudtheli and Akrahi, against us, and there have been not a few assassinations.'—*Calcutta Review*, No. lxiv., June 1859.

² In 1850, from a boat's crew of H. C. steamer-frigate 'Auckland,' a man was killed and a boy wounded by Bedouins, and a Madras *sipahi* was wounded by a fanatic Arab. In 1857, on one occasion, Captain Milne was murdered and two of his companions wounded; on another the life of Lieutenant Delisser was attempted; on another a *sipahi* was wounded; and on another the mate and one seaman of a wrecked merchantman were murdered by one or more of the inhabitants of the interior. See pp. 169, 170, Captain Playfair's *History of Arabia Felix*, in No. xlix. *Bombay Government Records*, 1859; and pp. 166, 167.

the deeds of violence committed ; and our correspondence with the responsible chiefs, however active, had resulted in no definite understanding, nor added to the prestige which it was so manifestly essential for us to maintain. In the words of one,¹ whose services were made available for the introduction of a more vigorous diplomacy, and from whose recorded reminiscences we are enabled to profit :—‘ a better man than Outram to remedy this state of things could not have been selected ; and it was Lord Elphinstone’s just estimate of his remarkable qualities in dealing with such wild tribes that led him to make the appointment.’ The new Political Agent lost no time in drawing up an elaborate report of the different causes which had brought about the then existing phase of our relations with the interior ; ‘ wherein he reviewed our past policy towards the Arabs, pointed out its defects with unflinching truthfulness, and suggested the best means of winning over that most difficult race to appreciate the advantages of amity with the British.’ Meantime he corresponded in his own way with, and received deputations from, the different chiefs, ‘ and by his firm yet conciliatory manner entirely gained their confidence.’

Without entering into any discussion of the policy which he may be said to have inaugurated for dealing with the Arab tribes, we may note that its main feature was ‘ decision.’ There was to be no misapprehension of the meaning of British Government writings. If they contained a promise, that promise was to be fulfilled ; if they held out a threat, that threat was to be put in execution ; if they entered into treaty engagements, we were to abide strictly by the letter of agreement. Of the chiefs in the interior,

Captain Hunter’s *Account of the British Settlement of Aden in Arabia* (Trübner, 1877).

¹ The Reverend J. Percy Badger, D.C.L., an old personal friend, whose long residence at the station, and perfect acquaintance with the language and temper of the Arabs, Outram well knew how to value.

there were three with whom we had had much to do. One was the Sultan of Láhaj; the head of the Fúdhli tribe and the Shaikh of Bir Ahmad were the others. The treatment suggested for each met with the unanimous approval of the Supreme Government, who urged the home authorities to withdraw certain restrictions which they had heretofore seen fit to set in these matters upon the discretion of their politicals at Aden. Lord Dalhousie's Government went still further, in applying the general rule to particular instances. The Bombay Government had authorised Colonel Outram to assist the Sultan of Láhaj, if he should be attacked. In Calcutta, our treaty obligations to this ally were considered to be more binding than any home or local order; and the Resident was to be, accordingly, empowered, in the spirit of his own proposal, to aid the Sultan with an armed force, provided only that the measure was, in his own judgment, warranted by circumstances. On first acceptance of his Arabian Residency, Outram had obtained Lord Elphinstone's consent to the nomination of Lieut. Playfair, of the Madras Artillery, as Assistant Resident—an officer of ability and experience, who amply justified his selection, and to whom we are indebted for an historical account of Aden and the neighbouring country, antedating to the commencement of the Christian era. He also applied for the services of Mr. Hormuzd Rassam, as interpreter—an appointment which received the sanction of Government, and was turned to good account.

Again, Dr. Badger relates that, 'while busily employed at Aden in restoring our prestige among the Arab tribes, Outram was not unmindful of its internal affairs, and to his persevering efforts the garrison there were first indebted for a daily ration of sweet water.' From one cause or another, we learn that 'most of the best wells in the place had fallen into the hands of private individuals, and the troops were

obliged to drink what has justly been described as "a strong solution of salt." Outram appointed a special committee to investigate the whole question of the water supply . . . ; the abuses which had so long prevailed were speedily abolished, and every soldier received a gallon of fresh water a day, the greatest boon which could have been conferred on the garrison.'

The report of the Committee, whose inquiries were restricted to the wells and water tanks within the cantonment, was drawn up with creditable care and system, and received the marked commendation of the Political Resident, when submitting it to the Bombay Government with a forwarding letter. But the comfort and requirements of the occupants of the Peninsula were further studied by their official Chief, whose report on the capabilities of a particular locality he had selected for the growth of potatoes and other vegetables may vie in length and analysis with a State paper. Captain Hunter, in his account of Aden, published in 1877, thus notices the circumstance :—

In 1854 Sir James Outram suggested the establishment of a garden at the Hiswah, which is a piece of ground on the northern shore of the harbour, about four miles long by two broad, watered by the torrents that occasionally descend from the neighbouring hills and here discharge themselves into the sea. Government sanctioned the employment of two gardeners ; a supply of seed was sent, and an additional sum of sixty rupees per annum was allowed for contingencies. The garden preserved a desultory existence for a few years.

One project which interested him when at Aden, and to the development of which he would gladly have given his support, was that of Captain Allen, R.N., to drive a canal from the Mediterranean to the Gulf of Akaba, viâ the Jordan and Dead Sea. The scheme found favour in many influential quarters, and Outram had offered to place a vessel at the

projector's disposal for the survey of Akaba; but even had the levels and physical conditions essential to success been favourably certified, the completion of a Suez Canal would have seriously affected the political and commercial usefulness of the undertaking contemplated; and a 'Palmyrene' railway would have almost wholly deprived it, in any sense, of a *raison d'être*. Another object which appears to have attracted his attention at this same period was the existence of *guano* on the Kuria Muria¹ (and other) islands off the eastern coast of Arabia. But these islands were claimed by four distinct tribes; and how to negotiate with the rightful owners was a question which Dr. Badger reported to be full of complication for would-be speculators.

Outram informed Lord Elphinstone of his failing health in September; and reports to the same effect must have reached Bombay from other quarters. Among those outward-bound 'overland' passengers who had been struck by his changed appearance was General Fraser, so long British Resident at the court of the Nizam, who no sooner reached Galle than he wrote to the Governor-General on the subject. 'I regret extremely to read the accounts you give of Colonel Outram's health,' was Lord Dalhousie's reply. 'The interest you take in him will make it agreeable to you to learn that by the last mail I wrote to offer him the Residency at Lucknow, which will be vacant till November 1855, and to which he will no doubt permanently succeed.' But long before the date of this letter the same intelligence had been despatched to the person chiefly interested, from Bombay and Calcutta. 'Of course I cannot grudge you a promotion which you have well earned; but I may confess to you,' wrote Lord Elphinstone, 'that I shall regret losing you at Aden, and that I

¹ The actual sovereignty of the Kuria Muria islands was made over by the Imam of Maskat to the British Government by deed of cession dated July 14, 1854.

shall not find it an easy matter to replace you there.' The Governor-General remarked that the Oudh appointment was the best thing in his gift, and he knew no one who better deserved it than he to whom it was offered.¹

Though loth to revert, except casually, to incidents of a purely domestic nature, we cannot render justice to Outram's filial regard and affection, without quoting the letter in which he announces to his mother this piece of deserved 'good fortune':—'Margaret will have told you of the good fortune which has befallen me, but which I have only time to write in a postscript. . . . Lord Dalhousie having selected me for the highest political office in India, the Residency of Lucknow. . . . You can now therefore have no scruple to receive from me whatever may be necessary to your comfort. I formerly said 500*l.* a year; but I can well afford much more than that, if you could but be prevailed upon to expend it. . . . I am in all the bustle of preparing to move, giving over office, &c.; and I suppose Lord Dalhousie will require me to proceed to my post with the least possible delay. . . . Lucknow is a delightful climate I am told; and we have a favourite hill station within three days' march to go to in the hot weather, where the climate is equal to that of Italy. We are looking for the English mail, and I trust it will bring a letter from you giving a good account of yourself, and assuring me that you will now keep a maid and a carriage.' Again, at the close of the letter, we read:—'I hope this will find you comfortably settled for the winter . . . but *with a carriage and maid*; this I must now assume the privilege of *insisting on*.'

It was a satisfaction to the departing Resident to hand

¹ In acknowledging the distinction thus conferred on him, Outram, with his own inimitable frankness, confessed that he was utterly ignorant of Persian; and that if his Lordship had nominated him under the impression that he was conversant with that language, he would relieve him of all difficulty in the matter by declining the appointment.

over charge of Aden to the old and intimate friend and brother campaigner in Afghanistan and Kalát, who had been appointed his successor. Colonel Coghlan,¹ of the Bombay Artillery, was one 'in whose discretion and judgment' he could assure Lord Elphinstone that he might 'confidently rely for the conduct of affairs;' and to whom, if the power to act were given, Government might look for the achievement of good political results. This officer landed on October 23, and at once took charge; Outram remaining only to embark for Calcutta in the next expected steamer from Suez, which anchored off Aden on the 27th. Of the few days they were together there is nothing to be communicated.

Shortly after arrival in Calcutta, Colonel Outram was provided with a formal letter addressed to the King of Oudh, notifying that he had been appointed Officiating Resident at his court in the absence of Colonel Sleeman. This paper he would have to deliver in lieu of credentials, which it was only usual to supply to an officer fully accredited. A day or two later, he received his own particular instructions from the Governor-General. Before stating the purport of these it may be well to remind the reader of the position—in reference to the British Government—of the sovereign prince to whose presence Outram was about to proceed. Although the retrospect is one of many years, a brief consideration of it will suffice for our present purpose.

At the dawn of the present century, when Lord Mornington became Governor-General of India, Sa'dat Khan was Nawáb of Oudh. It has been said that, at his hands, the government of that Province was ably administered; but it

¹ Now General Sir William Coghlan, K.C.B., whose tenure of office at Aden was marked by an energy and ability which amply verified Outram's report of his capabilities.

was then a comparatively small territory compared to the important 'Subah' of Shuja'u-d-daulah and other less famed predecessors. His elevation had been effected at the cost of his own and his country's independence: for the treaty with the paramount power which he had been compelled to accept pronounced him to be, to all intents and purposes, a vassal of England. Further treaties and concessions rendered his position more subordinate still; but, in spite of territorial losses and diminished revenues, he was enabled to gratify his avaricious tastes, and accumulate a vast amount of treasure. On his death, in 1814, Gháziu-d-dín Haidar, his eldest son, was invested with the hereditary dignity. As a matter of political convenience, this Nawáb was proclaimed a sovereign prince, and allowed by the Governor-General to assume high-sounding titles, which aroused the indignation of the Court of Dehli. He lent much of the money derived from the paternal hoardings to the British, and converted one sum of 1,000,000*l.* into a loan in perpetuity at five per cent. interest; but notwithstanding these outward evidences of friendly feeling, at a time when our Indian treasury stood in need of replenishing, he complained of the treatment of our Proconsuls, and disliked the scrutiny and supervision which they claimed authority to exercise in his affairs. Lord Amherst visited him in 1826; and in the following year he died, to be succeeded by his son Suliman Jáh, under the title of Nasru-d-dín Haidar. With the latter, British relations did not improve. Our interference on behalf of a disgraced minister, whom we had constituted the recipient of 25,000*l.* annually—or half the interest on the loan of 1,000,000*l.*—was distasteful to the king, who wished to lay hands on his whole property. After vainly seeking to carry on the duties of government, at first in his own person, and secondly by the aid of a Wazir not without ability, the Ruler of Oudh was threatened by Lord William Bentinck with de-

privation of his perplexed and ill-administered inheritance and reduction to the position of a mere pensioner. Nasru-d-dín and his new minister promised to do better; but when the latter asked assistance from the British Government, no response was made to the call, and interference, which had been readily practised on other and seemingly less urgent occasions, was withheld. The king died childless in 1837, and his death was followed by contention and confusion. There were at this time put forward the claims of an adopted son, two cousins of deceased, sons of the next elder brother of Gháziu-d-dín, and of the uncle, Nasru-d-daulah.¹ The last was acknowledged by Colonel Low, the British Resident, founding his arguments on Muhammadan law; and though forestalled by the action of the 'Pádshah Bígám,' or queen mother, in declaring her own candidate, the title of our *protégé* was eventually made good, owing to the intervention of troops. The new rule was inaugurated by a fresh treaty, which, among other innovations, admitted the nomination of English officers to fulfil the administrative requirements of the Province in the event of continuous native mismanagement. Had not the war in Afghanistan and Sind, and other momentous events, drawn off attention from Oudh, it is probable that active measures would have been set on foot for checking the gross abuses which prevailed there. As it happened, no decisive step in this direction was taken during the reign of Nasru-d-daulah, or of his son and successor, Suriya Jáh. But when the last-named prince was succeeded in 1847 by his son Wájid·Ali Shah, Lord Hardinge, then Governor-General of India, was constrained to take into serious consideration the question of applying some practical remedy to a state of things which had become a public scandal. Visiting the king at Lakhnau, he conferred with him on the critical situation brought about by his neglect and selfish indifference; and caused to be read

¹ Third son of Gháziu-d-dín before mentioned.

out for his information and guidance a carefully prepared Memorandum justifying the renewed interference of the British Government, suggesting a plan of action which the monarch was invited to carry out, and fixing a period of two years for further testing the royal intentions. At the expiration of the said term, Lord Dalhousie was governing India. He called upon the Resident for his Report, after making a tour through Oudh, and ascertaining its condition by personal inspection. The following is extracted from Sir W. Sleeman's letter addressed to the Governor-General at the termination of his work :—

No part of the people of Oude are more anxious for the interposition of our Government than the members of the Royal family ; for there is really no portion more helpless and oppressed ; none of them can ever approach the king, who is surrounded exclusively by eunuchs, fiddlers, and poetasters, worse than either, and the minister and his creatures, who are worse than all. They appropriate at least one half of the revenues of the country to themselves, and employ nothing but knaves of the very worst kind in the administration. The king is a crazy imbecile, who is led about by these people like a child, and made to do whatever they wish him to do, and to give whatever orders may best suit their private interests. At present the most powerful of the favourites are . . . two eunuchs ; . . . two fiddlers ; two poetasters, and the minister and his creatures. The minister could not stand a moment without the eunuchs, fiddlers, and poets, and he is obliged to acquiesce in all the orders given by the king for their benefit. The fiddlers have control over the administration of civil justice ; the eunuchs over that of criminal justice, public buildings, &c. The minister has the land revenue ; and all are making enormous fortunes. . . . What the people want, and most earnestly pray for, is, that our Government should take upon itself the responsibility of governing them well and permanently. All classes, save the knaves who now surround and govern the king, earnestly pray for this—the educated classes, because they would then have a chance of respectable employment, which none of them now have : the middle classes, because they find no protection or encouragement, and no hope that their children will be

permitted to inherit the property they may leave, not invested in our Government securities ; and the humbler classes, because they are now abandoned to the merciless rapacity of the starving troops and other public establishments, and of the landowners driven or invited into rebellion by the present state of misrule. There is not, I believe, another government in India so entirely opposed to the best interests and most earnest wishes of the people as that of Oude now is ; at least I have never seen or read of one. People of all classes have become utterly weary of it.

But the Resident who painted his picture in such strong colours was averse to extreme measures. He thought we might control the country without appropriating to our own use its revenues, or wholly superseding a native agency. In this sense he wrote to Lord Dalhousie, and in this sense he wrote to the Chairman of the Court of Directors. To the latter he pointed out that a line of conduct 'most profitable in a pecuniary view' might be 'most injurious in a political one.' And he expressed his conviction that the doctrines of what he called 'the absorbing school' must sooner or later produce a crisis in British India. Colonel Sleeman's health gave way in 1854, and his appointment was, as we have seen, immediately offered to Colonel Outram, in a semi-official letter from Lord Dalhousie. 'Oude has long been in a ticklish state—the *sick man* may be any day on our hands,' were the only passages in that letter hinting at, in some way, the work to be done, though scarcely foreshadowing, in any way, the kind of policy to be pursued. But questions were not asked on this score, and the offer was accepted. We are told that the arrangement made was 'some solace' to the retiring officer, who felt 'that his place would be well and worthily filled ;' and that he thus wrote to the Governor-General on the subject : 'Had your Lordship left the choice of a successor to me, I should have pointed out Colonel Outram ; and I feel very much rejoiced that he has been selected for the office, and I hope he will come as soon as possible.'¹

¹ Kaye, *History of the Sepoy War in India*, vol. i. p. 139.

We now come to the instructions furnished to Outram for his guidance on proceeding to Oudh. They were twofold, and, as Wájid Ali Shah was in a precarious bodily condition, they embraced two contingencies—the king's death and the king's recovery. In the former case the Resident was authorised to place the eldest son and heir apparent on the throne, leaving for the time the Minister to conduct the affairs of State under the control vested in himself by treaty. In the latter case he would simply exercise the functions of his office on the principles which had guided his predecessors. These were the remaining paragraphs of the letter :—

But however desirous the Government of India may be to avoid all interference in the affairs of Oudh which is not forced upon it, yet it cannot ignore the fact that the Government of Oudh is still in that state of probation in which it was solemnly placed by the Government of 1847. The king was then informed by the Governor-General in person that, unless within two years from that time the miserable condition of the people of Oudh had been much improved, and unless the oppression under which they had long groaned was at least in the way of being removed, it would be the duty of the British Government to have recourse to those extreme measures which, sixteen years before, Lord William Bentinck had declared must be enforced for the protection of the people of Oudh.

The occurrence of successive wars, and an unfeigned reluctance to have recourse to those extreme measures to which allusion has just been made, have concurred to induce the Government of India to take no action on the final warning given to the king, now seven years ago, in 1847.

But the Honourable the Court of Directors during that period have more than once called for the opinion of the Governor-General in Council as to the course which ought to be pursued in regard to the kingdom of Oudh. Our former warning is still in force—we have every reason to believe that the State of Oudh shows none of that amendment which the Governor-General in 1847 declared to be indispensable: and yet our threats remain unfulfilled.

Averse as the Governor-General in Council is to enter on this large question, his Lordship in Council feels that it cannot be left in its present indefinite and unsatisfactory condition.

I am accordingly directed by the Governor-General in Council to instruct you to apply yourself on your arrival at Lucknow to an inquiry into the present state of that country; with a view to determine whether its affairs still continue in the state in which Colonel Sleeman from time to time described them to be; whether the improvement which Lord Hardinge peremptorily demanded seven years ago at the hands of the king, in pursuance of the Treaty of 1801, has in every degree been effected; and whether the duty imposed upon the British Government by that Treaty, a duty recognised by Lord William Bentinck in 1831, and reiterated by Lord Hardinge in 1847, will in truth any longer admit of our honestly indulging the reluctance we have felt to have recourse to those extreme measures which alone can be of any real efficacy in remedying the evils from which the State of Oudh has suffered so long.

It will thus be seen that Outram had a delicate and difficult duty to fulfil. Fortunately, his prestige was great, his heart was in his work, and he had the full confidence of the Governor-General. Moreover, he enjoyed the privilege of free and unreserved communication with two former Residents at Lakhnau, his friends Colonels Low and Sleeman—men who have left their mark behind them, and who will not be forgotten in the annals of British India. The first-named was then a member of the Governor-General's Council; the second, whom severe sickness had driven from Lakhnau in the previous month, was, when Outram reached Calcutta in November 1854, at Mirat. Both officers readily placed at the new Resident's disposal the results of their Oudh experience; and great was the value of their practical aid and suggestions. Colonel Sleeman, ill as he was, fluently describes, in many well-covered pages of note-paper, the more important persons moving in or about the precincts of the Lakhnau *darbâr*, putting his correspondent *au courant*

of local gossip and politics. Colonel Low's good offices were notably exercised at the outset of Outram's Lakhnau career—for, understanding that, on his first arrival, it had been provided that 'the Prime Minister and other dignitaries would meet him outside the city, and conduct him to the Residency,' he was careful to show that the custom, in his own time, and with all his predecessors, was very different. The Minister and Assistant, he admitted, should meet the new comer outside, and far outside the city; but only to conduct him to a spot, still outside the city, where he would be met by the king in person,¹ enter the royal *hauda*, and, sitting on the same seat with the king, proceed *thus* to breakfast at the Palace. After breakfast, the Minister would accompany the Resident to the Residency, when, after a brief visit, he would take his leave. It need hardly be said that these points of etiquette are, in Oriental countries, questions of high diplomacy; and that the five pages of foolscap written by Colonel Low on this particular matter are in their way a curious and valuable record. He has also explained that one reason for placing the British Resident at Lakhnau on a quasi-equality with the local sovereign, a dignity not accorded to our representative even at the Rajput *darbárs*, must be looked for in the early history of our connection with Oudh. In the first treaties between the British and the ruler of that province, the latter held only the rank of 'Wazir;' but when Lord Hastings authorised the assumption by Gházíu-d-dín of sovereign titles, it was expressly stipulated that the increased personal distinction should not affect in any way the forms before observed between the king and the British Government, or local Resident. These, therefore, remained intact, and in original strictness.

¹ In the event of illness of a serious kind, or such as to prevent the king from sitting on an elephant, the heir apparent, however young, became the *locum tenens* for the occasion, but never the minister.

On December 2, Colonel Outram arrived at Kánhpur, and remained there for two days, receiving high officers of State and confidential servants of the king, despatched to look after his well-being, inclusive of making provision for creature comforts. Crossing the Ganges into the kingdom of Oudh on December 4, he found awaiting him on the opposite bank a gorgeously ornamented State carriage drawn by four horses. An artillery salute announced that he had entered it, and taken his seat; and every ten miles of his progress towards Lakhnau was marked by a similar honour. But we will borrow, more or less literally, from the columns of the '*Calcutta Englishman*,'¹ a description of the further proceedings, written apparently by an eye-witness, supplying, as it does, a graphic picture of an Anglo-Oriental pageant:—

The road was lined all the way to Lucknow by crowds anxious to catch a sight of the man to whom the destinies of Oudh had been committed. On approaching the Chhár Bagh a salute from his Majesty's artillery announced that the Resident had nearly accomplished his journey, when according to etiquette he should not enter the city, but be driven to one or other of the garden palaces belonging to the king. The Dilkushá Palace had been specially selected for the Resident's reception. It is situated about two miles from the city, in the centre of an extensive park of magnificent timber, well stocked with deer; was built by Sádat Ali Khan, and contains some fine rooms, elegantly designed, but miserably furnished. . . .

Long before sunrise (on December 5) thousands and thousands of the citizens of Lucknow were crowding the roads to the Dilkushá Palace, and clambering on the roof of every building whence a glimpse of the procession could be visible. A guard of honour, consisting of the flank companies of the 19th, the 34th, and the 2nd Oudh regiments, with the regimental colours, and proper complement of European officers, the whole under the command of Major Troup, and accompanied by the splendid band of the 19th regiment, were drawn up at an early hour, in the Dilkushá Park,

¹ December 19, 1854.

to do honour to Colonel Outram, and to salute the Heir-Apparent: for, to the great grief of all his Majesty's subjects, the king was unfortunately too unwell to appear in person. Let the reader imagine a procession of more than three hundred elephants and camels, caparisoned and decorated with all that 'barbaric pomp' could lavish and Asiatic splendour shower down; all the princes and nobles in the kingdom blazing with jewels, sparkling with gems, and gorgeous in apparel, with footmen and horsemen swarming round on all sides; pennons and banners dancing in the sun's rays; and a perfect forest of gold and silver sticks, spears, and other insignia of imperial and royal state. Slowly and stately the procession wound its way, until it entered the royal park of Dilkushá. As it approached the centre of the park, Colonel Outram's *cortège* moved forward to meet the Heir-Apparent. At the spot indicated the two processions met, and nothing could exceed the splendour of the *coup-d'œil* at this moment. When the British officer and the Native Prince met and shook hands, the guard of honour under Major Troup presented arms, the horse artillery of his Majesty thundered forth a royal salute, and amidst the solemn strains of the National Anthem, the clangour of trumpets, and the rattle of drums from his Majesty's cavalry and infantry, Colonel Outram took his seat in the royal *hauda*, and on the right hand of the Heir-Apparent; and the gorgeous procession, at a stately pace, retraced its steps towards the city. Everybody was delighted to see the Colonel looking so well, and many an anxious glance was turned to read the countenance of the Bayard of India. He is a small man, with dark hair and moustache, and the eyes of a falcon, with gentleman and soldier stamped in every feature. He was in full diplomatic costume, which sparkled with numerous decorations, records of many a well-fought field, and of great and distinguished services. As the procession left the Dilkushá Palace and entered the city nothing appeared but a sea of heads towering one above another, from the street to verandahs, and from verandahs to roofs; the people being all dressed out in gala costume, and enjoying the splendid scene. In compliance with a good old rule, the Heir-Apparent presented the Resident with a bag containing 3,200 rupees for distribution amongst the crowds of beggars and *vauriens* shouting around the royal elephants. Colonel Outram handed over the silver coins to Captain Hayes who was on his right, and who rained down silver as

the procession moved onwards. . . . The procession, on reaching the king's residence, turning off to its right, wended its way over an excellent road to the Shah Manzil, a spacious and elegant palace, situated by the margin of Gūmti's blue water, in a lovely garden wherein the citron, lemon, and orange mingled with the rose and pomegranate in endless profusion; and where were fountains and statues, with gold and silver fish flashing in pools of the clearest water.

Here a magnificent breakfast was provided, to which we learn that 'justice was done by the European and native gentry.' In the evening a small party of friends was invited by Captain Fletcher Hayes to meet the Resident, who thus auspiciously entered upon the duties of his office.¹

A serious and an anxious time was immediately before him; and although the ordinary routine of work he had to perform may not have been heavier than in Baroda or Satára, the year 1855—an extraordinary one—was full of special care and grave responsibility. One of his first official acts was to strike at his old enemy *khatpat*, reappearing under the form which had so aroused his indignation in Gujrát. He got information that certain natives of position had been misleading some of their less sharp-witted countrymen with a story that he himself and other British officers were to be won over to commit certain acts of favouritism for money considerations; and it was clear to him that, irrespectively of personal slander, there was secret mischief at the bottom of these falsehoods. Addressing, therefore, Wájid Ali Shah by letter, he urged the dismissal of the detected intriguers from

¹ On January 11, the Brigade and Society of Lakhnau gave a banquet to the Resident, to celebrate his accession to office. Captain Hayes, in an eloquent and appropriate speech, proposing Outram's health, thus referred to his previous reputation:—'In the field, daring, valiant, and skilful; in diplomacy, conciliating, far-seeing, and successful, he has shown that he has a head to conceive, a hand to execute, and a temper to conciliate; he has trampled upon corruption, disarmed envy, and deservedly enjoys the extreme goodwill and heartiest good wishes of all his numerous friends, and the applause of his countrymen.'

