

one has no confidence in a man who acts thus: in the principle he is right, a political office is not wanted, but he might at least have thanked them for their services."

That Lord Ellenborough was right about Major Outram has been already said; and Charles Napier's opinion, when he had ascertained facts at a later period, was most emphatically expressed in the following sentence written across the above passages.—*How Outram humbugged me! But how could I believe that all he was telling me was false! utterly false!*

With the breaking up of the Lord Auckland's political band in Scinde this portion of Sir Charles Napier's life must terminate. He had now mastered his military and political position; had well judged the character of the Ameers, had fathomed their designs, and cleared the interpretation of the Auckland treaty of alliance. He had yet to expose and charge them with past violations of that treaty and with hostile schemes to subvert the British power, acting in this under the direct orders of the governor-general, which could not be disobeyed though pregnant with terrible consequences, as shall be shewn in the next Period.

THIRTEENTH EPOCH.

THIRD PERIOD.

LORD Ellenborough's instructions to Sir C. Napier, run thus.

"Should any Ameer, or chief with whom we have a treaty of alliance and friendship, have evinced hostile designs against us during the late events, which may have induced them to doubt the continuance of our power, it is the present intention of the governor-general to inflict upon the treachery of such ally and friend, so signal a punishment as shall effectually deter others from similar conduct; but the governor-general would not proceed in this course without the most complete and convincing evidence of guilt in the person accused. The governor-general relies entirely on your sense of justice, and is convinced that whatever reports you may make upon the subject, after full investigation, will be such as he may safely act upon."

Proofs of delinquency were thus thrown entirely upon the general, and after diligent investigation he transmitted a "*Return of Complaints*" against the Ameers, who were charged with the following acts of bad faith and hostility.

Roostum Khan, Rais of Kyrpore, had, contrary to treaty, held secret intercourse with foreign states; notably by letter with the Maharajah of Lahore. He had designs hostile to the British, and had maltreated British servants. He had obstructed commerce and navigation on the Indus; imprisoned British subjects, and through the agency of his vizier, Futteh Mohamed Ghoree, had aided Mohamed Shurreef, a public enemy, to escape. Against Nusseer Khan, Rais

of Hyderabad, was charged 1°. The assembling of troops to assail Mohamed of Meerpoor on a boundary dispute, which had been referred to British arbitration. 2°. Perfidy towards the political agent, and repeated wilful violation of the eleventh article of the treaty. 3°. Delaying the transfer of Shikarpoor to the British when he heard of their Affghan disasters. 4°. Secretly coining base money to defraud the British in paying tribute ; exacting illegal tolls ; obstructing navigation and commerce, and opposing a free supply for the bazaar at Kurrachee. 5°. Preventing his subjects from trading in the British cantonments. 6°. Neglect of tribute, and by letter exciting Beebruck, chief of the Booghtees, to attack the British troops, who he said were retreating worsted from Affghanistan. These offences had continued from early in 1841 to September 1842, and at the moment of Sir C. Napier's arrival at Sukkur, Nusseer and Roostum had contracted a secret alliance, offensive and defensive, against the English : they strove also to draw Ali Moorad to their side, collected troops and issued-instructions to their feudatory chiefs to be ready for the field.

With this "*Return of Complaints*" went a report, the first of a series of state papers from Charles Napier, thus characterized by the late Sir Robert Peel. "Not I only, but all those of the government who have read his letters and despatches from Scinde are immensely struck by their masterly clearness of mind and vigour of expression ; and feel with me that he is as great with his pen as he has long since proved himself with his sword. I have no hesitation in placing them in comparison with the Gurwood despatches, or with the best things of the kind which have ever been written."

"Report, October 17th.—It is not for me to note how we came to occupy Scinde, but to consider the subject as it stands. We are here by right of treaties entered into by the Ameers, and therefore stand on the same footing as themselves ; for rights held under treaty are as sacred as the

right which sanctions that treaty. There does not appear any public protest registered against the treaties by the Ameers, they are therefore to be considered as free expressions of the will of the contracting parties.

“The English occupy Shikarpoor, Bukkur and Kurrachee, by treaties which, if rigidly adhered to by the Ameers, would render those princes more rich and powerful and their subjects more happy than they now are. If sticklers for abstract right maintain, as no doubt they will, that to prevent a man from doing mischief is to enslave him, it may be called hard to enforce a rigid observance of these treaties. But their evident object is to favour our Indian interests, by abolishing barbarism and ameliorating the condition of society; by obliging the Ameers to do, in compliance with those treaties, that which honourable civilized rulers would do of their own accord. It is necessary to keep this in view, because, though the desire to do good would not sanction breach of treaty it does sanction the exacting a rigid adherence to treaty from the Ameers; the more so that their infractions evince their barbarism, their total want of feeling for their subjects, and their own unfitness to govern: these things must be kept in mind or what I am about to say will appear unjust, which is not the case.

“By treaty the time for which we may occupy our present camps is unlimited; but there is such hostility to us on the part of the Ameers, such a hatred of the treaties and such resolution to break them in every way; there is also among their people, Scindees and Hindoos, not Beloochees, such a growing attachment to British rule that the question arises, whether we shall abandon the interests of humanity and of the British government, which in this case are one, and at once quit Scinde, or take advantage of existing treaties to maintain our camps permanently? But if we evacuate the country future events will inevitably bring us back to the Indus. If we remain our camps will quickly grow into towns, and the people within them will carry on a transit

trade along the Indus, to the exclusion of the Ameers' people without. Among the latter misery and poverty will then sojourn, for the exactions of the Ameers will in a great measure destroy both commerce and agriculture among their people.

“ This produces another question. Can such things long continue ? A government hated by its subjects, despotic, hostile alike to the interests of England and of its own people ; a government of low intrigue, and so constituted that it must fall to pieces in a few years by the vices of its construction—will not such a government maintain an incessant petty hostility against us ? Will it not incessantly commit breaches of treaties, those treaties by which alone we have a right to remain and must therefore rigidly uphold ? I conceive such political relation cannot last, the more powerful government will, at no distant period, swallow up the weaker : would it not then be better to come to that result at once ? I think it would be better, *if it can be done with honesty*. Let me then consider how we might go to work on a matter so critical, and whether the facts to which I have called your attention will bear me out in what I propose.

“ Several Ameers have broken treaty in the various instances stated in the accompanying *Return of Complaints*. I have maintained that we want only a fair pretext to coerce the Ameers, and I think the various acts recorded give abundant reason to take Kurrachee, Sukkur, Bukkur, Shikarpoor and Subzulcote for our own ; and for obliging the Ameers to leave a track-way along both banks of the Indus, stipulating for a supply of wood : at the same time remitting all tribute and arrears of tribute in favour of those Ameers whose conduct has been correct. Finally to enter into a fresh treaty with one of those princes as chief”—each Ameer pretended to separate independence and treaties. “ I cannot think such a procedure would be dishonourable or harsh : I am sure it would be humane. The refractory Ameers

break the treaty to gratify their avarice and we punish that breach. I perceive no injustice.

“If it be determined to keep Sukkur and Bukkur I think it would not be politic to give up Shikarpoor.”—Here follow the military reasons given in a former letter for keeping Shikarpoor. “In a commercial view Shikarpoor is of great importance, it offers a *depôt* for goods from the northern and western countries with which it has long had channels of intelligence. Adverse circumstances may for a while interrupt this, but under a protecting government they would soon be re-opened. Shikarpoor goods would then be sent to Sukkur, there to be shipped on the Indus, and would also pass by land through Larkaana to Kurrachee. These have formerly been the lines of trade, they are naturally and geographically so and will therefore quickly revive. But if Shikarpoor be left to the mercy of the freebooters commerce cannot thrive; nor, without Shikarpoor be strongly guarded, can it pass through the jungle to Sukkur, towns naturally supporting each other in commerce.

“In a political view Shikarpoor has the advantage of being chiefly inhabited by a Hindoo population, tolerated for ages by the Mussulmans and consequently forming a pacific link between us and the nations north and west. Through Shikarpoor these Hindoos will gradually direct the commercial stream and be the means of social intercourse between the Mahomedans and ourselves, in time uniting those who will not suddenly amalgamate. Shikarpoor contains many rich banking houses, sure evidence of its being a central point of communication between surrounding countries, and consequently one where the British government could learn what was going on in Asia: the money market is generally the best barometer. The robber tribes have kept down this town, despite of its natural and acquired advantages; in fact the robber is everywhere the master, therefore all around is barbarous and barbarous must continue to be until civilization gradually abolishes those lawless people. Shikar-

poor is precisely one of those grand positions which ought to be seized in that view. I have therefore directed Major-General England not to evacuate that town till further instructions are received from the governor-general.

“I have drawn up this memoir entirely on my own consideration of the subject, but since Major Outram's arrival, which was just as the last paragraph was finished, he has given me every possible assistance. He concurs in all I have said, but has added to my knowledge, and in justice to the Ameers I must, with this increase of knowledge, enlarge on what has been stated. The Ameers say they did not understand Article xi. to prohibit the tolls on their own subjects. They urge in proof of this, that they resisted the treaty because of other articles less important, never objecting to xi. because they relied on Article v. This may be, and I would willingly, if possible, suppose they really did conceive the treaty gave them tolls on their own subjects: but they have attempted to levy on the boats of Bhawalpoor, which the treaty assuredly does not give a right to do; and they have fired into the boats of Bhawalpoor merchants. The treaty could not have been misconstrued on these points, and therefore I do not believe they misconstrued Article xi., but broke it purposely. The treaty has also been broken by treasonable correspondence and vexatious acts, as set forth in the Complaints.

“Now, what punishment do I propose for their misconduct? Injury to their families? No! Injury to their subjects? No! What then? The reduction of their territory by four places; two of which, Sukkur and Bukkur, are barren spots, yielding no revenue; the other two, Kurrachee and Shikarpoor, towns nearly ruined by their tyranny; and for one of which, Shikarpoor, we have negotiations pending. To obtain these places in seignorage it is proposed to remit all tribute in arrears, and for the future withdraw our Resident from Hyderabad; the amelioration of the impoverished state of their subjects will thus in time add to the

power and wealth of the Ameers themselves by opening the commerce of the river. To their selfish feelings, their avarice and love of hunting, ought such great general interests to be sacrificed? I think not.

“The real interests of the Ameers demand that their puerile pursuits and blind, avaricious proceedings should be subjected to wholesome control, which their breaches of treaty and our power give us at this moment a lawful right to exercise, and the means of peaceably enforcing. If any civilized man were asked this question—Were you ruler of Scinde what would you do? his answer would be, Abolish tolls on the river, make Kurrachee a free port, protect Shikarpoor from robbers, make Sukkur a mart for trade on the Indus, make a trackway along the banks, get steamboats. Yet all this is what the Ameers dread. They have broken treaties, have given a pretext”—this word is used throughout in the sense of honest rigour—“and my full conviction is, perhaps erroneously, that what I propose is just and humane. I will go further and say, as Nusseer Khan has openly broken treaty, the governor-general may justly seize the district of Subzulcote and give it to the Khan of Bhawalpoor, as I have understood there was some intention of doing.

“The second point Major Outram has drawn my attention to is a very strong one. He tells me the tribes on the river, above that part possessed by the Ameers, do levy tolls, and that there is no treaty or public document forthcoming, in virtue of which we can call upon the Ameers, even of Upper Scinde, not to levy tolls on their own subjects. It is evident therefore, that to call upon the Ameers of Hyderabad not to levy tolls, and to allow the tribes above to do so would be unjust; that is to say it would be unjust to allow the others to levy tolls, but not unjust to prevent the Ameers. The answer to the argument that tolls are levied on the Northern Indus is this. We have with great trouble secured to your boats a free passage on the river through Scinde, we are

resolved to open commerce on that great highway of nations, and you who receive benefit thereby must join in this measure, leading to the good of all and the loss of none. Wherefore to excuse the Ameers upon the ground that others are not coerced is answered by coercing those others.

“Having thus given the best view I can take of this intricate subject I shall accompany it with various documents, among them one giving a kind of return, if it may so be called, of accusations against the Ameers, upon which I have read every paper and founded my opinion of their conduct. By referring to this return it will be seen whether I have justly estimated the complaints made against them by the political agent—documents verifying each transaction being appended. I have got meanwhile a memorandum of the state in which the negotiation for the purchase of Shikarpoor remains: it has been in abeyance since last year. It appears, that, added to the advantages for Sukkur, attending the holding of Shikarpoor, the district would, with the aid of Kurrachee, cover the expense of guarding our newly-acquired towns on the Indus. Should it be deemed proper to make the proposed arrangements, so as to punish the Ameers who have broken treaty, the details can be easily made.”

With this memoir went tables shewing that the tribute to be remitted overbalanced the value of the towns taken by 30,000 rupees yearly: this was given for the right of cutting wood for the steamers, the fuel to be paid for besides.

This memoir was found so forcible, that Lord Ellenborough, who had originally framed a new treaty for the Ameers on a very extended state view of the general interests of India, now sent Sir C. Napier another treaty, designed to punish the Ameers for their transgressions as charged in the “*Return of Complaints*.” But he required the most signal proof of Nusseer Khan’s having invited Beebruck Bhoogtee to arm against the British; and also of Roostum Khan’s letter to the Maharajah.

“Journal, November.—Ordered to frame a new treaty, and

the whole power, patronage, and reformation of the political agency is thrown into my hands, i.e. to fabricate my tools just as a job of no easy execution is to be done! Thin enough I am at present, but thinner must be with all this work. The Ameers are sure to be obstreperous on this new treaty, therefore I took out three thousand men as a hint, and trotted them over the hills to make a shew. Some Beloochee chiefs were there, and, according to my intent, will give the Ameers an exaggerated account of our force. Two thousand are to march northwards soon, but all General England's column will then have arrived, and a strong cavalry regiment is coming from Bhawalpoor: I can therefore guard all my points and meet the Ameers with 2000 men. This will do, as they cannot oppose me with more than 40,000, ill paid and ill trained, and it may be said without artillery. The odds are indeed considerable, and it will not do to be too confident, but rapid movements and boldness will do the work."—He did not then know the Beloochees, or their terrible power in fight.

"Just as I am writing there comes from spies an exact copy of a compact between the courts of Hyderabad and Kyrpoor: it is written in their Korans and exchanged, which is their most solemn mode of alliance. They say they will fight! *J'en doute*. However it must be some time first, because I shall make no move till I hear from Lord Ellenborough in reply to this news. Nevertheless I will secretly enquire about boats to float a force, and then if they fight, the Devil will be among the tailors before they expect him!

"November 5th.—The Ameers in a fright. Conscious of wrong-doing they expect punishment, and the cavalry coming down the river, with the concentration of England's forces from the passes, naturally alarms them, yet they think themselves strong enough to fight. My spies tell me their quarrels are made up, and Ali Moorad, who fought Roostum and Nusseer a month ago, is now in good fellowship with Roostum. All their women are sent far into the desert,

which looks like fighting. Clibborn thinks they will fight. Outram thinks not. However I care little for opinions; my design is to negotiate peaceably yet prepare for fighting. *Some fine fighting*, as Sultan Baber calls it. Funny fellow!

“From intelligence of what passed in the first secret dhurbar, it appears that a fellow told them my soldiers were all in hospital with cholera and dysentery; it was then I had the review and run the columns over the hills, and now my gun-boats shall be exercised on the river. If I wanted to give the Ameers a thrashing my strength should be concealed until they were in a bag, and so far as they are personally concerned there would be no objection; but if we come to knocks we shall tumble over a lot of their poor dependents, and my ambition is not for a *butcher's bill*. The fear of creating such bloody work is always in my mind: my wish is to save them and I am likely to succeed, being so bent on it, but if we come to blows they cannot be saved. If once we draw out in battle array war must have its course, and a horrid course it is, though in these countries they think it all right and natural! Poor people! The Ameers' women have been sent out of the way of danger I hear, which gladdens me; but I must have the poor class of women and children out of mischief also. These the Ameers would slaughter by dozens rather than lose a day's hunting in their new forest; our old-new forest was not near so extensive as their hunting shikargahs, which are said to cover nearly one-fourth of the whole land!

“November 6th. The Ameers are cunning. They are enclosing the whole of the wooded banks of the river as hunting grounds, meaning thus to deprive us of wood for our steamers, for these shikargahs are by treaty to be respected. In this wheel I will put a spoke that shall stop its rolling. Our wood is nearly out, and when quite out this question shall be put—which do your highnesses prefer, my burning your brushwood or burning Hyderabad? one of the two must be

done! They may answer as they please, I will do as I say, for the matter is not one to be trifled with. We have no treaty, no provision giving the right to cut wood, yet we depend on it for everything: was ever such stupid work! The Ameers having hit this blot are going to shove me to the wall, but when safety is at stake might is right.

"7th.—On the 4th we gave a dinner to Major Outram, I was in the chair and doubtless shall be censured, because he is in bad odour with Lord Ellenborough; however if Lord E. is such a bad fellow as to take umbrage, let him: but I do not think so ill of him, he is a good fellow.

"November 8th.—We have just heard that General Pollock has blown up, not the fortified *Ballar Hissar* but the beautiful *Bazaar* built by Aurengzebe! As Lord Ellenborough makes no remarks upon this in publishing the dispatch my hope is that he condemns such Vandalism.

"November 18th.—On the 12th got a letter from Lord E. with the draft of another new treaty. He says—If you are satisfied that Nusseer Khan of Hyderabad wrote the treasonable letter to Beebruck Bhooghtee, then proceed to inflict the penalty by force—or to that effect. But when human blood is to be shed it is no light matter, and so with my friend Brown's good help I have with pains got full proof of Nusseer Khan's treason: this shall go to Lord Ellenborough, for I will take nothing on myself except in cases where time is important, and it is not so here. The Ameers have indeed collected in various places about 20,000 men, who will not however stay long from their homes without money, and their masters are avaricious, like the Greeks, Ali Pacha, and all other barbarians. I am glad to procrastinate for the saving of lives and shall seek to avoid a fight, though to thrash them will be easy and to my worldly advantage: but God preserve me from seeking that at the expense of blood. Lord E. must not lay unnecessary responsibility on me: he is the proper man to decide, when proof as to the treasonable letters are sent to him; and as there are now two other gross

breaches of treaty to be added, he has the right and the power to compel the Ameers to govern as they ought. No blame to them for wishing to drive us out of Scinde but we have a right to insist on our treaty; we desire not to dethrone them, but to strengthen their thrones by enforcing just government.

“Lord E.’s answer will be here about the 1st of December, the new treaty shall then be proposed, and if refused I march to take from Roostum Khan of Kyrpoor and Nusseer of Hyderabad, certain tracts for which tribute will be remitted to the value of the land. Will they submit? I will march on the capital if they don’t. I will go by land though, I will not descend the river; there are not boats enough, they would be heavily laden and often get on shore, to be helped out of their troubles by a matchlock and gingal fire from the banks. No boating therefore for me, I will cross to Roree with 5000 men, march down the river road and reach Hyderabad compact, horse foot and artillery, taking Kyrpoor in my way and perhaps some of their castles, and then lay hold of Omercote in the desert which will give me a half-way house between Hyderabad and Deesa. They will try to treat, but I will take their country and make the Indus the frontier from Mittenkote. Lord E. may settle affairs his own way *north*, but if I fire a shot I will go the whole hog to the sea-shore. Ameers be prudent, or *Mene, mene, tekeli, upharsin*.

“An officer here to-day from Deera Gazee Khan. He says the tyranny is horrid! Sawan Mull of Mooltan is a villain. His troops are numerous and well drilled and pillage for their master dreadfully, while on the west the hill tribes come down to rob the people of their grain: when the poor creatures could get a word with Lieutenant Layard it was, *Oh! sir when will the sahebs come to save us?* I have sent four officers to Mooltan to spy the nakedness of the land; that is to examine roads, for I hear Sawan Mull is fortifying Mooltan and is very inimical to

the British : it may be necessary to give him cause, which he has not yet had. To upset such a chap would be good. Outram provokes me, he pities those rascals, who are such atrocious tyrants that it is virtuous to roll them over like ninepins. All I want is not to be compelled to slay their poor slaves : however the soldiers of the Ameers are all Beloochees, i.e. robbers and murderers.