Lakhnau, and obtained a royal mandate to this effect, notwithstanding the king's endeavour to disprove the offence alleged. Unlike the case of his Baroda references, he received the full support of Government in this as in other acts of the day; and his hands became strong accordingly. Another evil, on the prevention of which his time and attention were anxiously bestowed, was the recurrence of deadly conflicts between the Muhammadans and Hindus of Oudh. If the former were more dangerous as fighting fanatics, the latter had the advantage of numbers; and although the king's sympathies were naturally on the side of his co-religionists, he could not afford to ignore the existence of a population composed of some two-thirds of his whole subjects. In one engagement near Faizabad, when the Hindu Bairāgis considerably outnumbered their opponents, it was stated on good authority that nearly seventy Muslims were killed, and it was conjectured that as many fell on the other side. A certain Maulavi, Amir Ali, had attained a great reputation among the chief disturbers of the peace, and his movements were a constant cause of trouble. It was only after several interviews with the king and his minister, and a tedious, protracted correspondence, that the Resident could get the royal troops to act against so determined a leader. This man's doings were especially prominent in the year 1855.

In March, the report which Government had required at Outram's hands was submitted. That so long and elaborate a paper was prepared in less than four months after his receiving charge of the Lakhnau Residency is a remarkable instance of the writer's industry, zeal, and ability. And yet he apologised to the Governor-General for the delay which had taken place in its completion. From want of personal experience in Oudh, he naturally placed great reliance on such information as he could obtain in the Residency records,

and through the channels which had supplied his predecessors; but a sense of the high accountableness of his office caused him to test the accuracy of all his data by every available means; and he put a series of questions to the magistrates of neighbouring British districts, the replies to which materially helped him in arriving at a sure conclusion. These questions he rightly considered as 'calculated to elicit the opinions of those gentlemen as to the extent of misrule and anarchy prevailing within the Oude territory' during the few preceding years, in so far as the prosperity or otherwise of their own districts was affected thereby—'their position in the immediate vicinity, the nature of their duties, which bring them into constant intercourse with the Oude people, and their honourable characters rendering them peculiarly capable of forming a tolerably correct judgment.' He also procured from competent officers, attached to the military or police forces of Oudh, much sound and useful information on the state of affairs in the interior of the province. Captain Hayes, in addition to other valuable assistance, supplied him with a *précis* of the history of our connection with the Oudh Government from the earliest period.

Outram arranged his report under the following seven heads:—1. The Sovereign and Minister. 2. Revenue and Finance. 3. Judicial Courts and Police. 4. The Army. 5. Roads and Public Works. 6. Statistics of Crime, &c. 7. Oppression, Cruelties, &c. With regard to the first, it is not to be wondered at that he agreed in the view generally expressed by preceding Residents on the unfitness to govern of a prince for whom their conscientious supervision had worked so little good. After quoting passages from the official writings of Captain Shakespear, and Colonels Richmond and Sleeman, throwing light on the character and conduct of the monarch before he came to the throne, and, since his accession, on various occasions during a period of ten years,

and summing up the steps which he himself had taken to become acquainted with the whole case before him, he finds it impossible to form any other opinion than that recorded by his immediate predecessor, whose very words he repeats as quite applicable to the occasion:—‘His Majesty continues to confide the conduct of his affairs to the same worthless and incompetent characters, to devote all his time to personal gratifications and frivolous amusements, and to manifest the same utter disregard of his duties and responsibilities.’ Too much space would be occupied were we to enter into the details of malversation and misrule subsequently given; nor can we attempt to illustrate the later heads of the report; but Outram pleads on the king’s behalf that, ‘while lamentably regardless of the interests of his own people,’ he had appeared ever ‘anxious to meet the wishes of the British Government,’ where its own interests were concerned. As instances in point, the establishment of a frontier police, from which our neighbouring districts derived great advantage, and an annual disbursement of 4,700*l.* for the benefit of Europeans, are cited.

The concluding two paragraphs describe the general result of Colonel Outram’s inquiries; but the terrible effects of the king’s incapacity and indifference can only be appreciated by a contemplation of occurrences over which the veil is here necessarily drawn. As regards the internal state of the country, he considers the condition of Oudh to be ‘most deplorable;’ and he has demonstrated that this condition has been brought about by ‘the very culpable apathy and gross neglect of the sovereign and his *darbár*.’ He adds:—

‘I have shown that the affairs of Oude still continue in the same state—if not worse—in which Colonel Sleeman from time to time described them to be; and that the improvement which Lord Hardinge peremptorily demanded

seven years ago at the hands of the king, in pursuance of the Treaty of 1801, has not in any degree been effected. And I have no hesitation in declaring my opinion, therefore, that the duty imposed on the British Government by that Treaty cannot any longer admit of our honestly indulging the reluctance which the Government of India has felt heretofore to have recourse to those extreme measures which alone can be of any real efficacy in remedying the evils from which the State of Oude has suffered so long.

‘In pronouncing an opinion so injurious to the reigning family of Oude, I have performed what is indeed to myself personally a very painful duty; for I have ever advocated the maintenance of the few remaining Native States in India so long as they retain any principle of vitality, and we can uphold them consistently with our duty as the paramount power in India, and in accordance with our treaty pledges. It is therefore peculiarly distressing to me to find that, in continuing to uphold the sovereign power of this effete and incapable dynasty, we do so at the cost of five millions of people, on whose behalf we are bound to secure—what the Oude Government is solemnly pledged to maintain—such a system of government as shall be conducive to their prosperity, and calculated to secure them their lives and property.’

We shall not here repeat the full story of Oudh annexation, nor discuss the merits of a proceeding the sweeping character of which could not, we believe, have been modified with any chance of a successful result. Had there been no blue-books or published official reports to instruct the wholly ignorant or assist the half-instructed, Sir John Kaye’s concise and well-told narrative of these events would almost have sufficed for the general reader. We now take only two

or three of the more salient features of the retrospect, with the colouring in which they appear to ourselves. Outram's report—a statement of facts on which to base a recommendation, rather than a recommendation indicating a decision—was soon supplemented by a few pregnant lines from the pen of Colonel John Low, one whose experience of native courts, including Lakhnau, eminently qualified him for the post he was upholding in the Governor-General's council chamber. This distinguished officer, concurring in the opinion that to avoid resorting to extreme measures was no longer incumbent on the Indian Government, concluded his brief accompaniment to the new description of Oudh affairs, placed before him on its way to Lord Dalhousie at the Nilgiri Hills, with these words:—

It is my belief that Lord Hardinge's threat, in 1847, to adopt our own measures in two years from that time, and the fact that, although two years have now passed, nothing has been done by us, have altogether indirectly had very mischievous effects, by their having given rise to a very general supposition amongst the most powerful government officers in Oude (of this I have been assured both by natives and Europeans), that there exists some order from England which has placed it out of the power of the Government of India to carry Lord Hardinge's threat into execution under any circumstances. So the Ministers, *talookdars*, and other official men, have now less fear of incurring the displeasure of the Resident or of giving offence to the British Government—as far as mismanagement of the interior administration of Oude gives offence to the paramount State—than they ever had previous to Lord Hardinge's visit to Lucknow.

These papers, added to Lord Dalhousie's own minute—designated an 'able and elaborate State paper' by Colonel Low, from whom it elicited two more minutes on the same subject—were despatched to the Court of Directors; the question came also before the Board of Control and Cabinet; and the year had not closed when the fiat went forth that Oudh should be annexed to British India. Yet annexation

was not recommended in words by Lord Dalhousie. The Governor-General had proposed that a new treaty should be negotiated with the king of Oudh, annulling all former treaties; leaving the sovereignty over Oudh and British possessions *in statu quo*; vesting the whole civil and military administration, 'with all power, rights, and claims thereto belonging,' in the hands of the Honourable East India Company; providing for maintenance of the king's honour and dignity by an adequate annual stipend from the revenues; providing for all the members of the royal family as for the king; and placing the residue of the revenues at the disposal of the East India Company, after payment of cost of administration, stipends, and sums considered essential for the improvement and benefit of the province. Prior to specifications of this proposed Treaty, the minute had thus distinctly expressed the writer's aversion to annex:—'I, for my part, do not advise that the province of Oude should be declared to be British territory.'

In India, the possibility or likelihood of the king's refusal to accept the terms proposed was urged with a view to shaping our future course according to circumstances. Home instructions solved the main difficulty. The case became much more simple when the question of transfer was no longer one of administration, but of actual, if not nominal, sovereignty. There would be a military demonstration of some kind, whatever the contingency presented. Refusal or acceptance of treaty would therefore imply the actual use of force, or its restriction to a mere display.

The Annexation took effect in 1856. 'At midnight on January 2' of that year, we read that 'the Governor-General mastered'¹ the contents of the despatch, in which it was decreed by the Court of Directors. Prior to this date, expectation of the event—or one which would have involved more

¹ Kaye.

complication and no less trouble—kept all concerned busy and anxious. Subsequent thereto, those on whom it fell to carry out the wishes of Government had indeed a hard time of it. But the state of things in Oudh was too evident to require demonstration. A king was to be deprived of his sovereignty, and a people deprived of their king; the old system—or rather no-system—of government, which, in spite of its oppression and injustice, would have been upheld by thousands, was to be overthrown and demolished; a new administration was to be organised in every department; the disposition of troops was to be regulated according to the requirements of the civil power and the popular feeling in the annexed district; all this, and much more, was to be accomplished to the satisfaction, if possible, of the main sufferer, who was to be indemnified for his losses by a pension and the retention of his title. Among all who laboured to achieve the desired end, none did so more conscientiously and heartily than the Governor-General to whom the order for annexation was addressed, and the Resident in Oudh to whom the Governor-General looked as his executive in giving effect to that order.

Early in 1855, Lord Dalhousie, compelled by failing health to seek change of air and scene, had quitted Calcutta for the Nilgiris. He had at one time felt that the work of effectual reform in Oudh must be accomplished under other supervision, or, to use his own words, by ‘stronger hands’ than his own; but he could not make up his mind to abandon the reins so long as the horses were restive, nor could he impose an exceptionally weighty burden upon his successor without making an effort to remove it. His private secretary, writing to Outram from Utakamand in March, had held out faint hopes that the benefit derived from hill air would be of a permanent kind. The letter,

however, which imparted this regretful intelligence, thus expressed the noble invalid's determination to cope with physical weakness :—' He will try and weather through this year ; but at the end of it he *must*, if he is alive, have rest and retirement. I shall be rejoiced beyond measure, and my utmost hopes will have been satisfied if he gains that rest and retirement in a condition to enjoy them. At present he is very ill, though he keeps up his pluck and his spirits wonderfully.' It was not until the commencement of the cold weather that the Governor-General returned to Calcutta ; and he had certainly gained strength from his nine months' sojourn in the highlands south of the Peninsula. It need scarcely be said that, to the utmost of his power, he had there fulfilled his important duties, and kept himself informed of current events in the north as at his usual head-quarters. Telegraphic tidings of the defeat and death of the Maulavi Amir Ali had reached him at Madras on his upward way ; and Outram's judicious and skilful management of the crisis called forth his marked approbation. In Calcutta, the affairs of 'annexed' Oudh and its deposed monarch, combined with other essential routine, gave him little leisure until the arrival of Lord Canning, into whose hands he made over his magnificent charge on the last day of February 1856, the time to which, in communication with the Home authorities, he had pledged himself to remain in India, with a chivalry which proved fatal to himself.

As for Outram, the work of annexation was not only distasteful, but overwhelming. Some idea of his first great step in the matter—a step the details of which, recalling sad memories of Sind, were peculiarly painful—will be gathered from the following extracts of notes by Captain Fletcher Hayes, the Assistant Resident, enclosed in his letter to the Government of India on February 4 :—

General Outram, accompanied by Captains Hayes and Weston, proceeded at 8 A.M. to visit his Majesty, by appointment. The approaches to and the precincts of the palace were unusually deserted; the detachments of artillery on duty at the palace, together with the detachments of H.M.'s foot guards, were unarmed, and saluted without arms; the artillery was dismounted, and not a weapon was to be seen amongst the courtiers and officials present to receive the Resident on his entering the palace. The Resident was received at the usual spot by his Majesty in person with the customary honours.

The Resident, after assuring his Majesty that, from kindly consideration to his feelings, he had been induced to forward, through the minister, a copy of the Most Noble the Governor-General's letter two days ago, to afford the king ample time to peruse and reflect on the contents of his Lordship's letter, now felt it his duty, in pursuance of his instructions, to deliver to his Majesty, in person, the Governor-General's letter in original.

His Majesty, after attentively perusing the letter, observed that he had already been made acquainted with its purport and contents, not only by the minister, but by the copy of the letter which the Resident had been good enough to transmit, and for which the king expressed his obligations.

After a brief pause, his Majesty turned towards the Resident, and said, 'Why have I deserved this? What have I committed?'

The Resident replied that the reasons which had led to the new policy were explicitly, clearly, and abundantly detailed in his Lordship's letter to his Majesty; and that he was unable to discuss the subject, or to deviate in any way from the tenor of the instructions with which he had been honoured; but the Resident had little doubt that on mature reflection the king would readily acquiesce in the proposals made by the British Government; his Majesty should consider how amply and liberally the Government had provided for his Majesty's maintenance. The king's title, honours, rank, and dignity would be scrupulously preserved and transmitted to his Majesty's descendants in the male issue in perpetuity. His Majesty's authority would be absolute in his palace and household, always excepting the power of life and death over the king's servants and subjects thereunto appertaining. His Majesty's relatives and confidential servants would likewise be adequately provided for; and the Resident had every reason to hope

that his Majesty's good sense would induce him to meet the wishes of Government. The Resident was bound, by the solemn discharge of his duties, to announce to his Majesty that the Treaty of 1801 no longer existed. The systematic oppression and misrule . . . in Oudh, ever since its ratification, the violation of all the solemn obligations which the Rulers of Oudh had faithfully bound themselves to perform, as one of the high contracting parties to that Treaty, had necessarily caused its infraction, and rendered it imperative on the British Government to adopt a policy which should secure the lives and properties of his Majesty's suffering subjects. That policy had been commended by the Honourable the Court of Directors; it had been sanctioned and approved of by her Majesty's ministers unanimously; and the Most Noble the Governor-General of India had been directed to carry into effect the measures alluded to prior to his Lordship's departure from India. Under these circumstances, the Resident was persuaded that his Majesty would readily acknowledge that the Indian Government had no authority whatever but to give effect to the commands of the Home Government, and with this view had directed that a treaty should be prepared for submission to his Majesty, which, embracing every suitable, adequate, and ample provision for his Majesty's maintenance, and omitting nothing which could in any degree redound to the king's honour, titles, and dignity, transferred the administration of the Government of Oudh into the hands of the East India Company.

A copy of that treaty the Resident had now the honour to submit for his Majesty's perusal and consideration, in the belief that the king would acknowledge the liberality of the British Government and justify its expectation.

His Majesty received the treaty with the deepest emotion, and handed it to Sahibu-d-daulah with directions that it should be read out aloud; but that confidential servant of the king, overcome by his feelings, was unable to read but a few lines, on which the king took the treaty from his hands and carefully perused each article.

His Majesty then gave vent to his feelings in a passionate burst of grief, and exclaimed, 'Treaties are necessary between equals only. Who am I now, that the British Government should enter into treaties with me? For a hundred years this dynasty has flourished in Oudh. It has ever received the favour, the support, and protection of the British Government. It has ever attempted faith-

fully and fully to perform its duties to the British Government. The kingdom is a creation of the British, who are able to make and to unmake, to promote and to degrade. It has merely to issue its commands to ensure their fulfilment. Not the slightest attempt will be made to oppose the views and wishes of the British Government : myself and subjects are its servants.'

Muhsibu-d-daulah hereupon observed that his Majesty had issued orders that all his guns should be dismounted and his troops disarmed—a statement which his Majesty immediately repeated, declaring that the Resident must have seen how defenceless and incapable of resistance were his subjects and soldiers.

His Majesty then again spoke of the inutility of a treaty, he being in no position to sign one. It was useless, his honour and country were gone, he would not trouble Government for any maintenance, but would proceed to England, and throw himself at the foot of the throne to entreat a reconsideration of the orders passed, and to intercede for mercy. The Resident begged his Majesty to reflect that, unless the king signed the treaty, he would have no security whatever for his future maintenance or for that of his family; that the very liberal provision devised by the British Government would evidently be reconsidered and reduced; that his Majesty would have no guarantee for his future provision, and would have no claim whatever on the generosity of the Government. The Resident's instructions were concise, clear, and definitive; the resolution of the Government irrevocable and final; and the Resident entreated the king to consider what evil consequences might alight upon his Majesty and family, by the adoption of any ill-judged line of conduct. The Prime Minister warmly seconded and supported the Resident's advice, and protested that he had done everything in his power to induce his Majesty to accede to the wishes of the British Government. Hereupon his Majesty's brother exclaimed that there was no occasion for a treaty, for his Majesty was no longer independent, or in a position to be one of the contracting powers. His office was gone, and the British Government was all-powerful. His Majesty, who was moved to tears, recapitulated the favours which his ancestors had received at the hands of the British Government, and pathetically dwelt upon his helpless position; uncovering himself, he placed his turban into the hands of the Resident, declaring that now his titles, rank, and position were all gone it was not for him to sign a treaty or to

enter into any negotiation; he was in the hands of the British Government, which had seated his Majesty's grandfather on the throne, and could at its pleasure consign him to obscurity. He touched on the forlorn fate which awaited his heirs and family and declared his unalterable resolution to seek in Europe for that redress which it were vain to expect in India.

The Resident felt himself unable to act in any other way than by the tenor of his instructions, and assured his Majesty that at the expiration of three days, unless his Majesty acceded to the wishes of the British Government, the Resident would have no alternative but to assume the government of the country.

After some further conversation, and the expression of the unalterable reluctance of the king to sign the treaty then and there, the Resident intimated that no further delay than the three days could be permitted, and then, with the usual ceremonies and honours, took his leave of the king.

To this opening scene of a drama, the last act of which was to be marked by catastrophe and bloodshed, succeeded other scenes more or less exciting of their kind, in which Outram played a conspicuous part. The king was to be restrained, if possible, in those impulses which would naturally sway a person of his position and antecedents at the first realisation of virtual dethronement. He must not be allowed to proceed to England, nor to Calcutta; nor to send his mother, brother, son, or *wakils*, to either place if dissuasion were practicable. If he could not be dissuaded from carrying out one of these several projects, then he must be led to choose the least inconvenient to all parties interested. Outram did his best, and did well in the conduct of these matters; and it was with wonderful quiet that, under his guidance, the transfer was effected of five millions of people from the rule of Wájid Ali Shah to that of the East India Company. But the introduction of British ways and appliances into the reorganisation of the newly acquired territory was a still heavier duty than this, and one perhaps less in the Resident's particular line. The administrative

details, which were comparatively new to him, would have been sufficient to break down his health without the aggravations which every day brought forth to vex his mind. The process of assumption of government from such a lavish and imbecile *darbār* involved small and great measures of retrenchment and dismissal, which entailed loss if not hardship upon many, and which therefore were repugnant to him, though, of course, he saw their necessity, and himself recommended them. But he worked none the less zealously and successfully. It need hardly be added that many liberal arrangements for which he pertinaciously contended were distasteful to red-tape departments.

Mrs. Outram joined him at Lakhnau in January 1855, and remained in Oudh throughout the very trying months of that and the following year. His habits were industrious as ever. He used to rise before it was light, and, after a few minutes' walk on the flat roof of the Residency, set to work, pausing only to eat a hurried breakfast, till time for the evening drive, which he underwent as a necessary penance. In the morning he was occasionally and with difficulty persuaded by his wife to accompany her in the carriage, but such an act was the mere pretence of an airing. Though by dint of much persuasion he had been led to purchase a riding-horse, to get him upon it was quite another matter. He is said to have only accomplished one or two rides; and these apparently because he wished to inspect some buildings. In 1855, he was distressed not a little by the death of his excellent Indo-Portuguese servant, Lawrence, who had accompanied him to Egypt and England, and whom he valued with good reason as the perfection of a personal attendant. The kindness of heart evinced by his sitting up with the poor fellow for some nights during his last illness, at a season of pressing official business, made a great impression on observers.

The Residency was a perfect hotel in the early months of 1856. Civil and military men poured in to take up their appointments, and remained some for weeks, some for days, some for only a few hours, before being packed off in palanquins to rough it in their uncivilised districts, where house and ordinary comforts were not procurable. Others again were welcome guests until dwellings had been routed out and fitted up for them in various quarters of the city and its suburbs. The capacity of the house itself—and it was not a small one—was the only limit to the number of its occupants, some of whom were ladies left for a longer or shorter period, while their husbands were putting up mud quarters for them in the *jungal* stations. The hurry, skurry, and bustle thus occasioned may be imagined, but the principal burden of it rested on Mrs. Outram, as ‘landlady of the inn.’ There was, however, equal hurry and bustle in the thousand and one administrative and personal details to be attended to incessantly in the little den which Outram reserved to himself.

Apart from the process of annexation, he liked his appointment, and, as we have shown, there was no lack of work for him to do or of society to amuse him; but in the midst of the complicated affairs which, during that year, so occupied his attention, he was not happy. The campaign against Russia still remained uppermost in his thoughts, and he longed to take a part in it. Writing to a friend from Lakhnau on March 20, he said: ‘I must confess I am beginning to despond regarding the war. . . . I don’t like trusting to any co-operation with the Turks from Eupatoria. They certainly will be defeated by the Russians if they move out of their entrenchments, and I see not how otherwise we can assemble sufficient forces to complete the investment of Sevastopol, and at the same time keep in check the enormous army Russia will now have in the Crimea. Affairs are very gloomy also at Kars, and I regret much I did not go there

instead of coming here. All the pomps and luxuries I here enjoy are grating to my feelings, for I feel that I ought to be sharing the dangers and privations of my comrades in the field.' Four months later, the intelligence of our successes in the Crimea induced him to take a more cheerful view of the subject. The only fear he now expresses is that 'Russia may succumb before we have expelled her from Georgia and Circassia,¹ which ought to be accomplished ere we concede peace to her, if we look to our own interests and those of Turkey, which are more seriously jeopardised, so long as that door of aggression remains open, than even were she in possession of the Danubian principalities.' He had purposed that the mountain tribes of Kurdistan should have been organised for the relief of Kars, and to co-operate generally in resisting the encroachments of Russia in Asia Minor; but he agreed with Lord Dalhousie that it would be highly imprudent to despatch any additional reinforcements from India. He seems to have had an intuitive perception of impending danger, and was anxious that we should be ready to meet it. Writing from Lakhnau on July 28, he observes: 'And now it is doubly certain that his Lordship would not sanction the despatch of more troops from India, since the insurrection which has lately broken out in Bengal—which, though not very formidable, will take time and considerable troops to put down—shows how well prepared we ought to be for such *émeutes*, this of the Sonthals being the last that could have been anticipated, they being the least warlike, and naturally the most peaceable, of our Indian subjects.'²

¹ Many years before this (in 1839 or 1840) when a war with the Czar appeared imminent, he had turned his thoughts to Russia's most vulnerable point, and elaborated a project for raising a force in Circassia—then of course independent—and operating in that quarter, in the event of war being declared. The details were complete, even to the nomination of his staff of assistant officers. We find, however, no record of its having been officially submitted to Government, either in India or at home.

² We are indebted to a memorandum by Dr. Badger for the above ex-

In accordance with Lord Dalhousie's wish, expressed in a friendly letter despatched shortly after return from the Nilgiris, Outram had run down for a few days to Calcutta, at the dawn of the new year (1856), to consult with the Governor-General on arrangements then pending in reference to Oudh. On going back to his Residency, he had been warned to use every precaution in his power against personal injury; and, owing to outward appearances at Lakhnau and the reports of her friends, Mrs. Outram earnestly entreated him to be attended from Kánhpur by a very strong escort. 'The people,' she wrote, 'know what is coming as well as we do, and the Mahommedans may get enraged and do something rash. There is a very bad feeling at work just now, and every precaution ought to be taken.' He was, at this time, charged with the official communication which he afterwards made personally to the king in the manner already described.

Lord Dalhousie's parting letter to Outram was addressed from Point de Galle on March 14. The concluding lines refer to the knighthood with which the latter's exceptional services had just been acknowledged from home; and we reproduce them, as full of genuine feeling, and honourable to the subject of our biography. 'It is some comfort to me for other mortifications that I am able, by the Gazette which I found here, to hail you as Sir James Outram before I cease to sail under the Company's flag. I congratulate you very heartily on the well-earned honour, and trust you may wear it with pleasure, until you exchange it for a higher. And now let me bid you farewell. As long as I live, I shall remember with genuine pleasure our official connection, and shall hope to retain your personal friendship. A letter now

tracts from Outram's correspondence at this period. Many readers will remember the outbreak in the Sonthal country to which reference is here made.

and then from you, when you can find time, would be a great gratification to me.'¹

Lord Canning had not long assumed office before he was in frequent semi-official communication with his Resident at Lakhnau; and he opened the correspondence by recalling to Outram's mind that they were not entire strangers to each other, having met some few years before in the society of Lord Jocelyn. But the somewhat formal intercourse was not yet to ripen into intimacy: Outram's health gave way as at Aden. The pressure of work and anxiety had been too much for him. He felt his head failing him to an alarming extent; acute rheumatism in the neck and shoulders bowed him down; and warnings of congestion of the brain showed that there was no time for delay in seeking restoration. Fortunately, the cessation of work and run home were not too late to be resorted to, and strength of constitution could still shake off the threatened attack. Though not seemingly alarmed about himself, Outram was greatly depressed at the mental symptoms, and on April 11 intimated to Lord Canning that it would be necessary he should leave for a time his post. The reply stated the very great regret felt by the

¹ How far Lord Dalhousie had himself contributed to the grant of this richly-merited distinction of K.C.B. (Civil) may be judged from the following extract of a minute under his signature, dated September 20, 1855:—'From the Presidency of Bombay, I have the honour to recommend the name of Major-General James Outram. I feel that it would be utterly superfluous for me to recite at length the services of General Outram. From the time when, as a young man, he took in hand the wild tribes of the Bheels, to the day when he attained to the Residency of Lucknow—which has always been regarded as the foremost place in the whole range of political office in India—General Outram has left the mark of his abilities and of his value to the State on every conspicuous page of the public records. Moved by no personal feeling, but having regard only to the brilliant record attached to his name, I do not hesitate to express my opinion that General Outram has not received the reward that was his due. I venture humbly to express my hope that before quitting the shores of India, I shall enjoy the deep gratification of seeing the gracious favour of the Crown extended to this most gallant and distinguished officer.' Sir John Lawrence was gazetted K.C.B. at the same time.

Governor-General, on private as on public grounds, at the intelligence, and entered into the question of his *locum tenens*. Eventually matters were arranged, and, while Lady Outram prepared to go to the hills and await his return in the cold weather, he took his departure without reluctance, glad to be relieved of a burden of work which had latterly become insupportable. His meeting with Lord Canning in Calcutta is noteworthy, if only from the circumstance that he took that opportunity of strongly urging his Lordship to garrison Allahabad with a wing, or a certain number of companies, of a European regiment. We believe that Sir Henry Lawrence subsequently made a similar representation. Had the suggestion been acted upon, the course of events in 1857 might have assumed a very different aspect. As it turned out, the personal influence of Colonel Brasyer over his wavering Sikhs alone saved the lives of all the Europeans in Allahabad. Comment would be superfluous on the disastrous effect upon the campaign which the loss of the fort must have occasioned. But so important to history is the right understanding of these things, that the story will be told in Outram's own words:—

During the three days I passed at Calcutta when on my way home on sick leave, in May 1856, I had an interview with Lord Canning, my chief object in seeking which, was to entreat his Lordship to take immediate measures for the better security of the Fortress of Allahabad. I informed him that the gates were held only by sepoy guards, and that if a Sevajee should arise, he might any day obtain possession, by corrupting the sepoys, or by introducing any number of followers with concealed arms among the crowds of Hindoo devotees who were allowed access on certain festival days to pay their devotions at the shrines within the Fort. True, the rule was to leave their arms at the gates; but then those gates were only protected by sepoys, and, even if they had not been gained over, how very easy it would be for determined men to overpower them by a sudden rush from the interior, wielding knives, *kookrus*, and other weapons they might have concealed

on their persons, while allies distracted the garrison's attention from the outside! So urgent did I consider the necessity, that I arranged with General Penny, as I passed through Cawnpore, to have 200 European troops in readiness to despatch by bullock train to Allahabad so soon as he should receive the order from Calcutta, and I entreated his Lordship to send the order without delay. He made a note of my suggestion, and appeared impressed with the advisability of carrying it out. I then wrote to General Anson, Commander-in-Chief, informing him of what I had recommended, and begged his Excellency to see it done without delay. I then sailed, and was astonished to find on my return to Calcutta from Persia, that *nothing had been done*—that the Fort of Allahabad had been saved by a miracle! Had it fallen, the garrison of Lucknow would inevitably have been sacrificed like that of Cawnpore, for Havelock's troops could not have passed Allahabad to the rescue. And as it would have taken many months to equip an army at Calcutta, for the siege of Allahabad, the Delhi force also must have been sacrificed, and India lost. Whereas, had the precautions I proposed been adopted, a European regiment must have been retained at Cawnpore to supply the Allahabad garrison, and General Wheler's party would have been saved.

He embarked at Calcutta in May. The letters which reached him prior to embarkation from his many friends, mostly holding responsible office under Government, were full of sympathy at his bodily sufferings and kindly wishes for the future. None could well have been more grateful to his feelings than those which bore spontaneous evidence of the good service he had rendered the State by his mode of carrying out the ungracious task of annexation committed to his hands. Captain Hayes wrote from Lakhnau on April 29 :—‘ You will be gratified by hearing that the most profound tranquillity reigns throughout the Province, and that no signs show themselves of anything being wrong. The police is rapidly filling, and the force is almost complete; the artillery have received their guns, and arms for all infantry, &c. have arrived. . . . About 800 men of all sorts and regiments

who have been absent and scattered about the country remain to be paid, and these *are all*. Everyone else has been paid.¹ Another officer, a civilian bearing a well-known and distinguished name, wrote from Baraich: 'The credit of having completely pacified the country and introduced our rule without the slightest attempt at opposition, and having got rid of the disorderly native troops, rests with you. We are now firmly seated, and can pursue our administrative reforms at leisure. There is not a Rájá in the province I would not undertake to arrest by a single *chaprásí*.'² We might add much more to the same effect, but are warned to draw the chapter to a close. In doing this, however, we will briefly notice Sir James Outram's uncomfortable visit of a few months to Europe, necessitated by failing health in 1856.

From a letter, dated May 30, addressed to his mother on board the 'Bentinck' prior to disembarkation in the evening at Suez, we learn something of his first movements beyond Egypt. He wrote:— 'As sea air, change of scenery, and relaxation have been prescribed by the faculty as my best medicine, I shall occupy myself at first, I think, in coasting from port to port along the shores of the Mediterranean—going, in the first instance, viâ Beyrout and Smyrna, to Constantinople, and thence, viâ Greece, to Malta . . . thence I should coast along Italy, going inland to Rome and Milan, staying a few days at Naples, Leghorn, Genoa, and Marseilles, and thence . . . to Paris and home.' He reckoned on reaching England in about two months and a half, or the middle of August, hoping to return to India by the end of the year,

¹ Colonel Sykes, writing from the India Office to Outram in Italy in July 1856, says:— 'You will be glad to learn that tranquillity obtains throughout the Oude territory: your arrangements, therefore, to secure order have been eminently successful. I see some of the members of the Supreme Council do not approve of your having paid the Oude public servants and soldiery their arrears—an act in my opinion not less honourable than politic; and we shall support you in it—at least if the Court and Board let my despatch pass.'

² A belted messenger, wearing a *chaprás*, or plate, upon his breast.

'in renovated health.' One cause for deferring the visit to his native land was thus explained:—'Were I to go home at once, I know I should, as usual, become involved in discussions at the India House, &c., which would keep me in London, and defeat the object of my sea trip . . . to set me up.' Then, as though apprehensive of having written in a strain likely to arouse anxiety, he added:—'Do not think me at all ill, my dearest mother; there is little the matter with me, and my holiday from office is more to *prevent* my getting ill than from my actually being so.'

But this occasion of leave-taking from Indian duties was productive of even less enjoyment to him than either of his two previous furloughs to Europe. He had no mental troubles to disturb him, but physically he was miserable and depressed, in constant torment, and suffering more acutely, when going to and fro, than when remaining quiet at home. To a man of his restless temperament such a state was almost intolerable. It was a continual and apparently endless struggle with pain, as well as derangement of system. In vain he sought relief in mud baths and other practical remedies, or the more æsthetic *agrémens* of Italian towns, or, again, in the charms of Italian landscape. He passed rapidly from one place to another; but not to see or enjoy anything—for he hardly left his room during halts—only to divert his mind from paralysing anguish of body. Returned to England not much better for his travels than when he had left Calcutta, he placed himself under medical treatment, and was confined for some days to the house. He was not, however, considered to be labouring under any organic disease; his chief enemy was rheumatism. The visit which he paid to his mother and sister in Edinburgh was memorable, owing to his narrow escape from being stifled. A Portuguese servant who had accompanied him from India, instead of turning off the gas when leaving his master's bedroom at

night, in his ignorance blew it out. Fortunately, old Mrs. Outram, who was in the adjoining room, smelt the mischief, and went in to ascertain the cause. Her son was sleeping, wholly unconscious of what had happened; though in another half-hour the vapour might have done its deadly work upon him, or the house have been blown up. How Sir James Outram, according to his own account, became suddenly and completely restored to health, when on a visit to his kind friends, Mr. and Mrs. Mangles, at Brighton, will be explained in the next chapter.

But we are reminded that, under the distribution of our work laid down at the outset, we have arrived at the close of a definite period, rather than of a mere chapter. Outram has now attained the ordinary goal of striving man's distinction. In the words of an old-fashioned but unforgotten poet,¹ he has climbed 'the steep where Fame's proud temple shines afar,' and—under good and evil report, through propitious Fortune and despite 'the influence of malignant star'—won for himself a resting-place within its precincts. To the up-looking world he has reached the summit of ambition. But the actual toiler thinks otherwise: he has yet strength of mind and limb to go further; and to his eye there are yet ascents to be surmounted, undiscernible to the gazers below. This new cry, then, of 'Excelsior' will mark the third and last division of our subject.

¹ Beattie.

BOOK III.

THE EXPERIENCED SOLDIER AND
STATESMAN.

1856-1863.

CHAPTER I.

1856-1857.

Appointment to command of Persian Expedition—Arrival at Bushahr—March to Barazjân—Battle of Khush-âb—Operations on the Kârûn River—Rout of Persian Army—Return to Bombay.

SIR JAMES OUTRAM appears to have derived benefit from his residence at the seaside, for he writes to Mrs. Outram, at the beginning of November, that he is 'satisfied' his complaint has left him; that 'the air of Brighton quite invigorates' him; and that she 'will scarcely know' him again. He had then just been tempted by the fine weather to take a run across the Channel to Havre, touching at Portsmouth and Southampton. His prospective engagements were to 'go to town with Colonel Sykes to attend the Lord Mayor's dinner,' and, after a week in London, to revisit his mother in Scotland for ten days, returning to take a hurried leave of many friends at their residences here and there in England. Three days after the Guildhall festival—this year held on Monday the 10th—he wrote to Mrs. Outram that 'an extraordinary change' had occurred in his destiny which compelled him to return to India within a week, and were it not that it prevented his fulfilment of the purposed Scotch visit, he should have every reason to rejoice in his 'good fortune.' The following extract explains the matter:—

'On my return from calling on Lady Eastlake this afternoon, I found that a messenger from the President of the India Board had been waiting nearly two hours with a note from Colonel Sykes requesting my immediate attendance at

the India Board. When I got there, Mr. Vernon Smith and the Chairs of the Court of Directors were in conclave. Mr. Smith then informed me that it had been decided in the Cabinet yesterday that I was to be offered the command of the army which had gone from Bombay to Persia, with diplomatic powers and the rank of Lieutenant-General. I expressed of course my readiness and gratification; and was told that I should be required to go by the first mail if I possibly could, which I declared myself ready to do.'

Although, prior to this intimation of the proffered honour, the coming event may have cast but an uncertain shadow before him, it is not improbable that Outram may have been sounded on the subject; and there is strong reason to believe that the 'invigorating air' of Brighton had been materially assisted in working his sudden and complete recovery by an intuitive sense of impending employment.¹ Indeed, he had written to Lord Canning from his Sussex *sanitarium*, expressing his intention of immediate return to India, 'having perfectly recovered from the illness' which had driven him home. At the same time he had thus confessed how he himself had smoothed the way to the offer which afterwards met him:—'In the supposition that I may be more usefully employed with the army about to proceed to Persia, than necessary to your Lordship in Oude, where everything is progressing so satisfactorily, I have offered my services to the President, should it be deemed advisable to entrust to me diplomatic powers in conjunction with the military command; and I believe that, should your Lordship be disposed so to

¹ The story, as related by Mr. Stuart Poole, is that, on the determination of Government to declare war against Persia, Colonel Sykes, then an East India Director, went to Outram, who was lying ill at Brighton. 'I am glad to see you,' said the sick man, 'for it may be the last time.' 'I am sorry for that,' replied the Colonel, 'for I had come to tell you that we had decided to offer you command of the expedition against Persia.' 'What! Persia?' exclaimed Outram, 'I'll go to-morrow.'

employ me, the Home authorities would probably not object. In that case, your Lordship's orders would meet me at Aden, whence I would at once proceed to Bombay.'

A satisfactory interview with Lord Clarendon followed the acceptance of a post which could not be otherwise than tempting to an officer of rank, and a soldier by nature as by profession. One week later, his letter to Scotland was dated from off Gibraltar; and four days later still, from off Malta. He spoke in glowing terms of the ship's arrangements and fare, as well as of the society in which he was suddenly thrown. The 120 passengers on board were described as 'an agreeable set;' and, notwithstanding the large number, they were 'not at all crowded.' Beautiful weather and calm seas had combined to make it appear 'one of the pleasantest voyages' he could recall. 'I continue,' he added, 'free from any return, or symptoms of return, of rheumatism; and I never felt better or stronger in my life—quite equal to any campaign.' They were not to await, according to custom, the arrival of the Marseilles mail at Malta, but to push on at once to Alexandria; so that the warm clothing which they were conveying for the troops employed in the Persian expedition might reach Suez in time to accompany the outward-going letters. Leaving Sir James Outram well on his way to Bombay, whence he was to re-embark for the purpose of taking up command of the forces in the field, we will briefly revert to the circumstances of the dispute which had terminated in England's declaration of war against Persia.

At the end of 1855, our relations with the Court of Tehran were anything but satisfactory. Even the outward semblance of civility towards the English representative was disregarded, and, in like manner, the veneer of courtesy was wanting in the official communications bearing the sign-manual of the Shah or his responsible minister. So great was the tension of ill-feeling occasioned, that our Envoy withdrew to Baghdad,

declining to resume the functions of his office until ample apology had been made, by certain persons named, for certain offences charged, after a manner detailed by himself. A crisis such as this may, it is true, be brought about in Persia by ourselves, through defective diplomacy and ignorance of the native character, ways, prejudices, and, to some extent, language; but it may also arise from many other causes—among others, a wilful pre-determination on the part of the local Government. Once instructed to give offence to strangers and provoke a rupture, the Persian is a wonderful adept in fulfilling his instructions; and will prove as capable in bandying insult and innuendo as in the more complex and refined game of compliment and cajolery. In the present instance, there was in the attitude of Persia evidence of wilfulness and an exhibition of more than ordinary temper; for not only were the Shah's own words full of insult, but his expressions were supplemented by deeds. Finally, by sending a large military expedition under his royal uncle, Prince Murád Mirza, to take possession of Herat, he showed his contempt of treaties, and aimed a blow at England's Eastern policy in the most sensitive part.

This occurred in December, the same month in which the British Envoy quitted Tehran. In the first week of 1856, negotiations were opened at Constantinople, when the Persian *Chargé d'Affaires* in that city related his version of the quarrel to our well-known Ambassador there. Discussion was prolonged for some months in 1856, during which an 'ultimatum' from Lord Clarendon had been put forward without avail; and in October, a Plenipotentiary named Farrukh Khan arrived at the Porte with the Shah's instructions to settle the whole matter in dispute. But although this personage went so far as to sign a declaration that Herat should immediately be evacuated by the troops of his sovereign, other engagements were required from him which

he could not undertake, and the attempt at a settlement failed. Lord Stratford presented a new 'ultimatum' on November 22¹: but it was then too late to avert an outbreak. The news that Herat had been captured on October 26, and that three proclamations declaring war against Persia had been issued by the Governor-General of India on November 1, soon reached Constantinople, and Farrukh Khan's occupation was, for the moment, gone. But the Persian diplomatist had other strings to his bow, and soon took his departure, *viâ* Marseilles, to Paris. While retaining his old character of negotiator, he would seek a new scene for the display of his powers.

Directions to prepare a force, for warlike operations by land and sea, had been received in Bombay ten weeks before

¹ '1. Persia engages immediately to withdraw all the Persian troops from Herat and its territory, and to pay compensation for all damages done by them therein. 2. Persia shall enter into a formal treaty with England, by which Persia will renounce all pretensions of any kind to interfere in the affairs of Herat, or of any portion of Afghanistan; will engage not to receive, at any time, overtures to interfere in the internal affairs of the Afghans; will admit their absolute independence; and will agree to refer to British mediation any differences Persia may hereafter have with them. 3. Persia shall negotiate and conclude a new treaty of commerce with England, by which all questions which have hitherto given rise to discussion between the two Governments shall be settled, and the right be conceded to England of appointing consuls in any part of Persia. 4. All debts due to British subjects shall forthwith be paid, and an understanding come to on disputed claims. 5. Persia shall make an arrangement respecting Bandar Abbās, satisfactory to the Imām of Maskat, the friend of England. 6. His Majesty, the Shah, in consideration of the part taken by the Sadr Azim in the late differences between the two countries, shall dismiss him, and replace him by a minister more likely to maintain a good understanding between England and Persia. . . . Upon the conclusion and ratification by the Shah of these engagements as regards Herat and Afghanistan, and the withdrawal of the whole of the Persian troops within the frontier of Khurasān—and upon the solemn engagement, under the seal of his Majesty, that (the sixth condition having been complied with) the remainder of the conditions shall be carried into effect six months after the return of the British Mission to Tehran, and that the return of the Mission shall be attended with all the apologies and ceremonies already specified, except those which the removal of the Sadr Azim renders impracticable—the British Mission will return to Tehran, and the British forces will be withdrawn from the Persian territory within a period not exceeding six months after the return of the Mission.'

the date of the proclamation, and the utmost activity had prevailed in all the departments of that Presidency which it concerned, to provide an expedition fitted in every respect for the purpose required. On the other hand, the orders for the actual despatch of troops did not arrive until October 23; nor did the final instructions on the subject from the Government of India reach Lord Elphinstone until November 9. Yet within four days from the latter date, the flagship, with the head-quarters and main body of the expedition, had sailed. On December 3, the Governor of Bombay, having received reports of the departure of the last of the transports engaged, was enabled to express, in public orders, his high satisfaction at the manner in which the naval and military departments had accomplished their laborious task. A force of artillery, cavalry, and infantry, comprising 5,670 fighting men (of whom 2,270 were Europeans), with 3,750 followers, 1,150 horses, and 430 bullocks, together with a fleet, consisting of eight war-steamers of the Indian Navy, seven hired steamers, and thirty sailing ships, had been embarked at four points; and the embarkation had been so perfectly arranged and ordered, that the whole operation had been 'completed at the appointed time, without the slightest embarrassment, difficulty, or confusion, and without the occurrence of a single serious accident.' Major-General Foster Stalker was in command of the troops; Rear-Admiral Sir Henry Leeke, Commander-in-Chief of the Indian Navy, was at the head of the naval force; and Commander Jones, I.N., was Political Agent.

At this time, Sir James Outram was not clear of Egypt; for he did not embark at Suez until December 7. But during the voyage out, as for the last week of his stay in England, he had devoted himself to a careful study of the problem it had been given him to solve. Not the least notable trait of his genius was the desire to grapple at once, and deal ex-

haustively in all its bearings, with every difficulty presenting itself, or likely to present itself, in the accomplishment of any task he had undertaken ; and, once master of his subject, he would not lose an instant in treating it with a view to effective disposal. Two alternative plans had suggested themselves to him at the outset for dealing with the Persian imbroglio. One, on which he had written to the President of the Board of Control before taking leave, was an advance into the interior from the Persian Gulf, to be facilitated by the engagement of mounted Arab levies to supply the want of auxiliaries to our own much required but little available cavalry. For carrying out this object, and with regard to the health of European troops, Shustar, on the river Kárún, he pointed out to be the fittest head-quarters. The other was a plan which he had personally discussed with Sir George Clerk (then Under-Secretary to the India Board). It was to advance an army of some 10,000 men¹ upon Herat, by the Bolan Pass and Kandahár—Shikárpur being the place of assembly. But whilst the former was based on the supposition that Government would never sanction the passage of troops through Afghanistan, the latter was, in Outram's opinion, the sounder and less costly scheme. Letters written on board the outward-bound steamers, or at Malta, Suez, or Aden, to Mr. Vernon Smith² (the late Lord Lyveden), Colonel

¹ Students of Oriental politics who are familiar with Sir Henry Rawlinson's exhaustive volume on *England and Russia in the East* (published in 1875) will remember that this is the *maximum* figure given in that work for a force intended to move from 'our base in Upper Scinde to Herat.' The passage referred to is as follows:—'Under no circumstances need the expeditionary column, as far as I can form an opinion, exceed a strength of 10,000 men (the greater part being, of course, Europeans): 5,000 being allotted to the garrison of Herat, and 3,000 to Candahar, while 1,000 men might occupy Quetta and Pishin, keeping up the communications in the lower section of the line ; and the remaining 1,000 would be distributed between Girishek and Farrah, so as to connect Candahar with Herat.'

² President of the India Board, to which Sir George Clerk was appointed Under-Secretary in 1856.

Sykes, Sir George Clerk, and Lord Dalhousie, express more or less his ideas on the work before him and the nature of those detailed arrangements for which he solicited the warrant of higher authority. In any contingency—whether the move were to be made from the shores of the Persian Gulf, or from Shikárpur and the Indus—he saw no prospect of advancing far into the interior before the middle of autumn, owing to the near approach of the hot season, when operations would be impracticable. But the force already despatched to Bushahr he would wish to be augmented, if only to make diversions from the sea-board, supposing the main advance to be from Kandahár. To Mr. Edmonstone, Secretary to the Government of India in Calcutta, he wrote at the same time urging the good policy of sending additional troops to the Persian coast, to enable him to make such dispositions as would admit of pushing on his soldiers to whichever of the more readily attainable positions inland he might find most suitable on reaching the scene of action. This was done, both with the object of securing the health of the Europeans and making a demonstration of contemplated progress upward. In the midst of these all-important questions, the following passage of his letter reads like an unconscious revelation of the inner life, and illustrates anew his unselfish and tender consideration for others. Injustice was always hateful to him, but that he himself should have been the instrument by which it was committed was intolerable. And if thus in the abstract, how much keener would be the sentiment in the case of a brother-officer with whom, thirty-seven years before, he had been a brother-cadet, and in whose company he had made his first voyage to India¹ :—

¹ See vol. i., p. 24 (*note*). As a Major-General, Stalker was senior to Outram; but the latter was awaiting his special rank as Lieutenant-General. This indeed had already been accorded, though, owing to some strange oversight, it had been limited to India only.

'Should Bushire, contrary to expectation, hold out, and not yet be in our possession when I join the army—and should General Stalker then be conducting operations against the town—it would be the wish of his Lordship, I presume (as it would be my own), that he should not be deprived of the credit of taking the place ; and in that case I would, with his Lordship's permission, defer assuming the command until after it had fallen. I know not whether General Stalker would wish to continue with the army after I have taken command ; but, should he choose to do so, I might place him in command at Bushire, while I myself take the advanced division to Mohumra and Shuster. Serving under me would be the less galling, I hope, to Stalker, inasmuch as we have been intimate friends ever since we entered the service together, *on the same day*, thirty-seven years ago.'

As regards the separate command, he wrote much to the same effect, but in terms of considerate friendship, to General Stalker direct, adding :—' I can only say it will be a source of much gratification to me to be associated with you in the field, and I am sure we should get on well together.'

On December 22, Sir James Outram landed at Bombay, and found active preparations in progress for the despatch of a second division to Bushahr. His arrival to take command of the Persian Expeditionary Force was a welcome surprise to Lord Elphinstone—who would, however, have unhesitatingly recommended him for the appointment, had he been in India and available for the duty. As it was, an officer had been selected in whose conduct of the projected campaign every confidence was placed ; but the political part of the question did not come within the range of the local authorities ; and Outram now appeared on the scene, vested with greater powers than could have been given to the merely military commander. Lord Canning had been in like

ignorance of the proceedings of the Home Government, until the despatches from England reached him by the same mail which took Sir James's letter from Suez to Mr. Edmonstone. He had replied to the letter addressed to himself from Brighton, congratulating his correspondent on his reported recovery, explaining the limited character of the Persian command, and setting forth that, should offers be made by Persia which would necessitate the exercise of diplomacy, General Stalker's instructions were to refer to Calcutta, and stand his ground in the meanwhile. Under the circumstances the Governor-General could not propose the transfer of Sir James's services to a field where they would have so little scope. He added:—'Oude is completely tranquil and generally prospering. Nevertheless, I shall be very glad to see you resume your command there.' This letter did not reach its destination for more than two months after it was written, and, having been sent to Aden, must have crossed Outram on his outward voyage.

But intelligence of the proceedings of the force already in the Persian Gulf now reached the Presidency; and on December 27 the Governor in Council was enabled to announce the surrender, on the 10th of the month, of the fort of Bushahr, which, together with the neighbouring island of Karak, had been occupied by our troops. The landing had been effected at Halila Bay, about twelve or thirteen miles south of Bushahr, on December 7, and two days later there had been, as described in the Major-General's despatch, 'a smart affair in dislodging the enemy from a strong . . . position in the old Dutch Fort of Reshire.' On that occasion, the despatch further stated that Brigadier Stopford and Lieutenant-Colonel Malet had been killed, gallantly leading on their men, and three officers had been wounded, of whom two (Lieutenants Utterson and Warren) had died of their wounds.

Sir James Outram lost no time in communicating to

General Stalker the proposed plan of operations, for which he had obtained the sanction of Lord Elphinstone and his colleagues. This was done in the form of a postscript to the letter from which we have already made a short extract—the despatch having been delayed from the want of a steamer for its conveyance. He forwarded also a Foreign Office packet, for transmission by express steamer from Bushahr to H. M. Envoy at the Persian Court, and to Captain Kemball, the British Resident at Baghdad. To General Stalker he wrote as follows:—

I congratulate you most heartily on the brilliant victory at Reshire, and on the successful occupation of Bushire. Your summary discomfiture of the enemy will cause the latter to exaggerate your strength vastly, in order to excuse their own defeat to the Shah, and may have a wholesome effect on the Royal mind when deliberating on the choice now left to him—of submission to our terms, or fighting it out. I know not which to admire most—the handsome style in which you polished off the foe, or the modest, unpretending style of your despatch. It is admirable! . . .

I hope you will think the move on Khisht¹ advisable. Being so elevated, it ought to be more healthy than Bushire for the Europeans—and the detachment there would be regarded at Tehran as the advanced guard of the great army they will hear is coming from India.

In the meanwhile, pray contrive to make it believed that our sole object for the present is the seizure of Shiráz, and that you are only awaiting the reinforcements from India to advance.

I hope you will be able to effect a survey by the Quarter-master-General's Department so far as Khisht. But the party will require strong escort, and should keep a sharp look-out against attempts at surprise—ambuscade and night attacks

¹ The road from Bushahr to 'the fertile and well-cultivated plains of Khisht' was described by the late Colonel Patrick Stewart, R.E., C.B., in his report on the 'Respective Merits of a Land and Sea line of Telegraph to connect England with India,' addressed to H. M. Minister in Persia on June 16, 1862. Extracts bearing upon this particular section of the Bushahr-Tehran route will be found at pages 183 and 185 of my volume entitled *Telegraphs and Travel* (Macmillan, 1874).

especially. It would be prudent for the party to proceed as rapidly as possible to Khisht in the first place, and then survey leisurely back, to prevent time for any preparation for resistance, to which they might be exposed should they survey as they advanced. It would be well if Captain Jones, or some one well accustomed to the people, could accompany the party. I have recommended that Jones shall retain his position as 'Resident in the Persian Gulf.'

I fear it will be a month, at least, after I join you before all the reinforcements can be assembled at Bushire, until when, I suppose, you would not think it advisable to move the troops to Khisht—but of course your opinion on the matter will guide me.

It has been said that our Minister at the Court of Tehran had withdrawn to Baghdad. The diplomatist who then discharged the duties of that office was the Honourable Charles Augustus Murray.¹ He had been British Consul-General at Cairo at the period of Outram's sojourn in Egypt; and the intimacy which had arisen out of their first relations augured well for any further association likely to be brought about in the settlement of the Persian complication. As in the case of General Stalker, so did Sir James act with Mr. Murray. He wrote to him from the outward-bound steamer, and added a postscript after arrival at Bombay. In this communication he expressed pleasure in observing that the advance to Shustar was a measure which the Minister approved, and he dwelt upon the necessity of letting the Persians suppose that Shiráz was really the point of attack intended.

But his letter to Captain Kemball² supplies, perhaps, the most practical indication of the action he proposed to take on first arrival in Persia. He asked this competent and energetic officer for information on the harbour and

¹ Now the Right Honourable Sir Charles Augustus Murray, K.C.B., who, since retiring from Persia, has held high diplomatic office in Saxony, Denmark, and Portugal.