“ M’Naughten’s attempt to catch Acbar has done much mischief. Roostum Khan wanted to meet me on the 14th. I agreed but he did not come to the garden appointed, my head-quarters being on t’other side of the Indus. He proposed another day at a place six miles down the river, but not liking this cavalier way I said No ! I will not be insulted. I am told he had assembled 6,000 troops in that garden, and set his son half way to watch what troops I took to the meeting : this was sheer fright, a report being spread that my design was to seize him. I have told him he did me great injustice, that I was no traitor and moreover could, if it pleased me, pull him out of Kyrpoor in the face of day. On this message he broke up his camp and returned to his castle ! I should have looked foolish had I gone alone, or with a few officers into a body of Beloochees, and though the 6000 reported were most likely only 800 they were enough. There was probably little danger here, but all this comes of M’Naughten’s conduct. My position is difficult. If I thrash these chaps and take their land abuse will follow ; if I let them get the better in treating, it will be abandoning the only opportunity their poor subjects have of obtaining a little relief from grinding oppression. My mind is however made up : if they fire a shot Scinde shall be annexed to India.

“ To get this large cantonment into order is difficult : the military have been all at sixes and sevens and it requires vigour to pull the jokers up, but it shall be done. It is a very fine force, fine officers, fine men ; but they have had no *Commander*, the camp is full of *Suggestors*, who would

make a mob of the force in a week : all this is very disagreeable, but a wild set must be held tight where there are so many. This system of suggesting infects all Indians. A letter from Mr. Maddocks to-day, about Outram, says in substance, I thought you would have *suggested* to the governor-general that his mention of Outram in public orders was insufficient. Thus everybody suggests to superiors, all proposals come from below and command seems a word not understood ! Lord Auckland was dictated to by his clerks : ergo Cabool. Lord Ellenborough I see is determined to teach them '*the differ*.' What ! I, a major-general, to tell the governor-general he had not sufficiently praised an officer whom I had hardly seen, whose service had not been under me, and whose merits and demerits Lord Ellenborough knew, or had a right to know better than I. Was ever such a thing heard of ! My friend Outram has been spoiled in this way."

Upon these passages the following cross note was written in after times with a full knowledge of the man and the facts. —"All this praise of Outram is delightful ! How I was humbugged ! So has many a better man been before me, and will be after me : this it is to take a man's opinion of himself. But others did the same, and led me astray. Poor Colonel Mc—— did not. At Poonah he took me aside and said—'*General you will in Scinde meet Major Outram, let me warn you against him : he has humbugged every one but myself and Lord Keane.*'"

"November 19th.—The Ameers threaten, and it was proposed in their dhurbar to cut the throats of all their wives to shew me they were in earnest ! A court where such a proposition could be discussed, or made, is unfit to be left loose : if they do such acts of barbarism they must be treated with the like. I am to meet Ali Moorad, the most warlike of the Talpoor race, at daylight on his side of the river. I suppose he will play no tricks.

"November 22nd.—Five letters from Lord E. all dated the
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14th, with work enough for a month in each: one a very kind private note insisting on my passing the hot season at Kurrachee as *my health is so important to him and to the public service*. Glad he thinks so, and he gives me this proof of sincerity, that he is going to ask the duke to put me on the Bengal staff in place of Sir Robert Dick, whose time will end in a year, but in a much higher command than Dick's; that is of all the north-western frontier, which Lord Ellenborough now holds himself and considers the most important in India: it is so, and Scinde is the next. He seems to think I shall put all these provinces right in eight months, and so do I, but it may require a battle first. He thinks so too, and offers me more troops, but I have enough: the question must however be settled early in December or the heat will be upon us. Then, for seven months, no European or even native soldier can shew his nose on parade without being struck down by the sun, for the mercury ranges from 107° to 130° in the shade! In the war two officers and ten men tried to reach Shikarpoor, and on the first ten miles nine men and one officer lay dead! Going to Bengal, to Agra and Delhi, will be pleasant and I may yet be the person who takes Scinde and the Punjaub, and extends the bounds of India to the Indus: it will be curious if this happens."—It would have happened had Lord Hardinge understood war better, and not forced himself to patch up a hollow truce which gave England some disgrace and Cashmere to the monster Goolab Sing.

"November 23rd.—Ali Moorad to-day. I will take no guard nor shew any mistrust, he dare not attempt violence and my wish is to teach him that Meer Roostum did me injustice. It is right to try for the restoration of confidence in our honour, and not a soldier shall go with me:—three officers only. I apprehend no danger, but if anything happens my course will have been right for the honour of England, and no Cabool stain will rest on my memory.

"Ali Moorad received me with every honour, sending his

little fat-boy son to meet me. Taking him into my boat we crossed the river, landed under a salute of fifty-one guns, and then passed through two ranks, one of cavalry one of infantry, to his tent, where he met me. We embraced, sat down in full dhurbar, and as usual he offered me money, which I have not the least doubt everybody thinks I take. In a retired apartment of his tent we had a talk. He asked me to promise him the *puggree*. My answer was, Your highness is brother of Roostum Khan, who now wears the turban, while he lives you cannot hold the chieftaincy; but you are by law his heir to the *puggree*, and as the treaty binds us to support each Ameer in his rights you shall be supported in yours. He looked delighted and said to Brown, who interpreted, 'I am glad. If the general would not help me I am quite strong enough to take it by force, but I want my friends the English to be on my side. Now, there is another thing. My brother Roostum is intriguing to set up his son as wearer of the *puggree* during his own life: will the general permit that?' No. Your right shall be supported against him, but remember this; the governor-general supports you because it is your right and because you have been always faithful; if you alter your conduct he will not support you: he rewards friends, he punishes enemies, therefore my promise is only conditional. He replied, 'All that is just,' and we parted as allies.

"Who gets this *puggree* turban is to me moonshine, because they really have no fixed rule; hitherto it has gone through the brother, and then to the eldest son's son, who does not inherit till his uncles are all out of the way: then indeed the young chaps shout 'Glory be to God!' Now, well I know that if the turban comes to Ali Moorad, as it will if Roostum dies while my command exists, he will directly ask me to guarantee it to his son, which I will not do as Roostum's son will be heir. But my strong suspicion is that Roostum will force me to deprive himself of the turban, and of his kingdom too! In that case my little fat,

black Napoleon shall have the turban: he is a determined little devil.

“Though careless of who has the turban it has been useful to enter into this case, as three good things are thereby effected, all of which came into my head while we talked, for I had gone resolved to shirk answering any questions. 1°. It has detached Ali Moorad from the league against us, and he is the most powerful Ameer; therefore less chance of bloodshed. 2°. Making him chief will in due time force others to acknowledge his supremacy and sole right to negotiate, which will reduce our complicated voluminous negotiations to a trifle. 3°. The other Ameers will then sink into rich noblemen instead of independent sovereigns. Sukkur, Bukkur and Roree, which last I am ordered to seize, will then quickly rise to one great city to be called *Victoria on the Indus*. It will be well governed, and so free that the turbaned Ameer will be overlaid by the commercial city. Thus the Scindian banks of the Indus will fall peaceably into our hands, unless we are idiots; but against the machinations of idiots a policy of cast-iron could not stand!

“November 24th.—Shikarpoor. Rode here on a camel; the motion is not fatiguing to me. This city is 29 miles from Sukkur and the land is all flat, not an inch rise on either side as far as the eye reaches; the soil is rich and nearly all inundated yearly by the Indus, wherefore everything planted would spring up like magic, yet all is waste: the robber rules! With God's help, ere I am six months older he shall have a wipe as a beginning for a new era in Scinde. I am gathering up my reins, my feet are in the stirrups, my hand is on my sword, and if I do not put these chaps to rights with vigour and without rigour great is my mistake. It will be Lord Ellenborough's fault, not mine; but I think he will support any blow struck by me to free these poor people: they live in a larder and yet starve! The robber is master! The ride was 30 miles and it requires 30

more to reach the bordering desert, and everywhere it is a plain of manure, with plenty of wood though and wild boars, game of all kinds, abundance of excellent water, everything but justice, none of that, but murder robbery and all sorts of gaieties instead. The Ameers rob by taxes; the hill tribes by matchlocks; the cultivators can only earn their living close around their villages, where a shout collects them all in a minute for defence, within a square mud fort with towers at the corners.

“At Lukkee, where I breakfasted, they told me that last year a poor lady and gentleman, probably an officer and his wife, were robbed and their throats cut there. The fellows around me at the time were wild-looking devils and cast sheep's eyes on my silver strings; but my guards, thirty irregular Scinde horsemen, were all adepts in throat-slicing and looked it: never were seen more picturesque figures, with their wild locks of thin matted hair, matchlocks on shoulder, sabres and shields slung on their back, and their loose yellow tunics and turbans of bright scarlet. These fellows would all have died round me sooner than let me be *looted*, as they call being robbed: yet, at the holding up a finger they would have sacked the village with delight. Their morals are not beautiful; their dress, their arms, their horses, their trappings are so beyond doubt; the Albanians alone rival them, yet these men seem to exceed even the Albanians, being all mounted. Almost every man I met this day bore sword and shield, for all are inclined to rob and all have life to lose if nothing else. If I can lay the first stone of a system that will give peace and humanity to the Indus my life will not be in vain, and I think I shall do so.

“November 25th.—Sukkur. Those Ameers have again broken treaty by taking toll from a merchant's boat; they shall be paid off sharp, they shall have a leaf out of Oliver Cromwell's book. The merchant and his crew shall go to the Ameer with an order for payment of all loss. If not

paid, I will go with 5,000 men and demand his bill and my costs. These rascals must now be hit hard for my last effort has been made to serve them. I forced from them a command to their agents on the river not to levy more tolls; they have levied once since and it was by me passed over contrary to Lord Ellenborough's orders, which were to enforce the matter rapidly. Now they have got together 20,000 or 30,000 men:—it is even said 60,000: they know my camp is sickly, that 500 men are down with fever, and they say they can *sweep away the Feringhees as the Affghans have done*. We shall see. Nusseer Khan you are a fat fool, and this is all of your *hatching*; but my belief is that Roostum has *done* the job, in which case Ali Moorad will turn out on my side for battle; yet my present thought is not to let him, being able for my own work and not liking Beloochee allies: they are however all Talpoors and I can therefore make Ali Moorad get the women safe out of the forts, and so have no shedding of female blood, no violence.

“ November 26th.—It is Roostum's doing after all. The Bhawalpoor merchants have been several times levied upon, but were afraid to complain: at last an old resolute chap has done so, the poor people have been with me and given proof in the receipt of Roostum's river Kardar. My aide-de-camp is gone with a stiff letter, ordering the Ameer to pay certain rupees and send his Kardar to be dealt with after my pleasure. Two hours only are given for the answer, and meanwhile 4,000 infantry, 1,000 cavalry, and 20 guns are ready to cross the Indus: we shall see what their vaunting comes to!

“ November 27th.—The Ameers have struck colours or wish to gain time, it is doubtful which. They paid the money at once, and promise to send the Kardar to me: this they will not do but say, either that he has run away or is the agent of Roostum's son who pretends to be in rebellion against his father. My hope is the last, for then we can

march against the rebel and seize his territory on the left bank of the Indus, which is just what I want; and what the poor peasants want, and what my orders are to do as a punishment for his father's treason, if proof were found of that treason: and proof is now in my hands, the son must forfeit his pretended right to the land, for it is well known his rebellion is a sham.

"Roostum suspects the proof of his treason with the Sikhs is in my hands and wants to save Subzulcote and Bhoong-Bara—which Lord Ellenborough has ordered me to take from him in punishment—by letting his son take them. He knows we want them for our ally the Nawab of Bhawalpoor, and that his own right is only one of force as the Ameers took it from the Nawab in 1838. The latter was marching to retake it, but our army stopped him and gave it to Roostum as a bribe for aid in the Affghan war. All this trickery methinks I see through, and hope to confound with my beautiful camel battery: dear solemn camels with their noses up in the air, looking so philosophical and dragging nine-pounders tied to their tails as if they were feathers.

"28th.—Ali Moorad wants to see our soldiers: he shall, and if he has an eye for business will be quiet after seeing them.

"29th.—Ali came. He and little fat Napoleon: they were delighted. I like Ali Moorad.

"November 30th.—My spies tell me that Roostum in secret dhurbar said. If the Feringhees will go away from Scinde they shall have any money they ask for, even though I am obliged to sell my women's jewels; but if they remain I will collect my troops and we will drive them out. From another quarter I hear all the Beloochee chiefs are to meet the 7th of December in arms; but this day also came Lord Ellenborough's orders to enforce the new treaty. He agrees to Outram being my commissioner, but forbids me waiting for his arrival. He little knows me if he supposes me to

have the least intention of waiting for Outram; I want him only to arrange details of exchanges of tribute for land, not for the work of opening the treaty. I have already had all the papers translated into Persian, and they go to-morrow by French and Stanley to Kyrpoor and Hydrabad: to-morrow also two thousand men pass the Indus, and two thousand others are ready to do the same with three batteries and a thousand horsemen. I am to take the territory, from Roree, inclusive, up the river about a hundred miles. I will not however further divide my force by sending any troops up the Indus, but will hold them altogether at Roree and Sukkur until the Ameers act. If they bow their necks the left bank shall be cautiously occupied as far as Subzulcote, and I will then call down the Nawab of Bhawalpoor, as the territory is eventually to be his.

“If the Ameers hope to attack me when divided they will fail, for my troops at Bhoong-Bara will rapidly descend the river to Sukkur, the Nawab will pour in from the north, and when they have inundated the district I will march on Hydrabad: thus the Indus will become ours from Mittenkote to the mouth at a blow. If the Ameers resist openly, or by stratagem, they will have the wrong sown by the ear: better do as they are bid. Meanwhile my orders are to deprive them of the right to coin money; a heavy blow, and we are altogether unjust abstractedly, having no original right to be here, but humanity will gain. Another fortnight will decide whether I am to rule Scinde or be out-generalled by the Ameers! All the rich people, and the poor also who are not robbers, await with anxiety the event, that they may express their joy and flock to Kurrachee and Sukkur: this speaks volumes. They will soon know.

“December 1st.—Preparing for movement and battle, and curious to ascertain, if it comes, whether I can command; for unless real work can be done drill and so forth are nothing. I know how to command a regiment or a brigade in battle; but here is an army with every one seemingly

ignorant of war, and their work will fall on my shoulders, besides what would be my own supposing the heads of departments knew theirs. They are all so willing however, and so anxious to do right, that if things go wrong my discontent with myself will be great.

“December 2nd.—Sent Stanley with the treaty to Hyderabad, but will keep that for Kyrpoor 'till to-morrow; for, if the Ameers of Kyrpoor get the start of me they will send such lies to Hyderabad as may make the friendly Ameers there commit themselves.

“4th.—This day the treaty went to Kyrpoor, and the Ameers received it with great apparent disgust. They deny the authenticity of their treasonable letters, but that is fudge! They say a confidential vakeel will to-morrow convince me how unjustly the governor-general treats them: I will not act before hearing their statement. This argues that they will not fight, which pleases me in one sense; yet their submission makes me sorry to punish them, at least the old man Roostum: poor old fellow, he is they say the dupe of Futteh Mohamed Ghoree, who is believed to be a villain, and looks it.

“5th.—Roostum has resigned the turban to his son, a violent man and against us: this may produce war, for Ali Moorad shall succeed. Now then what is my position? These people will try to spin out the cold weather in negotiations, and then we cannot put our noses out of shade: this shall not be. Their remonstrance shall go to Lord Ellenborough, but meanwhile the districts of Subzulcote and Bhoong-Bara must be occupied, unless they state some very staggering arguments to hold my hand, which cannot I believe be done.

“I almost wish they proudly defied us and fought, for they are so weak, so humble, that punishing them goes against the grain; but these feelings must not affect deeds: we are acting substantially justly and for the good of the mass, while these Talpoors are like their own crocodiles.

"6th.—Nine hundred sick, but not many deaths. Anxious about Lieut. McMurdo, who has been sent with 30 horsemen on a mission.

"7th.—The Ameers send vakeels to gain time. I listen to them with the same object, for I want to get all my stores up from Shikarpoor and my 30 horsemen back from Hydrabad; if we get to cuffs they might be cut off, and I will not lose a single soldier that can be saved.

"8th.—Ameers and I playing each our game, it will go on until the 14th when operations shall commence.

"9th.—Getting the troops into good order, and shall in a few days have 12,000 men.

"10th.—Got sites for barracks, hospital, magazine and 'serai,' and will now begin building."—This serai, or commercial depot, was part of Lord Ellenborough's great plan for improving India and connecting the different kingdoms by the bonds of trade.

"12th.—Stanley has returned by land: he made sharp work, run some risk coming back and was once or twice insulted. There seems little doubt as to fighting now, but the Ameers shall not be pushed for some days; my 30 horsemen are not come in yet, two detachments 22nd Regt. are on the river, and my stores are still at Shikarpoor. The Ameers are said to have ten thousand Beloochees at Lar-kaana, on the right of the Indus; and if they were to assail the small garrison of Shikarpoor, though they would be easily repulsed I should have to abandon that place, because my orders are to do so. But to abandon a town after a shot is fired goes against my grain, as looking so like being kicked out that neither friends nor enemies will doubt the fact: wherefore, no movement until disembarassed of that town and all are assembled peaceably at Sukkur without stain on our arms.

"Roree is now in my hands, and my Bombay troops shall be thrown across the road leading from Kyrpoor to Subzulcote, making points towards the first. Wallace shall

then occupy the new district in my rear while I protect his march by preventing the Ameers following him. When he occupies Subzulcote I shall have possession of all the new treaty requires: without a shot I hope. The Ameers cannot then turn me out, and if they assail Roree I shall beat them and pursue to Kyrpoor and Hydrabad, keeping close to the river to secure my supplies.

“December 14th.—Ameers cry ‘peccavi.’ Yet I should not say that, for they deny guilt: they are guilty, but know well we cannot prove it. How is it to be proved? In what court? We have their treasonable letters plotting an attack; take them to the dhurbar and they will deny them. How disprove the denial? Not by handwriting, for they never write themselves, save when paying some great honour.

“It is your highnesses’ seal. No.

“It is exactly the same. Very likely it is well counterfeited. Why should your signet be forged? By enemies? No! we got the seal in a way that could not be by enemies. We know nothing of that, the seals are not ours; we have ever been true to the British.

“No! you have constantly been making petty war. Our servants may have done so.

“But you never punished them. We pardoned them, they were ignorant.

“We know this writing to be that of your highnesses’ confidential clerk. He denies it, and a hundred people will swear it is not his: will you believe your moonshee against a hundred people?

“Such would be the result of a judicial enquiry. But the Ameers are guilty and the governor-general is resolved to punish them. We are indeed guilty of coming into their country; but do the people wish for us or for the Ameers? For us to a man, even the poorest people. The armed Beloochee robber of course does not, and we are robbers as well as he, but we rob in a legal way; and after all an

attorney's bill, tho' very bad, is not so bad as a cut-throat: our bill also touches the rich rather than the poor. This disquisition is not good for much: my orders are to take so much territory and my business is to do so with little violence, and if possible without bloodshed. Now in two days my position at Roree will cut the Ameers off from the districts to be taken, and if they do not attack me my work will be done without blood—God be thanked for that great mercy.

“December 15th.—The Scinde horse and grenadiers are over the Indus, want of boats stops the rest; the people from Shikarpoor not yet come, from want of carriage. My wish is not to fire a shot till all retrograde movements cease, for whoever fires and retires is beaten: so at least your enemy will say, and with reason. All Lord E.'s proclamations and decorations for Pollock's and Nott's affairs will not hinder the Affghans saying they destroyed one army and kicked two others out, and history will say the same. I will not fire a shot until all my troops are in, and the march from Shikarpoor now only appears as the wind-up of England's retreat, and a peaceful proceeding.”