² General Sir Arnold Kemball, K.C.B., K.C.S.I., an officer highly valued, both in his political and military capacity.

town of Muhamra; the capabilities and means of resistance at that place and Shustar; the opposition likely to be met with on ascending the river Kárún; the amount of force supposed to be with a certain Shahzáda at the important post of Dizful, west of Shustar, and on other points acquaintance with which would materially assist his early operations. 'The force to be employed,' he wrote, 'will probably be about equal to that under General Stalker at Bushire (rather stronger in cavalry—i.e. 14th Dragoons and one regiment of Sindh Horse) . . . carriage cattle will be required for the whole to march up by land,¹ the commissariat supplies being chiefly carried up the river in steamers, to protect which the army would encamp daily as near the river as possible.' Mules and camels were to be procured in any quantity; and *yábús*, or *tattoos*, provided with baggage saddles. Boats, moreover, with stocks of hay should be got in readiness, to meet the anticipated want of forage. He reckoned that at least six weeks would elapse before the fleet conveying the troops could reach Muhamra; but he himself hoped to leave for Bushahr about January 8 or 9, after receipt of the English mail then next expected.

In a letter to Colonel Sykes of January 1, he thus refers to the prospect of peace opened out by Farrukh Khan's offer to withdraw the Persian garrison from Herat, intelligence of which had just reached him from England:—

Did we not know the Persians, and bear in mind how shamefully they shuffled out of their pledges to Mr. McNeil in 1838, under very similar circumstances, the intelligence you communicate in your postscript of Ferukh Khan's promise on the part of the Persian Government to withdraw instantly from Herat, and to give the Heratees indemnity, might encourage me to hope for a speedy arrangement of our differences; but I fear those promises were held out merely to gain time, and so avert the threatened occupation of Bushire. It is well, therefore, I think, that a blow has

¹ Along the banks of the Kárún, towards Shustar.

already been struck there likely to inspire the Shah with a wholesome dread of the consequences of persisting in his hostile course ; for doubtless the troops defeated at Bushire will vastly exaggerate our strength to lessen their own disgrace. And when it is seen by the arrival of reinforcements, and our preparations for a forward movement, that we are bent on more serious measures, I do hope that he will become amenable to reason ; for, no doubt, his Minister had led his Majesty to believe that nothing beyond the occupation of Bushire would be attempted.

It was not until January 15 that Sir James Outram could leave Bombay. He had been detained more than three weeks at the Presidency from unavoidable causes. The chief one was the limitation of his brevet rank to India alone—an error only rectified in the Home Gazette brought in by the mail three days before his departure. The time cannot, however, be said to have been wasted when the work performed is taken into account. To organise a division of an army in the field, select a staff, and provide for the thousand and one contingencies of a campaign in a comparatively strange and physically difficult country are no light matters of consideration, and involve an amount of correspondence which none but the initiated can thoroughly understand. Details such as here contemplated can never be surmounted with perfect ease and smoothness : there must be hitches somewhere ; and hitches, whether small or great, can only be disposed of by unflagging zeal and energy tempered with patience. On January 13, the Governor in Council announced that, under instructions from home, and with the sanction of the Government of India, a force had been organised under the command of Brigadier-General Have-lock, C.B., to form the 2nd division of the Expeditionary Force for service in Persia ; and that the entire force, consisting of two divisions, was combined under the command of Lieutenant-General Sir James Outram. General Stalker's troops then at Bushahr would become the 1st division ; and

Brigadier-General John Jacob, C.B., would command the cavalry division.¹ This last noted appointment had been much pressed by Sir James upon the authorities at home and in India on strong public grounds. Hoping that the rank of Major-General might at the same time be accorded—to admit of Jacob's succession to the chief command with full diplomatic powers in the event of his own illness or death—he had suggested to the President of the Board of Control, as an alternative measure, and to warrant the promotion to Colonel, the possible submission of his name for the distinction of Aide-de-Camp to Her Majesty, on the score of important services publicly acknowledged by Lord Ellenborough. 'Those services,' he added, 'have since been eclipsed by the far more important services—administrative as well as military—which he has rendered to the State, as custodian of the Scinde frontier for fifteen years past.'

¹ The 'personal staff' of the Lieutenant-General was composed of Captain Malcolm Green, Military Secretary and A.D.C., Lieutenant W. H. Sykes, A.D.C., and Captain C. B. W. Harvey, Acting A.D.C., and Captain E. P. Arthur, Persian interpreter. Among the 'head-quarters staff,' of which Colonel (now General the Right Hon. Sir Edward) Lugard was chief, and the Rev. G. P. Badger, the Chaplain, may be mentioned Lieut. Colonels Younghusband and Pope; Majors Boyé, Barr, Hill (Engineers), and Curtis; Captains Wray, Macdonald, Rigby, Finimore, Taylor, and Warden; Lieutenant Pengelley, I.N., and a young Lieutenant of Engineers, Ballard—who had already won for himself the high honour of the Bath, and was appointed Assistant Quartermaster-General and Superintendent of the Intelligence Department. Colonels Wilson, K.H., Honner, Hamilton, and Hale commanded the Infantry; Colonels Trevelyan and Hall, C.B., the Artillery; and Colonels Tapp and Stuart the Cavalry Brigades.

At Bushahr, the 1st division consisted of H. M. 64th Regiment of Foot, 2nd Bombay European Regiment, 4th and 20th Regiments of Native Infantry and 2nd Baluch Battalion, the head-quarters and two squadrons 3rd Regiment Bombay Light Cavalry, and two troops Puna Irregular Horse, a troop of Horse Artillery, two companies of European Foot Artillery and Reserve Artillery, with the head-quarters and two companies of Sappers and Miners. In the 2nd division were H. M. 78th Highlanders, the 23rd and 26th Regiments, and Light Battalion, of Native Infantry; together with the 14th King's Light Dragoons, a troop of Horse Artillery, two field batteries, and the 3rd Regiment of Sind Horse.

The first mention of the names of Outram and Havelock in conjunction is too suggestive of an association which will ever live in the history of our country to require comment here. When Sir James applied for the services of Colonel Havelock to be placed at the head of one of his divisions, he was unaware that his own name had been submitted to General Anson by Havelock himself, then Adjutant-General of Queen's troops, as that of one 'suited above all other men'¹ for command of the whole expedition. The two may have met but seldom, though thrown together at Kandahar and Ghazni in 1839; but from their public services each had learned to gauge the worth of the other.

Before embarkation, Outram addressed Lord Canning—in reply to a request by telegraph that he should 'write fully' and say whether he had 'any change to suggest' in the proposals already submitted and arrangements confirmed. He had no change to suggest; but he had recommended, 'as a precautionary measure,' that two more native regiments be named for service, in case General Stalker should need reinforcements to supply any gaps in his division caused by a demand for support to the movement on Shustar. The 2nd division of the Expeditionary Force had, he reported, been organised, and the first infantry brigade was to be embarked on or about January 19; the second a week after; and the cavalry would follow the last detachment of infantry in about ten days. 'I myself,' he wrote, 'leave in the "Semiramis" on Thursday, the 15th instant, touching at Karachi 'to communicate with General Jacob, and I expect to reach Bushire about a week or ten days before the first of the reinforcements.' He added:—

¹ Marshman's *Life of Havelock*. We do not know on what evidence the biographer has added that 'it was partly under the influence of this suggestion that the offer was made' to the General 'by the Home Government.' The selection in England appears to have been spontaneous—without reference to India—and carried into effect in the way we have already described.

During this interval, I shall have thoroughly acquainted myself with the relative advantages of the proposed advanced posts of Khisht and Shuster, whether as regards sanitary considerations, or the facilities afforded by either route for future operations in the interior—in order that, should it not be found prudent to occupy both, in consequence of a more formidable opposition being prepared than our previous information had led us to anticipate, I may be enabled to decide which to choose; for, should the power of the enemy be such in either quarter as must cause a battle to be fought ere the desired position is attained, it may be necessary to hold the post in greater strength than would admit of such division of the forces as I had contemplated in the event of meeting the slight or no opposition which was expected on first establishing ourselves.

Should the enemy really be mustering in advance of Bushire in such force as General Stalker is led to believe, it is next to certain their object is to oppose our advance on Shiráz; for they would hardly have the temerity to attack our entrenched position in front of Bushire. In that case, the passes below Khisht would afford positions so naturally strong—and which they would not fail to improve by art—that we may be exposed to severe loss ere we make our footing sure at Khisht. And then it might require our whole means, thus weakened by battle, to maintain our position there; for the neighbouring tribes are not to be depended on—being, I believe, chiefly ‘Sheeahs,’ who are more subservient to the Shah’s Government than are the half-Arab ‘Sunni’ tribes who intervene between Shuster and Mohumra.

Our advance from Mohumra to Shuster, on the other hand, though liable to be opposed by the army of the Viceroy of Khuzistan, represented at from three to eight thousand men, has no great physical difficulties to contend against—no passes to surmount: and our army there would possess the advantage of water-carriage for its supplies, and a better provision of land-carriage than can be obtained at Bushire.

The neighbourhood of Shuster, moreover, is described as abounding in forage, fuel, and water; and the population being Sunnis, with strong ties of connection with the Turco-Arabian tribes in their vicinity, are generally, it is said, bitterly inimical to their Sheeah rulers, and would, it may be hoped, readily be induced to favour our cause. Our vicinity to the Turkish frontier

would, besides, facilitate the organisation of the Turco-Arabian levies.

He showed cause for preferring Shuster to Khisht on military, sanitary, and political considerations: and, if the menace to Shiráz was a strong argument in favour of the latter position, he recognised a show of impending danger to Ispahan in our maintenance of the former. The concluding paragraphs of his letter illustrate that forethought for his soldiers which evinced itself in the conduct of all his campaigns:—

Shuster, being further from Mohumra than Khisht from Bushire, might be more difficult to support were the intervening tribes hostile, and were it not that we have the river Karoon to aid us, navigable to our armed steamers. But there, not merely are the people likely to be with us, but we shall soon have more ample means for controlling the intermediate country, in our Arab levies, than we ever could have at Khisht, where we should be too far from the Turkish frontier to obtain the services of the tribes we wish to embody. And the increasing strength of our levies would, I hope, prevent the necessity for further reinforcements until the season for active operations in October next.

Should I find, therefore, that it is impracticable to maintain both Khisht and Shuster, I may probably confine our operations to the latter quarter. In which case, it may be advisable to borrow one of General Stalker's European regiments and some of his European artillery, with the double view of adding to our strength on the Karoon and securing a better climate for the Europeans; and General Stalker's attention would be confined for the present to the defence of Bushire, and holding Karak, for which the troops then left to him, would, I think, amply suffice.

Materials for the barracks of one European regiment have been provided, and may, I hope, be furnished for the remainder of his European artillery, but certainly it would be impossible to prepare accommodation for more Europeans at Bushire. The native troops can have nothing but tents, I fear.

Hospitals are preparing at Karak, which place was found remarkably healthy when we held it formerly. These will receive the sick of the 1st, or Bushire, division, as well as such

of the 2nd division as may be sent from time to time from Mohumra, where a transport hospital-ship will be stationed for the reception of the sick of the 2nd division, sent down from the interior.

Of course, there will be no time to prepare much shelter for the Europeans at Shuster; for we can hardly arrive there before the commencement of the hot season, but it is to be hoped we may find means for covering their tents with grass 'chuppers.'

At Karáchi, the rumour of disturbances in Kalát caused Outram to apprehend the detention in Sindh of General Jacob¹ and his frontier horsemen. After leaving that station—where he had only remained six hours—he wrote an earnest request to the Governor of Bombay that he would not sanction a countermand of the reinforcement on which the completeness of his little army so much depended. His correspondence with Lord Elphinstone was of that unconstrained character which invited and elicited free expression of thought and feeling where such could not fail to be advantageous to the public service. On January 27, he informed his Lordship of his arrival that afternoon at Bushahr. General Stalker had welcomed him 'most cordially,' meeting him, before he landed, in the boat which had gone off to receive him. Mr. Murray had given him a like cordial greeting on reaching the Envoy's temporary quarters at the Residency.

'The Persians,' he wrote, 'have been busily stockading some time past at Muhamra; and their work, as described to me—earthworks, staked with felled date-trees sloping outward—will not be carried without loss, unless we can enfilade them from our floating batteries.' Such was the intelligence which first met him; and he could not move higher up the Gulf until some, at least, of his transports should appear with detachments of the 2nd division. They could not be expected, at soonest, within a week or ten days; and unfortunately the best steamers would not convey the

¹ Then acting as Commissioner in the absence of Mr. H. B. Frere.

first brigade. Outram resolved, therefore, to break ground in the Karun Expedition, by despatching Captain Jones of the Indian Navy, Resident at Bushahr and an officer of great local experience, in the 'Hugh Lindsay' to Basrah, with the view of securing, if possible, the friendly co-operation of the Arab tribes to whom Muhamra belonged; as also to obtain correct information on the strength of the enemy and the nature of their defensive preparations. The Rev. Dr. Badger was associated with Captain Jones in this service; and by the same opportunity, Captain Malcolm Green, Military Secretary and Aide-de-Camp, was deputed to 'make such military survey of the enemy's works as could be effected from the vessel in passing them on her way up and return;' while Commodore Ethersey and Captain Young, of the Indian Navy, were instructed to proceed to the Shattu-l-Arab—the broad river combining the waters of the Tigris, Euphrates, and minor tributaries—examine its channels, and ascertain its capabilities 'for naval operations in the vicinity of the point of attack.' Lord Clarendon's instructions had assumed that there were independent tribes among those with which the General would come in contact, and, to avoid complications, had restricted him from seeking the aid of others. But, whether independent or semi-independent, the sovereignty of the soil on which they lived and moved was a question which could not be disregarded. Of the Arabs at the head of the Gulf some dwelt in Turkish and some in Persian territory; some again migrated periodically from one to the other; and their subjection or quasi-subjection to Sultan or Shah would assuredly be claimed by the power concerned, should necessity arise, or expediency suggest the step. Outram's idea was that we could avail ourselves of the services of these men, provided only that, at the close of the war, an amnesty were proclaimed to all who befriended us while the war lasted. The object would, then, simply be to guarantee them from oppression on

the ground of the past, not to support any tribal claim to future independence. Sir James had from the first entertained the project of raising levies among the nomads to be found on the confines of Western Persia. He found that the Porte advanced some sort of claim to Muhamra, and the question arose whether it should be made over to the Pasha of Baghdad, when captured. But, ascertaining that the local tribes would resent Turkish rule, he managed, by the exercise of a little tact, to keep the delicate point in abeyance, and avoided complications which might have arisen from it, as well as from the obstructive presence at Muhamra of a small Turkish war-vessel.

More immediate interests, however, than those involved in the Muhamra expedition soon absorbed his attention. In the interval between the surrender of Bushahr and the arrival of Sir James at that port, General Stalker's advance division had not been wholly unemployed; and the movements of a Persian force, at no considerable distance inland, if not openly aggressive, were indicative of the inclination to provoke active hostilities. It appears that, on the entry into Bushahr of the British troops, the liberated garrison, allowed by the captors to go where they pleased, had taken the road to Shiráz, the far-famed city of Fars and whilom capital of the Persian monarchy, situated in the high country about 150 miles from the coast. There they had been, in the local acceptation of the term, re-organised and re-equipped, and then embodied with a force of some five regiments, or 4,000 men, assembled under the Shuja'u-l-Mulk, who had further called to his aid the Ilkháni, or chief of the Iliát (wandering tribes). Independently of this numerical demonstration, the Persian Government had also collected supplies of flour and ammunition at Barazján and Chahkota, villages in the low country. the former forty-six, the latter twenty, miles from Bushahr. In the words of an intelligent writer and

shrewd observer,¹ 'the amount of ammunition would not be considered as indicating a very provident spirit on the part of any other Government than that of Persia; for there were not above one thousand of cannon shot, and some fifteen or twenty tons of gunpowder; but, as all this had to be brought on the backs of mules by difficult roads for three hundred miles, it was of considerable value.' General Stalker, by means of his cavalry and two horse-artillery guns, effected the destruction of the Chahkota magazine and stores, on December 24, in a manner both creditable to the officers concerned and little injurious to the inhabitants. But Barazján was too far off to admit of equally easy disposal: and in the beginning of January, the Persian commander came down with his army from Shiráz and took up his position there. When Outram appeared, towards the close of that month, the report of his coming and of the reinforcements that would follow, had been accompanied by directions to get together all available land transport; so that, very soon after despatch of his *avant-couriers* to Turkish Arabia, he felt himself in condition to deal with his threatening neighbours.

At first, he looked upon the gathering at Barazján as intended only to bar the probable advance of the British troops to Shiráz, and proposed to defer any counter-movement on our part; but he was shortly led to change his opinion of the meaning of his foes. 'It became apparent,' he wrote to the Governor-General, 'that the enemy were concentrating a far greater force than it had hitherto been supposed they possibly could accumulate below the passes.' Unless now checked it was evident to him 'they would soon be in a position to attempt the recapture of Bushire.' The Persian commander-in-chief had formed an entrenched camp

¹ Lieutenant Ballard (since Lieutenant-General Ballard, C.B.) of the Bombay Engineers whose death by sunstroke, at Livadia in Greece, has been quite recently recorded. The article quoted is entitled 'The Persian War of 1856-57,' and is to be found in *Blackwood's Magazine* for September 1861.

at Barazjān, 'which he occupied with . . . 8,450 regular infantry and cavalry . . . seventeen guns and one mortar. . . . Reinforcements from Tehran, and elsewhere, were rapidly approaching, to the extent of twelve regiments of regular infantry with thirty-five guns, while preparations were making for raising the tribes, of whom 4,000 would be assembled in twenty-four hours. Parties of horse had been sent forward, and violent denunciations were proclaimed to deter the country-people from furnishing supplies to our camp. Mistrust and apprehension prevailed in the town.' In this state of affairs, it is not to be wondered at if Sir James Outram deemed it 'imperatively necessary to strike a blow' in the threatening quarter 'before extending operations elsewhere.'

The mode of striking is described in the following extracts of a despatch which was addressed to the Commander-in-Chief at Bombay on February 10:—

The 1st brigade, 2nd division, which arrived on the 31st ultimo and 1st instant, was landed immediately; and on the evening of the 3rd, the troops¹ . . . marched from this camp, without tents, or extra clothing of any sort, each man carrying his great-coat, blanket, and two days' cooked provisions; the commissariat being provided with three days' in addition; the protection of the camp and town of Bushire being duly provided for by a detachment of troops under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Shepherd, reinforced by a party of seamen from all the ships in the harbour, which the senior naval officer was so good as to place at my disposal.

After a march of forty-six miles in forty-one hours—during which the troops were exposed to the worst of weather, cold nights, and deluging storms of rain—they reached the enemy's entrenched

¹ 3rd Cavalry, 243; Pāna Horse, 176—total, 419 sabres; 64th Foot, 780; 2nd Europeans, 693; 78th Highlanders, 739—total, 2,212 Europeans. Sappers, 118; 26th N.I., 442; 4th Rifles, 523; 26th N.I., 479; Balúchis, 460—total, 2,022 N.I.; 3rd troop Horse Artillery, 6; 3rd Light Field Battery, 6; 5th ditto, 6—total, 18 guns. Camp:—378 Europeans; 1,466 N.I.; 1 company European artillery; 14 guns.

position on the morning of the 5th, and found it abandoned. The enemy, on hearing of our approach, had evacuated his entrenchments the previous night so precipitately that his tents and camp equipage and ordnance magazines were left behind. The former were being rapidly carried off by village plunderers, operating for some hours before we arrived. I endeavoured to intercept the retreat of some of the Elkhanees's horse, who had held the camp during the night and were still in sight, and a little skirmishing took place, but eventually they made off.

‘It had long been my earnest wish to meet the “Bayard of India,” of whom I had heard and read a great deal,’—writes a worthy chronicler¹ who has served a hard apprenticeship in the lower grades of the military profession, and whose reminiscence of one endeared to him as to many old comrades in arms, may appropriately break, while it illustrates, the formal paragraphs of a military despatch. ‘My wish was at last gratified on February 3, 1857, at Bushire, when the division was formed up for the march to “Barasjoon,”² to attack the Persians in their entrenched camp there. Sir James was in undress uniform, and had a cigar in his mouth. After a very disagreeable march, we were halted a few miles from Barasjoon for the night. Shortly after, a terrific thunderstorm broke upon us, and in a short time we were all wet to the skin. It was quite dark and dismal, and we felt anything but comfortable. Sir James appeared amongst us and cheered us up (he was in the same condition as ourselves) by kind words, and then and there ordered the commissariat to issue a dram of arrack to every man in the force. Nothing could possibly have been more welcome under the circumstances. This was the first of innumerable acts of kindness we experienced from him.’ To resume the despatch:—

¹ Captain John Robertson, late of the 78th Highlanders, and afterwards 35th (Royal Sussex) Regiment.

² This is according to local pronunciation, whereby the final *as* becomes *un* or, as here transliterated, *oon*.

The enemy having succeeded in withdrawing their guns to the strong passes, where I did not deem it prudent to follow them, and being satisfied with the moral effect of our occupying their position for two days, I decided upon moving the troops back to Bushire. I accordingly commenced the return march on the night of the 7th, first destroying their magazines, found to contain about 40,000 lbs. of powder, with small-arm ammunition, and a vast quantity of shot and shell; and carrying away large stores of flour, rice, and grain, which the Persian Government had been collecting for a long time past for their army, thereby effectually crippling their future operations. Some of their guns are supposed to have been cast into the wells: as their wheels and axles fell into our hands, it will be impossible they can be used again for the present.

At midnight an attack was made upon the rear-guard by the enemy's horse, and parties threatened the line of march on every side; the troops were halted, and so formed as to protect the baggage, and resist the horsemen in whatever direction they might attempt to charge. Four of the enemy's guns, of heavy metal, opened their fire upon the column, whilst the darkness of the night prevented any steps being taken to capture them.

I should here state that, on abandoning the position, Shoojaool-Moolk with his force had taken the direct road to Shiráz by the 'Mhak Pass,' and the Elkhaneé with his horse had retired by the one leading to the 'Huft Moola;' and, from information subsequently received, I learned that they had planned a combined attack upon our camp the night we marched. Indeed the explosion of their large magazines gave them the first intimation of our departure, when they hastened after us in the expectation of being able to attack us on the line of march, and possibly create confusion and panic in the dark.

At daybreak the Persian force, amounting to between 6,000 and 7,000 men, with some guns, was discovered on our left rear (north-east of our line of march), in order of battle.

Our artillery and cavalry at once moved rapidly to the attack, supported by two lines of infantry, a third protecting the baggage. The firing of the artillery was most excellent, and did great execution. The cavalry brigade twice charged with great gallantry and success. A standard (of the Kaskhai Regular Infantry Regiment) was captured by the Poona Horse; and the 3rd Light Cavalry charged a square and killed nearly the whole regiment. Indeed,

upon the cavalry and artillery fell the whole brunt of the action, as the enemy moved away too rapidly for the infantry to overtake them. By 10 o'clock the defeat of the Persians was complete. Two guns were captured; the gun ammunition, laden upon mules, fell into our hands, and at least 700 men lay dead upon the field. The number of wounded could not be ascertained, but it must have been very large. The remainder fled in a disorganised state, generally throwing away their arms, which strewed the field in vast numbers, and nothing but the paucity of our cavalry prevented their total destruction and the capture of the remaining guns.

The troops bivouacked for the day close to the battle-field, and at night accomplished a march of twenty miles (by another route) over a country rendered almost impassable by the heavy rain which fell incessantly. After a rest of six hours, the greater portion of the infantry continued their march to Bushire, which they reached before midnight; thus performing another most arduous march of forty-four miles under incessant rain, besides fighting and defeating the enemy during its progress, within the short period of fifty hours. The cavalry and artillery reached camp this morning.

The result is most satisfactory, and will, I trust, have a very beneficial effect upon our future operations.

The greatest praise is due to the troops of all arms for their steadiness and gallantry in the field, their extraordinary exertions on the march, and their cheerful endurance of fatigue and privation under circumstances of peculiar hardship, rendered doubly severe by the inclemency of the weather, to which they were exposed without shelter of any kind; and I cannot too strongly express the obligation I feel to all under my command, for the almost incredible exertions they have undergone, and the gallantry they have displayed on this occasion.

This affair took place near the village of Khush-áb, not five miles on the road from Barazján to Bushahr—remarkable to the traveller from the long lines of date-trees which abound in the locality. General Outram met with an unfortunate accident at the outset. The troops had been marching slowly for some three hours in pitch darkness, when they were surprised by the sound of musket shots in their rear. Instantly had their leader set off at a gallop to

ascertain whence the disturbance proceeded; his horse fell with, and rolled over its rider, who was stunned with the shock. As expressed in his own despatch, the General recovered only in time to resume his place at the head of the army shortly before the close of the action. 'To Major-General Stalker and Colonel Lugard, chief of the staff,' he wrote, 'is the credit due for successfully guiding our troops to victory on this occasion.' Again, writing to the Governor-General, he expressed his apprehension that he had not done sufficient justice in the despatch to the services of Colonel Lugard, who had been 'invaluable' to him in supplying his own place 'during the two or three hours' he was 'disabled at the most exciting crisis before the break of day. To him,' he continued, 'in aid of General Stalker, we are indebted for preserving our troops in such admirable order while beleaguered in the bivouac, and for placing them in order for the contest so soon as the dawn admitted a view of the enemy's disposition. . . . It was the noise of the commencement of this contest that brought me to my senses.' Much more is added in the same letter, in commendation of his efficient Chief of the Staff.

Our losses were, providentially, small. Lieut. Frankland, Acting Brigade-Major of Cavalry, was killed, Captain Forbes and Lieutenant Greentree were severely wounded, and of the European and native troops engaged, ten were killed and sixty-two wounded.¹ Outram expressed his thanks, for services rendered, to the heads as well as to individual officers

¹ The Governor-General in Council thus publicly notified his appreciation of Sir James Outram's despatch, reporting the operations at Barazjān and Khush-āb:—

'It describes a new success of the British army in Persia, achieved, between the 3rd and the 9th of February, against a force much superior in number, and in the face of the difficulties which have made conspicuous the energy and promptitude of the commander and of the officers associated with him, as well as the courage, discipline, and cheerful endurance of the troops.

'The rapid and toilsome night-marches, deliberately planned and accom-

of the several departments, to Major Taylor on political employ, and to his personal staff (including Lord Dunkellin, a volunteer A.D.C.); and the great obligations he was under to the medical officers for their untiring exertions. 'The rapid retreat of the enemy,' he remarked, 'afforded but little opportunity for deeds of special gallantry;' but the 'successful charges made by the 3rd Cavalry and Poona Horse, under Captain Forbes and Lieutenant-Colonel Tapp, and the very efficient service performed by the Artillery under Lieutenant-Colonel Trevelyan,' merited special notice; and the Brigadiers commanding the 'infantry brigades—Wilson, Stisted, and Honner—with the several commanding officers

plished with precision; the inclement weather, against which no protection of any kind was available to men or officers; the steady resistance to an attack, in circumstances the most trying to the patience and order of an army; and the utter rout and confusion of the enemy, with a very heavy loss, when the morning light enabled our soldiers to discern their assailants—have marked this operation against the Persian entrenched camp at Barazjān, as one of which the force under Sir James Outram's command may well be proud. In the course of it, officers and men have exhibited all the qualities which make an army invincible.

'To Lieutenant-General Sir James Outram, and to his brave companions in arms, the Governor-General in Council desires to offer an early assurance of the warm approbation and thanks which they have so well earned. These are especially due to Major-General Stalker, C.B., and to Colonel Lugard, C.B., chief of the staff, who are described by Sir James Outram as having guided the troops to victory at the time—most happily not of long continuance—during which he was disabled by a severe fall of his horse. But they are due to all of every rank who have taken share in this signally successful exploit, which has called for extraordinary exertions from all, and in which all have borne themselves with gallantry.

'The Governor-General in Council will have the greatest satisfaction in expressing to the Honourable Court of Directors his appreciation of the service rendered, and of the manner in which it was performed.

'The Governor-General in Council has to lament the loss of one gallant young officer—Lieutenant Frankland, of the 2nd European Regiment—who, acting as Brigade-Major of Cavalry, fell dead in the first of the brilliant charges by which our small body of horse on that day distinguished itself. Captain Forbes, commanding the 3rd Regiment of Light Cavalry, and Lieutenant Greentree, of Her Majesty's 64th Regiment, have been severely wounded. But, upon the whole, the casualties on the side of the British force have been few compared with the very heavy loss inflicted upon the enemy, both in men and munitions of war.'

of regiments,' as, 'indeed, every officer and soldier of the force,' had earned his 'warmest approbation.' No less than three officers, among others recommended in the 3rd Bombay Cavalry, afterwards received the Victoria Cross for special gallantry displayed in breaking and riding through the Persian infantry square—said to have been 'perfectly formed' to resist them, on the model of European armies.

We again borrow from Captain Robertson's manuscript, the immediate sequel to the defeat of the Persians on February 8:—

'After the battle of Khush-áb, we halted on the field until five o'clock in the evening, when the march back to Bushire was commenced. At eleven o'clock the next day we reached a mud fort about fifteen or sixteen miles from Bushire, where we halted for about three hours for rest and refreshment, when the march was resumed. Darkness set in when we had completed about half the distance; and, the native guides deserting us, we floundered about on the plain, not knowing where we were going, and nearly famished for want of water. Sir James with some of his staff came out, bringing bullock-*bheesties* with water, and conducted us into Bushire. The whole division was in a very deplorable condition. The boots were dragged from the feet by the mud, so that half at least of the 78th returned barefooted. Next day Sir James, in the most generous manner, issued a new pair of boots to every soldier gratis. These boots, with worsted stockings received from the clothing agent, were worn with the kilt and called "Outrams" by the men.'¹

¹ Sir James Outram's report of this circumstance is contained in the following paragraph of his letter to the Governor-General:—'As we were exposed, during the six days occupied in this expedition, to frequent heavy rains, the troops suffered much discomfort in bivouac, and still greater hardship on the march, owing to the heavy, spongy nature of the ground they traversed—all which they bore with admirable cheerfulness and fortitude. The shoes

But that return march from Barazján has become memorable to more than one narrator in whose mind the figure of Outram is pleasantly conspicuous. The darkness of the night which favoured the Persian attack, while it concealed the features of the doer, has not cast into the shade the deed of kindness which is thus related by Colonel Haldane, late of H.M. 64th Regiment :—

‘Soon after it fell dark, I was walking at the side of my regiment when a horseman rode up to me and inquired why I was not riding. I told him that my pony was carrying the blankets, &c. of myself and a brother officer, and that I had no second horse. He then began questioning me as to how the men liked marching by night instead of by day, and on similar matters. When leaving me, he turned and said, “There is a spare horse of mine behind : if you like to ride it, you are very welcome.” He then rode off. Seeing he was followed by a number of officers, I began to suspect that it was either the General (whom I had not seen before) or one of the Head Quarter Staff. The next instant Hudson, our adjutant, came up and asked me if I knew who had been talking to me, and told me then that it really was Outram himself.

‘A few hours later we were attacked by the enemy. The General had a fall from his horse and was stunned ; the battle of Khush-áb took place, and it might well have been supposed that Sir James would scarcely remember his good-natured offer to one of the subalterns of his army. Yet one afternoon, about three weeks afterwards, I was walking with Captain Morphy through the camp at Bushire, when we met the General, who stopped to speak to my companion, and

of the greater portion of the infantry were literally drawn off their feet in struggling through the mud ; and those which remained were rendered so utterly unserviceable, that I have had to issue a new pair from the stores to every European and Native infantry soldier. This I have done gratis, and I trust it will meet with your Lordship’s approval.’

presently turned to me, and said—"You never got that horse after all!" This proved that not only did he remember the offer made, but that he had actually taken the pains to find out if I had been able to avail myself of his kindness. It was such traits in his character that endeared him to all who had the honour and pleasure of serving under him.'

Yet an extract from an interesting Memoir in the 'Times of India':—

On the expedition to Barazján we were obliged to march in the lightest possible order, no one from the General downwards having a tent, a bed, or other necessaries, save what every one could carry with him, or on his horse. The only exception was poor General Stalker, who, after much persuasion, was induced to take a small *routee*, as he was in bad health at the time. A share of this *routee*—which barely sufficed to cover the two generals—Stalker insisted that Outram should occupy, on the threat that, if he did not, he himself would leave it. The day before we reached our station, we were bivouacked on an open plain, and in the middle of the night it came on to rain violently and continuously. I had thrown my cloak over my head, and was busy trying to get some food for my horse, when I was surprised at meeting the General, without any cover whatever. I said, 'Good heavens, Sir James, what brings you abroad?' His reply was, 'I could not sleep, thinking how the poor Highlanders are faring, and I came out to satisfy myself; will you convey my orders to— (the Commissariat officer) to give them an extra dram in the morning!'

Again, on our return from this expedition, we made a long and harassing march into our camp before Bushire. For the last part of the march, that across the Mashfá, the General and many of the Staff officers preceded the troops. On arrival in camp the General's first care was to go to the tents of the Highlanders, the 64th and 2nd Europeans, to see personally that orders that he had given to have the floors well covered with dry rice straw, were carried into effect, that the men might have a comfortable place to lie down in, on arrival from their march. While thus occupied we heard that some of the troops coming across the Mashfá had got into some confusion, and in the darkness of the night parties of them had lost their way. Heedless of the exertion he had already

undergone, and although he was still suffering from the effects of a fall he had had the night before—which had rendered him insensible for many hours—Outram no sooner heard the report than, mounting his horse, he proceeded to the Mashfla, and, riding back almost to Chahkota, did not content himself till he knew that the last man of the force was in camp: not till then did he seek the repose which the exertions of the foregoing forty-eight hours so much needed.¹

Of course the Persians ludicrously falsified the particulars and general results of the battle at Khush-áb. They gave out that, on being attacked, we had blown up our ammunition, and returned towards the coast, pursued by the victorious army of our opponents. The statement continued that, at nine miles from Bushahr, we had been reinforced; but the Persians, with far less numbers than on our side, ‘rushed forward to the slaughter, fought heroically for four hours, and twice broke through the English square’—adding many other mendacious absurdities.

February, for the remainder of its days, was a month of preparation rather than of visible progress in the campaign against Persia. The result of the battle which had marked its commencement in no way modified the General’s plan of action; and he still believed the most desirable point of new attack would be found up the river at the head of the Gulf. He foresaw exceeding difficulty in attempting to reach the interior by the steep and high passes leading to Shiráz, with the comparatively small force at his disposal, and without transport animals, not obtainable in the neighbourhood of Bushahr; whereas the way to Shustar seemed

¹ There is this also in the Memoir quoted:—‘His thought of and care for the soldiers,’ says one of his staff, ‘was such as is not often felt by Generals for their men. He had during the Persian campaign an orderly bugler, Mackenzie of the 64th. On the line of march I have seen him look down and say: “Mackenzie, you are not smoking.” “No, sir,” would be the answer; “I have no tobacco.” The General’s cheroot case was at once at the bugler’s disposal, and he would stop his horse, and from his own cheroot give a light to Mac-

far more practicable, provided only that Muhamra, where abundant carriage and supplies could be found, were made the base of ulterior operations. Again, he entertained the hope that the capture of the last-named place, which had been strongly fortified, and which the Persians deemed impregnable, might cause the enemy to abandon the conflict altogether.

A passage in a letter to Lord Elphinstone, dated February 15, throws a pleasant light upon his relations with his second in command. 'From General Stalker I receive the most hearty support, and I have indeed every reason to be most grateful to him. Not content with seconding me in command, he insisted on my being his guest and sharing his tent. No brother could be more kind or cordial, and I shall be very sorry to leave him for a time. His position here will be very onerous until reinforced, or until I can return; for, on learning the diminution of the force here, the enemy may be encouraged to come on, though I do not think this immediately likely.' When two Generals are content to live in one tent for weeks, Anglo-Indian officers can hardly be spoken of as luxurious in their requirements! But he was sorely put out by the delay in the arrival of his full reinforcement. He had expected to find at Bushahr, on return from Barazján, the whole of the troops composing his second division, for they were overdue. Disappointment in this expectation was to him a 'source of very serious embarrassment;' and in so expressing himself to the President of the Board of Control, he defined his meaning by very clear and practical reasons. It was only after the first week in March that his letters gave more cheering intelligence. The opening paragraph of one to Lord Canning on the 9th of that month is here reproduced as an admirable example of the attention to essential details which rendered him

so competent a commander of mixed European and native troops :—

To our great delight, on Thursday the 6th instant, three steamers, towing five transports, made their appearance, bringing all the missing infantry (except one company of the Light Battalion), one horse artillery troop, and a troop of the 3rd Cavalry ; and assurance, moreover, from Colonel Jacob, that all the Sindh Horse would be embarked and despatched from Kurrachee by the 1st instant. This, Captain Rennie of the 'Feroze,' who brought the communication, assured me, will ensure their being here by to-morrow or next day, judging, as he does, from the winds which have prevailed for some days past, and relying on the capabilities of the steamers which were ready at Kurrachee to tow the horse transports. I rely, therefore, on having all here by the 12th, if not sooner. And as soon as they begin to make their appearance, I shall re-embark the native troops, and proceed with them on Friday morning to Mohumra, picking up at the entrance of the river the transports containing the artillery and portion of European troops which have been despatched there within the last few days, so as to anchor within the bar for the advantage of being abundantly supplied with good water, our great difficulty with the shipping here. To European troops, remaining on ship-board is no consideration ; but with natives, who cannot cook on board, detention in the vessels is a great hardship. I therefore keep the sepoys till the last. And the two or three days I am thus able to give the latter on shore—especially the 23rd Regiment, which have been a month at sea—will completely set them up. Supposing they might be almost incapacitated physically, after so long an abstinence from cooked food, from satisfactorily working in active service immediately on landing at Mohumra, I had arranged to substitute an equal strength of native troops from General Stalker's division for the 23rd Regiment. But the men are so eager to go on, and are really so strong, declaring that two days' cooking on shore here will fit them for anything, that I have decided on taking them. The only troops I borrow from General Stalker will, therefore, be seven companies of the 64th Regiment and a troop of horse artillery, leaving him three companies of the 78th.

In another letter, written two days later, he acknowledges

the receipt of a minute from the Governor-General which, in his opinion, 'fairly estimates our requirements for operations in the south of Persia, including Shiráz;' and he gratefully thanks Lord Canning for a further communication explaining the circumstances which had rendered necessary his own transfer from Oudh to Rajputana.¹ As regards the latter point, the following extract, if it disclose the workings of a highly sensitive mind, is redolent of honour and unselfishness:—

I cannot but feel convinced that, for the good of Oude and for the interest of Government, it was most necessary that a *permanent* Commissioner should be appointed. I am satisfied, moreover, that those interests could not be better advanced than by the charge of Oude being placed in the very able hands of Sir Henry Lawrence, and I rejoice that he has been selected for, and has undertaken, the duty. Neither could your lordship have sent me to any place or duty more congenial to my tastes than Rajpootana. But, as General Low is aware, I should not myself have sought the change, nor wished it so far as I am personally concerned; for the transfer from so important an office as that of Chief Commissioner of Oude to the less onerous one of Agent in Rajpootana, might be regarded by the public as an evidence that I have been *found wanting*. My present occupation will, however, I trust, preserve me from injurious imputations. But, whether or not, I should be sorry indeed were my personal feelings or interests to be allowed for a moment to stand in the way of an arrangement so obviously calculated for the public good as that which your lordship has found it necessary to make. Even had it been a source of morti-

¹ Haidarabad was open to him had he preferred it. It has already been fully explained by Sir John Kaye, in the first volume of his *Sepoy War*, that the result of the administration of Oudh, as temporarily arranged for by the Governor-General, was such as to render an immediate change necessary. Under the circumstances Lord Canning, who, as we have seen, had considered Sir James Ontram's return to that province even of more importance than his appointment to command the Persian Expedition, wisely asked Sir Henry Lawrence to sacrifice his own inclination to the public service, and exchange the congenial leisure of Rajputana for the ungracious labour of restoring Oudh to the prosperous condition in which his brother 'Political' had left it in May. Worn and weary though he was in mind and body, Sir Henry nobly responded to the call of duty—with what grand results history has attested.

fiction, I should have considered myself more than compensated by the kindly manner in which you have condescended to announce the arrangement to me.

Were there no other evidence on record to prove the fitness of our Indian rulers for the responsible duties devolving upon them, the non-official letters of Lords Canning and Elphinstone addressed to Sir James Outram in the Persian Gulf, during the early months of 1857, would alone go far towards that end. They would establish as an indisputable fact that there were, at least, two British noblemen holding at one and the same time high position in India, who had the requisite mental power to deal with generalities and details; the instinct to hold personal opinions 'thought out' on the best procurable data; the courage to initiate action, on a large or small scale, if convinced that it was right; the discrimination to read individual character, and profit from the reading; a stock of common sense, tact, and experience above the average allotted to their fellow-men; and, with a full knowledge of the uses and abuses of condescension, the great wisdom to rely on those whom they had loved to honour by raising into a sphere of responsibilities almost akin to their own. On the other hand, Outram's letters breathed a loyal and worthy response to the confidence with which he was regarded by his more immediate superiors. The range of subjects on which he was expected to reply to questions put—questions spontaneously suggesting lines of policy or lines of strategy to his mind—was a large one; but his keen eye took in all, and left no spot unnoticed. Besides addressing his correspondents at Calcutta and Bombay, and complying with the necessary local demand on his pen, he despatched home interesting letters to Lord Clarendon, the President of the Board of Control, and his warm friend Colonel Sykes, Chairman of the Court of Directors.

Before embarking for Muhamra, Sir James Outram had

exhaustively reviewed his position, and submitted it to authoritative scrutiny, with reference to further movements. Irrespective of interminable details, which the employment and distribution of troops and transports must always necessitate on active and emergent service, the political element was too much blended with the military in the conduct of the Persian campaign to be ignored at any time; and the sound of drum and fife could not, for an instant, divert the mind of its leader from the many non-professional questions which kept cropping up at every stage of his progress. In his instructive correspondence of those days, Sir James Outram discussed the ways and doings of the Shah, his ministers, governors, and commanders, together with the ways and doings of the Arab tribes bordering on the Persian Gulf; and he described the geographical and general features of those parts of Persia through which it might be desirable to penetrate—dwelling upon their resources, as available to meet military requirements. The views and probable action of France and Russia—more or less factors in Anglo-Oriental politics—and the pertinent topic of our negotiations with Dost Muhammad, were not forgotten;¹ nor was the hypothesis, applicable to the close of the war—that a demand for independence might be made from us by our Arab auxiliaries—deemed a premature consideration.

Both the Governor-General and Lord Elphinstone had been rather disposed to favour an advance on Shiráz than Shustar, but they left the choice in the hands of their commander, well satisfied that he would carefully study all their wishes and suggestions, when determining actual procedure

¹ This one remark in reference to Beluch-Afghan affairs ought not, perhaps, to be passed over:—‘As General Jacob’s plan of permanently holding the Bolan and an advanced post at Quetta cannot be entertained (for which also I must admit my partiality), the arrangement with the Dost is certainly, I think, the most satisfactory our circumstances will admit of.’ It is part of a sentence in a letter to Lord Canning.

upon the spot. Inflexible though he was with regard to the proposed seizure of Muhamra, the detention of his reinforcements by wind and weather, and other unavoidable causes, had rendered him doubtful on the propriety of advancing farther in the same direction; and he thus referred to Major Laughton's memorandum on the subject, which the Governor-General had forwarded for his perusal, in continuation of other papers by a writer whose local knowledge had lent force to his arguments:—

That officer's personal experience in this country entitles his opinions to great weight, and they are by no means slightly regarded by me; but neither his objections to Shuster, nor Major ——'s gigantic conceptions of the force required for the occupation of Shuster, would disincline me from carrying out that operation with the force I originally contemplated, and which I am satisfied would amply suffice after effectually defeating the enemy at Mohumra, as I rely on doing, had not unexpected circumstances entirely changed the features which led me to indulge in the hope of carrying out the measure. The unfortunate delay of our occupation of Mohumra, at least six weeks later than the time I had contemplated—the unexpected strength of armaments preparing by the enemy in front of Bushire, which may call for the return here of the European portion of the 2nd division—the lateness of the season, consequently, before the ascent of the Karoon could be commenced—and, above all, the restrictions which precluded me from embodying the tribes in that quarter (one of the principal objects for going there), all these are a combination of obstacles for which I was not prepared, and which render it very probable I may have to abandon the Shuster plan altogether. In that case, after the seizure of Mohumra, my operations will be probably confined to driving the enemy from below the passes in our front. And it will depend on the strength and condition in which they retreat up the passes, whether or not I follow on to Shiráz, or content myself with holding the low country, and placing the Europeans on the elevated plateau above Barazjoon for the hot months. But, under any circumstances, the hot season must have commenced before the troops here can be equipped to move against the enemy.

The General kept his men fully employed, and made use of the enforced delay in perfecting the defences of the camp, as well as in erecting huts for the Europeans, and pushing on all other work calculated to promote the safety and comfort of his troops. Though he speaks of all departments and ranks as 'working like slaves,' yet he managed to keep every one in good humour, as will be inferred from the following extract from the narrative of the war published by Captain Hunt of the 78th Highlanders:¹—

These nor'-westers, commencing about nine in the morning, usually lasted until sundown, and the delay they necessarily occasioned in the arrival of the transports hourly expected with reinforcements from India, fretted and vexed the General, who was all anxiety for immediate action. Still, though chafed at these untoward circumstances, the troops were not made to suffer, as sometimes occurs, for their leader's disturbed equanimity. Beyond a personal inspection of his entire force, and the presence of division and brigade officers on the private parades of regiments, no extra duties were imposed upon the men, and, to the horror of many a worshipper of the venerated past, the very pipeclay was scrubbed off the belts. Meanwhile, five strong redoubts began to make a formidable appearance; . . . but for the boisterous weather their erection would have been a popular employment, rather than otherwise, among the men.

One of the traits which endeared 'auld Jamie,' as the Highlanders called him, to the men under his command, was his thoughtfulness in communicating any news which was likely to please them, thereby enlisting their sympathetic interest in the details as well as the issue of the campaign. Thus, he had the Persian versions of the actions at Khush-áb and Muhamra at once circulated for the amusement of the army. It is really pleasant to read in his numerous letters of this period the frequently recurring commendations of his subordinates, from General down to

¹ *Outram and Havelock's Persian Campaign*. By Captain G. H. Hunt (Routledge and Co., 1858), pp. 235, 236.

private. Military, naval, and political, all worked with a will, and there are no signs of jarring notes. Even where chafing about the non-arrival of his reinforcements and the mischievous consequences, he takes care to add that no blame must be implied to any one, and that he is certain the Bombay authorities have done their utmost with the means at their disposal.

It was not until March 18 that General Outram himself left Bushahr. From the 4th of that month he had commenced embarking the troops detailed for Muhamra, but the process had been impeded by strong north-westerly gales; and the uncertainty of arrival of long-awaited detachments interfered greatly with the order of the arrangements. For example, the troop of the 3rd Native Cavalry, whose arrival is above mentioned, was added to the onward-going force, in the absence of a large portion of Jacob's horse known to be working up to Bushahr in sailing vessels unaided by steam. Unexpectedly also, a troop of the 14th Dragoons made its appearance, and, being already on ship-board, was in like manner directed to proceed with the expedition. The question arose whether the men of the 3rd might not return to shore; but as cavalry was urgently required for Muhamra, and the missing Sindh horsemen could be retained at Bushahr, the original order was not countermanded. Later reports, however, that the enemy, still hovering about the old quarter, meditated an attack on the latter place, caused Sir James Outram to recall the dragoons and a troop of horse artillery. In accordance with the usual fate of British commanders, his great desideratum—one on which he constantly dwelt—was cavalry. From lack of horsemen his victories were robbed of their results, and his arrangements much embarrassed.¹ General Stalker was to remain in command at Bushahr, with

¹ About 100 sabres of the Southern Maratha Horse embarked for Bushahr in April, under Colonel (now Sir George) Malcolm.

Brigadiers Wilson, Honner, and Tapp, two field-batteries and the mountain-train, the entire cavalry of the 1st division, three companies each from H.M. 64th and Highlanders, the 4th Rifles, 20th Native Infantry, and the Baluch battalion. Sir James would take with him the remainder of his troops—roughly, some four thousand men—those left for the defence of Bushahr counting about three thousand.

But the expedition was destined to start under a mournful cloud. The death of General Stalker occurred four days prior to Outram's departure. Such a calamity was keenly felt by the many friends of the popular and lamented officer, and by none more than their chief, who wrote to Lord Elphinstone on March 15, that they had 'lived together like brothers' in the same tent to the last—during the whole time he had been at Bushahr. His letter concluded with these words:—'I write with a sore heart, under the grievous affliction we are now suffering. The funeral this morning, attended by the entire force, was a most melancholy display. My amiable, kind-hearted comrade was beloved by all.' Consequent upon this casualty, Brigadier-General Jacob, who had landed on the day of its occurrence, was placed in command at Bushahr. Only two days later the Persian Gulf Expedition had to deplore the loss of another officer holding high position in it—Commodore Ethersey, commanding the naval squadron, an able and much-esteemed public servant.

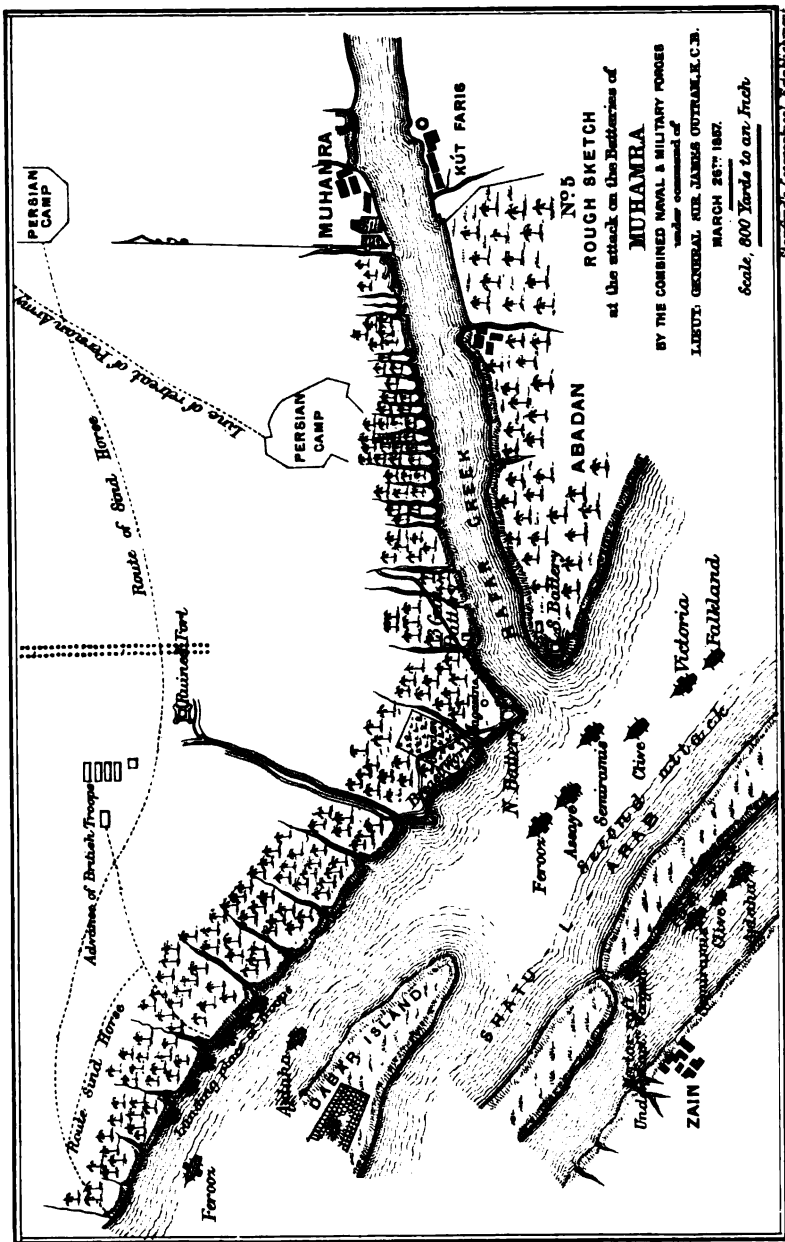
On the evening of March 21, the 'Feroze,' with Sir James Outram on board, reached the anchorage inside the Shatu-l-Arab, having been detained by strong north-westerly winds prevalent at this season, and almost throughout the year in these waters. Some notion of the shallowness of the Gulf in its upper part may be obtained from the fact that between Bushahr and the telegraph station at the entrance of the 'Shat'—a distance of 174 miles—the greatest depth recorded for the submarine cable is twenty-eight fathoms.

Two or three of the vessels which had preceded the 'Feroze' with troops, had grounded on the bar at the mouth of the river, and one with the Sindh Horse was, at the time of its arrival, still in that unpleasant predicament. Reporting this untoward circumstance to Lord Elphinstone, Outram expressed the hope that they would be off in time to move up some forty miles on the day following and attack Muhamra on March 25.¹ It was not, however, until the morning of March 26 that he could actually commence operations; but about mid-day on that date, the Persian army, demoralised by the admirably directed fire of the Indian navy, 'evacuated their entrenched position and camp, leaving behind all their tents standing, with nearly the whole of their property, public and private, all their ammunition, and seventeen guns.' The official account, thus given in the Lieutenant-General's despatch to the Commander-in-Chief at Bombay, is sufficiently graphic to be adopted as our narrative of this brilliant episode in the national annals:—

For some months past, the Persians had been strengthening their position at Mohumra; batteries had been erected of great strength, of solid earth, twenty feet thick and eighteen feet high, with casemated embrasures, on the northern and southern points of the banks of the Karoon and Shat-ool-Arab, where the two rivers join. These, with other earthworks armed with heavy ordnance, commanded the entire passage of the latter river, and were so skil-

¹ Muhamra, as described by Lieutenant Ballard, 'lies on the north side of the river Karun, close to its junction with the Shatu-l-Arab, here from 600 to 800 yards wide. It is about 30 miles from the sea. There were no defences at the mouth of the river: but for a quarter of a mile, both above and below the junction of the Karun, some excellent earthworks had been thrown up, and were lined with artillery and musketry. To take Muhamra it was necessary to sail up the Shatu-l-Arab past the embouchure of the Karun, and land the troops on the left bank, so that a very heavy fire would be encountered from these defences. The left or east bank of the Shatu-l-Arab, for 60 miles from its mouth, belongs to Persia, the right bank to Turkey, which further up possesses both sides.' . . . 'Had the Persian gunners worked their guns properly, the vessels ought never to have passed the embouchure of the Karun.'





fully and judiciously placed, and so scientifically formed, as to sweep the whole stream to the extent of the range of the guns up and down the river, and across to the opposite shore. Indeed, everything that science could suggest, and labour accomplish in the time, appears to have been done by the enemy to effectually prevent any vessel passing up the river above their position. The banks for many miles were covered by dense date-groves, affording the most perfect cover for riflemen, and the opposite shore being neutral territory (Turkish) was not available for the erection of counter-batteries.