The foregoing outline of the intricate policy on hand must now be filled up from his public correspondence, tracing a few weeks back.

“Lord Ellenborough. November 5th.—Extracts. I have read with gratification your proclamation relative to the Dhost and his family. Coupled with the late victories the moral effect will be great all over India and calm down this troubled frontier: it will be felt in Europe also. My hope is to effect all we want in Scinde without force, but Nusseer Khan is a wrong-headed man. I only await hearing from your lordship to draw out a fresh treaty and submit it to the Ameers, sparing no pains to convince them that neither injury nor injustice is meditated.

“Sir Thos. MacMahon.—As to the Cabool bazaar, the memorials of Aurengzebe do not belong to Acbar, nor to

the barbarians amongst whom we find them :—they belong to history. Lord Ellenborough's proclamation is worthy of his elevated position, and I hope he will issue none approving of the destruction of Aurengzebe's bazaar.

“ Lord Ellenborough. November 17th.—I have delayed, hoping to procure a seal of Nusseer Khan. The whole now depends, as I construe your decision, upon three things. 1°. Is the letter from Nusseer Khan of Hydrabad to Beebruck Bhoogtee authentic? 2°. Is the letter from Roostum Khan of Kyrpoor to the Maharajah Shere Sing authentic? 3°. Did Futteh Mohamed Ghoree, the confidential agent of Roostum, assist the escape of Mohamed Shurreef?

“ As to the first, I have endeavoured to obtain, as yet without success, an authenticated seal of Nusseer to compare with that of the intercepted letter, and to submit them both for your inspection and decision, because in so grave a matter I should feel it extremely presumptuous in me to act upon my own judgment, when in a few days your lordship's can be obtained. Major Outram, Major Clibborne, Lieut. Brown and my confidential moonshee, hitherto employed in the political agency, agree that the seal is that of Nusseer Khan; but on measuring with compasses the details of this seal and those of the Ameers which are in the office, they do not exactly coincide in size and distance between the letters. They agree in all other respects I am told by those who can read Persian, and the discrepancy is accounted for thus: it is notorious, that the Ameers have two seals, one to be used for secrecy that if discovered they may deny it and adduce their ordinary seal in proof, pointing out the want of coincidence. I have been trying to get one of these secret seals through the same people who intercepted the letter, but they have been unable to obtain one. This is very strong presumptive proof that the letter is not a forgery of theirs, because the object of a first forgery would

be secured by a second, and the instrument would be in their hands.

“With regard to Roostum’s letter to Shere Sing, there are doubts on Major Outram’s mind as to his being privy to this letter; but of its having his seal and being written by his minister, Futteh Ghoree, there is no doubt. Is the doctrine to be admitted, that if a prince gives his signet and power blindly to his minister such folly is to excuse him from the consequences? Your lordship will hardly admit this. However, without the original document, which is in the possession of Mr. Clerk, I can form no opinion. That Futteh Ghoree did assist the escape of the Synd Shurreef no one acquainted with the case doubts. Now, if your lordship considers the above sufficient to act upon no time shall be lost in proposing the new treaty, and I am perfectly prepared to act in a way which I imagine will bring them to reason without bloodshed.

“Lord Ellenborough, November 18th.—Extract. I have procured not only a seal similar to that of Nusseer Khan, but on the cover of the letter it is attached to is writing known to be that of Chokram, the Ameer’s confidential moonshee. Nothing has been lost by the delay in looking for this seal, because one cannot be too cautious in securing firm moral ground to base the defence of whatever events may arise. The Ameers also grow weaker, delay exhausts their treasury and they cheat their soldiers, who of course leave them. This also is the season of fevers along the banks of the Indus, and if the Ameer’s pride should produce hostilities I should have a large hospital on my hands in a few days, losing probably many soldiers and camp followers. An hospital would, from the nature of this country be very troublesome:—it is so in any country. If obliged to move on Hyderabad I must do so by the road along the river, or that through the desert, and to supply comforts for the sick along the last would be difficult, perhaps impossible:

that along the river would quickly double the size of my hospital !

“ I am bringing up the Queen’s 22nd Regiment, for I have a sickly camp, which was inevitable after England’s long march from Candahar ; but all these things being considered, I should have regretted if the Ameers had called us out before : now they are welcome.

“ Should the Ameers take the field, my mind is made up to cross the Indus and march on Hyderabad by land. For 1°. The water is so low that boats get along with difficulty, even when not heavily laden ; 2°. If filled with troops, guns, ammunition, they would not only ground but stick for days. I do not think I could float above 1000 men with guns, &c., and half might stick in the mud within reach of matchlocks. 4°. Nothing would be gained here by rapidity though all went down stream without accident, for the enemy has no positions to fortify, no works he can strengthen, no stronger place to retire to. It is therefore the same to go in three or thirteen days, and by land we march compact to beat or be beaten altogether : slow and sure is an adage suited to my position. Moreover by land I take Kyrpoor at once, and can throw myself between the northern and southern Ameers.

“ Sir G. Arthur, November 19th.—I received Lord Ellenborough’s draft of a new treaty on the 12th, by which our occupation of Scinde is fixed. Sukkur, Bukkur, Roree, Kurrachee with Tattah, or such places as I determine upon as we proceed in the negotiation, are the points : I am not allowed to keep Shikarpoor, which I think a mistake ; whether right or wrong will be seen.

“ Lord Ellenborough, November 23rd.—This is a severe climate for our constitutions, and cannot be trifled with ; but for one man ill from climate ten are so from bad barracks, and the imprudence to which those barracks drive young men. The Sepoy here is still worse lodged than the European ; and I am sorry to say that too often is seen an indifference about those poor blacks. *‘Oh ! don’t mind it, those*

natives put up with anything. Yes, they do put up because they are unable to help themselves, but they suffer very severely. As to my requiring more troops for carrying your treaty into effect, no! we have enough. These barbarians are only dangerous when a commander is careless and gets his army into a scrape; then indeed they are active, daring, and very dangerous to an entangled force.

“Sir G. Arthur, November 27th.—I had a meeting with Ali Moorad. My orders are now to abandon Shikarpoor, where there is a superb cantonment, to build which and the residency cost no small sum. The residency is really not a sample of propriety; it cost 40,000 rupees, and is on a scale suited for a governor of Bombay rather than a *subaltern* employed as an agent: the political horse was then running away headlong, he has since been brought up, perhaps rather too roughly, but certainly not before time.

“Sir T. McMahon, November 29th.—On receiving orders to reform the political department I struck off the whole establishment of officers and private gentlemen. Then I took from the list of sufferers two aides-de-camp—Lieut. Brown and Mr. Richardson a civil uncovenanted servant, and with them a certain number of clerks, peons, and others, being therein guided entirely by a sense of justice; the salaries are very high and you may conceive I should have liked to bestow some on my own numerous relations, or rather connections and friends in the East Indian service. For example, I might have made my step-son, John Alcock one of my aides-de-camp instead of Mr. Richardson, he having just as much right. Or my grand nephew”—his first wife’s grand nephew—“Mr. Curling, or either of his brothers: all being heavy on my hands. To any one of these £600 a year would have been a fortune, but I thought those who had served honestly through the war, and then been dismissed, had claims before any others and I gave nothing away save to them. You see then how difficult it would be for

me to employ Captain Morse"—proposed by Sir Thomas. "I arranged the whole thing the very day his lordship's commands arrived, for the press of business was very great. He has approved of my arrangement, by which with forty-two men I do what before employed 160 or 170, and this with a saving of 168,000 rupees annually to the public.

"Lord Ellenborough, November 30th.—My conviction is that every letter was really written by the Ameers and that nothing is wanted but an opportunity to attack us: that is by Nusseer Khan of Hyderabad and Roostum Khan of Kyrpoor. Every preparation is made to act on receipt of your lordship's letter. I have calculated upon the average of the thermometer being under 80° till April, when it will rise: the mean heat last March was 71°. The average maximum only 83°. Therefore we have weather for military operations till 1st April, and even April would not be very dangerous.

"December 1st. Being confident that the troops under my hand are equal to any emergency, I feel assured there is no occasion for the Bombay troops under General Nott"—offered by Lord Ellenborough—"nor any movement of the cavalry. The Scinde horse in this cantonment, and the 9th Light Cavalry, will give me about a thousand available for action, as I shall have no convoys; for though unable to use the river for troops it is everything for supplies, and the steamers will be on the flank, under our protection."

The next letter would seem to have been written in anticipation of such war ministers as the Duke of Newcastle and Lord Panmure.

"Sir G. Arthur, December 6th.—I have been obliged to give orders for clothing the drivers of Captain Hutt's battery, they cannot bear the cold, and the accompanying letter will shew you how they have been treated. The consequence was desertion when in Affghanistan, taking their horses with them: thus to save a pair of breeches government lost a man and his horse! A Sepoy gets clothing, lodging-money, medals, twelve rupees a month, and pension. These drivers

get no clothes, no lodging-money, no rewards, no pension, and have more work than any other men, their pay being only eight rupees. It is absurd that men serving together should be so differently cared for. Now, as the men's health is in danger, you will I am confident approve of my having taken on myself the responsibility of clothing them. There are 820 men sick in my camp, nearly all with agues: warm clothing is absolutely necessary!

"—— It is said the Ameers have 60,000 men. I cannot believe they have so many in one mass; but tho' it be so this division would go headlong on them with their bayonets, for my men are young and mad for service. I have secret information that if the Ameers go to war they mean to harass us night and day till we call out *Oh God what have we done that thou shouldst let loose such devils upon us.* This passed in their dhurbar, and a very good plan too. They also propose to assemble a large force at *Sehwan*, ready to march on Sukkur the moment I march on Kyrpoor: this also is sensible, but pays a poor compliment to my forecast; they may perhaps find men at Sukkur and we may perhaps fight the devils as well as pray! I suspect the most fervent prayers in camp are that we may fight, and that I am the only one who prays that we may not.

"December 7th.—Lord E. A deputation come from the Kyrpoor Ameers, professing submission yet denying any but loyal conduct. I believe this is to gain time for hearing from Hyderabad: I will not therefore take immediate possession of Roree.

"December 8th.—The Ameer of Meerpoor seems to have escaped all notice in any treaty, but he pays half a lac annually. Lieutenant Brown says he has always been our bitter enemy; but we have not any charge substantiated against him and he has no possession on the banks of the Indus: he is independent as a ruler, but his rank is below that of the Ameers at Hyderabad. My opinion is to let his tribute go on, and in the course of adjusting the treaty some-

thing may occur which will enable you to remit his tribute in exchange for land. I am unable as yet to discover why he pays tribute at all.

“December 9th.—It will be advisable to place a magistrate at Roree with a small police, and I will take the liberty to recommend as magistrate, an officer named Rathborne, a lieutenant in the 17th Regiment, N.I. With him I have scarcely any acquaintance, but he appears to me a man of great ability; far beyond those one generally meets with. I understand that many years ago he was employed on some temporary civil affair of considerable difficulty, and performed it with great credit and ability; but not having any interest returned to his regimental duty: he has a mind of no ordinary power. Lieutenant Stanley presented the treaty to the Hyderabad Ameers on the 6th instant. Nusseer denied all disloyal conduct; Sobdar appeared delighted: Stanley thinks they will not resist. They have sent three vakeels: when they arrive, if the answer be satisfactory, I can move the Bengal troops toward Subzulcote. Ali Moorad has as I expected detached himself from the adverse parties. They have discharged no troops, wherefore I do not believe a single word they say: their hostility and cunning are on a par. When I reflect on those qualities, and that the men are regularly drunk with *bhang* every day after three o'clock, it is by no means impossible that they may order a night attack on our camp at Roree, denying afterwards that they had any knowledge of such proceeding: as a precaution therefore I have sent their highnesses the enclosed letter.

“ ‘Ameers. Your submission to the orders of the governor-general and your friendship for our nation should be beyond doubt, because you have solemnly assured me of the same. We are friends! It is right therefore to inform you of strange rumours that reach me. Your subjects, it is said, propose to attack my camp in the night time. This would of course be without your knowledge, and would also be very foolish, because my soldiers would slay those who attacked

them; and when day dawned I would march to Kyrpoor, transplant the inhabitants to Sukkur, and destroy your capital city—with exception of your highnesses' palace, which I would leave standing alone as a mark of my respect for your highnesses, and of my conviction that you have no authority over your subjects. I should also so far entrench upon your highnesses' treasury as to defray the expence of this operation; because it is just that governors should pay for the mischief their subjects inflict upon their neighbours. I therefore advertize your highnesses of the destruction which such an attempt on my camp would inevitably draw down upon Kyrpoor, in order that you may warn your people against committing any act of hostility.'

"Lord E. December 16th.—The Ameers have written the enclosed letters of submission, but my information is that they continue to collect troops. I have therefore told them that their territory shall be occupied in obedience to my orders, but their letters should be sent to you. Accordingly we are crossing the Indus as fast as we can, but have very few boats, the water is very low, and the operation rather difficult.

"December 18th.—Last night the mails were robbed near Kyrpoor by Meer Roostum's people. The poor old fool is in the hands of his family. I have sent him orders to disband his troops instantly. I suspect he has no power, and I must rule his bands for him. The Beloochees are plundering all between this and Shikarpoor: this news reached me this morning, but these things must be expected where such wild unmanageable tribes of robbers are collected to form an army.

"December 20th.—A secret message has come from Roostum, the bearer had an open letter but privately informed Lieutenant Brown that Roostum could do nothing, and would escape to my camp. I did not like this, it would have embarrassed me, but the idea struck me that he might go to Ali Moorad's, who might induce him as a family ar-

rangement to resign the turban, especially as Roostum has long wished to get rid of that charge. I therefore secretly wrote to Roostum and Ali Moorad, and this morning had an express from Ali to say his brother is safe with him in his fort of Dejee; and he requested me not to move on Kyrpoor before 12 o'clock this day, to give time to his women to get away. This I promised, and the more readily that from other circumstances I could not move before to-morrow. Ali Moorad is now virtually chief, for if Roostum does not bestow the turban on him he will at all events be guided by Ali, into whose hands he has voluntarily thrown himself. Ali Moorad was more powerful than any Talpoor even when Roostum's name and authority were against him; now he is irresistible and in alliance with us.

"I shall move forward to-morrow and disperse the bands, if the step taken by Roostum has not already done so. I will place the forts in the hands of Ali Moorad, nominally in those of Roostum. Then I think all will be quietly arranged, and placed on a firm basis for the future. The plundering tribes that might annoy our communications hereafter, without meeting us in the field, will not dare to do so against the will of Ali Moorad and he will thus be our chief of police, and at the same time always in our grasp himself. The abstract result of our proceedings in Upper Scinde is this. Ali Moorad the most powerful of the Talpoors is secured by promise of the turban. Roostum the actual chief of the Talpoors, frightened at the violence of his family and our steady operations, has thrown himself into his brother's power by my advice, otherwise I should have suspected some trick. Now having complete power over the brother we have power over all, without any chief-making, and without apparent interference, or any disturbance of the order of succession. The result is a fair prospect of a permanent and peaceful state in Scinde without maintaining a large force. Our future line of policy is therefore simple, being merely to secure the ascendancy of the chief Talpoor; and that cannot

be too great, because he can never cope with the Company. I send this by express, for though I never wish to shrink from responsibility I feel most anxious for your approbation, well knowing any error of mine will expose you to blame, and the thorough support I receive makes me deeply sensible of my responsibility. Meer Roostum, as I before stated, agreed to the draft of the treaty, but his son Mahomet Hussein is our chief opponent and the collector of troops.

“Roostum Khan, December 14th.—Ameer. The vakeels you sent to Roree are robbing you. They will tell you that they are bribing my soldiers, and extract money from your highness under that pretext. If they were really bribing my soldiers to desert I would punish them ; but they do no such thing : your highness is robbed by your servants. If you are not robbed, and that they, as they pretend, were bribing my soldiers it was high time to turn them out of Roree: this I have done, and if I find them attempting to disturb the loyalty of my troops it will be worse for them.

“Ameer. I have received my orders and will obey them. I laugh at your preparations for war. I want to prevent blood being shed, listen therefore to my words. Consult with your brother, his highness Ali Moorad. Your own blood will not deceive you—your servants will. These men were four days in Roree and did not deliver your letters to me ; had I not sent for them they would still have kept them from me, to gain time for robbing you.

“Eight days have now past and I have not heard that your highness has nominated a commissioner to arrange the details of the treaty. I expect to have in writing your full acceptance of the draft thereof by the return of the bearer of this. Your highness is collecting troops in all directions, I must therefore have your acceptance of the treaty immediately—*yea* or *nay*. I will not lose the cold weather. Your highness must be prompt or I shall act without consulting you : my time is measured and I cannot waste it in long negotiations.”

“Your highness’s letter is full of discussions, but as there are two sides to your river so there are two sides to your highness’s argument. Many of your highness’s family have taken the same view of the case that the governor-general has ; and the respect they have shown to the British government is repaid to them by the governor-general. But I cannot go into the argument, I am not governor-general, I am only one of his commanders. I will forward your letter to him if you wish me to do so, but meantime I will occupy the territories which he has commanded me to occupy. You think I am your enemy. Why should I be so ? I gain nothing for myself ; I take no gifts ; I receive no jaghires. What is it to me whether your highness or any other person occupies the land ? The governor-general has given to you his reasons, and to me his orders ! they shall be obeyed.”

This ended the long negotiations. His army was now over the Indus, the crisis of his policy had arrived and his spirit broke out with a greatness to which his own words only can do justice.

“Journal, December 15th.—The more deeply my operations are considered the more satisfied am I of being right ; but an end must be put to the extraordinary ferocity which the Affghan war has produced with us : it is disgusting. The Affghans made no fight but killed stragglers ; our people retaliated and finally became worse than the Affghans : they thought, and still think it fine to slay unarmed men. This I will take out of them, it is not natural to British officers.

“December 16.—I am getting the encumbrances over the river, and Wallace’s column will soon be in march up the left bank. My nephew John is ill with fever. He can never bear a soldier’s life, he has no bodily stamina ; but he has all the other qualities of a soldier : it is a sad pity and my anxiety about him is very painful.

“ 17th, Morning.—Worked to death. John worse, and ill myself, very.

“ 17th, Evening.—Nearly done up, and fearful John will die. Six times have I gone full gallop to see him, though my character is at stake. This labour of mind is extreme, so many people depending on me and a great political and military movement on hand when my poor boy is so ill! To help me over the stile I have, besides diarrhœa, an infernal rheumatism in my left shoulder which falls on my nerves.

“ 18th.—John better, but still in great danger. No sleep for me with rheumatism, sickness, appetite gone, nothing but a sense of duty and confidence in my constitution could keep me up: I must leave my poor boy, it crushes me, yet must be and God protects us all. I can neither save him nor serve him. I have set Ali Moorad to get poor old Roostum away from Kyrpoor to his fort of Dejee; then I will damp the courage of his family, but I am sorely tried. I ought to have quiet thoughts and cannot, for I am throwing myself and my troops into a desert, and must not think of John or I may involve all under me in disaster and disgrace. This is a hard trial for an old man of sixty; it shakes me to the foundation. Yet what signifies these troubles? I feel a spring in me that defies all difficulties. The time of life is short, but to spend that shortness vainly 'twere too long! This thought must urge me to resolution, and resolution is half the battle.

“ December 19.—All yesterday John was in great danger, and I had much to do and could not do it, being quite knocked up with labour and illness. Patience! My dear boy is better, that is the great point.

“ A secret message came from Roostum to say he was a prisoner with his family and could not control them; that he would escape to my camp if I would receive him. This would have been embarrassing, exculpating him in fact of

the crime—treasonable correspondence—for which he was being punished, and of which he is only guilty by giving his seal to Futteh Ghoree: which makes him however, by their custom, answerable for that minister's acts; so at least Outram tells me."