The accompanying rough sketch ¹ will, I fear, give your Excellency but a faint idea of the great strength of the Persian position, and the difficulty of successfully attacking them in it without very considerable loss. I could have landed my troops on the Island of Abadan, which was strongly occupied by the Persians; and there is no doubt that, after defeating them, the southern battery eventually would have fallen to us; but the several batteries on the northern bank of the Karoon commanded the entire southern bank as well as the stream of the Shat-ool-Arab, and it would have been a serious and an extremely difficult operation to have crossed the rapid current of the Karoon in the face of the enemy, had the means existed of doing so; but until our small steamers and boats could round the southern point and join us, we should have been helpless.

After mature deliberation, I resolved to attack the enemy's batteries with the armed steamers and sloops of war, and, as soon as the fire was nearly silenced, to pass up rapidly with the troops in small steamers towing boats, land the force two miles above the northern point, and immediately advance upon and attack the entrenched camp.

I have now the very great satisfaction of announcing to your Excellency the complete success of the first two operations; the third, to the regret of the army, being frustrated by the precipitate flight of the enemy.

The Persian army, ascertained from credible report to amount to 13,000 ² men of all arms, with thirty guns, was commanded by the Shahzada, Prince Khanler Meerza, in person. The British

¹ Reproduced and attached.

² Cavalry irregulars, 1,600; 9 regiments regulars, 700 each, 6,300; Arabs and Bakhtiaris and Baluchis, 4,600; gunners, 600; total, 13,000

force under my command composed as follows,¹ was the utmost I deemed it prudent to withdraw from Bushire; but with the aid of four armed steamers and two sloops of war to effect my landing, I felt confident of success, although I anticipated some loss from what I learnt of the determination expressed by the enemy to oppose our further advance to the utmost of their power, and their extreme confidence of succeeding, as evinced by the fact of their having sent away their baggage cattle.

On the 24th instant, the steamers, with transport ships in tow, moved up the river to within three miles of the southern battery, opposite the Arab village of Hurteh; but as some of the large ships shoaled on the way, and did not reach the rendezvous until after dark, I was obliged to defer the attack for another day. During the night a reconnaissance was made in a boat to ascertain the nature of the soil of an island west of, and immediately opposite, the northern battery, where I wished to erect a mortar battery; but, as it was found to be deep mud, I determined to place the mortars upon a raft. This was constructed the following day, under the superintendence of Captain Rennie, I.N., and being armed with two 8-inch and two 5½-inch mortars, with a party of artillery under Captain Worgan, was towed by the steamer 'Comet,' and moored in position close to the island during the night, unobserved by the enemy, who, from our preparations at the rendezvous, and their confidence as to the impossibility of any vessel being able to pass above their batteries, apparently expected that we should land on the southern island (Abadan). The horses and guns of the artillery, a portion of the cavalry, and the infantry were transhipped into boats and small steamers during the day, in readiness for landing the following morning.

At break of day on the 26th, the mortars opened their fire upon both the northern and southern batteries. The range of the 5½-inch proved too short, but the 8-inch shells were very efficient bursting immediately over and inside the enemy's works; whilst, from the position of the raft, but few of the Persian guns could be brought to bear upon the mortars.

At 7 o'clock the several vessels of war moved up into the posi-

¹ H.M. Light Dragoons, 89; Sind Horse, 308; H.M. 64th Foot, 704; 78th Highlanders, 830; 23rd Regiment N.I., 749; 26th do., 716; Light Battalion, 920; Bombay Sappers and Miners, 109; Madras ditto, 124; 12 guns 3rd troop Horse Artillery, 166; No. 2 Light Field Battery, 176; total, 4,886.

tion allotted them by Commodore Young, and by 9 o'clock the fire of the heavy batteries was so reduced, that the small steamers, with boats in tow, and one large steamer, the 'Pottinger,' towing the transport, 'Golden Era,' were able to pass up and land the troops above the northern battery, without a single casualty amongst the troops, although they had to run the gauntlet of both gun and musket fire. Two or three native followers only were killed, in consequence of their unnecessarily exposing themselves.

By half-past one o'clock the troops were landed and formed, and advanced without delay through the date-groves and across the plain upon the entrenched camp of the enemy, who, without waiting for our approach, fled precipitately, after exploding their largest magazine, leaving, as I have before stated, their tents and baggage, public and private stores, with several magazines of ammunition, and sixteen guns, behind. The want of cavalry prevented my pursuing them as I could have wished; but I despatched a party of Sindh Irregular Horse, under Captain Malcolm Green, to follow them up for some distance. This officer reported that he came upon their rearguard retiring in good order; but that the road in many places was strewn with property and equipments. The loss of the Persians has been estimated at 200 killed, among whom was an officer of rank and estimation, Brigadier Agha Jan Khan, who fell in the northern battery.

I beg to annex a report received from Commodore Young, with copy of a letter I had previously caused to be addressed to that officer, expressing my entire satisfaction with the naval operations. Indeed, it was impossible for my instructions to have been more ably or more successfully carried out; and the Commodore, and every officer and man under his command, have nobly earned my warmest thanks. From Commodore Young, ably seconded by Captain Rennie and the other officers of the fleet and masters of transports, I have throughout received every possible assistance.

With exception of the artillery, with the mortar battery under Captain Worgan, no portion of the military force was actively engaged with the enemy, beyond some European riflemen sent on board the war vessels; but I am not the less indebted to all for their exertions and zeal, and especially for the great order and despatch with which the landing of the troops was effected under Brigadier-General Havelock, C.B. The highest spirit prevailed; and had the large Persian army only awaited our approach out of

the range of the ship's guns, I feel confident that it would have received a lasting lesson.

From recent information I learn that the Persian force, in a very disorganised state, is still in full retreat, and I propose to despatch immediately, up the Karoon to Ahwaz, three small armed steamers, with 100 European infantry in each, for the purpose of making a reconnaissance, and, if practicable, effecting the destruction of the magazines at that place.

I take this opportunity of recommending to your Excellency's notice Colonel Lugard, C.B., the chief, and the several officers of my general and personal staff, the Brigadier-General, the brigadiers and their respective staff, as also the officers commanding the several regiments, batteries, and detachments of cavalry, and heads of departments composing this force, upon whom much responsibility has devolved, and whose zeal and exertions throughout this expedition have been most praiseworthy.

To Captain Kemball, Bombay Artillery, Consul-General at Baghdad, I am much indebted for his very valuable assistance, also to Major Taylor, as well as to Lords Dunkellin, Seymour, and Schomberg Kerr, who volunteered their services on my staff.

Large quantities of flour, grain, dates, and chopped straw for fodder, were found in the abandoned camps, and distributed among the troops and followers. Extensive magazines of flour, wheat, and barley were also discovered within the town of Muhamra, over which guards were placed until their contents could be examined and verified. There fell, moreover, into the victors' hands, much ammunition, in addition to the contents of the exploded magazines; and the captured guns were fine ones. Commodore Young's report of his proceedings was highly creditable to himself, and every officer under him. The following extracts show the number of casualties, and the nature of the work assigned in this operation to the naval squadron:—

So effective was the fire from the ships, that in less than three quarters of an hour from its commencement, the batteries were only able to reply from three or four guns. At this period (7.45 A.M.) of the engagement, the 'Feroze,' flying my pendant, hoisted

the rendezvous flag at the mast-head, which was repeated by the other vessels engaged, the preconcerted signal for the troop-ships to advance.

This movement on the part of the vessels in question not being made with such celerity as could be desired, Commander Rennie, of the '*Feroze*,' volunteered to proceed through the fire to accelerate that advance, which was accomplished in admirable order, although at the time the fire from the batteries was far from being silenced.

From between nine and ten o'clock five heavy explosions in different parts of the fortifications indicated the overwhelming nature of the attack, and led me to suppose that the resistance hitherto afforded could not much longer continue. I was, therefore, anxious to have the troops landed as expeditiously as a due regard to their security would allow, so that a combined and simultaneous movement by the naval and military forces might be made with the certainty of a successful issue, and, with this view, passed up the river, until close to Jaber's Fort, where the disembarkation was effected easily and without interruption.

After the batteries had ceased firing artillery, a fire of musketry was opened from them, as well as from breastworks in their vicinity, and maintained with great spirit for some time; when storming parties were landed from the '*Semiramis*,' '*Clive*,' '*Victoria*,' and '*Falkland*,' who drove before them the last of the enemy, and took possession of their works and guns.

Considering the strength of the fortifications both as regards position and construction, with a numerous garrison, and the large number of guns which could be brought to bear on the ships, in consequence of their closeness to the enemy's defences, which were likewise strengthened by breastworks occupied by large bodies of small-arm men, whose fire was at times annoying, I am thankful to say the casualties sustained by the squadron during the engagement amounted only to five killed and eighteen wounded.

Before concluding, he thus addressed himself more personally to Sir James :—

Allow me to acknowledge the many obligations I owe you for the great assistance you afforded me in maturing and facilitating measures that appeared likely to conduce to the success of the enterprise. My thanks are also due to your staff for the complete-

ness with which every arrangement was made for the immediate landing of the troops in a state fit for active service.

I feel confident that although the victory was a naval one, it would not have been so complete but for the sight of the imposing force with which the enemy felt he must soon come in hopeless contact, unless he made an immediate retreat.

Though the affair at Muhamra was attended with but little loss on our side, a very different result might have been foretold. The captain of a French frigate ('*La Sybille*'), who had visited the place some weeks prior to the attack, informed Lord Elphinstone, on arrival at Bombay, that, while believing in our final success, he was of opinion that we should lose two or three ships in carrying out our contemplated operations, so formidable were the batteries which had been raised on the banks of the river. The Governor, when acquainting Outram with the French officer's opinion, implored him not to be too rash; but the note conveying the injunction did not reach its destination until some days after the defeat and flight of the Persian forces.

To Dr. Badger we are indebted for the following interesting particulars :—

'In planning the attack on Mohammerah, Outram had determined to be in the leading ship. Several of his staff ventured to expostulate with him on the subject, pointing out the risk which he would run, and the disastrous effect of his loss to the future conduct of the expedition; but their expostulations were in vain. There was only one chance of turning him from his purpose, and one of his most confidential friends determined to try it. Knowing that to expatiate on the danger attending the step would only confirm Outram in his decision to take it, he wisely forbore all allusion to personal risk, and adroitly appealed to a trait in his character which was always open to impression—his generosity. No sooner was it suggested to him that his presence with the

leading ship might deprive the Commodore and the Indian navy generally of some of the honour which was to be won, than he immediately changed his purpose, and arranged to follow in the "Scindian," after the forts had been battered by the men-of-war.

'Outram, however, did not thereby place himself beyond personal danger. As the different vessels moved up the river, they were exposed to the fire of several field-pieces which the Persians had detached to arrest their progress, and to frequent volleys of musketry from behind the mud wall which enclosed the date-groves on its banks. The "Scindian," carrying the old Indian jack, or gridiron, as the sailors call it, was specially marked for these attacks. A round shot from one of their guns struck down Captain (now Sir Henry) Havelock's servant and killed him on the spot, and a musket ball was prevented from wounding Outram's foot by a lucky *hookah* which happened to stand before him. Outram at the time was calmly surveying the movements of the enemy on shore, lowering his glass every now and then to order the men—who belonged to her Majesty's glorious 64th Regiment and who would be peering above the bulwarks—not to expose themselves. He had hardly uttered the words: "Down, men of the 64th," when a shower of balls from the shore rattled over the deck, happily missing the General, whose whole person was exposed to the assailants. "They have put your pipe out," was his only remark, addressing himself to his friend who had been smoking the *hookah*, quite unconscious of the danger which he had escaped.'

It having been ascertained that the Persian troops had retreated to Ahwaz, a town about one hundred miles up the Karun river, where they had magazines and supplies, Sir James Outram resolved upon following up the capture of Muhamra by an immediate move thither. From the shore

which Captain Hunt took in this expedition, his published account of it has become all the more attractive. We now subjoin Sir James's official report :—

In my despatch, dated the 27th ultimo, I announced to your Excellency my intention of immediately despatching up the Karoon River, to Ahwaz, an armed flotilla, being the only means I had of effecting a distant reconnaissance, owing to the total want of baggage cattle ; but as the steamers had to be coaled, and seven days' provisions for the troops put on board, whilst all were busily engaged disembarking tents and stores from the transports, some little delay occurred, and it was not until the afternoon of the 29th that the party could be despatched.

The flotilla I placed under the immediate command of Captain Rennie, I.N., aided by Captain Kemball, political agent in Turkish Arabia, who zealously undertook the political conduct of the expedition. Captain Hunt, 78th Highlanders, commanded the military detachment, and Captain Wray, deputy quartermaster-general, and Captain M. Green, my military secretary, accompanied the expedition, for the purpose of reporting upon the country in the vicinity of Ahwaz.

My instructions to Captain Rennie were ' to steam up to Ahwaz, and act with discretion, according to circumstances. Should the Persian army have arrived, and apparently be prepared to make a determined stand, the party was to return after effecting the reconnaissance ; but in the event of the enemy having proceeded beyond Ahwaz, or if they continued their flight on seeing our steamers (as I fully expected they would under the impression that the flotilla was the advanced guard of the British army), it was my desire that the party should land and destroy the magazines and stores which the Persians had collected.'

By the annexed reports from Captains Rennie and Wray, which I have the honour to submit, your Excellency will learn how admirably my instructions have been carried out, and the complete success which has attended the energetic and judicious measures adopted by all concerned. Indeed, it is impossible to calculate upon the advantages which must ensue from the successful result of this expedition, in the effect it will have upon the Arab tribes, who, in crowds, witnessed the extraordinary scene of a large army of 7,000 infantry, with five or six guns, and a host of cavalry, pre-

capitately retreating before a detachment of 300 British infantry, three small steamers, and three gunboats.

I feel that I cannot sufficiently express to your Excellency the great obligation I am under to the several officers and men of the expedition.

Captain Rennie, Indian Navy, whose gallant conduct at the bombardment of Mohumra I so recently recorded, has again earned my highest praise and warmest thanks for the able manner in which he has conducted the expedition.

Captain Kemball on this, as on every occasion of difficulty and danger upon which I have required his services, has rendered me most valuable assistance, and materially contributed to the success of the expedition by his counsel and energy. Great praise is also due to Captain Hunt, 78th Highlanders, who so successfully carried out the military operations; to Captain Wray, deputy quartermaster-general, and Captain M. Green, my military secretary, for the parts they so ably performed; and to all the officers and men employed in the expedition. I have to thank them all, and beg to recommend those specially named to your Excellency's notice.

It is only fair to the officers and men concerned, to add the General's non-official testimony to the gallantry exhibited in, as to the advantages derived from, the above reported exploit communicated to his friend, Mr. Mangles, who had succeeded Colonel Sykes as Chairman of the Court of Directors:—

A more daring feat is not on record perhaps than that of a party of 300 infantry, backed by three small river boats, following up an army of some 8,000 men, braving it by opening fire, and deliberately landing and destroying the enemy's magazines, and capturing one of his guns, in face of his entire army, and actually compelling that army to fly before them, and then occupying for three whole days the position they had compelled the enemy to vacate! The effect will be to clear Kuzzistan entirely of the Persians; and the entire province, including Shuster and Dizpheel, is now at our command. And the Persians will never make head again in the province, for they have neither troops, nor guns, nor stores, nor munitions of war, wherewith to reinforce and supply their troops in this quarter. Whether, therefore, we occupy

Ahwaz, or Shuster, the Persians will certainly leave the province altogether, in apprehension of an attack from our army. So gallant an adventure, attended with such important results, merits—you will, I think, agree with me in this opinion—marked distinction for the principal parties concerned, Captain Rennie (now officiating Commodore), Captain Kembell, and Captain Hunt, and also Captains Wray and Malcolm Green.

Practically, the war was ended. On the very day the expedition returned from Ahwaz, the unexpected news that peace with Persia had been concluded on March 4 reached Sir James Outram by express from Baghdad, and was promulgated as soon as received. In a note to the President of the Board of Control he speaks of this as ‘very gratifying, if we have secured all the advantages by treaty which we are now in a position to demand;’ and adds: ‘I had just prepared an elaborate review of the proposed treaties as submitted by Mr. Murray—annotations by Sir Justin Shiel—comments by Lord Clarendon, the Board of Trade, &c. &c., from all which I had compiled the terms which I myself recommend. All may be now useless, but I forward my despatch, notwithstanding, in case only the preliminaries of peace may have yet been settled, in which event my propositions may meet consideration, for they have been framed with great care and in a just spirit.’ But before dismissing from our minds the events of a campaign which, being but a brief interlude between the all-absorbing military dramas of the Crimea and the Indian Mutiny, the English public have almost ignored—we may well allow the victor to review the actual position at the close of his Persian command. He thus writes to Mr. Murray on April 23:—

The previous official announcement of peace, received here on the night of the 4th April, of course, tied our hands, and saved the Prince’s army from unconditional capitulation, which must have followed the advance of this division to Ahwaz (if not to Shuster itself); for the inhabitants of Shuster and Dizphool

would probably have risen against their oppressors at our approach (as, indeed, we received intimation they proposed doing), but, without any such compulsion, their dread of our advance against them would, there can be no doubt, have induced proffers of surrender in their dispirited state, conscious as they are of their inability to stand against us (even had they the pluck), as they are devoid of ammunition and supplies; and they would prefer the alternative of surrender to us to running the gauntlet of the tribes in any endeavour to retire towards Booroojid. They have scarcely any musket ammunition even left wherewith to defend themselves. . . .

Knowing that this division would meet with no opposition, I had arranged to send it up to Ahwaz, under command of Havelock, there to be guided by the information Kamball would obtain regarding the state of the enemy whether or not to push on to Shuster—and the information we have since received makes it certain that the occupation of Shuster (and Dizphool) would have been effected without opposition; consequently, Havelock would certainly have advanced, and the surrender of the Persian army must have ensued. I myself arranged to return to Bushire (sending back the 64th there) to attack the Sirkesheechee Bashee¹; and from the information we now have of the position he has taken up at Naneezuk, there can be little doubt that we could have cut off his retreat by the cavalry dashing round to his rear when attacked by our artillery and infantry from the front. Of the result there can be no doubt—thirty more guns added to our store, and another army captured or destroyed: a very satisfactory termination of our short campaign.

No discretionary power has been left to me to send back any portion of the army to India; and, perhaps, slippery as Persian diplomatists so notoriously are, it is as well to husband all our strength in Southern Persia until the Shah has really ratified the treaty. But I should have preferred all troops, beyond those who can be maintained in Bushire, being located at Kurrachee (whence they could be brought back in time for farther operations should they be necessary) to keeping them here. As it is, I am compelled to leave the 2nd division in this neighbourhood, for we cannot accommodate more troops at Bushire.

¹ As now rendered, 'Sar-kashakchi-báshi'—Commander of the Guard. His force had been estimated in February at about 27,000 men, including 31 regiments of regular infantry, and a numerous body of cavalry, with 85 guns. But Sir James knew that many of the guns must be left above the passes.

Notwithstanding the changed aspect of the political horizon and the consequent stop put to all contemplated measures of aggression, an immediate withdrawal of the British troops from Persia would have been dangerous and impolitic. Lord Clarendon's instructions involved their detention until the three months assigned for execution of the ratifications had expired, and effect had been given to the stipulations of the treaty regarding Herat and Afghanistan, and the due reception of the British mission at Teheran. Despatching, therefore, the 64th Regiment and his troop of the 14th Light Dragoons to Bushahr, the General had no option but to find out the healthiest locality in the neighbourhood of Muhamra, and hurry on arrangements for getting the remainder of his force under substantial cover. Muhamra was no place in which to detain Europeans unnecessarily ; but after careful examination of other spots, it was found, after all, the best available—access to the higher grounds, or originally contemplated summer quarters, having been cut off by the peace. His letters are at this time full of carefully weighed criticisms of localities and expressions of anxiety for the health and comfort of his men, who continued singularly healthy in spite of the rapidly increasing heat. He explains how he proposes to extemporise quarters for the Europeans, double roofed, and well ventilated, with 'tatties' to temper the fiery air ; how efficient huts for the sepoy's can be contrived ; and how he will roof in some of the transports in order to provide cool barracks for the sickly. Supply of forage for the baggage cattle, and the detention of a fleet of vessels, were very serious considerations. Nor did what some may deem minor matters escape him, even down to mosquito curtains for the men. Last not least, we find : ' In order to foster and maintain the spirit of the troops by useful and healthful recreation, I have also applied for a supply of books and games. And the necessary duties and exercises of the divi

sion will be carried out so as to entail as little exposure to the sun as possible.' In short, his letters continue full of interesting details, illustrative both of the writer's own characteristics, and of the varied requirements involved in such a campaign. Happily, the efficiency of his expedients had not to be tested.

In the end of April he visited Karak and Bushahr, with the same object in view, of providing healthy shelter for the force. On arrival at the latter place he heard such satisfactory accounts of the progress of negotiations with the Persian authorities that he had almost made up his mind to act upon his own responsibility, and despatch at least two-thirds of his Europeans to Karachi forthwith, when the arrival of opportune letters from Bombay, expressing a desire for the return of all European troops that could be spared, relieved him of further anxiety, and enabled him to carry out his wishes with a clear mind.

He had judged rightly that the crushing blow at Muhamra would be enough for the Shah, and that his Majesty's sole desire would be to ratify and fulfil the favourable terms of the treaty as promptly as possible. Captain Hunt mentions that the Shahzâda, in trepidation as to Sir James's further intentions, sent a messenger to Muhamra to inquire whether he was aware of the satisfactory issue of negotiations; and that the General's 'curt and soldierly reply was that, had he not been aware of it, he should have been at Shuster to beat up his quarters days before.'

After securing General Jacob's consent to remain in command on his own eventual departure to India, he returned to Muhamra; and on May 17, its abandonment having been effected, he proceeded to Baghdad, to arrange, as stated in a despatch to Lord Clarendon, 'the formation of the mission to be deputed to Herat to see the evacuation of that fortress and district carried out by the Persians; and, in con

junction with Captain Kemball, to take measures for the disposal and discharge of such portions of the animals and establishments of the land transport corps as are not required at Bushire.' On June 9 he left Baghdad for Bushahr, and on June 17 finally bade adieu to Persia, reaching Bombay on June 26.

An instance of the enthusiasm of the troops for Sir James occurred as the 78th Highlanders were leaving Muhamra for India.¹ They had been inspected by him in the morning, as also by Brigadier-General Havelock commanding the division; but the men could not leave without taking a special farewell of their gallant chief. They had intimated their wish through their officers, and Colonel Stisted had arranged with one of Sir James's staff that the General should be detained in his tent to receive them: otherwise, from his known objection to such demonstrations, it was feared he might evade them. Towards evening the sound of the bagpipes announced the approach of that fine regiment, and Sir James was apprised of the fact. After some persuasion he consented to come forth; but no sooner was he seen by the men than they burst out into a cheer such as British soldiers only can give. Outram attempted to address them, but his sentences were interrupted by renewed outbursts which so much affected him that he could scarcely speak. An Italian officer in the service of the Pasha of Baghdad, who was an eye-witness of this scene, remarked to an officer of the force that he should be sorry to command a whole division of Persians against one regiment of Highlanders!

On the threshold of an even more stirring passage of this eventful career, and at the close of a chapter already too long, we must content ourselves with referring the reader to the Appendix for a few selections from the complimentary orders

¹ Again are we indebted to the Rev. Dr. Badger for this anecdote.

and notices incidental to the close of a successful campaign,¹ and only give here Lord Clarendon's final letter intimating the bestowal upon the General of the highest rank of the Bath :—

‘Foreign Office, July 11, 1857.

‘I have great satisfaction in conveying to you, by command of the Queen, her Majesty's entire approval of the zeal, judgment, and ability which you have shown throughout the whole of the operations in the south of Persia in which you have been engaged; and her Majesty is convinced that if the war had not been happily brought to an early conclusion by the treaty of March 4, she could have fully relied on your zeal, and on the courage and devotedness of the army under your command, for the continued prosecution, to a successful issue, of the military operations which might have been found necessary to induce the Government of Persia to agree to a just and honourable peace.

‘Her Majesty has received, with peculiar satisfaction, your reports of the exemplary conduct, on all occasions, of the forces employed under your orders; and it is her desire that you take the proper steps for making known to them her gracious approval of their conduct.

‘I am happy to add that her Majesty has been graciously pleased to signify her intention of conferring upon you the honour of the Grand Cross of the Bath, in testimony of her approbation of your conduct in Persia.’

It need hardly be said that the approval of the Indian authorities was intimated in unqualified terms, while Sir James on his part was deeply sensible of the unvarying confidence and support accorded to him by his superiors both in the East and West. At the same time he freely acknowledged that, in regard to one contemplated measure, Lord

¹ Appendix L.

Canning had been right and he himself wrong, and added a cordial expression of thanks to the Governor-General for his considerate disposal of the matter. A brief quotation from an article in the *Times* of June 12, 1857, adverting to the terms of the Persian treaty then just published, and remarking upon the apathy of the public in regard to such things, may sum up these brief glimpses of a campaign which under other circumstances would have been considered by no means unimportant:—‘Why, then, has it passed unread, or been perused with a listlessness that failed to catch the points? Merely because people look elsewhere for the results of the war. We have struck a blow at Persia; we have invaded her territory; we have evidently frightened her out of her wits, and let her know what we can do, and what we are certain to do, if necessary. The expedition has done its own work—written its own peace; and happily some of its text is much more recent than that of the treaty before us, besides being written in a stronger hand and somewhat brighter colours. Sir James Outram has been the real negotiator, and no one can mistake or forget what he means.’

Providential indeed was the close of the Persian war. The very day Lord Elphinstone heard of the signature of Peace, on April 6, he took steps to recall the Madras Fusiliers who had just sailed for Bushahr, in order, as it turned out, that they might be in time to save Banáras and Allahabad under their own prompt Colonel—Neill. And little did Outram suppose when he last shook hands with Havelock at Muhamra, and when he rejoiced to get the 64th and the 78th away, in good condition, from Persian sun and Gulf fever, that he was sending them all to toil under deadlier influences at Kánhpur—destined to stem the tide of rebellion by victories which their opportune arrival alone rendered possible.

The tempest which had burst upon British India had not taken Outram by surprise, though the vehemence and magnitude of it appalled him like everyone else. The following extracts show what thoughts and what schemes must have occupied his mind as he impatiently steamed past the barren shores of Arabia, hurrying to Bombay, in accordance with Lord Elphinstone's summons and his own conviction 'that every available servant of the State is urgently required in India.'