At first the general was averse to Ali assuming the turban, but when Roostum resigned voluntarily changed his opinion on these grounds—"Ali is the proper heir, and also the strongest of the Ameers; he is now chief, has his brother Roostum on his side, and I will take the other's forts and put them in his hands. He will then, with our alliance, be master of Scinde for life. The good of all this is, that he will be answerable for the peace of Scinde. He will be able for that, and thus instead of incessant paltry murderous wars prevailing Upper Scinde will be quiet. He can hold his own people in subjection and we could not; regular forces cannot well do so. We may then diminish our garrisons by two or three regiments; and if Lord E. will let me do my will Scinde shall be as quiet as any country in the world. The day after to-morrow we advance against their forts, progressing towards Hyderabad, but how I am to act with the Lower Scinde cocks is not yet clear: to me they seem cunning rogues, pretending meekness and obedience to spin out the cold weather. It won't do Nusseer Khan! I have a better hand than you give me credit for at this game!

"Roree, December 21st.—Ten thousand fighting men and their followers are encamped here at *Alore*, a town built by Alexander the Great. My tent overlooks this most beautiful encampment. The various sounds, the multitude of followers, the many costumes and languages, and the many religions, produce a strange scene which makes a man think. Why is all this? Why am I supreme? A little experience in the art of killing, of disobedience to Heaven's behests, is all the superiority that I their commander can boast of! How humbled thinking makes me feel!

“Still I exult when beholding this force. I have worked my way to this great command and am gratified at having it, yet despise myself for being so gratified! Yes! I despise myself. Not as feeling unworthy to lead for I am conscious of knowing how to lead, and my moral and physical courage are equal to the task: my contempt is for my worldliness. Am I not past sixty? Must I not soon be on the bed of death? And yet so weak as to care for these things! No. I do not. I pray to do what is right and just, and to have strength to say, Get thee behind me Satan! Alas! I have not that strength. Well, this comfort remains. With a secret and strong desire to guide in war I have avoided it studiously!”

THIRTEENTH EPOCH.

FOURTH PERIOD.

GREAT events were now at hand.

Roostum Khan of Kyrpoor, and Nusseer Khan of Hydrabad, had, as turbaned Ameers, accepted Lord Ellenborough's new draft treaty in words but delayed signing, and privately called on their feudatory warriors to gather for action, forming at the same time a secret hostile league in furtherance of which the younger princes of Kyrpoor were diligently enlisting military adventurers. The British right to interpose was evident, because of the delay in signing the treaty and the danger to the British cantonments from the hired bands. Lord Ellenborough's orders had been therefore peremptory for the immediate dispersion of these bands and the occupation of the districts ceded by the new treaty on the left bank of the Indus: hence the passage of that river and the camp at Roree. When these orders were made known to the Ameers they professed unbounded submission, yet with prodigious effrontery denied that any bands existed; and while continuing their preparations for war still delayed signing the treaty, hoping thus to retard the crisis until the hot season, when their warriors would be all assembled and the British unable to act. This policy the general had early detected, and was passing the Indus to execute his orders when Roostum, fearful of the headstrong violence of his sons and nephews, made the secret offer already noticed to enter the British camp, and thus opened a way for effecting the object without bloodshed; he was therefore met by the following letter.

"Highness. My belief is, that personally you have been

ever a friend to the English, but you are helpless amidst your ill-judging family. I send this by your brother, his highness Ali Moorad : listen to his advice, trust to his care, you are too old for war and if battles begin how can I protect you ? If you go with your brother, you may either remain with him or I will send an escort to bring you to my camp, where you will be safe. Follow my advice, it is that of a friend : why should I be your enemy ? If I was, why should I take this trouble to save you ? I think you will believe me, but do as you please."

This was private, but still intent on executing his orders, the general at the same time transmitted the following public letter to the Ameer as *Rais*, designing it for a warning to his turbulent sons and nephews.

"My letters have been stopped near Kyrpoor : this has been done by your orders, or without your consent. If by your orders you are guilty ; if without your consent you cannot command your people. In either case I order you to disband your armed followers instantly, and I will go to Kyrpoor to see that this order is obeyed."

This menace was backed by a proclamation, announcing that by the draft treaty the districts of Subzulcote and Bhoong-Barra were restored to the Nawab of Bhawalpoor ; and the Ameers were forbidden to levy taxes in those districts after the 10th of January 1843. Meanwhile Roostum's sons and nephews occupied the forts at Kyrpoor and other places with their armed men ; and as those forts belonged to the turban this was an act of hostility constituting them rebels to Roostum and enemies to the British. It also clearly indicated a design to war ; for two were far in the desert, namely, Emaum Ghur and Shah Ghur, the first being from its strength and distance in the waste counted by the Beloochees impregnable. Both were well provided—the first by Roostum's rebellious son Hussein, the second by his nephew Nusseer : but Roostum's sudden move to Ali Moorad's fortress of Dejee, in pursuance of the general's

advice, broke all these younger princes' measures for fighting in Upper Scinde and they fled at once from Kyrpoor, leaving Ali Moorad master of all Upper Scinde. At this point Charles Napier resumes his own story.

“Lord Ellenborough, December 20th.—There is no chance of resistance, I cannot be deceived ; at all events I am prepared and the Ameers will pay dearly as my cavalry is sufficient to make the result of a fight decisive. Information has just come that Meer Roostum's son and nephew have fled to the forts in the desert. I shall desire his highness to order them to place those forts in the hands of confidential killedars. If they refuse to obey the orders of their chief I will march against the forts with the cavalry and the camel battery : that will decide everything in the north, and be in perfect concordance with the treaty of 1838. With respect to the Ameers of Hyderabad, they have agreed to everything so far as words go but assemble troops, and I will march in that direction. The whole of Upper Scinde is now in Ali Moorad's hands, and there are no armed bands but his : all is settled here, and in that conviction I have ordered the Bengal troops to march northward. As to Lower Scinde, it is possible that the armed men disbanded here may take service there, and if they mean to fight the departure of the Bengal troops will give them courage, but my remaining force is enough.

“Journal, December 22nd.—Rode to Kyrpoor, but with an escort, as I never trust barbarians : it is free of hostile troops. Shah Newaz, the little black Napoleon, was there to receive me and had no fighting men ; his father therefore feels strong enough, and has all the forts here in his hands : thus in two days all Upper Scinde has been rendered subject to him, and we have but one instead of many independent princes to deal with. Lord Ellenborough orders me to keep the Bengal troops here and offers to send me more. I want no more and wish these were not half so many.” He afterwards found that Lord Ellenborough was right, but was at

this time deceived by the politicals as to the Belooch character. He was now however to arrange his operations against Lower Scinde, and hoping to obtain his object there as he had already done in the upper country by generalship rather than force, planned one of the most remarkable exploits that military history records, and thus gradually disclosed in his letters.

“December 24th.—On the 26th I will march to Kyrpoor with my host, and I may well say bag and baggage! Never did I see the like: there must be more than twenty thousand people in camp, my fighting men being but seven regiments. Well, an Indian army beats cock-fighting! I think I must go to Emaum Ghur, but am nervous about entering the desert; it is a perilous movement, requiring all the caution in the world even without fighting. Every supply must be in my camp: abandon this rule for a day and we are lost, or shall owe our safety to chance. Fearful work that, and if possible my business shall be done without this march, if not it shall be ventured. It is just in an opposite line to Alexander's march in Gedrosia; but I am not an Alexander, and the deserts are the same terrible things on both sides of the Indus. Let me be careful. Water! water! water! Stir will I never without enough of that for the day's march on my beasts, and each day explorers shall go on to find wells a day before.

“December 25th.—To-morrow at four in the morning my army moves: it is the first army I ever put in movement, and it is hard work; for there is much to think of, and there are many who ought to think yet won't, and I must for them. My hope is to do rightly, for it is an immense multitude to move on a wrong road: followers and all not less than 25,000 here, and 5,000 others went off with Wallace this morning to the north. It is good they are gone, for hardly could the Bombay and Bengal men be kept from quarrelling. This enmity between the troops of the two presidencies is incomprehensible, but exists. My

present project is this. All the malcontents have congregated under the son-in-law and nephew, he is both, of Roostum, at Emaum Ghur, which is a hundred miles in the desert. I cannot take my two twelve-pounder iron guns, nor my two 8-inch mortars, the depth of sand, the want of water and forage, are too great: but leaving those guns, the 136 camels carrying the heavy shot and shells will be available for water and forage, and the supply of my guns and 12 lb. howitzers, and these twelve good pieces shall take Emaum Ghur.

“But why take it? For this reason. It is so far in the desert the Ameers believe it invulnerable, and not to be reached: they believe they can harass us by petty warfare, and if we assemble a large force that they can fall back on Emaum Ghur and the bank of the Narra, where we cannot follow. While this feeling exists they will always think themselves independent and safe; but I think Emaum Ghur may be reached, and they be taught that they have no refuge from our power, no resource but good behaviour: Scinde will then be quiet. If I fail it will do harm, yet the attempt must be made or Scinde will never be quiet, and it is worth the risk. I know I shall do it, but the risks are very great. The last twenty-five miles will be in deep sand, a regular succession of hills, steep and without a drop of water! Well, war is full of difficulties, faint heart never won fair lady and fortune is the fairest of the fair! Will my health hold? John's illness nearly floored me: poor fellow, he has not a frame for a soldier like his strong father; *he* is a soldier and a good one, and all else that is good.

“Fort Mungree, December 27th.—Nine miles from Roree, We arrived, bag and baggage, at half-past eleven, having started at half-past six; but the rear did not quit camp until half-past eight, so difficult it is to put an Indian army in march. Oh! the baggage! the baggage! it is enough to drive one mad. We have 1500 camels with their con-founded long necks, each occupying fifteen feet! Fancy these

long devils in a defile: four miles and a quarter of them! Then there are the donkeys and ponies, and led horses, and bullocks innumerable! I think our baggage would reach from this to Pekin: yet all the Indians exclaim, never saw a force with so little baggage! They say I have done wonders in reducing it so much; but I have done nothing except appealing to the good sense of the officers, and reducing my own baggage. It is said, no Indian general ever marched with less than sixteen camels for his own share, generally with several hundreds: Lord Keane had 300; Mr. Ross Bell, the political, 600. I have four camels, and one for my office papers stationary &c. which could not be carried in my small portmanteau, for I have but one and a pair of canteens, with two camp tables, a bed and a private soldier's tent; my own fine tent was left at Sukkur. This soldier's tent requires two camels, my servants' and horses' traps take one, my own things one. I cannot do with fewer animals as my tent is heavier than my servants': Europeans cannot bear the sun through a single canvas roof as the natives do, wherefore our soldiers' tents have a double roof. We got in compact, and would have been quicker but for a wet ditch which impeded the guns; camels slip in sloppy places and disjoint their hips poor animals!

“Rode on to Kyrpoor and told Ali Moorad of my resolution to take Emaum Ghur, to shew his enemies and ours that neither deserts nor hills can save them from our arms and legs. But I did not tell him all my reasons, one was to shew my friend Ali, that if he betrays us he also will have no retreat in the desert! I see clearly they all believe an English army cannot penetrate the desert, and this opinion shall be broken. If Emaum Ghur be taken they will know every place can be so; it is their fighting cock, and before three weeks pass my hope is to take off his spurs. I must halt to-day, because the camels are such poor miserable ones they cannot move after yesterday's

march, and there is abundant pasture here; the secret of their sinking is want of food, they eat slowly and do not get time enough: this must be remedied if possible.

“December 28th.—All my plans upset! These barbarians are not easily understood. It is decidedly Ali Moorad’s interest to be master in Scinde, yet he has let Roostum escape! This bothers me, but it is so far good that it gives me a more decided line to follow: there need be no delicacy now. However my Emaum Ghur project is probably ended, for my information is, that all the Ameers are assembling their forces at a place called *Dhingee*. I have no good map, none exists though we have been here four years! But there is a road marked from this place to *Laloo*, and if my guns could travel on it, and water be obtained, we may from Laloo turn to our left against Emaum Ghur, or to our right against *Dhingee*. The operation will be simply to reach Laloo and there act according to circumstances and to my spies’ tales. I cannot go that road without more information, yet cannot wait five days for information. One way remains. Ali Moorad must get me information or accompany me. Were I sure the Ameers had assembled great numbers to fight I would at once march against them down the river. Patience! patience! difficulties must be encountered in war. Two days now in camp from rain, for camels split themselves on wet ground, and there are too few already: poor animals, the rain will kill many without marching. This kind of weather is said to be unheard of in Scinde. Whatever makes people uncomfortable is always *unheard of*.

“December 30th.—Plot thickens and my position is critical. The Ameers are forming in the desert and movement is difficult for me, not having half enough carriage; and if I march upon their forces they will disperse. I must therefore march on their forts, and on Hyderabad, things which cannot escape, but their troops are not tangible by a regular force.

“December 31st.—This is the last day of a year momentous to me. I am walking before my tent, a clear starlight night, but a mist is rising and our fires give a long silvery light, not a long line but a brilliant haze: and the hum of men sounds all along while the jackals make a horrid din close around, like screams of men and women. The vast extent of the camp with lights closed in by the mist and seen through the mist is beautiful. What feelings are mine! not pleasant. I *must* retire into private life. What is ephemeral power? What is life? If I err I may witness the slaughter of all this mass of beings! Poor Elphinstone. No wonder he died broken-hearted. Thanks to Lord Ellenborough, for me there is no such trammel as McNaughten. Yet, what is my responsibility? no matter, it is welcome, and all on my own shoulders: the Lord deliver me from a colleague! I can bear ten times as much. It is details only that trouble me, they interrupt my thoughts, and at night sleep comes too quick. One night I drank coffee strong and had a capital *think* for an hour, but then coffee gave up the ghost: I got many matters decided in that hour, but will drink no more coffee late.

“My plans are fixed to march to the edge of the desert, or as far in as water can be found; then encamp, select 500 of the strongest Europeans and natives, mount them on camels, and load all my other camels with water except a few to carry half rations. My camel battery also shall go, and as many irregular horse as it will be prudent to take, and then slap upon Emaum Ghur in the heart of the desert: if it surrenders good; if not it shall have such a hammering as will make fire fly out of its eyes. While this is going on my camels shall go back for provisions, and water is abundant at Emaum Ghur. My expectation is that four shells out of the four hundred with my battery will produce a surrender, to say nothing of an escalade, for which I am prepared.

“If taken the glory of the desert will be departed, and my march shall be apparently on Hydrabad but really on

Omercote, the strong desert hold of the southern Ameers, as Emaum Ghur is of the northern Ameers: all this however depends on coming events. Afterwards my march will be on Hyderabad, the Ameers will fly over the Indus, and we shall become masters of the left bank of the river from Mittenkote to the mouth: peace with civilization will then replace war and barbarism. My conscience will be light, for I see no wrong in so regulating a set of tyrants who are themselves invaders, and have in sixty years nearly destroyed the country. The people hate them. I may be wrong, but I cannot see it and my conscience will not be troubled. I sleep well while trying to do this, and shall sleep sound when it is done. Whether God designs me for his instrument will be seen; if not to do it I shall be baffled in the desert; meanwhile all this rain will fill the wells and I hail it as a promise of success."

This private sketch must now, as before, be filled up from public correspondence.

"Lord Ellenborough, December 27th.—The Ameers put implicit faith in their deserts, and when negotiations delays and lying and intrigue fail calculate they can declare their obedience, their innocence and humility, and retire beyond our reach into those deserts: from thence they could launch their wild bands to cut off all communication and render Scinde hotter than nature has done. This it was which made me think of making our chief Ali Moorad powerful, and holding him under our power, and promising him your support as to the turban: this you have approved of. The next step was to secure to him the exercise of the turban power even during his brother's life: this also I was so fortunate as to succeed in, by persuading Meer Roostum to place himself in Ali Moorad's hands. It burst on the family like a bomb shell, they and their troops fled, and all, so far as is known, in a southerly direction, yet into the desert, chiefly to Emaum Ghur. Hence, after consideration and drawing all I could from Ali Moorad, and though war was

not proclaimed, nor is it necessary that it should be, my mind was made up to march on Emaum Ghur.

“I told Ali Moorad his killedar should be placed in Emaum Ghur ; that your lordship would, as bound by treaty, support the chief; that the people who fled with armed men to Emaum Ghur, refusing to obey their chief Meer Roostum, were in fact rebels and I would follow them. He said he would take Emaum Ghur himself. I answered, that I knew he could and his readiness to save my troops trouble was praiseworthy, but I was determined to shew the Hyderabad Ameers their deserts were of no avail ; that I could and would follow them everywhere, whether into the deserts of Scinde or the mountains of Beloochistan. I said this thinking it not amiss to lift the curtain and let my friend Ali Moorad look a little into futurity ; it is as well for him also to feel he is wholly dependant on our power ; that everything he can wish for is his as our faithful ally but should he be a traitor he has no refuge. He is a vigorous-minded, ambitious, and I suspect cunning man, but apparently generous and bold : in short as good as a barbarian can be, and better than most. His minister, Sheik Ali Hussein, is very clever, has lived in Bengal, knows our power and has I believe convinced his master that it is not to be resisted ; besides, he sees that while he keeps his master friendly his own fortune thrives : he is therefore ours. He has made Futteh Mohamed Ghoree a prisoner : the latter went in disguise amongst Roostum's troops and won over 2000 of them, and of Ali Moorad's, to favour the son and nephew : Sheik Ali asked what he should do with him : my answer was, keep him prisoner but do not ill-use him. There is an evident objection to my seeing Meer Roostum. Why I know not, but I told Ali Moorad I must and will.

“I am perfectly aware of the danger of entering a desert, but it has always arisen from neglect of precautions more than other causes, and it does not make me nervous. The man first sent to gain information goes with me to shew

the water, and he knows punishment awaits him if he betrays. I have warned him not to say he does know when he don't, and he shall get no drink but what he brings to me. There is however one danger against which we cannot provide, they may poison the wells ; but my hope is to overcome this by digging new wells, or by carrying water with me. It is not possible to conceal my march and I shall therefore send word to the Ameer in Emaum Ghur, that my intent is not to plunder or slay if they make no resistance : if they do they must abide results.

“ The means your lordship has taken to raise the old spirit of the troops has completely succeeded, at least so far as mine are concerned : there is here but one wish, viz. to go anywhere for a fight. If you ordered me into the heart of Asia with such volunteers as my camp would turn out, my belief is not a dozen men would stay behind : so much for stars and ribbons, at which philosophers like to laugh, but their ridicule will not change human nature. The Indian army feels grateful for the protection received from your lordship. It felt degraded before your arrival. The Cabool and Ghuznee misfortunes were unjustly cast in its teeth and it was unable to hold up its head. It will now meet any army in the world, and this change is produced by justice and the distribution of rewards. I ought not to speak of these matters, but can hardly help it when seeing those Indian decorations so justly bestowed and our Queen's officers neglected by their own government. There is my aide-de-camp, Major McPherson, who has twenty hard-fought battles written on his sword, and neither has nor is likely to have a decoration, unless he gains it in India, where your lordship has made hope fresh and green for soldiers.

“ December 29th.—I will not speak of my host of difficulties in collecting carriage ; but the Ameers made their people drive the country and not a camel is to be had. Our contractor for 1000 camels has furnished but 250, and forfeited 30,000 rupees ! He is the most influential in all

this country but his property lies in and about Shikarpoor, and though he will not say so he dares not furnish camels: his agreement was made before he knew of the Ameers' orders. And now my lord I have to tell you that Meer Roostum decamped yesterday morning. I met Ali Moorad the night before and desired him to say I would pay my respects to his highness next day: and the next day I heard of his flight. I can only account for this in one of two ways. 1°. Meer Roostum is a timid man. He has all along fancied I want to make him a prisoner, and now thought his brother and I were about to execute the conspiracy. 2°. That Ali Moorad drove his brother to this step.

"Meer Roostum had resigned the turban to Ali in the most formal manner, writing his resignation in the Koran before all the religious men collected to witness the act at Dejee: Ali sent this Koran to me, I said that their family arrangements were their own but your lordship would support the head of their family, whoever it might be, according to the spirit of the treaty; that personally I thought it better for Roostum to keep the turban and let Ali Moorad act for him, but he was free to do as he pleased; now it strikes me, that Ali Moorad may have frightened the old man into the foolish step he has taken, with the purpose of making his own possession of the turban more decided; that to do this he told him I intended to make Roostum a prisoner, Ali pretending to be his friend and only waiting for opportunity to betray us. Such are my conjectures.

"I had no sooner heard of Meer Roostum's flight than intelligence came of his son and nephew having struck a new, and closer, alliance with the Hyderabad Ameers; that Sobdar had been persuaded to join them; that their forces are assembling at Dhinjee in large numbers; that about 15,000 are north of Larkaana, and 2000 in the fort of Shah Ghur on the road to Jessulmere. Roostum's course is not yet known, but he is supposed to have joined his family at Dhingee. In this state, all changing as if by magic, I shall

lay before you my view of the matter, and the course I mean to pursue.

“In a former letter I described the position of Emaum Ghur, but did not send it as before it was folded came all this intelligence: it now goes. You will see that I am threatened from four points. The impossibility of getting camels obliged me to leave three regiments and a hundred cavalry behind at Sukkur, also four field pieces. Lieut.-Col. Roberts, an officer selected for the command there, is well able to hold his own against the Larkaana force, and against the Shah Ghur force: the 8th N.I. garrison Roree, and I have halted Col. Wallace twenty miles off; he can in one march reach Roree. My rear is therefore safe even should Ali Moorad be a traitor, which I have no reason to believe but calculate upon nevertheless. I cannot tell yet what the Ameers are at, but believe they mean to fight at Dhingee. My intention of marching direct on Emaum Ghur is therefore changed. I will march upon Laloo, about five marches, and when there my spies will have brought intelligence of the intentions of the Ameers, and their strength at Dhingee and Emaum Ghur. This intelligence will make me move to either flank, or direct upon Hyderabad. Laloq is considered to be in the desert and a march on that point will alarm them, as they expect me by the usual river road; but if I went that road they would have free communication with the desert, which by marching on Laloo shall be intercepted. No. 3—force at Dhingee—will be compelled then to fall back to Hyderabad, upon which I shall march. Or, if the Dhingee force crosses to Emaum Ghur before I reach Laloo, I will march on that fort and take it.”—See map.

“I am fully aware of the danger of these marches in the desert, but they may be done; where one man goes another can, and until I prove to these Ameers that they can go nowhere without my following them they will think their desert a safe retreat, and Scinde will never be quiet. As

this new aspect of affairs, confirming all your lordship's apprehensions, seems to threaten battle I have ordered up the 19th Bengal Regiment and the troop of artillery, though feeling quite strong enough without them." — Here a cross-note runs thus. "Enough I had against the Kyrpoor Ameers, but little dreamed I of the numbers awaiting me at Meeanee. I am so cold damp and miserable as hardly to be able to bring my ideas into shape, and I must trust to your lordship's good nature towards a rheumatic man in a small tent.

"Captain Powel.—Tell Sir Thomas McMahon I am on my way to Hydrabad I suppose, but the Ameers are eels, and one might deal better with a close-shaved well-soaped pig. However they shall not make me pay ten times the value of our provisions, as they did McNaughten and Lord Keane. My men shall not rob them, nor shall they rob my men. Some of my followers begun their Affghan tricks this morning, so I gave eight of them a flogging. No troops under my command shall rob and murder, as was done in Affghanistan if report speaks true.

"Lord Ellenborough. December 30th.—The people at Dhingee are said to have moved to Emaum Ghur, where all the northern Ameers are to assemble. This, if true, will not affect my line of march, for without going into the desert there will be no managing these gentlemen. The accidental breaking of your bridge over the Sutlege, just when General Nott had crossed it, seems as if Fate indicated approbation of your policy: it was a singular circumstance."

Now resolute to penetrate the waste, he opened the year 1843 by an enterprise which, being his first essay as a general, placed him at once amongst the ablest captains. His first design was to move with three thousand men, thinking that even a small force for the task before him; but soon the explorers sent forward to seek wells reported that water could not be got for that number, and instantly he resolved to attempt it with five hundred, though to the danger of finding the wells poisoned, and that of having the

water skins cut at night by prowling emissaries, his enemies had more and better camels on which to mount their infantry, and on their infantry they prided themselves. Their horsemen also swarmed in thousands on the edge of the waste, and the fortress to be reached contained a garrison four times the strength of the expeditionary force! This resolution being taken, he issued a manifesto explanatory of the events which had led to Roostum's flight and Ali Moorad's assumption of the turban, proclaimed the latter Rais, and announced his own intended march and determination to disperse all armed bands wherever found. Then he moved.

“ Journal, January 3rd.—Khanpoor. Marched this morning at 11 A.M. Some silly fellows persuaded me to start so late because our tents were wet: Jesus of Nazareth what an idiot the military man is who takes advice! These very advisers of a late march now say the camels can get no food because we are so late! I know camels now, and in future will reject suggestors: confound them, they are enough to ruin an army. How hard it is to get men to do as they are told: when I take advice again may I split like a camel. These beasts are unfit for military movements generally, they can't bear cold or rain, and on wet slippery ground dislocate their hips. They are then generally left alive for the jackals, for though we shoot them the Hindoo will not take animal life.

“ Nusseer Khan has sent a letter full of deceit, professing obedience to gain time as before. Roostum also has written to deny his voluntary surrender of the turban, and intimating that I had betrayed him into Ali Moorad's hands. To Nusseer I have answered thus. ‘Ameer. When a man's actions and words do not accord I am greatly distressed how to act. The government of the Ameers is one of many heads, all speaking after a different and strange manner. I cannot judge afar off. I came to Kyrpoor to see how matters stand, and mean to go to Hydrabad to do the same.

I cannot distinguish friends from enemies at two hundred miles' distance; and as you say you are the friend of the Company and of the governor-general you will be glad to see me. I hear of troops collecting in the south. Armed men shall not cross the Indus into Scinde, therefore I take troops.' To Roostum Khan, the old knave, the following epistle has gone.

" 'Your highness's letter obliges me to use a language I regret, but the honour of my country and the interest of yours leaves me no alternative. The gist of your highness's letter is this. That I advised you to be guided by your brother, the Ameer Ali Moorad; and that he advised you to fly from a meeting with me as from a conspirator who wished to make you a captive.

" 'Ameer, such a subterfuge is unworthy of your highness's rank: you know it is not truth. You know that you offered to come to my camp, and that I advised you to go to your brother's fortress instead of coming to my camp: you therefore well know that I had no desire to capture you, nor to interfere with your family arrangements. Yet you now pretend, that when I asked you to meet me you fled from me, not from any desire to avoid a meeting but because I advised you to be guided by your brother's advice and he advised you to fly! I will not suffer your highness to take shelter under such misrepresentations. You made submission to me as representative of the governor-general, you have solemnly resigned the turban, and you now avow that you look upon this, the most solemn and important act of your life, as a farce and a mockery!

" 'Ameer. I do not understand such double conduct. I hold you to your words and deeds and no longer consider you to be the chief of the Talpoors, nor will I treat with you as such, nor with those who consider you to be Rais.'

" January 4th.—Encamped at Dejee. Went over its celebrated fort, the first European who ever did so. I have had up all the people who could, or rather would give me in-

formation about the desert: they all differ more or less, and as I cannot trust a large force to their lying my resolution is to go forward with a small force and trust to fate.

“January 5th.—March this night at twelve o'clock.

“Choonka, 6th.—Twenty-four miles in the desert. This part, which has never been before penetrated by Europeans, is sandy, with brushwood, tamarisks chiefly, and another shrub without leaves, a blighted-looking bush. Ali Moorad comes with me, and old Roostum, rogue as well as fool, has sent his son to my camp.” The old Ameer, flying from Dejee, had encamped with seven thousand armed Beloochees and some guns within the desert, designing to join his son in due time: he was to his surprize and terror thus suddenly overtaken by the general.

“January 7th, Doom.—A short march, plenty of water, road heavy, country covered with jungle, but there are trees, and therefore probably a substratum of soil. The upper sand is full of sea-shells, cockles, muscles, and the spiral unicorn's horn shell. Air delightful, not a man sick.

From this place he thus wrote to Lord Ellenborough.—“At Dejee I found such prevarication and such ignorance as to the route, that I became more than ever impressed with the objections which Ali Moorad and all the other Ameers felt to our entering the desert; and also judged it unsafe to risk a large force without any positive information about water. All this confirmed me in the belief that to reach Emaum Ghur is necessary to the tranquillity of Scinde; I therefore resolved to advance with a small force and apply all my carriage to its efficiency, leaving the other troops at Dejee. On the night of the 5th we moved with 350 of the 22nd Regiment—Queen's, all mounted on camels, two soldiers on each. We have two 24 lb. howitzers with double teams of camels, and two hundred of the Scinde horse, and provisions for fifteen days: water for four. We reached Choonka, twenty-five miles from Dejee, yesterday, although the night was very dark and the tracks so slight that our

guides lost the way and the sand was deep. Plenty of good water at Choonka, but forage so scarce that I have sent back 150 of the horsemen, and much doubt if the remaining fifty can go above one march more.

“We yesterday came so close upon the traces of Meer Roostum, that he, hearing Major Outram, to whom he is personally known, was with me sent a messenger saying he was submissive. Major Outram asked my leave to go to him, we being both convinced Ali Moorad had frightened him. I told the major however that I only agreed to the Ameer's being made easy as to personal safety; that no concession or submission could reinstate him in the turban which he had resigned, and on which I consider the tranquillity of Scinde depends. The major returned with Roostum's son, to whom I explained, that his father is perfectly safe in person; that he will hold his own lands, according to your lordship's draft of the new treaty, but must lose what is attached to the turban; that I would march to Emaum Ghur and place a killedar of Ali Moorad in that fortress, but the old man might return to Kyrpoor, or live where he pleased as a simple Ameer. This son seemed satisfied with all this, and I therefore consider that Upper Scinde will be tranquil despite of the other sons, and of the Hyderabad Ameers.

“Journal, January 8th, Tujul.—The day before yesterday was more like a desert than yesterday's march, and this day we have thick jungle and large trees: this country must have water, and much of it might be cultivated, but certainly there is a great deal of sand. Yesterday's march ten miles, this day eleven: no European ever here before.

“January 9th, Luk.—A better name than Doom! This march eleven miles, the road hilly, sand deep, but we arrived safe and are in a punch bowl, or small plain, without an opening: with rain we should be quickly flooded. I dug nine wells, good water in all: had we failed there was plenty on the camels. Our march to-morrow begins with a very steep sand-hill, and very deep; so I turned out the 22nd

soldiers this evening and they run the guns up it with cheers in five minutes, though from bottom to top is not less than four hundred yards! What fellows British soldiers are! all laughing and joking, and such strength! We all thought it such a job that dinner was put off an hour, thinking there would be two of labour: the faith of the Ameers will vanish, the spell has been broken in five minutes!

“January 10th, Mitree.—A wild place, very little food for camels; one well which we exhausted quickly, but plenty on the camels: immense sand-hills like the ridges of a sea, passed with much labour, but we got the guns over.

“January 11th, Puddree.—Another wild place, one well which soon failed, but plenty of water on the camels: more sand-hills and hard labour to get along.

“January 12th, Emaum Ghur!—Desperate sand-hills, the whole march of ten miles over a sea of sand! The fortress evacuated!

“18th.—The sands we passed yesterday, indeed for the last two or three days, were very wild and deep; yesterday it was like a sea, or rather like a vast plain of round hills and grotesque-shaped ground, deeply covered with drifted sand, channelled or ribbed with little lines like sand on the sea-shore, and full of shells. It was with much labour we drew the 24 lb. howitzers over these hills by men and camels conjoined, fourteen camels and sixty men to each, and so reached Emaum Ghur.

“The Ameers deemed this place out of European reach, and in truth naturally so, for if we had been opposed the difficulties would have been great. Had we been unable to get guides; had the wells been filled up or destroyed by poison, or filth; had we been constantly peppered by swift-footed opponents with their matchlocks from every sand ridge, hiding in sand-holes, giving their shot and then flying, it would have been a job; for we had no cavalry to pursue, nor do I think cavalry could in that deep sand catch a bare-legged Scindian. Had these things happened we could

not have reached the fortress for a long time. My calculation however included all these matters. I looked indeed for a march of three weeks, because my marksmen scattered round the column could only have gone a short distance each day, and my expectation was even to have halted for supplies. In short my march has been one of great good luck or it would not have been made in so short a time and without loss; nevertheless, having foreseen and prepared for all mishaps they could only have delayed not baffled me.

“Lord Ellenborough, January 13th.—The desert presented some difficulties, but we overcame them. Our burthen camels are miserable animals worn out in Affghanistan, yet we have lost only eight or nine out of six hundred. The camel battery acquitted itself admirably, not a single camel knocked up, and the last three days have been very trying as scarcely any food could be got. The Bombay government does not allow flour for the camels of this battery, which is I am told by Captain Whittlie, necessary, and is given by all private persons to their camels. The powers of these animals have also been overrated; four are allowed to each of those heavy guns, whereas each should have eight draught and two spare camels. I ordered sixteen to be taken with each, and they were all required. The whole establishment is faulty, and its great utility renders this worthy of consideration. To my astonishment I found that none of the men except the Europeans were soldiers! I wrote to Sir G. Arthur about these poor drivers some time ago, but have not yet had an answer: they are very ill treated.

“This fortress is exceedingly strong against any force without artillery, the walls forty feet high, one tower fifty feet, and all built of burned bricks. It is a square with round towers, and surrounded by an exterior wall, fifteen feet high, lately built with the view of opposing us I believe. Within was a vast quantity of powder, distributed in various parts and built up so as to be concealed: there are some bomb-proof chambers, but against heavy guns it could not

stand. Ali Moorad has accompanied me, and though mischievous in some respects has behaved well towards us, and given every assistance. Our difficulties must have been evident to his highness, and I have some idea he accompanied us expressly to ascertain how far we could be opposed in cases of need! When I reflected on this, and that Emaum Ghur can only serve to foster confidence in the Ameers of both Scindes when discontented or rebellious, and we might sooner or later be forced to another and perhaps more perilous march, my resolve was to blow it down: it belongs to Ali Moorad, who consents.

"I shall return the day after to-morrow as far as *Tujul*, where the road branches off to Dhingee; and if my intelligence gives reason to believe that any force be still there I will march upon it with this detachment: they have no refuge now, and must either fight or cross the Indus, or disperse. I am now going to order all the Ameers, or their vakeels, to meet Major Outram at Kyrpoor, and trust the treaty will now go on smoothly. I hear that the fort of Shah Ghur refuses to receive Ali Moorad's killedar; if so I must march from *Dejee* against it, for all information got here agrees that there is no water or road from this to Shah Ghur. If necessary I would try to pass, but my force is too small to divide, and reports of gathering tribes at *Dhinjee* make it necessary to leave Shah Ghur alone at present."—Reports were constantly brought by riders on swift camels whom he had appointed for that purpose when entering the desert.

"Sir G. Arthur, January 15th.—Reports reached me at Dejee of the gathering of troops at Dhinjee. Had I marched against them first, they, confiding in Emaum Ghur as a refuge, would have fought my small force. If they did not fight they would have fled here, and I must have followed by a circuitous route; but by marching at once on Emaum Ghur and blowing it up, we cut them off from the desert, and having them now between us and the river they must fight or disperse: they might perhaps have fought with

Emaum Ghur at their back, they will not fight now. I have sent Outram to Kyrpoor, ordering all the Ameers to meet him, or send vakeels with full powers. But being sure they will try to play their usual insidious game I have told them, that if any vakeel has not full powers I will seize his master's territories in the name of the Company. I am convinced that I am right in selecting Outram to be my commissioner, but think Lord Ellenborough is not pleased. I was almost sure this would be when asking for Outram, but thought it just both by him and by the public. I fear Lord E. has been deceived about him, which I sincerely regret and will lose no opportunity of seeking to remove: it is however a very delicate affair."—Lord Ellenborough was not deceived, Charles Napier was.

"Old Roostum has again placed himself in my hands. I suppose the old dotard will not make a second *bolt*, tho' he is welcome if he pleases. I have thus I hope managed to carry through the penal treaty dictated by Lord E. and without bloodshed. My plan of action has been single from beginning to end, viz. giving the Ameers time to reflect upon everything, but telling them the consequences of non-compliance, and then doing exactly what I told them would be done. I never by hesitation gave them hope of bullying me. Had I allowed myself to be mollified by their deceitful and even base tone of submission, they would have persuaded themselves I was afraid, and we should have had a battle; for Roostum and all the others are said to be beastly drunk every day after twelve o'clock and of course liable to great excitement. My hope is that this expedition will be approved of by Lord E. and yourself, I had no time to ask for instructions, the rains had fallen, and if the desert was ever to be passed that was the moment. I anticipate more difficulties in returning, but am prepared.

"The same, January 16th.—Our eyes are full of sand, ears full of sand, noses full, mouths full, and teeth grinding sand! Enough between our clothes and skins to scour the latter

into gold-beater's leaf, one might as well wear a sand paper shirt. Our shoes are in holes from dryness and we walk as if we had supplied their place with sand-boxes; our meat is all sand, and on an average every man's teeth have been ground down the eighth of an inch, according to his appetite. It is lucky indeed we are so well scoured with sand, for there is not a clean shirt in camp! We look on our shirts with the same regret that we do on faded beauty: alas! will she ever be pretty again? Alas! will they ever be clean again? We turn them and turn them, yet all remains dark and dirty. We brought no baggage and all the dandies look at me as they would at a bad washerwoman.

"Journal, January 14th.—I will move back the day after to-morrow, and if the Dhingee folk have not dispersed I must punish them. Their troops are not, as you seem to think, poor harmless peasants taking service against an invader. They are regular robbers, each tribe under its chief, who has no power but when he leads them to mischief, and no pleasure but in mischief. Robbers rule this wild country, and like robbers! their bands, if they come across me, shall be handled roughly.

"January 15th.—Emaum Ghur is shattered to atoms with ten thousand pounds of powder! The light was grand and hellish beyond description; the volumes of smoke fire and embers flying up was a throne fit for the devil! I do not like this work of destruction, but reason tells me two things. First, it will prevent bloodshed, and it is better to destroy temples built by man than temples built by the Almighty. Second, this castle was built and used for oppression and in future its ruins will shelter the slave instead of the tyrant. McPherson dreamed all night of the explosion. I dreamed of my beloved mother, her beauteous face smiled upon me! Am I going to meet her very soon? Well, we shall all meet again, unless this dreadful work of war sends me to hell, which is not improbable."

How constantly he was disciplining his mind will be seen

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in the next letter, written as if in a convent instead of a desert, and amid the toils dangers and perplexities of war : his character was certainly very original !

“ January 16th 1843.—Coruña ! Now at the head of an army ! Such is the wheel of fortune ! Now will be seen what my talent for politics is. I had permission from the governor-general to assemble an immense force to impose his penal treaty. I told him it could be done with the troops under my hand without bloodshed ; it seems to me I have done so, and proved my head sufficient for command in Scinde. This is not going far, but it is as difficult and large a command as usually falls to an English general, so my trust is not to end my long career with discredit.

“ My first serious command was under Moore at Coruña, and some credit fell to me : my next on the coast of America, where no credit was lost, having been twice thanked in the public gazette. I was then for three years at the military college, and took a first certificate. Afterwards I governed Cephalonia for nine years, and I think John Kennedy and myself did there earn honest fair distinction : in two years more, but for Adam, we should have brought our work to a glorious close. My next trial of head was the northern district, and some service to the state there I did without bloodshed, as I am trying to do here. My present position is not however to my liking, we had no right to come here and are tarred with the Affghan brush.