The 'mutterings of the storm' are noted in a letter to Lord Elphinstone of April 27, 1857:—

The mutinous spirit so extensively displayed in the Bengal army is a very serious matter, and is the consequence of the faulty system of its organisation, so different from that of Bombay, where such insubordination is scarcely possible; for with us, the intermediate tie between the European officers and the men—i.e. the native officers—is a loyal efficient body, selected for their superior ability, and gratefully attached to their officers in consequence. Their superior ability naturally exercises a wholesome influence over the men, among whom no mutinous spirit could be engendered without their knowledge, and the exertion of their influence to counteract it; whereas the seniority system of the Bengal army supplies neither able nor influential native officers—old imbeciles merely, possessing no control over the men, and owing no gratitude to their officers, or to the Government, for a position which is merely the result of seniority in the service.

I pointed this out to Lord Dalhousie once, who told me he had seriously considered the matter, and had consulted some of the highest officers of the Bengal army, who, one and all, deprecated any attempt to change the system, as a dangerous innovation. Whatever the danger, it should be incurred, the change being gradually introduced; for, as at present constituted, the Bengal army never can be depended on.

In forwarding from Baghdad to Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, Mr. Frere's intimation of the outbreak, dated May 18 and 20, he concludes, with a full grasp of the situation, 'All

the troops England can furnish will be required to restore our power in India; and I presume the troops destined for China will be required at Madras and Calcutta. . . . It will occur to your Lordship how advantageous it would be to send troops through Egypt, which the Sultan and Said Pacha might permit, perhaps, if without arms. The regiments destined for the next Indian relief might thus be sent. I mention this in the hope you may suggest the measure.'

Addressing Mr. Mangles on the same day, June 8, he adds the personal view of a son, husband, and father:—

I myself am more shocked than surprised; for I have long dreaded something of the sort, and you may recollect I told you of the warning I gave to Lord Canning when I was last in Calcutta, when I suggested that measures should be adopted for the better security of Allahabad. We know not yet what may have happened to the eastward of Delhi, but I shall not be at all surprised if that strong fortress, with all its valuable stores and war munitions, has fallen into the hands of the insurgents. That would indeed be a climax to our misfortunes, more serious even than their seizure of Delhi; for while held by an enemy there can be no communication between Bengal and the Upper Provinces, and a very large army will be required to retake it; while its occupation by an enemy will raise Benares and the whole country against us, and encourage an invasion from the Nepaulese probably.

To add to the anxiety I feel on public grounds, I am tortured by fears for my wife and son. He is stationed at Allyghur, and she was with him when I last heard from her in the middle of May, but expected to leave for Landour in ten days. At that time all was tranquil in that quarter, but ere she could leave most probably the country may have risen, and God only knows what may have been her fate. It is dreadful to contemplate.

I enclose a letter for my mother, which I beg you will kindly forward. Of course to her I do not let it appear that there is any cause of anxiety—but should she become acquainted with their danger, she also may become a victim. At her age (nearly eighty) such anxieties could ill be borne.

Harassed as I am by my feelings, you will, I am sure, excuse a long letter.

And on the eve of his departure from Bushahr he gives his latest intelligence :—

My wife and son had a narrow escape from Allyghur. Her letters, dated only two days before her flight, described everything there as most favourable to all appearance; but the sepoy^s at last broke out in mutiny, and all Europeans were obliged to fly. Our boy Frank placed his mother behind him on a pony, and carried her safely ¹ till they overtook a carriage on the Agra road, and they made good their way to Agra; but all their kit (including her jewels and some of my medals, &c.) was sacrificed, except the clothes on their backs. Her latest letter was dated 26th May, by which time she had recovered from her fatigues, but was in much anxiety about Frank, who forms one of a band of volunteers who scour the country to rescue isolated Europeans. If Allahabad is saved, and Delhi recovered, Agra may be maintained in quiet; but there is much cause for anxiety, and I shall be on tenter-hooks till I reach Kurrachee to obtain further information.

¹ The pony rebelled against the double burden, and so they had to walk for more than half a mile, through cantonments—the sepoy^s looting the bungalows as they passed. Lady Outram's thin shoes fell off, and her feet were much blistered by the hot sand.

CHAPTER II.

1857.

Summons to India.—Arrival at Bombay and Calcutta.—Appointed to command two divisions of the Bengal Army.—Moves up the river to Banáras, Allahabad, and Kánhpur.—Advance upon Lakhnau.—The troops reach the Residency.

‘WRITE to Sir James Outram, that I wish him to return to India immediately, and the same to General Jacob—we want all our best men here.’ Such was the telegram which Lord Canning addressed to Lord Elphinstone, and which the latter nobleman forwarded to the commander of the Persian Expeditionary Force, with a letter dated June 3, 1857. There was meaning in the words; the crisis was urgent; it was no time for empty compliment; plain truths were shorter, too, than conventional circumlocution. Outram received the summons at Bushahr when arriving at that place on or about the 13th of the month, and he lost no time in re-embarking for Karáchi, accompanied by General Lugard and other officers of the staff. This arrangement would not greatly delay his passage to the Presidency, and would enable him to consult with the Commissioner in Sindh as to the necessity for General Jacob’s immediate return to that province. He could not make up his mind to dispense thus suddenly with the services of an officer so valuable in his position at the head of the troops still in Persia, until he had ascertained what would be the further pleasure of the Indian Government, when made aware of his own particular views on the subject. On June 26, his arrival at Bombay was notified by telegraph to the Governor-General; but no reply to his

repeated request for instructions having reached him, he took the steamer leaving for Galle on July 9, intending to avail himself of the first opportunity to continue his voyage to the Húgli. A few days before this, he had arranged a carriage *dák* to Dhúlia in Khandesh, whence he was to make his way to Mão and so on to his head-quarters as Political Agent in Rajputána; but the spread of the insurrection in Western India had compelled him to change his plans; and as the prevalence of the monsoon was opposed to his passage to Gujrat by sea, he determined to proceed at once to Calcutta. Thence he hoped to reach Agra in a week; and from Agra his further course would be guided by circumstances.¹

While awaiting orders at Bombay, under the Governor's hospitable roof, his attention was naturally engaged in gaining every information on the rebellion, which had already assumed formidable proportions, and in discussing those measures which appeared the more practical for its early suppression. Nor was his action at this time confined to personal consultation with Lord Elphinstone, with whom, as we have already seen, he had been in such constant correspondence during the Persian campaign. His official letter to the Governor, dated July 7, makes the sensible proposition that, instead of increasing the strength of native infantry regiments, as then determined, by 200 men added to the ranks, two supernumerary companies, to be afterwards embodied, should be raised for each. The promotion of native commissioned and non-commissioned officers entailed hereby would be but a just acknowledgment, it was argued, of the loyalty shown by the local troops, and the

¹ After Sir James Outram's departure from Bombay, Lord Elphinstone received a telegram from the Governor-General to the effect that he should be placed in command of the troops in Central India; but a subsequent telegram ruled his despatch to Calcutta. A copy of the former was put into the General's hands at Madras; but, fortunately, no steamer was there available to admit of his return. The 'Nubia' had just left the roads on her way to Suez.

substantial boon conferred would act as an encouragement to continued faithful service. Sir Patrick Grant subsequently expressed his high approval of the suggestion. He had himself proposed a similar modification of the scheme of increase to the Madras army.

Outram reached Calcutta on July 31, and was welcomed on board by Lord Dunkellin, who brought an invitation to Government House, where he took up his quarters. Writing to Lord Elphinstone the second day after disembarkation, he mentioned that events had occurred in Dánapur and elsewhere which called for his 'immediate services in command of the two divisions of the Bengal Army,' occupying the country from Calcutta to Kánhpur inclusive. On August 5, his nomination to this double charge appeared in general orders. But this was not all the task allotted to the soldier-administrator. The Chief Commissionership of Oude, resigned by him fifteen months before, and now vacant by the death of Sir Henry Lawrence, was to be joined to the military control.

The whole situation was critical, and we note it as it appeared to Outram himself the day after he had been gazetted to his all-important office. General Havelock, after the victories of Unao and Bashirat-ganj on July 29, had fallen back to within six miles of Kánhpur to await reinforcements. Whence to furnish these with promptitude was a difficult question in the disturbed state of the country below and on all sides. Neill had sent him a company of the 84th and two guns out of Kánhpur, but he could do no more—and yet a rapid forward movement seemed urgent for the safety of the Lakhnau garrison, hemmed in as it was by a large force which, keeping up an unremitting fire, advanced from day to day to closer quarters, both by progress above ground and the still more dangerous process of mining below. There were barely enough troops to hold Kánhpur.

The well-equipped and organised Gwáliar contingent hung like a thunder-cloud, ready to burst either upon it or upon Agra, which was now completely isolated and contained a garrison only sufficient to hold the overcrowded fort. From Dehli came the same pressing demand for material aid; and though the besieging force was described as in 'excellent heart and health,' it was really besieged itself, and no expectation was held out of attempting an assault on the city until more troops could arrive from the eastward. The Panjáb trembled in the balance, uncertain of the issue, and preserved to us only by the personal qualities of John Lawrence and his lieutenants. In this emergency, the fall of Lakhnau, or failure to maintain our advanced position towards its relief, might lead to incalculable mischief, in addition to the fearful calamity of the sacrifice of Inglis and his precious charge. For, supposing the enemy's legions to be once released from Oudh, there was great probability that Allahabad and Banáras would be beleaguered before competent reinforcements could come up to the rescue; or that the ranks of the insurgent army at Dehli would be so strengthened as to compel General Wilson to raise the siege, and thus, probably, seal the fate of Agra and the Panjáb; in other words, of Northern India.

Such being the state of things above Allahabad, how was it between that all-important point and Calcutta? The chain of positions along the river was maintained by small and miscellaneous detachments, scarcely adequate to hold their own in case of attack. Not only so, but at Dánapur—the cantonment which overawed the great city of Patna, the most virulent focus of Muhammadanism in India—the mutinous native regiments had just been permitted to escape with their arms, to muster round Kunwar Singh, and to besiege Wake's gallant little band at Árah. Thus the action of the only body of European troops sufficiently

numerous to spare a few men for other places had been paralysed. Nay, more; the catastrophe of Dunbar's telling defeat, in his attempt to relieve Árah on July 29, had just been reported. So Bahár was 'up,' under an enterprising chief, and it seemed difficult to exaggerate the probable effects of such disaster, at the very heart of our road communication with Banáras. We all know now how the providential appearance on the scene of an exceptional soldier, Major Vincent Eyre, followed by his singularly prompt and skilful action, altered the state of affairs, and saved Bahár just at the critical moment. He relieved Árah on the 3rd, and dispersed Kunwar Singh's forces at Jagdispur on August 11; but at Calcutta only disaster had been heard of as yet, and in a letter written a few hours before he sailed, all Outram could say of 'Captain Eyre' was, that he 'and his bullock battery' were 'somewhere between Dinapore and Benares.'

This very brief and imperfect survey of the aspect of affairs, as viewed from Government House on August 6, will enable us to appreciate the position of the officer who now became responsible for the peace of the country from Calcutta upwards. The reinforcements at his disposal consisted nominally¹ of H.M. 5th and 90th Foot, and Eyre's battery, on their way up the river, and of sundry portions of Havelock's regiments, detained at stations *en route*. These last were to be exchanged for other small detachments, or, as was afterwards remarked in regard to Sir Colin Campbell's measures, 'torn from the reluctant grasp of the civil authorities.' Some companies of the 5th, so appropriated, had also to be released. The nature of the emergency rendered it imperative to hurry upwards every available man. As regards

¹ These are spoken of as 'regiments,' but they were not sent up complete, for, on August 25, the Governor-General promised that over 400 of them, then in Calcutta, would be despatched by bullock train at the rate of eighty a day.

the means of transit, a few might be forwarded by bullock train, and even horse *dâk*, provided Kunwar Singh did not cut off communication by the Grand Trunk road; but for the bulk of the Europeans the river was the only route practicable. Steamers, towing their attendant 'flats,' bore precious freights in those days; there were none too many of them, and such as could be found were made use of to their utmost capacity. Heading the strong stream of the Ganges was slow work at best; halts for coaling were frequent; and unforeseen delays, from accident or grounding, chafed the eager passengers almost beyond endurance. Still the water route was more expeditious, and less hurtful to the health of unacclimatised men, than a march up the road; and thus it was that the 90th, and 5th, and their comrades were struggling up the stream at the time of which we speak.

Before starting at night on August 6, Outram wrote to Lord Elphinstone: 'It will take me a fortnight, they say, to steam up to Dinapore. . . . I take up a mountain train with me, but no artillerymen are to be had, and I must extemporise a crew for the guns as best I can from among the sailors and soldiers. You will allow my prospects are not very brilliant, but your lordship may rely on my doing my best to uphold my honour as a Bombay officer, and to prove myself worthy of the confidence you have always placed in me.' To add to his anxieties on the public service, he continued to be 'tortured by fears,' as he expressed it, on account of his wife and son now surrounded by rebellion and tragedy at Agra; for Lady Outram's last letter was more than a month old, and informed him that the day before she wrote she had been moved into the fort, with the great crowd of other ladies and non-combatants, in view of an impending attack. Satisfied as to her own security, she expressed uneasiness about her son, who was still out with eleven other volunteers in the Aligarh district, and had just

reported the defeat of a considerable body of malcontents who had issued forth to secure the heads of the party as decorations for the gates of Koel. But we should be doing scant justice to Outram's warm-hearted sympathy and true friendliness of character, did we allow it to be inferred that the burden of his own cares deadened his interest in those of others. We find this characteristic passage in a letter to Mr. Mangles, of the same date ; interrupted by the summons to receive Lord Canning's final commands: 'When you see Colonel Sykes, please tell him I have not the heart to write to him on the sad events passing in India. I can little bear to think, much less dilate on them. His sons are happily out of harm's way in the Bombay Presidency. Yours might be in danger if not looked after ; it will now be my business to do this, and I hope in my power. Your son, Ross, was in danger the other day, which, as a civilian, he ought not, or at least need not, have incurred. He volunteered to accompany that unfortunate expedition to Arrah, of which you will receive the distressing accounts by this mail ; but, thank God, he escaped uninjured¹ . . . it will be my duty to restrain Ross's martial ardour when I join him, as I hope to do in a few days.'

Regarding Sir James Outram's appointment and instructions, a letter from Lord Canning to the Chairman of the Court of Directors may be quoted :—'There is no need of his services in Rajpootana, and I proposed to him to take the command of the two military divisions of Dinapore and Cawnpore, his first duty being to restore order in Bengal and Behar, for which purpose every European soldier not abso-

¹ It may be scarcely necessary to remind the reader of the acts of bravery and devotion performed on this occasion, which eventually won for Mr. Ross Mangles, and Mr. Macdonell, of the Civil Service, the honour of the Victoria Cross. But it was only a year after the occurrence referred to in the above extract, that Outram became aware of the real nature of the gallant young civilian's exploit and brought it to the notice of Lord Canning.

lutely necessary for the peace of Calcutta and Barrackpore would be at his disposal. He undertook the charge eagerly, and left Calcutta on his passage up the river on the 6th. For the moment everything must give way to the necessity of arresting rebellion or general disorder below Benares.' In another letter he remarked: 'Outram's arrival was a God-send. There was not a man to whom I could with any approach to confidence intrust the command in Bengal and the Central Provinces.'

Thus we see that the restoration of order in Bengal and Bahár was the duty first laid down. But underlying this primary object—of securing the base of all our operations—was the urgent necessity for expediting the progress upwards of every individual soldier who could be made available for the work in Oudh. How Outram carried out these aims consistently, we can afford no space to detail. But his proceedings may be partially illustrated, and, as far as possible, in his own words.

One source of constant embarrassment to the military commanders must be traced, in a general sense, to the alarms, requisitions, and interferences of local authorities. Without implying blame to individuals, it will readily be understood that those who are responsible for local administration in such a crisis can hardly be expected to take in the whole military situation in accurate perspective. No one complained of this state of things more than the Commander-in-Chief; ¹ but the General commanding the Dánapur and Kánhpur divisions had his full share of its annoyances. And in fact, just at this time Sir Colin got the credit from

¹ For instance, he thus telegraphed to Sir James on September 13. 'To the regret of the Commander-in-Chief, his Excellency has to inform Sir James Outram that the columns which were marching to his support have in two cases been divided and diverted from their original purpose at the instance of the civil authority. . . . His Excellency's efforts are interfered with at every moment by the requisition of the civil authorities.'

the public of much of what his Lieutenant, Outram, had accomplished by firmness and tact, in remedying the palpable evil—credit which, however, he took the earliest opportunity of transferring to the right shoulders in his General Order of September 28, to be referred to later on.

With Sir James Outram embarked, as his military secretary and chief of the adjutant-general's department, a soldier, the mention of whose name is sufficient to suggest support to his superior officer such as, perhaps, no other man in the British services could have rendered—Colonel Napier, of the Bengal Engineers¹—then for the first time associated with him. That his advice and assistance proved invaluable in every department, it seems superfluous to state. But James Outram found in Robert Napier not only a staff officer of priceless value, but a true and trusted friend till death.² Mr. J. P. Grant, the ablest member of the Governor-General's council, with Captain Richard Strachey, R.E, as his private secretary, and Mr. Samuells, the newly appointed Commissioner of Patna, were also of the party. Mr. Grant was on his way to Allahabad, to act as Lieutenant-Governor of the Central Provinces, because, as Lord Canning explained to the President of the Board of Control, 'The condition of the country about Allahabad and Benares, where we are recovering our own, but where every man is acting after his own fashion, and under no single authority nearer than Calcutta, has made it necessary to put some one in the temporary position of Lieutenant-Governor all communication between Agra and those districts being indefinitely cut off.' They steamed up the river, out of

¹ Now Lord Napier of Magdala.

² When asked in 1862 who was the best soldier he had come in contact with, Outram replied without hesitation: 'Robert Napier'—a selection to be afterwards endorsed by the nation. Sir James Outram's staff also included at this time, Lieutenants Sitwell and Chamier, A.D.C., and Mr. W. J. Money, C.S., Private Secretary.

reach of telegrams, and in consequent ignorance of what was going on up country, making Bhágampur on the 15th, and Dánapur on the 19th. Thence Outram wrote to the Governor-General:—

On the evening of the 15th instant we anchored off Bhaugulpore, where I landed to inspect the defensive preparations of Mr. Yule, the Commissioner, which I found to be everything I could desire—eighty men of H.M.'s 5th Regiment occupying a Mahomedan tomb on an elevated position, impregnable by any enemy not furnished with artillery, and which thoroughly commands and protects the Commissioner's house and public offices. Mr. Yule had kindly given up a portion of his house as an hospital for the Europeans, among whom cholera had broken out. Three had died; others were suffering; but the disease had taken a milder form, and I trust will have entirely ceased by this time. At midnight, Mr. Yule came on board to inform me that the 5th Irregular Cavalry, stationed at Bhaugulpore, had mounted and fled with their arms three hours before, though the circumstance was only just reported to him. It appears that as our steamer and flat exhibited only some twenty soldiers, they imagined that a stronger body was concealed for the purpose of surprising and disarming them during the night; and this caused the panic through which they fled.

Half of their native officers remained; the troopers molested no one, and left all their property behind them. Before our departure, shortly after daybreak . . . Mr. Yule reported having ascertained that the cavalry had taken the direction of Bowsee,¹ 36 miles from Bhaugulpore, where the head-quarters of the 32nd N.I. are situated. Up to this moment we have learnt nothing of their proceedings, or whether they induced the 32nd Regiment to follow their example; but the flight of the sowars having been reported by telegraph to Monghyr and Dinapore, created, as we found on our arrival at these towns, a very unnecessary alarm.

¹ Warned by a message sent by Mr. Yule, at a cost of 100*l.*, Colonel Burney was ready for them at Bausi. He turned out his regiment for ball practice, possibly in order to empty their pouches; and the *sowars*, alarmed by the firing, turned off in another direction, leaving him unmolested. When Mr. Yule came on board at midnight—to report the flight of the cavalry, the despatch of his expensive messenger to Bausi, and his other arrangements—he found Sir James in bed. The general, having entire confidence in Mr. Yule, merely replied, 'Well, you know best what to do; good, night!' and turned to sleep again.

— had withdrawn his detachment of Europeans (fifty men of the 5th Fusiliers) into the fort, some three miles in circumference, all the gates of which, except one, he had closed up, and the town was left without any protection.

Fifty European soldiers would be no real protection to so extensive a place; but their mere appearance in the town gave a sense of security to the people; and taking them away to shut them up in the fort had of course the very contrary effect. I therefore wrote to Mr. — remonstrating against the measure (copy enclosed), and caused corresponding instructions to be conveyed officially to the officer commanding. I also directed the officer commanding at Bhaugulpore to send up to Monghyr thirty of his Europeans; the remainder of his detachment being quite sufficient for that place in addition to the hill rangers. Both places have now as much European protection as can possibly be afforded, and quite as much as is needed to give confidence. On arrival near Patna, the night before last, I learnt that the panic had extended to Dinapore, and that the 90th Regiment, which had passed up the river four days before, had been recalled. I immediately despatched an express to prohibit the return of the regiment; but unfortunately it did not reach in time to stop the return vessels, which came back yesterday evening, and, I regret to say, with cholera on board—a doctor had died. This has necessitated landing the men, in order to cleanse and purify the vessels, which cannot be ready for their reception before to-morrow evening.

The delay thus caused in the advance of this regiment, and the disease likely to be engendered by long confinement on board crowded boats during the present extreme heat, are the more provoking as there is in reality not the slightest cause for alarm here. So satisfied am I on this subject (after the precautions I have ordered to be carried out, the mountain train guns being placed at the Opium Godowns in such positions as to effectually protect them, and at the same time overawe the town, &c.), that I have ordered a detachment of 100 men of the 90th, which had been kept back, to join the regiment. And I would send away another 100 men of the 5th Fusiliers, who also have been detained here, were they not required for the town duties, which could not safely be entrusted to the . . . Regiment under the . . . exasperated feelings it just now displays towards natives of all classes.

I purpose taking on two guns of the battery here (leaving the mountain train for service in Behar if necessary hereafter, for which I intended it), and also Major Eyre's battery to Benares, where I propose, if practicable, to organise a column to advance to Lucknow, through Jaunpore, between the Sye and Goomtee rivers;—the only course now left by which we can hope to relieve our garrison in Lucknow; General Havelock having again retired from the attempt, and recrossed the Ganges to Cawnpore, being unable, I imagine, to cross the Sye in the face of the enemy, the Bunnee bridge having been destroyed.¹ In addition to the artillery above mentioned, I can only have the 5th Fusiliers and 90th Regiments, so weakened by detachments as to amount together to less than 1,000 men—some of the Ghoorkhas perhaps, and the Madras Regiment now on its way up the river. But I hope to arrange with General Havelock—after effecting a junction with such troops as he can forward from Cawnpore—to cross the Ganges about Futtehpore, and pass the Sye near Roy Bareilly. I would there prepare rafts (on inflated skins) by which these reinforcements would cross the Sye. We should then be in sufficient strength, I trust, to force our way to Lucknow.

All my arrangements here will be completed by to-morrow, and no time shall be lost in pushing up to Benares, whence I hope to send back most of the steamers and flats now here and above. Aware as I am how urgently those vessels are required at Calcutta, I am very much vexed that such great and unnecessary delays should have interposed, by detentions here, at Dinapore, and other places; and your lordship may rely on my preventing any further delay than can possibly be avoided.

The next day he sent a long letter to Mr. Tucker, the Commissioner of Banáras, containing the following further remarks about the Jánpúr idea: 'I thank you for your suggestions for the relief of the Lucknow garrison. From the reports prevailing here, it would appear scarcely possible they can hold out for the length of time that would be occupied by my advance by either of the routes you recommend; but it is my determination to make the attempt

¹ 'Such,' he says, in another place, 'was our information at that time.'

if their position is still maintained. . . . For reasons which I will explain when we meet, I prefer the land route (through Jaunpore to Lucknow) to that of the Gogra, independent of the consideration of the detention of the steamers which would be caused by the latter operation, they being urgently required to bring troops, &c. from Calcutta. . . . As many skins (*mussacks*) as procurable should be got, and bamboos, poles, &c., for preparing rafts. Pray telegraph to Havelock, in my name, to keep up every appearance of preparation to recross the Ganges, as if meditating another advance on Lucknow—but in reality to keep the enemy in that direction, who otherwise would move down to oppose our advance from Jaunpore. Better say nothing to Havelock at present of my intention to call for his co-operation (from *below* Cawnpore), lest it might get through the telegraph. There will be time enough to arrange this when I join you at Benares. . . . It would be as well for you to let Havelock know that you had recommended me to go up the Gogra, and relieve Lucknow from Fyzabad, without telling him I had decided on taking the other route, thus leading the telegraph people to suppose I am to come that way; and I hope this may ooze out at Cawnpore, and so lead the enemy to expect and prepare for us at Fyzabad.'

On August 20, Outram left Dánapur. His time there had been fully and urgently occupied in solving questions which, whether general or of detail, involved results of immense importance. We have said that he reduced the number of Europeans left behind to a minimum. Yet circumstances had occurred to encourage disturbances in the interior of the districts which compelled him to provide detachments of European troops for several stations where otherwise they would not have been needed. A month had not elapsed since the mutiny of the native regiments at Dánapur, and the escape of the mutineers had been productive of wide-

spread mischief. The security of Patna, with its Opium Godown, the pacification of Árah, and protection of Gaya, were local considerations seriously affecting the Government revenue, to which the General's attention was earnestly drawn by the newly appointed Patna Commissioner, Mr. Samuells. To this gentleman's memorandum on the protective measures proposed for Bahár, he promptly replied, setting forth the provisions that had been made; but declining to detach more of his troops, in view of 'the vital interests at stake higher up the country, to forward which every European soldier not absolutely necessary for the protection of Dinapore and Patna must be sent on.' As an instance of the value of one district, it was represented that Árah alone possessed an opium crop worth to Government 'not less than half a million sterling.' It will be needless to note day by day the passage up the Ganges. That progress was necessarily slow may be judged by the instance of Captain Peel's memorable naval brigade, the head-quarters of which, under the immediate supervision of its distinguished commander, left Calcutta, by river, for Allahabad, on August 20,¹ and was only between Dánapur and Banáras on September 28. Not to want of will or skill could tardiness be attributed. In such an emergency the British sailor would not have brooked a moment's delay, except from causes beyond the reach of mortals.