“ Such is my recapitulation of a life about to close, my hope is, with honour and a clear conscience. My brothers George and William have also done their work well. Richard and Henry, by giving up their professions for private life have obtained distinction in that, the best of all. Such are our father's sons, but none of us are his equal. I have never seen his equal ; but sons are possibly not good judges. However we all resolved not to disgrace him, and were he alive he would be satisfied. With all this we have abundance of faults. We are all a hot violent crew to do us

justice. With the milk of human kindness though. We were all fond of hunting, fishing and shooting ; yet all gave them up when young men because we had no pleasure in killing little animals. George and I were bold riders. Once at a drag hunt we beat the whole field, going neck and neck ; my horse beat his in a lane, but could not clear a five-barred gate at the end and both rolled over headlong, breaking the top bar ; George cleared gate, me, and horse, as we rolled together. He was a bolder rider than I was, and when his blood was up all the devils in hell would not stop him in a hunt or a battle.

“We however always found it pain, not pleasure, to worry poor animals. Lately in camp a little hare got up, the greyhounds pursued and the men all shouted to aid the dogs : my sorrow was great and I rode away, yet at dinner I ate a poor fowl ! It is not principle therefore on which we act, it is a painful feeling. As to cat-hunting and dog-fighting, feeling and principle unite to condemn ; a domestic animal confides in you and is at your mercy ; a wild animal has some fair play, a domestic one none. Cat-hunters and dog-fighters are therefore not only cruel but traitors : no polished gentleman does these things. Lord Byron said to me, ‘I am serious when I say I don’t believe it possible for a fisherman to be a good man,’—meaning anglers for amusement, with frogs, worms, &c. My answer was, I am sure a cat-hunter and dog-fighter cannot be so : nor a gentleman either. To this he assented. But if we Napiers are violent it is only for a moment ; neither George, nor Richard, nor Henry, are the least revengeful. William and myself are, but only where resistance continues.

“January 17th, Mittree.—Still in the sandy sea with a heavy march just over, the infantry pulling the guns. Heard from Lord Ellenborough. He wants a fight with the Ameers, but the blowing up of Emaum Ghur has struck such terror they won’t fight with me, advancing as I am from the heart of their desert refuge against them. Lord

E. is alarmed lest my want of troops may cause a defeat, or rather should prevent a decided victory ; but a most decided one has been gained without bloodshed.

“January 18th, Luk.—A dreadfully-fatiguing march—ten very high sand-hills, and the soldiers did not pull well. Paddy is not persevering in disagreeable things, and certainly there is no pleasure in dragging two 24 lb. howitzers over steep sand-hills. This is our worst march and two more will clear the desert, when provisions and water will again abound. Letters from Lord E. approving all I have done: great abuse in some of the papers of my review at Sukkur, and of my order about riding over people.”

This order exhibiting his sarcastic vein run thus.

“Gentlemen as well as beggars may, if they like, ride to the devil when they get on horseback ; but neither gentlemen nor beggars have a right to send other people there, which will be the case if furious riding be allowed in camp or bazaar. The major-general calls the attention of all the camp to the orders of Lieutenant-Colonel Wallace, 18th ultimo, and begs to add, that he has placed a detachment of horse at Captain Pope's orders who will arrest any offender ; and Captain Pope will inflict such fine or other punishment as the bazaar regulations permit. This order is to be published through the cantonments by beat of drum, for three successive days, and Captain Pope is not empowered to let any one off punishment, because, when orders have been repeated and not obeyed it is time to enforce them : without obedience an army becomes a mob, a cantonment a bear-garden. The enforcement of obedience is like physic—not agreeable, but at times very necessary.

“Journal, January 19th, Tugul.—Day's march long but easier, the country more level and the sand harder. Tomorrow clear of the desert, for my interest is to march towards the river and throw myself on the direct road to Hydrabad. The Ameers want to get us into the hot weather. My supplies will meet me at *Bankia*, and thence my

march will be to *Peer Abubekr*, a central position, from whence to fall if necessary either upon the Ameers at Hyderabad or those of Kyrpoor. If all goes smooth with Outram I shall merely halt a day or two at *Abubekr*, to keep up their alarm and rest my camels before returning to Sukkur: but if the Ameers are *bumptious* a rapid march on Hyderabad shall give them a greater fright than they have yet had: if they will fight I am resolved to attack any force they can assemble, trusting to my twelve guns.

“Bankia, January 20.—Short march, water scarce: long march to-morrow and start at night.

“Peer Abubekr, 21st.—March of 25 miles. We are now again in Scinde proper. One mile eastward we crossed a range of hills running southward from Roree: how much further south I do not know. It is low and divides the Scinde from the *Thur*, as they call the desert: all the country east is called *Regeestan*, or the land of sand; and if it be not no land has a right to the name. How we rejoiced to get out. Comfortless, entirely without clean linen or clean water and scarcely sufficient food, we are come back to abundance and baggage! I am now safe. It was altogether a very ticklish position. A *simoom* might have given us a bad berth! They had ugly looks those vast waves of loose sand, evidently rolled and rollable by wind. Internally however I felt assured of success against all apprehended difficulties.

“22nd.—Ordered Colonel Pattle—left in command of the main column—to break up from Dejee and join me here to-morrow. Being now on one of the roads leading from Kyrpoor to Hyderabad I shall rest men and camels, and await Outram’s proceedings at Kyrpoor: we have good water and provisions. It is possible these fools may fight: I do not however call them fools for fighting, but for doing it so badly; they ought to have opposed me in the desert and made all their operations turn on that. If defeated they would have had Omercote and Hyderabad to fall back on,

and could finally have gone over the Indus to the mountains. There I could not follow without opening a new war, which Lord Ellenborough would probably not like after having just got out of the Auckland war."

Thus terminated the desert expedition, related with such unpretending simplicity but thus described by the Duke of Wellington.

"Sir Charles Napier's march upon Emaum Ghur is one of the most curious military feats which I have ever known to be performed, or have ever perused an account of in my life. He moved his troops through the desert against hostile forces; he had his guns transported under circumstances of extreme difficulty and in a manner the most extraordinary, and he cut off a retreat of the enemy which rendered it impossible for them ever to regain their position."

The desert march of Marius against Jugurtha's town of *Capsa* is perhaps the only enterprize of antiquity resembling this exploit of Charles Napier; but Marius had a powerful force which no enemy could have ventured near; whereas Charles Napier defied ten times his own number in the waste; and that, not to reach a defenceless unwarned city as the great Roman did, but a prepared and expectant foe four times his own strength and in a fortress! The duke's eulogium may therefore be accepted without abatement as a solid truth.

THIRTEENTH EPOCH.

FIFTH PERIOD.

COUNTING now on the same timid policy which he had overborne in Upper Scinde, the general hoped to reduce all to quietude without fighting; but influences, before unknown, were driving all things to confusion. The Beloochees, chiefs and followers, hardy and fierce beyond all other Asiatics, were bent on war, being inflamed by religious feelings, by hatred, and by the expectation of plundering the British army, whose prowess they despised from the defeats of small detachments and the great Cabool massacre. These influences had swayed the old Roostum in all his changes, overbearing his natural dislike to commotion: and they still swayed him; for having promised to repair to the general's camp in the desert, he in the night went southwards towards his sons and nephews, then at Dhingee. And again Outram, when going to meet the Vakeels, found Roostum in his old camp apparently without followers, for the wily old man kept his warriors, 6000 with guns, hidden, and received the commissioner with assurances of entire submission. Being then also urged to go to Kyrpoor for settlement of the treaty he, as before, pleaded fatigue and sent Outram on a fool's errand, promising to follow, but in the night once more retired to Dhingee. This was not fear but policy, engendered as before said by the kindling fury of the whole Belooch race; and he secretly guided his sons and nephews, though keeping aloof personally and hovering on the edge of the desert ready to join in the war or become submissive according to events. He expected the destruction

of the Emaum Ghur expeditionary corps; but when it returned to Tujul triumphant he directed the vagrant princes to retire to Khoonhera, a large fortress of his own south-east of Dhingee, within the desert but having plenty of water: thither he followed them.

Meanwhile the Hyderabad Ameers had called all their warriors, feudatories and allies, from mountain and plain, north west and south, to assemble at the capital for war; but they wanted three weeks for the full accomplishment when the fall of Emaum Ghur struck them with terror. They would then have submitted but for the menaces of the vagrant princes, who were filled with fury and being seconded by the fierce warrior tribes were more dreaded than the British general. However, in their first terror the throned Ameers forbade the vagrant princes to cross the Lower Scinde frontier, and even sent vakeels to Kyrpoor; but not within the prescribed period, not with full powers, Sobdar excepted, for he was playing with a more subtle deceit than even Roostum. The real object with all was however to gain time for their forces to assemble and to bring in the hot season. Many of the bravest feudatories coming from the northern hills, a distance of two hundred miles, were then close to the British camp; and to mask their movement other vakeels were sent to the general, avowedly as ambassadors but really as spies, and bearing with them letters to hasten the advance of the distant tribes.

Now also Outram had his secret views. The vilest of the Bombay journals had been filled with fulsome bombast about his abilities, and sneers at Sir C. Napier's imbecility:—such was the word. Outram's appointment as commissioner, that generous error of the general in his favour, was represented as a necessity, a cunning mask for covering deficiency with another's talent. To adopt the Ameers' cause and disparage Ali Moorad was essential to support these pretensions, and accordingly Outram became loud in praise of the Ameers and louder in abuse of Ali Moorad—oblivious

that his first communications to Sir C. Napier were exactly the reverse; oblivious also of the *Return of Complaints* against the Ameers drawn up by himself and furnishing the grounds for Ellenborough's new treaty. In that document he had denounced Futteh Ghoree as the ablest and most implacable enemy of the British in Scinde: he now demanded his release; and lauding the absolute good faith of the Ameers, deprecated the employment of military force and strived as strenuously as any Ameer to create delays: indeed with such pertinacity as to render it difficult to judge whether he considered himself their servant or that of the British government.

The general was not deceived either by Outram or the Ameers, but being entirely averse to bloodshed he, at Outram's request, extended the period for a peaceable settlement at Kyrpoor from the 20th to the 25th of January, although convinced that arms must finally decide and that he was thus endangering his army. Conscious of ability to retrieve lost advantages he accepted danger rather than haste where life was involved. Amazed however at Outram's sudden change and attributing it to honest error he wrote the following condensed friendly lecture.

“Major Outram, January.—Just received your letter of yesterday which grieves me exceedingly. My whole wish and desire is to act with honour towards the Ameers, and the history of their case is this. Lord Auckland begun by a great act of injustice, political injustice, which produced the treaties. Lord Ellenborough then came and had his line of policy, viz. to abandon all beyond and maintain all on the Indian side of the Indus. He found existing treaties with Scinde to maintain, but the only part of his predecessor's policy in which he appears to agree is the maintenance of free traffic on the Indus, with possession of certain towns on its banks the seizure of which was Lord Auckland's act; to keep them has been Lord Ellenborough's, in compliance with treaties which no man of sense will say

were well drawn up. With every respect for Lord Auckland, Sir H. Pottinger, and the memory of Sir A. Burnes, I must say their fame cannot rest upon the draft of either of these treaties with the Ameers ; and I attribute their deficiency to the fact that the framers did not know how to cram injustice down the throats of men whom they believed able to resist. The result was, that they left crude, indeterminate, undefined things which they called treaties, and which they either had not the ability to foresee would end in mischief ; or, foreseeing, had not moral courage to be decided : thus, both they and the Ameers, shrinking from a manly explanation which they thought would lead to a rupture, left all undecided !

“ In this state Lord Ellenborough found matters, with the additional inconvenience of all our troubles in Affghanistan, where we had three distinct wars :—Keane's which was successful because chance made it so ; MacNaughten's, which chance made unfortunate ; Pollock's, which good conduct made successful, but which, as it was necessarily followed by a retreat, being only made to patch up wounded honour and a false policy, must in history be placed on the same footing. It is said now, and will be said by history, that in the Affghan war England was defeated, for her object was to place a king on a throne and she signally failed. Now I do not agree with you in thinking the Ameers are fools. I think them cunning rascals to a man if measured by our standard of honesty ; but assuredly Lord Auckland's policy was not calculated to make them form a higher estimate of us. Well, they saw our defeat and that encouraged them to break existing treaties, it gave them heart, and that they hoped to have a second Cabool affair is as clear to me as the sun now shining.

“ Such is the general outline of reasoning and events which brought the Ameers and us to the state with which Lord E. had to deal ; and he, seeing everything going wrong,—very dangerously wrong too if you had not saved

General England's column,*—and being himself too far off, with too many important affairs on hand, determined to send an officer with powers to deal with Scinde and the Ameers: I was selected and found all in confusion, nothing defined, nothing positive or decisive. My very first entrance shewed how matters stood. I saw Lord Auckland's injustice had made a pretty net, and that nothing but decisive measures could break through it; but I did not know whether Lord E. would take the same view of things I did. I also saw as plain as A B C, that, as always must happen and therefore always does happen, a great injustice between nations could not be wound up without minor acts of injustice.

“Now what is to be done? That which is best for the advancement of good government and well-being of the population; and we must not sacrifice all this to a minute endeavour, utterly hopeless, I may say impossible, to give to these tyrannical, drunken, debauched, cheating, intriguing, contemptible Ameers, a due portion of the plunder they have amassed from the ruined people they conquered sixty years ago. They are fortunate robbers one and all, and though I most decidedly condemn the way we entered this country; just as honest however as that by which the Talpoors got it from the Kalloras; I would equally condemn any policy that allowed these rascals to go on plundering the country to supply their debaucheries after we had raised the hopes of every respectable man in the country. This I consider to be Lord E.'s view and in that sense I act. If I thought Lord E. was acting on an unjust plan I would of course obey my orders, but should deeply regret my position. But I do no such thing: the whole injustice was committed by Lord Auckland, and such a course of injustice cannot be closed without hardship on some one. It is likely to fall on the Ameers, and on a crew

* Cross note here by Sir C. Napier—“Outram had told me so and persuaded me it was true: it was not.”

more deserving to bear it hardly could it alight. It falls heaviest on Roostum, an old worn debauchee, a man drunk every day of his life, breaking his own religious ordinances, and even the habits and customs of his country.

“ You say they are all children and fools. Are these then the men for whom we should sacrifice the interests of a whole population to preserve them in secure possession of their plunder? Are such men fit to rule a realm? If we are unjust in being here at all at least let the people and ourselves draw from that injustice the benefits of civilization. This is my view, and I really think the Ameers’ interests form a very minute ingredient in the business: least of all Roostum, who seems to have no one good or manly qualification. Why then support Ali Moorad? I will tell you. It is not that I think higher of him than of the rest. Is he better than Roostum? Yes! because a man with three ideas is better than one who has none! in morality perhaps he is not better, except being more sober. Besides I heard from all of you at the Residency, that Ali had boldly wished to oppose us at first but when he saw it was vain became friendly; that he had acted loyally from that time, which the others did not, except Sobdar, and he only from the tyranny of his family towards him.

“ But I cast all these matters to the dogs, not caring if Ali be the devil incarnate. We wanted a head, and one not made by us but by their own rules, he falling naturally into the position. Accident opened a way of thus making Ali this head, and I saw if the opportunity was lost it might not again occur so favourably; therefore I promised to make him Rais if Roostum resigned. This Lord Ellenborough approved, and I am confident it was right. I learned Ali Moorad’s consistency of character from *you*; I learned the strength and justice of his claims from *you*, and have never seen anything to make me doubt the justice of your then views both of the claims and the man. I have no more doubt of it than I have that they are intriguing against

him; but that is no affair of mine, neither his nor their intrigues will make me march a *coss* or halt an hour! And if they assassinate him, as he told me they mean to do, and that the assassin is not the Rais in succession, the only effect will be changing the name of Ali Moorad to Ali something else.

“It is the *Rais*, not the man we have to deal with; and that Rais must be our slave, dependent; his real interest and that of the population are one, and that one must be ours also, viz. *good government*! Can the Scindians expect this under Roostum? or under the intriguing posse of Talpoors? Certainly not. I see but two parties with one interest:—my own country and the population of Scinde. The Rais I consider a convenience: the Talpoor family I do not consider at all, nor see why we should support their unjust power, or secure to them the amassed plunder of an unhappy population. I cannot abandon this general view to enter into the details of family arrangements, and a vile family too; still less do I think the governor-general can enter on such minutiae: we have to do with the rulers of Scinde only. They are you say eighteen in number; we can reduce them in Upper Scinde to one, and if possible we ought to do the same in Lower Scinde; then the population will have a chance: one robber may be controlled but to control a gang of eighteen is more difficult.

“These rulers by breach of treaty have obliged the governor-general to inflict a penal treaty; he gives up all tribute and takes land, and what we have to do is, so regulate the details of exchange as to make the sacrifice of the value of land taken, beyond that of tribute remitted, fall upon those deemed guilty and not on those deemed innocent. I originally proposed an exchange of tribute against territory, giving Lord Ellenborough all the information you and I could collect. I believe it was tolerably correct. He considered that the Ameers deserved signal punishment and decided upon the draft treaty sent down; it leaves, as

you tell me, about £100,000 yearly for the punished chiefs : you must agree therefore that they are not left to '*starve*.' I have thus given you my view from first to last, and do not believe it very different from your own ; but in any case it is right to explain it in order to remove any objectionable ideas.

" It is true that, right or wrong, I throw the whole burthen of the treaty on Lord Ellenborough's shoulders. To be sure I do. He is the responsible authority, I am only answerable for the information I furnish him. If Parliament impeached him, as it did Warren Hastings, he could not throw his responsibility on me, he would be laughed at. All he could do would be to say, I acted on Napier's information, that was good or bad. I gave him such orders, he executed them well or ill. Now I maintain that I gave him correct information, on which he has issued his draft treaty and we have to arrange the details : i. e. so to apply its provisions that the forfeit may be paid by the opposing, not the friendly Ameers : but whether it leaves the former one, or one million rupees does not come within our competence.

" I will give up the whole of this day to the re-perusal of your letter and the deepest consideration of all it contains, to see if there be any way left, in which I am authorized to act, that can make the provisions of the treaty fall lighter on the parties who lose : not as thinking they are unjustly treated but to prevent them fighting or rather plundering their own people, which they would do without mercy to annoy Ali Moorad, as he would otherwise have the plunder to himself. However one robber under surveillance is less mischievous than eighteen uncontrolled.

" I make no apology for this long letter. You and I have one object, which is to arrange the treaty with all regard to honour and justice the case admits of, that we may not sacrifice the great primary interests of the British government and those of the great population on the banks

of the Indus, to the very secondary interests of a worthless family of robbers. If my view be erroneous tell me so and give your reasons. Believe me, I am too impressed with the responsibility of my position to listen to your arguments with prejudice; on the contrary, everything you say has full weight. Prove to me that I am in error and you shall see that I will correct myself; but a deep consideration of the subject has produced the foregoing reflections and no light that my mind can furnish gives a different view of the subject. I am not likely to be influenced by every whipper-snapper chap who fancies he can govern: nine years at the head of a government taught me that very few know anything of the matter; and those few constantly commit errors. Therefore, were I to assume that I am one of the few, which I do not, still I should feel bound to attend to and give my best consideration to everything said by such a man as you, for free discussions produce truth. You have my full view, put hastily together and without connection for I have written my letter in an hour. But if in talking this matter over with Brown either of you differ with me, tell me your reasons and if I persevere in error it will be with my eyes open, and you will have done your part to the public and increased my deep regard.

“P.S. I think your going to Hydrabad good, but let us first see what a few days’ delay and a march on my part towards Hydrabad on the 27th will do.”

Outram had proposed to go as an envoy to Hydrabad, saying he could surely bring the Ameers to reason; for in defiance of all secret information and rejecting all ascertained facts, he persisted in asserting that the Ameers had no design to war, and that his presence at Hydrabad would allay all uneasiness: he thus thought to justify the assertions of his Bombay associates, namely, that he only could conduct the affairs of Scinde. Happily for England and the oppressed people of the country those affairs were in the hands of a man of talent and character.

“Journal, January 23rd.—Peer Abubekr. My troops from Dejee have joined. Heard from Outram: the Ameers are very tricky, which worries him but does not worry me. He enters too much into their intrigues; at least he attaches much importance to them, whereas I attach none! They may intrigue as they please, my road is clear. If I depended on all, or any one Ameer, the case would be different: if a man trusts a rotten branch he will tumble from the tree; but my trust is in my three thousand men here and the eight other battalions I can bring down. What have we to do with their petty rascally intrigues? I will walk over them all as I do over the stubble before my tent. It is clear that we must move on Hyderabad to quell these fighting cocks.

“January 24th.—Outram is a clever fellow, but he seems to have been so long accustomed to Indian tricks that he thinks them of real importance. He is now so full of Ali Moorad's intrigues that he draws conclusions quite erroneous: all Ameers are knaves, Ali Moorad is an Ameer, ergo Ali Moorad is a knave! But this syllogism is not sufficient for Outram. He has worked up such a superstructure on Ali Moorad's foundation of knavery that he fancies the man cannot eat his dinner without having a deep intrigue in his pillau: and thus exciting himself he daily adds to the virtues of the other Ameers until we might imagine them the most ill-used persons alive. They are daily committing themselves and Outram attributes it all to Ali Moorad's advice. How is this? They know Ali as well as Outram knows him, being his brothers, nephews, and cousins; they are also his enemies, and he theirs as Outram says and probably truly; yet they choose unaccountably to take his advice in preference to mine and Outram's!

“They are furious at the penal treaty imposed for their treason to us; this naturally produces a desire to resist, and they try to oppose my operations by bullying, by robbing

my dâks, raising troops, pretending submission to gain time, and so forth. Outram attributes all this to Ali Moorad! That Ali, like all barbarian princes, is inclined to any and every trick is likely; so are the other Ameers, but that Outram overlooks, and in his indignation against Ali Moorad he every day puts such a fresh coat of whitewash on the others that they will soon be apostles: they are indeed fifteen, but as he condemns three, namely Ali, Nusseer Khan, and Meer Mohamed, the right number is obtained. These apostles are however daily drunk with bhang; they are daily playing tricks on us; daily robbing their own people. Outram's own letter to Lord Keane proves clearly that they pillaged that officer's army in the grossest manner and nearly starved it; and a more base and disgusting set of knaves never made a land unhappy. Yet he, Outram, now thinks them a second edition of the apostles, and also of martyrs, and abuses Ali Moorad! who by the way has always behaved loyally to us, as all the politicals, Outram amongst the rest, have told me.

"I much fear this will cause great delay in our treaty, and that I have made a mistake in appointing Outram. If he will become a partizan for that old animal Roostum there will be no end of our negociations. Roostum has become old and silly before his time by drunkenness and debauchery. Outram calls him '*venerable old man*.' Venerable because he has grey hair. So have I without being venerable.

"January 25th.—Outram says the vakeels will not meet at Kyrpoor; and he is daily growing a stronger partisan of the inimical Ameers whom, awhile ago, he abused to Sir John Keane, '*pis que pendre*,' and most justly. And because I will not suffer them to train me into a similar state he calls them ill-used! not by me, but deceived by Ali Moorad! Now the least consideration would fix the truth. Roostum has known and been in constant intercourse with Outram for years; he knows that Outram wishes him well, and Outram has twice seen him, twice advised him

within the last three weeks: twice he has promised to act by Outram's advice and twice done exactly the reverse the very next day! Yet Outram believes that Roostum, his sons, and nephews, are all under the influence of Ali their bitter enemy—so called by him and them, yet take Ali Moorad's advice in preference to the advice of Outram himself whom they all believe to be their friend! And in the same breath he says Ali is a fool, and that they are fools! When it is objected, that to influence enemies against friends demands talent. Oh! Sheik Ali Hussein, a clever fellow, rules him! Does that choice mark folly?

"I see the whole case. Outram has fallen from the vast power given to him as chief political; he admits the propriety of this and tried to school his mind to what he feels is right; but during that hard trial for an enthusiastic mind he had another blow to bear for which he was unprepared. He felt his own merit and that of those who served under him, and when he expected thanks, and where rewards even were due, Lord Ellenborough offered personal insult and contumely in a way that—were he Mr. Ellenborough, Outram would have made him answer personally. His position precluded that, and the insult has rankled in his mind so that he can no longer judge impartially where Lord Ellenborough enters. That Outram is out of favour is wholly the fault of General England and his defeat at Hykulzie. England tried to save himself from odium by crushing Lieut. Hamersley. Lord E. believed Hamersley in fault, Outram defended him; Lord E. vexed at the defeats, and not over-conversant with military affairs, fell on both, and does not see how unjust he has been: this is a serious wrong."

It has been shewn that all this animadversion was founded on the false information given by Outram: Lord Ellenborough had done no wrong, and was safe in any capacity, Outram's taste being to be fiercest at a distance.

"January 27th.—Allee ka Tanda. We left camp this

morning, a fifteen mile march. The Ameers are collecting forces to meet me the 29th. I am ready. I thought this possible, though unlikely, and ordered Jacob to march with the Scinde horsemen by the Dāk road while I marched by the river road, which runs nearly parallel. The Dāk road skirts the desert and turns all these wild chaps in upon me: if we meet I will turn their right again if I can; they cannot pass the river and must surrender or be shoved into the Indus.

“Helleanee, January 28th.—A very large village with several mosques, a town in this land of sheds and castles, slavery and tyranny, of great riches and great poverty—everywhere ruins, nowhere anything arising. Outram calls it a ‘*patriarchal government*.’ Oh dear! How prejudice deceives the view. These Talpoor patriarchs found Scinde 60 years ago flourishing, and now every town is ruined, agriculture and commerce all but annihilated, the people little better than wild animals and living in straw sheds, or such wretched mud houses as would ‘*beggar all Ireland*.’ Patriarchs!

“I have bullied the Ameers of Hydrabad. They have at last sent vakeels with full powers to Outram: the Kyrpoor Ameers still hold out and I am marching on them. The Indus on their left is impassable; Jacob skirts the desert on their right with 600 horsemen; the Hydrabad Ameers refuse them shelter and I bear down on their front. This will tame them or the devil’s in them, and will make them fight, when of course they must have a devil of a thrashing: but they will cry peccavi or disperse.

“January 29th.—Kundiaree. Short march, road good. A large village, pretty, clean, and on a hill, overlooking a magnificent plain alluvial and boundless!”

Affairs were now coming to a crisis. Each hour events and changes happened, and being only cursorily noted in the journal require a continuation of the explanatory narrative.

The period first appointed for the assembly of vakeels at

Kyrpoor was, as shewn, extended to the 26th of January ; it was again extended to the 1st of February, so reluctant was the general to hasten on war. Meanwhile the Hyderabad vakeels were, although without full powers, sent back with compliments because Major Outram had now obtained a reluctant consent to go to Hyderabad. Sir C. Napier however, as seen, continued his march to give effect to the negotiation and in that view wrote amicably to the Ameers, but ended with a stern intimation that he would effect his object by force if necessary. They were then however themselves intent on war : they had stopped the dâks, had stolen by means of emissaries the general's correspondence with Outram, had sent armed parties down the Indus from Hyderabad to slay the British detachments and followers and to plunder the military posts ; had thrown the country into confusion and called on the whole Beloochee race to *fight for Islam*. The most distant tribes, north south and west, from hill and plain, were hastening to Hyderabad, whither Roostum had also now repaired, leaving his sons and nephews with 7000 men and seven guns at Khoonhera on the left flank of the British. Moreover Shere Mohamed of Meerpoor, although in no way menaced or mixed up with the penal treaty, had prepared a large force to join the camp at Hyderabad, and had offered Omercote in the desert as a base and refuge for the Kyrpoor vagrants.

To give time for assembling all these forces every deceit was practised on the general and his Commissioner Outram ; and with the latter the Ameers succeeded even to their own amazement at his folly. Persuading him that no troops were assembled, even while they were entrenching a whole army within a few miles, they signed the treaty in solemn dhurbar one day and next morning, bribing his moonshee to steal it from his desk, tore it in pieces, having previously prepared a plot to murder him in the dhurbar—relinquished only in the hope of getting the general into their power. This hope had been excited by Outram, who told

them that he had written to ask the general to quit his army and place himself before them: three times in one day he had thus written, and with the most strenuous entreaty to comply: nay! he urged him, not only to put himself thus into their power but to move his army towards Meerpoor on the side of the desert, where separated from its supplies and line of retreat, having its back to the waste, surrounded on all points and without a leader, it must have perished! What his object was cannot be affirmed, but his conduct would render any assumption plausible. His expression was, that the general's coming to Hyderabad *would remove all difficulties*. The keen answer was, *yes! and my head from my shoulders*.

At the time he made this insane proposition, sixty thousand Beloochee warriors were entrenched at Meeanee, a few miles off; the Lion of Meerpoor was preparing to join them with twelve thousand; two tribes, counting at least eight thousand, were crossing the Indus from the west with the same object; the Chandians, ten thousand strong, coming from the north, were closing on the British rear; the Kyrpoor Ameers, seven thousand, were on the left flank, and not less than forty thousand other warriors were gathering behind the Chandians. In fine the Ameers' plan was now ripe, and no longer able to hide it even from their miserable dupe Outram, having lost the opportunity for murdering him and, being foiled as to getting the general into their power, they assailed the Residency in arms.

Meanwhile the second set of vakeels or deputies had met Sir C. Napier, and he, willing to give Outram's negotiations free play, again extended the terms of peace until the 6th of February, with a promise not to advance before that day: they in return promised to bring the Kyrpoor Ameers to submission, protesting with all imaginable earnestness that the Hyderabad princes were entirely obedient: and partly he believed them thinking their masters had not courage to fight and undervaluing the Beloochee

chivalry. He however knew the danger was great, and worse it proved than he thought; yet what he knew was enough to trouble the firmest spirit. His spies agreed, one and all, that more than twenty thousand warriors were encamped at Meeanee, and that ten thousand others would be there soon: but his principal and surest emissary affirmed that forty thousand would be found there by the 17th, and that finally eighty thousand would be gathered. It was an awful storm cloud to face, but with the heart of a hero he bounded forward.

“ Journal, January 30th. Beria.—Our march tardy because of the *nullahs*. Watercourses is the right name, but we get here a slip-slop way of writing quite contemptible. We have *mutual* instead of *common* friends: we write, not to the person but to his *address*, and all ditches are *nullahs*. This day deputies from the Ameers met me when riding ahead of the advanced guard; they knew me by my retinue but I passed without noticing them. Glad they were there though. For the troops just then appeared, and these Scindian grandees were on a slight rise and saw the column which could not have been less than a mile and a half long. We had a long confab: the fat knaves did their best to make me procrastinate, for the hot weather was in their heads, and in mine also. However I gave them six days to bring in the Kyrpoor Ameers, which they said they could not do if I moved. After making a great objection to halting I pretended to yield; my object really being to wait for supplies from Sukkur and for Outram's arrival at Hyderabad. Now they are gone, convinced their arts held me back though able to go on, which on necessity I indeed could but would rather not. My foundation for defence if attacked in England is thus widened, having given seven days beyond the period of right to act vigorously. This sounds and is fair: my object is to be fair without being duped by these chaps, who are as full of cunning as an egg is of meat; but neither fair play nor convenience shall keep me from hostilities beyond the 6th of February.

“My God how I hate war and all its garnish! The exercise of the creative faculties is my nature, my bent, my happiness. It is also John Kennedy’s. Never did we differ, except in the slope of a road; but if he ever reads this journal he will learn that I was quite right about the slope. He has it now all his own way in the north of Ireland: but John Kennedy, a constant slope for twenty-five miles will not do. You have but one fault, you would keep a poor horse on the drag for twenty-five miles! and for that you will hereafter have to walk up a hot iron slope, one in twelve, with bare feet. War is natural to me but I love it not. I hate to destroy. Everybody was delighted to see Emaum Ghur blown up; to me it was pain, I was cast down, thinking of all the labour and pleasure constructing it had given. Yet I also thought of its object: that it was a hold for robbers, tyrants; a fortress surrounded by wilds where the poor had only hurdles to shelter them from the sun while their substance was consumed by the lords of the fortress. Ali Moorad, delighted like the rest, fired shells into it himself! Man loves mischief. Well, so best, it keeps the world sweet, but for that we should stagnate.

“His sister. Nowshara, January 30th.—The deputies left my camp this morning, with my promise to halt here five days while they persuade the Khoonhera Ameers to be submissive. On the 5th day I will declare open war, but I have risked this loss of time to spare blood if I can. I have also let Outram go to Hyderabad with the same view, yet am almost sorry for doing so: however my intention has been good and there is still time to strike, having already gained above a third of the distance to Hyderabad. The Kyrpoor chaps, being refused entrance into Lower Scinde and cut off from the desert, must give in, fight or disperse. If they give in my game is won; if they fight, they will be destroyed; if they disperse I take possession of their territories and my orders are executed.

“There will be violent attacks on Lord Ellenborough’s

treaty, but that's his affair. You have now the history of my operations in the abstract and in a day or two this letter shall be closed with an account of the result. Of that I feel sure, but whatever it may be it will decide my character as a commander and a politician, being too old if I lose to make another. Government would indeed be inexcusable to trust me again, nor would I wish to be trusted: an unsuccessful young commander may regain reputation, an old one has no chance. Having done all my mind suggested a failure will be from want of calibre for the difficult negotiations entrusted to me, but which I never sought. The most difficult part is being neither at peace nor war, but a week will settle all. The desert march was a *nervous* matter I assure you!"

Here this letter suddenly breaks off, but will be resumed after the battle then impending.

"Journal, Nowshara, January 30th.—Charles the First lost his head on this anniversary, my hope is not to lose mine, but I am in a dangerous position. Hardly able to spare one day I have yet given the Ameers five after they had forfeited all claim to even an hour: nor should they have had that hour if a halt had not been necessary for my troops. I have secret information that their affected submission is mere deceit and they have assembled a large force to attack me when off my guard: but I am on my guard and they may attack me when they please. If they would turn out thirty thousand in my front it would relieve me from the detestable feeling of having to deal with poor miserable devils that cannot fight and are seeking pardon by submission. Twenty times a day I am forced to say to myself, trust them not, they are all craft, be not softened.

"February 1st.—I have spoken very seriously to the commanders of corps about the ill-treatment of the camels. These poor patient creatures are cruelly loaded, and when they sink under the weight are beaten and their nostrils torn to pieces by pulling and working to make them rise; which they only do for a while and then fall to die. Three

days ago fifteen died on the road under cruel treatment, no one denies the fact: the government order, reinforced by mine, limits a camel's load to 330 lbs., and this is the maximum under which an inferior camel can work. Yet I have seized and weighed the loads of many camels on the march which have passed 800 lbs. ! A camel is as different from a horse in his nature as in his appearance and anatomy; he never recovers being knocked up but grows weaker and weaker till he dies. Rest recovers a horse, it will not restore a camel; if he does not die outright he remains a poor weak object, piteous to behold.

"The camel also gets the mange, which kills him if not early attended to; no rest or food will relieve his sufferings, and I am told they absolutely tear their own flesh with their teeth: his strength seems a sort of fixed capital which every exertion diminishes. Their strong legs bear a great weight, and their hardy nature bears up long with little food or water, from the powers of the second stomach: if fairly loaded he does his work right well, but only in the desert can he rival the horse or mule; he requires great nursing and is altogether an inferior animal. I was however struck by one peculiarity, which makes me hope the camel does not suffer from the horrid treatment inflicted as much as a horse or mule. When struck with a heavy cutting whip by the most rigorous and merciless arm he never flinches, nor springs, but keeps his solemn majestic walk with his nose in the air as if not touched: if he is drawing, you perceive a gradual increase of energy but no sudden pull, no indication of pain: nor does he groan.

"Poor patient brutes. I pity them much and hope to save them and ourselves from the cursed fools who overload them, and who will cripple my operations: we lose about five camels a day now. In the desert the camel has no rival; his great splay feet never sink in the sand, the heat never worries him; he defies thirst beyond all other beasts and eats all that is to be had: nor does he require a great

deal. All he asks is not to be overloaded, and nature has pointed this out so clearly to him and us, that this beast who shows no sign of pain or complaint when whipped makes most piteous moanings and growlings when too much is being put upon him : they are his remonstrances, which the two-legged beasts will not listen to and the poor camels are killed by brutes.

“ Nowshara, February 2nd.—Marauders last night plundered near our camp. Charged on the Beloochees, but it would not surprize me if it was our camp followers ; yet having flogged a dozen or two for such things they would hardly have had courage. To a Beloochee plunder is a virtuous exercise of his gifts, but I doubt their venturing near our camp.

“ February 3rd. — Jacob's horse, 500, are at Synd Nawab ; all communication with the desert is thus cut off. I am nervous about the heat. Five days ago we had ice, and now the sun keeps everybody stripped in tents ! There is no sickness yet, but this sun will soon form an hospital ; however, being on the river my sick can go up by water to Sukkur. I will stand no more blarney, at which the Ameers would beat any Irishman that ever drunk whiskey. How can Outram be so deceived by these men ? they have humbugged our politicals for five years ; every dog has his day, so have the Ameers ; but if I am not self-deceived their reign of humbug is now over.

“ February 4th.—My spies say reinforcements are pouring in : fifteen hundred of them said to be passing near Jacob, and my orders to him are, to avoid a collision if possible but to stand no insult. Nusseer Khan, Mahomed and Shadad, have sent me a most impudent tricky letter, it shall not be answered.

“ February 5th.—The Ameers of Kyrpoor are not gone, they said they were going but are not gone : they shall not deceive me. The ‘Bombay Times’ has a ridiculous *fanfaronnade* about Outram. Luckily I am not of a jealous dis-

position or this would make me angry ; it will make Outram so, it places him in such a ridiculous light to those who know he had nothing to do with the affair : he is too delicate and fine a fellow to sit quiet under such false praise.”—He not only did sit quiet, but was reasonably suspected of having written it himself.

“ February 6th, Sudooja.—The politicals fancy the Ameers are fools, but they are adepts in diplomacy and will fool me if I am not sharp. This day I sent those of Hydrabad an injunction to turn the Kyrpoor Ameers out of their territory, or they should be all treated as enemies. It was on the 18th December that, by Lord Ellenborough’s orders, I directed them to dismiss their troops, and to this day I have refrained : my patience has been great, and if I delay longer it will be disobedience of orders and risking the safety of my own troops. Outram is therefore directed to tell them, that if their armed men are not dismissed instantly they shall be by force of arms. The question is now brought to this point. My orders are precise and must be obeyed. The Talpoors and their Beloochee robbers oppose us, the people flock to us and follow us. Our bazaar is larger and better supplied than that of Sukkur, though the Ameers are working heaven and earth to starve us ; but my rigid discipline, and money, brings them all to us. The richness of the soil is indescribable ; it is Egypt ; yet waste and desolate because the robber rules : when he falls the peasant may cultivate in safety, not till then.

“ Moorah, February 7th.—Abuse in the newspapers : one says I do nothing ; another that I do all myself : a third that I take no advice or suggestions—not far wrong. A fourth that I am aware of my own imbecility and am entirely guided by Outram ! Ain’t I a funny fellow ? However a letter from Lord Ellenborough attributes the prospect of peace in Scinde mainly to my ‘ decision and enterprize ; ’—alluding to the desert march, which now appears to people

an easy matter: it was before looked on as an *ugly job*, and it might easily have been so.