Meanwhile the new Commander-in-Chief, Sir Colin Campbell, having arrived in Calcutta on August 13, was, before

¹ This is the date given in the Commander-in-Chief's telegram to Sir James Outram of August 26. On the 30th idem he had heard 'that the vessel Captain Peel was in grounded at Berhampur.' Beyond which point, it was feared that he had not yet got. On September 28, the chief of the staff informed Outram that Captain Peel was 'still in the river between Dánapur and Banáras,' and that his arrival at Allahabad could 'only be looked forward to as a distant contingency.' The gallant officer arrived there, however, in October.

a week had elapsed, in constant communication with Sir James Outram. Neither was a stranger to the other's name and character. One of the first, perhaps the first, of the chief's telegrams, dated the 18th idem, expressed the hope that Eyre's success had so far restored tranquillity in the Dánapur division as to have enabled Sir James to send on the 5th and 90th Regiments to Allahabad, but authorised the detention of the former in Bahár, if necessary. The postscript to this telegram was couched in these pleasant words: 'It is an exceeding satisfaction to me to have your assistance and to find you in your present position.' On August 22 a further telegram from Sir Colin informed Outram that General Havelock's force, owing to cholera and casualties on service, had been reduced to 700 men in the field; and urged that the 90th Regiment should be at once despatched to his assistance. The day following, a second message was transmitted, showing that two fresh telegrams had been received from Kánhpur, pressing for reinforcements, and adding that unless these were supplied, that station must be abandoned, and the garrison would have to fall back on Allahabad. On the 24th Sir Colin wrote to Outram as follows:—

'I am extremely happy, and deem myself most fortunate, to find myself associated with you on service, and to have the advantage of your able assistance in carrying on the duty in which we are now engaged. I send you herewith the different telegrams received from General Havelock since my arrival: they will make you fully acquainted with his operations in Oude; his reasons for crossing the Ganges; his subsequent operations in the neighbourhood of Cawnpore, with account of his loss by sickness and casualties in the field; his present numbers, and their condition as to health and efficiency. I have been favoured by the Governor-General with a perusal of yours to his lordship . . . in

which you purpose to collect a force of about 1,000 infantry and 8 guns at Benares, with a view to march to the relief of our garrison in Lucknow, by the most direct route from thence, and that the force under General Havelock at Cawnpore should co-operate with you in this movement. . . . Hope of co-operation . . . is not to be entertained. The march from Benares, by the most direct route, to Lucknow is a long one—some 150 miles¹—and the population through which you would have to pass hostile. Its great recommendation I presume to be that you (by that route) turn, or rather come in rear of, the many nullahs which, I am told, interpose between Cawnpore and Lucknow, and this would be an important advantage. But if the force you propose to collect at Benares were to be moved by the river to Cawnpore, and united with Havelock's reduced numbers, do you think it would be able to force its way over the numerous nullahs, necessarily full of water at this season, which are to be found on the road from the latter place to Lucknow? By this route all incumbrances, such as sick, &c., would be left at the different stations or posts along the road, and the troops, being conveyed by steam, would suffer less than if obliged to march—and Havelock's anxiety about his post would be removed. In offering these remarks to you, who are acquainted with the country, people, and difficulties attending the movements you propose, it is not with any view to fetter your judgment and perfect freedom of action; but I mention these as they occur to me in writing to you, and I think I may venture to say that the measures you may deem most advisable to pursue will receive the approval of the Governor-General.² At midnight of the day on

¹ A glance at the map will show how very much, in point of fact, it was the shortest in actual measurement—the road from Banáras to Lakhnau, viâ Kánhpur, being about 250 miles.

² The Governor-General communicated his separate views by telegram to

which this letter was written, the chief supplemented it with a telegram summarising its purport, and adding a telegraphic message from Havelock to himself of the same date, stating : ' I will communicate with Sir James Outram, and have telegraphed to Benares to learn where he is. . . . With the reinforcements promised, I could resume the initiative, and march to Lucknow, if the place should not unfortunately have fallen before the reinforcements arrive.'

Sir James Outram first saw the copy of the message from which we have extracted on August 28, when arriving at Banáras. At the same time he received Sir Colin Campbell's letter of the 24th. Practically, therefore, this was the first intimation made to him that only *men* were wanted to relieve Lakhnau from Kánhpur. It must be borne in mind that while both Lord Canning and the Commander-in-Chief were fully aware of the facts in regard to General Havelock, Outram was not only unacquainted with these facts when he mentioned the idea of adopting the Jánpur route, but he had actually been misled by information which induced him to conclude that the Kánhpur road was physically impracticable to a relieving force ; and that consequently the relief of Lakhnau must of necessity be attempted by another. Had he but possessed at Dánapur the information contained in the telegrams of which copies now came into his hands, the Jánpur scheme would not have assumed shape of any kind. When he learnt the true state of affairs higher up the river, he lost no time in despatching a telegram to General Havelock to the effect that he expected the 90th

Outram on August 25, also received at Banáras. His observations upon the Jánpur road were to the same effect as those expressed by the Commander-in-Chief, with whom he had doubtless held consultation on the matter. Among the points discussed, the abandonment of Kánhpur was authorised should it facilitate the relief of Lakhnau.

and 5th Regiments on the morrow, and should at once push on with them to Allahabad, where he hoped to be, in despite of the contrary stream, on September 2nd or 3rd, starting thence for Kánhpur, by forced marches, on the 5th. His force would consist of 1,268 officers and men, besides any chance addition from Mirzapúr and Chunár. The arrival of the expected naval brigade at Allahabad would release more hands for work in the front from that station. He added:—

‘I shall join you with the reinforcements, but to you shall be left the glory of relieving Lucknow, for which you have already so nobly struggled.¹ I shall accompany you only in my civil capacity as Commissioner, placing my military services at your disposal, should you please to make use of me—serving under you as volunteer. Encourage the Lucknow garrison to hold on. Spare no cost in effecting communication with Colonel Inglis. . . . Proclaim at Cawnpore, and cause it to be made known to the leaders of the enemy’s forces at Lucknow, that for every Christian woman or child maltreated at Lucknow, an Oudh noble shall be hanged. If you could afford a second detachment to hold its ground on the Lucknow bank of the river opposite Cawnpore, it would have a beneficial effect in distracting the enemy’s attention from the Lucknow garrison, besides facilitating the passage of the river when the time arrives.’

But, in point of fact, Outram had given up the Jánpur project before arrival at Banáras; for the chief’s telegram of August 23 so unexpectedly foreshadowing the possible

¹ The notion of superseding General Havelock before carrying out the great object of his immediate advance from Kánhpur, had been a source of distress and annoyance to Outram on board the steamer. On one occasion he came up to Colonel Napier and said:—‘I know what I will do. I will go in my political capacity.’

abandonment of Kánhpur, which had reached him on the 25th, at Gházipúr—at once decided him to pursue another course; and, three days before the date of his own telegram above quoted, he had written to the Commissioner of Banáras requesting that officer to inform Havelock, through the wires, of his decision—further, that all available Europeans would now be sent to Kánhpur as speedily as possible. ‘Tell Havelock,’ were his instructions, ‘that of course I have given up the intended advance direct on Lucknow for the present, as available Europeans will be sent to him. Also say I beg to congratulate him on his brilliant successes against the enemy.’ As the reinforcements, hurried on with the utmost energy, had not reached Banáras, the idea of the Jánpur route could not in the least affect their progress. Had it indeed been adopted, Banáras would still have been the place of debarkation. Unfortunately, Mr. Tucker’s action, when using the telegraph instrument on behalf of his friend, had already resulted in some confusion. In a telegram of August 23, General Havelock had informed Sir Colin Campbell that he had heard through that gentleman of Outram’s intention ‘to ascend the Gogra, and relieve Lucknow by Faizabad.’ Now it must be clearly understood that the idea of taking this route was not Outram’s at all, but that of the Commissioner of Banáras himself. The former (as we have seen) had never approved or entertained the scheme, and only warranted mention of it to General Havelock as a recommendation of Mr. Tucker’s, ventilated for the purpose of misleading and distracting the enemy.

Among other causes of special anxiety to the local authorities at this period was Gorakhpur, the abandonment of which place Outram considered a ‘sad mistake.’ He thought that it might have been maintained by our allies the Gúrkha troops from Nipál, and felt that the step taken, by throwing the town into the hands of Oudh insurgents, had encouraged

the invasion of the whole district. From Mirzapur he addressed a telegram to the Commander-in-Chief, suggesting means, and submitting detailed proposals for dealing with this emergency; but showing that the special object which he had in view prevented the detachment of any portion of his own force in this direction. In like manner he was debarred from lending immediate aid in the pursuit of the notorious Kunwar Singh, then supposed to be at the head of three or four thousand men in the neighbourhood of Mirzapur. 'I could not,' he wrote to Mr. Hamilton, Opium Agent at Gházipur, 'delay the troops now following up the river. . . . My object is to push them on to Cawnpore without delay, and thence to Lucknow.' Besides, he thought it most likely that such an expedition, if carried out, 'would prove but a wild goose chase.'

Outram reached Allahabad late on September 1. The next morning he received letters from Kánhpur, the following passage in one of which, while it indicated the feeling entertained by the officers generally on the subject of the all-important movement which his coming would accelerate, justified his disbelief of the gloomy reports current at Banáras that the straitened garrison was treating for terms of surrender:— 'Lucknow is at present all right and in good spirits. We shall meet opposition on the road; but if we take lots of heavy guns they won't stand long.' His own letters written during the day expressed confidence that he would be in time for the relief of his beleaguered countrymen and their faithful adherents: but he was disappointed that the troops which were to have followed him closely up the river from Banáras, did not make their appearance. Nor had they arrived when he thus wrote to Mr. Mangles, in the early morning of September 3:—

'I have made every disposition the means at my command permitted for the security of the principal stations

. . . but of course I could not provide military means for ridding the districts of the gaol-birds and *bad-máshes* let loose on the country . . . I, however, suggested to the civil authorities to augment their police, and to impress on their *zamindars*, &c., that *they* would be held responsible for keeping the peace within their own limits . . . I trust my next will be from Lucknow. . . .'¹

On September 3, arrived the steamer and flat conveying Major Eyre's battery and a portion of the 5th Fusiliers: and on the day following the head-quarters of H.M. 90th Regiment in the 'Mirzapur.' Eyre's horses were found to have been despatched from Rániganj by road only a few days before; so he had to be content with his bullocks. September 4 was taken up in landing and putting together the guns; and though the operation was not completed till late at night, the battery was ready to accompany the first detachment which marched towards Kánhpur under Major

¹ To the three Rajahs, Mán Singh of Shahganj, Mádu Singh of Ramnagar, and Rustam Sahá of Dairah, he addressed the following, in token of approbation of the friendly spirit which they had evinced:—

'I have heard of your having, during the late mutiny at Faizabad . . . saved the lives of several British officers, their wives and children. With this conduct on your part I have been much pleased; and I cannot but feel convinced that you will, by your future conduct, continue to prove your fidelity to the British Government. Rest assured that the British Government is ready to reward its faithful subjects, and that I shall have much pleasure in bringing to its notice any act on your part, during the present disturbances, which may tend to prove that you are a sincere well-wisher to the State.

'It cannot be hid from you that the British Government will soon quell this rebellion. Troops, in great numbers, are on their way from Europe, and will shortly arrive, before whose overwhelming power the cowardly rebels will be annihilated. But, although the British Government will punish with the utmost rigour those who have dared to rebel against the State, it will always have pleasure in rewarding those of its subjects who, notwithstanding the evil examples by which they are surrounded, hesitate not to show their staunch fidelity to the British Government—and amongst such I hope to reckon yourself.

'I am now on my way to Cawnpore and Lucknow, and shall be happy to receive any communication from you expressive of your readiness to obey the orders I may think it necessary to send you.'

Simmons at 3 A.M. on the 5th. From Allahabad the distance is reckoned at 127 miles, and this was to be got over in six stages; but as the first two stages were comparatively easy, the remainder would average about twenty-five miles a day. Outram, in writing to Havelock that such were Simmons's orders, shows also that they were subject to an important condition:—'unless he should find his men knocking up (foot-sore), in which case he would report to you, and you would order him to lighten his marches or otherwise as you thought proper, influenced, as you doubtless would be, by the state of the Lucknow garrison.' The strength of the party was 683 men: besides Eyre's artillery and two eight-inch howitzers, it was composed of H.M. 5th Fusiliers, and a few men of the 64th and 84th Regiments. As Outram would follow within twenty-four hours, with the 90th Regiment (678 rank and file), and a company of the 78th (87 rank and file)¹ expected from Banáras, it was reckoned that the whole contingent which his coming would supply, would amount to 1,448 men. To obtain even this moderate figure, it had been necessary to weaken the garrison at Allahabad considerably more than had been intended at Army Head Quarters. But reinforcements of European troops were almost daily looked for from Calcutta: Peel's naval brigade was moving up the river; and while one Madras native regiment had reached Monghyr on August 27, another was well advanced. Moreover, Mr. Chester, the Civil Commissioner, apprehended no danger whatever from too great a reduction of local military strength.²

¹ This came up to Sir James Outram's camp, by bullock train, at the second stage out.

² That Outram's attention was not wholly engrossed with the proposed relief of Lucknow, to the detriment of other parts of India, may be inferred from his letter to the Lieutenant-Governor, Central Provinces, of September 5, showing his proposed disposition of the Madras troops. 'It appears to me,' he wrote, 'that no operations in the North-West Provinces can be of more importance than restoring order in the districts bordering on Bengal . . . I

True to the time named in his telegram to Havelock, despatched eight days before from Banáras, Outram left Allahabad for Kánhpur on the night of September 5. But the rapid progress he had hoped for proved to be, as he had feared it might, out of the question. After the first march of 14 miles to Mufti Ke Poonwa, it was found that a large proportion of the 90th was quite unequal to the fatigue of double stages. This regiment had for five consecutive months been cooped up on board ship and in river steamers; and it was not strange that the physical power of the men should have become affected by such long confinement. Outram felt it would be folly to persevere in an attempt which, if in one sense successful, must in another prove a failure. So he thus wrote to Havelock on September 6: 'As we have such favourable accounts of the Lucknow garrison (there can be no doubt, I think, of their ability to hold out as long as need be)—and it being of importance you should receive your reinforcements in an efficient state—I propose, unless I hear from you that quicker movement is indispensable, or at least desirable, to pursue the ordinary ten marches to Cawnpore.' On the same day Havelock wrote much in the same strain, and to the same effect, to Outram;¹ hoping that this letter might reach him before he had left Allahabad. The letters must have crossed.

Instructions were accordingly sent to Major Simmons to modify the programme which had been laid down for his guidance on starting for Kánhpur. But notwithstanding the extraordinary precautions taken to preserve health and strength, two deaths occurred in the advance, and three in

think, therefore, we may best promote the public interests by devoting the whole of the Madras troops to that duty.'

¹ 'I fear it will not, in the present state of the weather, be possible for either column to make the marches you have designated without the certainty of throwing a great number of men into hospital, and rendering inevitable a halt to refresh after arrival. . . .'

the rear column during the first four or five marches ; while as many as forty men of the 90th Regiment were at one time on the sick list. At Kalogan, his fourth stage, information reached Outram that some Oudh *zamindars*, with 400 men and two guns, had crossed the river where it ran parallel with the line of march, and were plundering in the Do-áb. Such a danger to his flank could not be passed by : so halting Simmons's detachment, he moved up to it at Kurria, on the morning of September 10. On arrival he directed Major Eyre to proceed against the enemy, taking 100 Europeans from the 5th, and 50 from the 64th Regiment, all mounted on elephants, with two guns. They were to be joined at a neighbouring village by a squadron of the 12th Irregulars under Captain Johnson. No time was lost in carrying these orders into effect : and although fresh intelligence reached the General in the course of the day, considerably magnifying the strength on the rebel side, he felt every confidence that the little force he had despatched was equal to the occasion. 'As Major Eyre commands the party,' we read in his letter to Havelock, mentioning what had occurred to change the even tenor of his march, 'he will succeed, if any one can, in discomfiting the scoundrels.' That his confidence was justified, the result fully proved, for the invaders were driven into the river, and all but annihilated. The report of Eyre's success reached Outram at Thariárun, where he arrived on September 11, in time to be notified at foot of a despatch which he had just completed to the Commander-in-Chief. A still later postscript added an item of information corroborative of the importance of this victory. It was to the effect that he had just been visited by the 'Thánádar,' who assured him that the invasion, thus summarily checked at the outset, was to have been followed by an extensive rising in the neighbourhood. Subsequently, he ascertained that this Oudh force had been but an advanced guard, and the inten-

tion had been to cut off his communication by a *levée en masse*, and an eruption from Oudh, whenever he advanced from Kánhpur towards Lakhnau. Outram wrote thus from Thariárun on September 11, to Colonel O'Brien, at Allahabad :—

‘ Simmons’s column went on to Futtehpore this morning, taking on the company of the 78th ; and I follow with the Europeans to-morrow. Eyre will overtake us by the time we reach Cawnpore. The 90th will be the better for this halt, their sick amounting to fifty-two. But though the Oude people may now be driven back, they will probably return shortly after this force passes on ; or the Dinapore and Rewah rebels may cross the Jumna with a view to plunder the Doab and interrupt our communications. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, that a post be established between Allahabad and Cawnpore, sufficiently strong to detach against any parties of rebels crossing either the Jumna or Ganges. Futtehpore offers the most convenient position, and I beg, therefore, you will cause preparations to be made for passing on to that place all the men of the 90th and 64th (except their sick) now coming up from Benares, either by bullock train or marching, as you think most advisable. But the first detachment (which is to reach Allahabad to-morrow) should be despatched by bullock train *at once*, to take charge of the tents, which I shall leave there, for upwards of 500 Europeans—intended for the accommodation of the Futtehpore force when all are assembled.

‘ Even that small detachment, magnified as it will be by rumour, will suffice to keep the Oude rebels dispersed by Eyre, from again venturing to come across the Ganges ; and long before they learn the real force of the detachment, it will have been reinforced by further details. This post would, moreover, tranquillise the Futtehpore district (which

is becoming utterly disorganised from the absence of any European supervision), if an experienced civil functionary could be sent to assume charge of it.'

The importance of Fathpúr, from a military point of view, situated as it was midway between Allahabad and Kánhpur, was not the only object Outram contemplated in making this recommendation. He was essentially a just man, and his knowledge of the native character, acted upon by a keen sense of equity, would not suffer him to convict indiscriminately of mutiny and rebellion all those who were set down as in arms against us. He saw that, in many instances, the retaliating spirit had led to excessive punishment, and that a craving for vengeance had confounded, in the eyes of our soldiers, the innocent with the guilty. The restrictive orders which he issued on the subject, though perhaps considered by some critics needlessly severe, will be justified by the decisions of after years—not simply because they were in accordance with Lord Canning's clement policy, but in the light of personal opinions. In a long letter addressed to the Governor-General between Fathpúr and Kánhpur, Outram refers to the former place as being in the most disaffected of districts; but states that he has authorised Colonel O'Brien, its proposed future commandant, to 'organise a small body of certain well-disposed sepoys of the Agra disbanded regiments, who went on leave, duly provided with certificates . . . and have not since, or previously, been implicated in any disloyal act.' He thus continues a remarkable despatch, not the less characteristic, because it was written at a time when his mind was unusually on the stretch. He was all anxiety to reach Havelock at Kánhpur, yet earnestly seeking to put Lord Canning in possession of the main facts of the rebellion up to date, and of the most practical means at hand for its quick suppression:—

‘The time has now arrived, I conceive, for your Lordship to decide how the native soldiers, who have committed no overt act of mutiny or rebellion, and are not implicated in any deed of atrocity, should be dealt with. Among such I may mention those who were peaceably disarmed at Agra, and went to their homes on the faith of Mr. Colvin’s proclamation, before the announcement of its withdrawal by Government; those who allowed themselves to be disarmed, and have since remained with their regiments doing duty without arms; and, above all, the very few regiments still staunch to us, who have retained their arms.

‘Unless these men receive an assurance that they will remain in our service, with the present pay and privileges, their minds will naturally be imbued with doubts as to their future fate, rendering them yet liable to seduction; while, in the other case, their fidelity may be assured, and we certainly cannot entirely dispense with the services of these men. The most favourable time for the promulgation of such a determination on your Lordship’s part, would be the announcement of the fall of Dehli and the awful retribution that must then be taken on the mutineers congregated in that city. But if that event, so long delayed, be deferred much longer, the opportunity for taking advantage of the favourable reaction will pass away, and thus no opening for mercy would be available to any of the classes now composing the Bengal native army. Has not the time arrived, my Lord, for a proclamation announcing that, as more than four months have elapsed since the outbreak of the rebellion, the Government is satisfied that those regiments which have so long withstood the menaces and temptations with which their disaffected comrades have assailed them, have thus proved themselves staunch and trustworthy servants of the Government, which, therefore, deems it but just to remove any apprehensions they may entertain as to the future, by

assuring them of its continued favour? They will be retained in the service, with all the privileges and advantages hitherto enjoyed, and be rewarded for their fidelity—especially those regiments which have served under arms through the crisis—by sharing in the extensive promotions to be announced on the reorganisation of the native army. It may also be added that Government has made this announcement at the moment when all India is convinced of the speedy re-establishment of the Government's power, which four months' rebellious conflagration could not shake, and when the legions of England are about to pour into the country.

‘But I humbly conceive the Government should go further: it should express its conviction that thousands of the Sepoys unhappily belonging to the regiments that fell away from their duty were the unwilling victims of a powerful majority whom they were helpless to oppose, and were no party to the violence or crimes of their comrades; to avoid participation in which they retired peacefully to their homes, and in many cases proved their devotion by saving the lives of their officers. The Government, acting upon this conviction, and being desirous not to confound the innocent with the guilty, has therefore empowered a committee of officers to assemble at——, who will investigate and report upon the cases of those officers and men who appear before them to establish their innocence. After the evidence produced has been considered and recorded, their cases will be submitted for the consideration of Government.’

For holding such a committee Fathpúr was named as a convenient spot, and it was also suggested that Colonel O'Brien would be an officer fully qualified to preside over it. The letter further discussed the question of raising the well-disposed part of the Hindu population in certain stations against the Muhammadan rebels; and the writer forwarded

a correspondence which had passed on the subject between General Neill and himself. He was careful to explain that his object was not to promote an ill-feeling between the two races, but to 'encourage our friends and well-wishers,' by the example of our Hindu subjects fighting with and for us in the cause of order and good government. Towards so desirable an end he thought that a money grant might be fairly sanctioned by the State; and in one instance he authorised an outlay of 50,000 rupees (5,000*l.*) on his own responsibility.

On the morning of September 15, Major Simmons arrived at Kánhpur, and Outram followed at night. The meeting of the two generals was most cordial. Already has it been shown that Havelock had before spoken and written of Outram in no measured terms of praise;¹ moreover, that Outram had applied for Havelock to command one of his divisions in Persia. It was now precisely four months since Havelock had embarked at Muhamrah to return to India, taking the sincere thanks of Sir James Outram for 'the zealous and valuable assistance' he had rendered 'at all times, in command of the second division.' They again met one another much in the same relative positions in respect of actual rank as in Persia, but otherwise under different circumstances. Outram's resolution as to waiving his right of command has been recorded a few pages back. It had been made known to Army Head Quarters before coming into effect, and Sir Colin Campbell had written to Sir James how he had communicated the matter to the Governor-General, and how the Governor-General had 'expressed himself in the warmest terms of admiration' of the 'truly handsome and generous proposal reported.' 'God grant you may succeed!' were the words added, on his own part, by the Commander-in-

¹ See *ante*, p. 144, with reference to previous association, and the command in Persia.

Chief. On September 16 appeared the following division orders, well inaugurating an honourable command :—

All Cawnpore Division Reports to be made for the information of Sir James Outram, K.C.B., commanding.

The force, selected by General Havelock, which will march to relieve the garrison at Lucknow, will be constituted and composed as follows :—

First Infantry Brigade.—The 5th Fusiliers; 84th Regiment, Detachments, 64th Foot and 1st Madras Fusiliers; Brigadier-General Neill commanding, and nominating his own Brigade staff.

Second Infantry Brigade.—H.M. 78th Highlanders; H.M. 90th Light Infantry, and the Sikh Regiment of Ferozepore; Brigadier Hamilton commanding, and nominating his own Brigade staff.

Third (Artillery) Brigade.—Captain Maude's battery. Captain Olpherts's Battery. Brevet-Major Eyre's Battery. Major Cooper to command, and to appoint his own staff.

Cavalry.—Volunteer Cavalry to the left, Irregular Cavalry to the right. Captain Barrow to command.

Engineer Department.—Chief Engineer, Captain Crommelin; Assistant Engineers, Lieutenants Limond and Judge. Major-General H. Havelock, C.B., to command the force.

The important duty of relieving the garrison of Lucknow had been first entrusted to Major-General Havelock, C.B.; and Major-General Outram feels that it is due to this distinguished officer, and the strenuous and noble exertions which he has already made to effect that object, that to him should accrue the honour of the achievement.

Major-General Outram is confident that the great end for which General Havelock and his brave troops have so long and so gloriously fought, will now, under the blessing of Providence, be accomplished.

The Major-General, therefore, in gratitude for, and admiration of, the brilliant deeds of arms achieved by General Havelock and his gallant troops, will cheerfully waive his rank on the occasion, and will accompany the force to Lucknow in his civil capacity—as Chief Commissioner of Oude—tendering his military services to General Havelock as a volunteer.

On the relief of Lucknow, the Major-General will resume his position at the head of the forces.¹

The preceding pages will have been written in vain if this most honourable act requires explanation. It was illustrative

¹ On September 28 Sir Colin Campbell thus confirmed Outram's temporary transfer of command :—'Seldom, perhaps never, has it occurred to a Commander-in-Chief to publish and confirm such an order as the following one, proceeding from Major-General Sir James Outram, K.C.B.

'With such a reputation as Major-General Sir James Outram has won for himself, he can well afford to share glory and honour with others. But that does not lessen the value of the sacrifice he has made with such disinterested generosity in favour of Brigadier-General Havelock, C.B., commanding the field force in Oude.

'Concurring, as the Commander-in-Chief does, in everything stated in the just eulogy of the latter by Sir James Outram, his Excellency takes this opportunity of publicly testifying to the army his admiration for an act of self-sacrifice and generosity, on a point which, of all others, is dear to a real soldier.

'The confidence of Major-General Sir James Outram in Brigadier-General Havelock is indeed well justified. The energy, perseverance, and constancy of the Brigadier-General have never relaxed throughout a long series of arduous operations, in spite of scanty means, a numerous and trained enemy, and sickness in his camp. Never have troops shown greater or more enduring courage than those under the orders of Brigadier-General Havelock.

'The force and the service at large are under the greatest obligations to Sir James Outram for the manner in which he has pressed up the reinforcements to join Brigadier-General Havelock in the face of much difficulty.'

The last paragraph is thus reverted to in a letter from Sir Colin of the same date :—'I took the liberty of attracting attention in orders to the manner in which you supported Havelock by pressing forward the reinforcements, as it had been brought to my notice that the newspapers of Bombay had attacked you on this score, and I thought it best at once to demolish their false statements, in justice to you.'

All we find in Outram's letters regarding such misrepresentation, is the following passage in one to the Military Secretary :—'See how I am denounced for my supposed shortcomings in the accompanying anonymous missive. The Governor-General is aware that I was as much vexed at the detention of the troops as the writer could be.' The newspapers had got hold of the idea that he was responsible for the remand of the 90th to Dánapur, already alluded to as a cause of the greatest vexation to him, and they were naturally disposed to lay the blame of previous detentions on him also, without observing dates. Whatever may have occurred *before* he first appeared on the scene at Bhagalpur on August 15, it is very certain that every action of his was directed towards expediting the passage up of the men already on the river, and pushing on those unnecessarily detained by local alarms. Not a man was kept back by any proceeding of his.