“Doutulpoor, February 8th.—Nothing new, save my having given a hard-headed native a blow on the forehead with my fist for brutality to a camel, and as my horse sprang forward at the instant my hand was horribly sprained: had it knocked my friend down it would have been some comfort, but his head was like an anvil. These chaps will, for a bet, butt with their heads like rams, running at full speed, sometimes two or three courses before one is stunned.

“Kaja Ke Gote, February 9th.—Just heard that the Beloochees swear they will march against me the 11th.

“Sukurunda, 10th.—Long march. Fitzgerald arrived with a letter from Outram; and he found Jacob near this, who has thus left the desert open! Well it can't be helped, there was not water or food, and as I have cut them off their desert fort they cannot fly there. Fitzgerald thinks they can collect eighteen thousand horse and some two or three thousand infantry, all badly armed:—twenty thousand against less than three thousand! If they have courage they may annoy me sadly by a harassing warfare: but all this I expected, it is the nature of these things and must be met with resolution, activity, and some severity; the latter by far the most disagreeable part, but in war one's point must be won, gently or roughly, but it must be won.”

The Fitzgerald mentioned above had been detached from Emaum Ghur to explore the desert road to Balmeer, on the side of India. “He volunteered it from a spirit of adventure,” said Sir C. Napier, “and he is a zealous, bold, and very powerful young man, and a good surveyor.” He was then beginning to ascertain the qualities of the young men around him, and at this time again tells Lord Ellenborough—he has “met with few men of Lieut. Rathborne's calibre, who is unassuming as he is able; that he knows not if he is a ‘*splendid Persian*,’ or has ‘*passed in the languages*’

which seem to be the acme of genius and knowledge in India, but he would serve well in any post."

"February 11th, Sukurunda.—Halted at the request of Outram, and because my camels were tired. The sun very powerful. My spies say the Ameers' plan is to fight if I march on Koonhera; but if on Hyderabad the Kyrpoor Beloochees will march northward to attack Ali Moorad: a good plan but not so easily executed as they imagine.

"February 12th, same place.—A provoking thing has occurred. Some armed Belooch cavalry passed Jacob's camp and he arrested them of course, but they refuse to come in as prisoners, or to be disarmed. A squadron of regular cavalry has gone to bring them here, and my hope is that numbers will bully them into submission: if not, some will be killed and it would be no surprise if a rescue was attempted on the return. If they get slain it will be bad, as Outram has just written that the Ameers have faithfully promised to sign the treaty as yesterday.

"February 13th.—The Ameers did not sign the treaty on the 11th because it was the last of the *Moharum* or holy feast: they are humbugging Outram again. He writes, that the Ameers had not yet signed; this was on the 12th. Another despatch at 3 o'clock P.M.; they had not then signed! He says '*not a man in arms is at Hyderabad.*' Why they have been marching on that place from many directions, and thousands have got there: all our spies are agreed on this. I am puzzled. He prays me not to move. I must move. What work he makes about Roostum's nerves! but I have my soldiers' health and safety, and my own character to think of: I have driven these wolves into a sack and will not be their dupe.

"The twenty-five chiefs seized yesterday are all of the great Murree tribe. What luck for me! On their leader, Hyat Khan, chief of the whole tribe, was found an order for Mahomed Khan the Hyderabad Ameer, who is assuring Outram that there is no intention to resist—directing Hyat to *assemble*

every male able to wield a sword and join his victorious Beloochee troops at Meeanee on the 9th. This letter is dated the same day as one to me, wherein the same Mahomed swears his devotion to the British government, and entreats me not to frighten the Kyrpoor Ameers by advancing before the 9th, by which time he would persuade them to sign the treaty."

When Hyat Khan was arrested he exclaimed, *Why do you stop me? There are 600 Beloochees in a village only a coss off; there are plenty everywhere.* This was the moment Outram took to urge the general to quit his army.

"The knaves thought to assemble their troops before I was upon them, but accidents intervened. The Beloochees would not move until the Moharum was over, which only ended the 11th: meantime I had got in the way. The Murree tribe indeed passed my camp in the night, but we were not looking out, we were waiting for the signed treaty; moreover, being in a large jungle twenty thousand men might pass without our knowledge; but we pinned their chiefs, who being a small party expected to pass unmolested. To-morrow I march to attack all that meet me armed. Outram has at Hydrabad one hundred Europeans 22nd Regiment, and thirty Sepoys, which, as he says there are no armed men in Hydrabad beyond the usual attendants, can defend the Residency; the armed steamers are also collected there, and the house is on the edge of the river. I am glad to have had the foresight to send the light company to him, they would thrash five times their number: moreover Sobdar, the most powerful Ameer, is our ally; so is young Hussein Ali. To-morrow may be a day of events. God knows, but with his will I mean this week to end the vacillating state my desire to save these fellows has placed us in.

"Syndabad, 14th.—Got here without an attack. A *Cossid*, foot messenger, from Major Outram. Yesterday the Ameers all signed the treaty in full dhurbar, except Nusseer Khan of Kyrpoor: the Beloochees are furious at what they call

the cowardice of the Ameers. Rightly they call it if prudence be cowardice; we call it the better part of valour, and it is clearly the wiser part, a great point in war. Outram had no sooner quitted the dhurbar than he was insulted by an immense mass of armed Beloochees, who had laid a plot to murder him on his way to the Residency. He is now it is to be hoped satisfied that there are armed men in Hyderabad! His three letters yesterday all assured me there were none!!! I have mistaken the man. He expects to be besieged in the Residency and applies to me for ammunition provisions and reinforcements. He took a guard of thirty Sepoys from Sukkur, but I, having misgivings of what would happen and being convinced he was duped by the Ameers and his own anger against Lord Ellenborough, sent the light company of the 22nd after him in a steamer, and more magnificent soldiers nature never *turned out of hand* as Sir Thomas McMahon says. But for those chaps my uneasiness would be considerable. Even they may be, as Outram now suspects, too few, and another steamer has therefore gone down with 50 men and 10,000 rounds of ammunition, and in three days I shall be within cannon shot to beat up their quarters.

“At midnight we march for *Hala*, where there will be choice of two roads; one by the river by which we come slap on their front, leaving their rear open; one by my left, through *Shak-i*, and *Jamalaka-Tanda* which turns their right and forces them to battle with their back to the Indus: to this my inclination bends, but it is dangerous. 1st. Because 2800 men will be opposed to 25,000 or 30,000, and these are stiff odds. 2nd. A reverse would cut me off from the river and my supplies. 3rd. A repulse would add 20,000 men to the enemy; for barbarians hold no faith with the beaten, and numbers are now abiding the issue of the first fight. Meer Sobdar sent word secretly that, if I approved, he would join the other Ameers with five thousand men but turn to me in the fight! My answer was that I would attack

all who joined them and his men among the rest: I wanted no help. This vagabond is aiming to keep well with both sides and fall upon the weakest. If there was the least danger of my being beaten it would be by such a rascal's taking an opportunity to cause a panic with the Sepoys. I floored his proposal with scorn. All the doubtful would on a repulse turn upon us, and certainly it is no over-estimate to say, that with a beaten force I should have to fight a way to Sukkur through fifty thousand men: this would be *κακιδουμιὰ* as the modern Greeks say.

"On the other hand, if victorious I should utterly extirpate the Beloochee army, and I am as sure of victory as a man who knows that victory is an accident can be. Now for the river road. It is shorter and my right flank is secure; if worsted, my provisions are safe in the steamers; the nearer the river the more ditches, and as the Ameers have most cavalry that suits me best. They have twenty thousand horsemen; mine are but eight hundred and a victory will not therefore be so decisive: still I can pursue them with vigour. Yes! I will march along the river and trust to manœuvring in the battle for turning their right, without losing the river myself.

"Hala, 15th.—Sent orders for more troops to come down the Indus with supplies. My resolution is firm now to attack at all hazards; I could not bring more men into the field for want of camels, but to fall back would raise the country. There is but one thing—battle! Had Elphinstone fought he would not have lost his character; had Wellington waited for Stevenson at Assaye he would have been beaten. Monson hesitated, and retreated, and was beaten."

At this time Outram's absurdity became so glaring that the general, fearing with reason that he would commit the government to some dangerous promise, forbade him in the most imperative terms to take any further steps. It was full time, for he had already added to his other presumptuous

meddling that of stopping the march of the 41st Regiment, then going to Kurrachee by order of the governor-general !

“ 16th, Muttaree.—Outram has rejoined me. He has thrashed his assailants at the Residency. Of the Beloochees one hundred were killed by the 22nd men, whose conduct Outram says was capital, but he was compelled to give up the defence from want of ammunition.” Here a cross note of later date says “ His men had twenty rounds each left ! All these things come out after an action. Who in my position ever inquires at the moment, or doubts detailed statements ? Those who do lose their game as well as time.

“ Journal.—I gave orders for each man to have sixty rounds but was disobeyed, and Outram says with sixty rounds more he would not have budged, confident of my coming to his aid ; which by the way he had done his best to prevent ! I did however march rapidly towards him, and sent ammunition by water, which reached him just after he abandoned the Residency. He tells me the Ameers have eighteen thousand men now, that our battle will be desperate, and he wishes me still to wait a day while he fires a shikargah from the river ! I have refused to halt an hour, it would give heart to the enemy ; and were these 36,000 instead of 18,000 I would attack them to-morrow. I have therefore allowed Outram to fire the wood from the river, while I fire it with my howitzers from the front.”—They had 36,000.

Outram is here found voluntarily going away from a battle, which he declared would be desperate, and his first demand was for Europeans, of which not more than four hundred were in the whole army ! he was forced to content himself with Sepoys. The ground of his proposal to delay a day was still, that the Ameers were pacifically inclined ! Bedlam, not the Residency, should have been his destination. Battle was now inevitable : it was Charles Napier's

first essay as a commander, and under adverse chances which might have appalled the most experienced general.

“John Kennedy, February 16th.—To-morrow I march towards Meeanee, where report says the Ameers have thirty thousand men, but have not the pluck to lead them in person. I march at midnight and may begin the battle sooner than the tribes who have sworn on the Koran to destroy us expect. I can take into action about two thousand eight hundred men and twelve guns; they have about the same number of guns, but their cavalry is called twenty thousand, and on a smooth plain; mine are about 800, long odds, but to-morrow or the day after we shall know each other's value. I have one British regiment, the 22nd. Magnificent Tipperary! I would not give the ‘specimens’ for a deal just now. There may be no time to write to-morrow to my best-loved friends, and with my battle luck my letter-writing may be altogether interrupted: if so, you and my brother William will find in my journal and letter-books ample materials to defend me from the Indian press, the editors of which are perhaps the most infamous and degraded set in the world.

“Lord Ellenborough has interrupted the robbery of the treasury by certain civilians in India, and has held up the glorious Indian army for admiration, and the Company's officers are superb: but because he has done this, those civilians, living cheek by jowl with the editors, have turned the press against him. And because he has given me latitude of command, have also fallen on me in a way to be sure which draws ridicule on themselves: if I am killed there will be no end to their lies; but through the English papers, whose editors are men of some character and gentlemen, William and you can set me right. God bless you. To fall will be to leave many I love, but to go to many loved, to my home! and that in any case must be soon.”

Such were his feelings, and when told by his spies that

the Beloochees would soon have sixty thousand in the field, "*Let them be sixty or a hundred thousand I will fight*" was his private note.

"Journal, 16th February.—My troops are in high spirits, so am I. Not to be anxious about attacking such immensely superior numbers is impossible, but it is a delightful anxiety. Three hours I have to get some sleep, and at nine o'clock to-morrow my gallant soldiers shall be launched against these brave Beloochees! It is my first battle as a commander, it may be my last! At 60 that makes little difference, but as my feelings are it shall be *do or die*. Beaten I could not shew my face, unless the fault was with the troops. I would not be in General England's place for worlds—poor man, I did my best to comfort him. Had I listened to Outram I should have now been three marches northward, and the Ameers would have leisure to assemble all their hordes! Well, I will just visit the outposts and then lie down to sleep, for I had none last night, having been constantly called up by some foolish report or other.

"Poor Mr. Howel, the Ameers' master-general of ordnance, refused to fire on his countrymen and they put him to death:"—a false report—"now if I win to-morrow, and catch Nusseer Khan, as may probably happen, he shall be tried by a military commission and hanged for this murder. A poor American aimed wide at our steamers, and they cut off his nose and ears and then slew him!"—a confusion of Howel's story. "Outram is not now so full of the *amiable qualities* of his Ameers. If I ever write again in this journal these matters shall be related. Should we be beaten a stiff stand shall be made, with my back to the river, until troops come to me from Sukkur. God bless my wife and precious girls, my hope is to live or die worthy of them: no Cabool for me to make them blush.

"Meeanee, February 17th.—We have fought a hard battle and won the victory. The enemy has lost more than five

thousand, and we nearly three hundred, of whom nineteen are officers: one-third of the number engaged. I am too tired to write more.

“18th.—Hydrabad has surrendered: six Ameers have given me their swords, which I returned.”

This was the battle of Meeanee.

THIRTEENTH EPOCH.

SIXTH PERIOD.

IF the greatness of mind shewn in resolving on battle, the disproportion of force and the terrible fighting be considered, the victory of Meeanee was an exploit scarcely to be matched in history. With young soldiers of different races, some of whom had been before beaten by the same enemy, Charles Napier, at the age of sixty, and for the first time commanding in chief, attacked in open day and defeated twenty times his own numbers strongly entrenched! Not men unused to action and seeking an excuse to fly, but stern robust warriors, religious fanatics, fixed to conquer or perish—yet confident to win, being of great aptitude for war.

A general historical description of the contest and of the previous combinations have been recorded in the "History of the Conquest of Scinde;" but the victor shall now speak himself: and be it remembered, that while thus speaking of the terrible fighting he did not forget what he owed to the fighters:—for the first time in modern English military history, his dispatch recognized the valour of non-commissioned officers and private soldiers by name. This innovation on aristocratic habits has since been partially adopted, and claimed by a minister in the House of Lords as a merit of government. A merit it is, but with Charles Napier it originated, and he thereby gave offence which was never pardoned.

Sequel to the private letter interrupted at Nowshara.—"I know not what has been already said in this letter, and have not time to look, but we have closed affairs with a most

bloody battle! Riding over the plain of Meeanee afterwards, I said to myself, *am I guilty of these horrid scenes?* My conscience reproached me not! I am weary. I expected another day of blood, but Hydrabad has surrendered and six Ameers are prisoners in my camp.

“Captain Kennedy.—We beat them John at Meeanee: the battle was terrible. I afterwards rode over the horrid field and questioned my conscience: this blood is on the Ameers not on me! How I escaped Heaven knows, I do not. We were for three hours and a half only one yard apart, man to man: fearful odds, and they fought like heroes. Covered by their shields they run upon us sword in hand with desperate fury, but down they went under the musket and bayonet: all fought hand to hand.”

It was at midnight, alone, while the army was sleeping, and amidst the piled heaps of dead that he thus invoked the Deity to absolve him!

“Journal, February 18th.—An alarm this morning, and I was so fast asleep in my cloak that Outram, who had returned in the night, could not wake me: it was caused by camp followers, who are enough to destroy an army, yet we cannot do without them. They were decidedly one of the primary causes of the Cabool destruction; any alarm makes them rush in upon the troops, break the ranks, obstruct the fire, and produce a mass of confusion in an instant. To prevent this I had formed my troops in square after the battle, baggage in centre; the followers had thus no point to run upon, and at nightfall my orders were to fight, if attacked, on any side of the square, firing on enemy and camp followers alike; that order saved us in this alarm, for had we been in line they would have broken us. There are even now, five or six columns of Beloochees within cannon-shot, each 2000 or 3000 strong; they hanker about and we do not know what to make of them—I am crippled with wounded men and our baggage, and the cavalry is too weak to go through another fight—they are perhaps followers of wounded

chiefs who cannot be moved. With two more regiments of horse what punishment I could inflict ; but the battle and the previous march have knocked us all up, the camel battery could not drag the guns a mile further. However we have done our job well.

“ In the battle I rallied the 22nd twice, and the 25th N. I. three times, when giving way under the terrible pressure ; all the officers behaved well, but had I left the front one moment the day would have been lost : many know this. Had I not been there some other would have done the same ; but being there, and having rallied them, to have gone to another point would have lost all ; for while I was there no one felt responsible, no one dashed on like Teesdale of the 25th and McMurdo, I mean those immediately about me. We ought to have gone slap over the bank, and had the 22nd been old soldiers they would have done so : but such young lads were amazed, they knew not what to do, and the swordsmen in such masses making at them, covered by their shields, were very ugly ! Well, it was a fearful fight ! I feel now frightened at my own boldness, but having worked my courage up to try have been successful. The 22nd gave me three cheers after the fight, and one during it. Her Majesty has no honour to give that can equal that, if indeed she gives me any. I do not want any, none at least but what awaits a victor from history. I shall be glad though of a medal with the officers and soldiers ; sharing with them will be an honour of more value to me than any other that can be given.

“ 19th February.—Hydrabad has struck and all the Ameers are prisoners : had I taken their swords my armoury would have been full.

“ 20th.—There is great delicacy required in taking possession of the town, for on the least alarm they would cut all their women's throats : the guards are therefore slipped in gradually. This day however up went the British colours on the great round tower of Hydrabad, and at two o'clock we fired a royal salute and gave three cheers, which the

soldiers made into a dozen: I thought they never meant to stop.

“22nd.—The three prize agents have found immense treasures; they talk of two millions sterling!

“His sister.—I mourn over the whole thing, and did all that could be done to prevent this bloodshed as every officer in this army knows, for they used to say *The general is the only man in camp who does not wish for a battle*. However, I have only obeyed my orders. It is curious that a soldier gave me on the field a sword all bloody, and it turns out to be the sword of the grandfather of those Ameers who conquered Scinde.

“Lord Fitzroy Somerset. Compressed. February 20th.—To Lord Hill and yourself I owe this command, and my first wish is to have your approbation. To do otherwise than fight was not possible, though my force was so disproportionate that in other circumstances it would have been rash. Lord Ellenborough had been absolutely defied by the Ameers. Nothing could put things to rights but forcing the Ameers to sign the treaty, by advancing with all the troops capable of moving. I knew they could assemble a large force, but two days before the battle they had only ten thousand: suddenly they called troops over the Indus, and in an instant their numbers rose to twenty-five thousand. Had I retreated those numbers would have been doubled, and other thousands would have crossed the Indus between me and Sukkur, and I should have been surrounded: my resolve was to attack and the result has been very decisive.

“If my conduct be approved of by the Duke, Lord Hill, and yourself, it will fully reward me for my great anxiety to do right: the duke's letter on Col. Monson's retreat decided me never to retreat before an Indian army. If I have done wrong abstractedly success like charity covers sins, and it was the great Master led me into error; but my conviction is that I am right, and that my admiration and study of

his deeds and words, as rules for war, have caused this victory.

“I could not turn the enemy's flank, the ground was impracticable; and I also judged it best to attack before the soldiers *saw* their masses. His grace will tell you what an awful affair the baggage of an Indian army is; especially in this desert country, where no walled villages were within miles of me and my force was too small to furnish a proper guard: had I attempted to overcome the difficulties of turning either flank, my baggage and baggage guard and hospitals would have been lost!”

Instead of twenty-five, there were above thirty-five thousand conquered at Meeanee; and how the Duke of Wellington judged the conqueror, who thus apologized for gaining a great victory, will be seen further on. This voluntary apology addressed with such simplicity of feeling to so great a man was graceful and becoming; but when the Indian commander in chief, Sir Jasper Nichols, in profound ignorance of facts took upon himself to censure the victor for daring to conquer, he with the rebound of conscious genius repelled the assumption of superiority in a letter remarkable alike for vigour and comprehensive views. It will be found at length in the *Administration of Scinde*.

“Sir T. McMahon.—The two lines were not a yard asunder for three hours and a half: it was butchery. My present calculation makes the enemy's killed and wounded above five thousand.

“Mrs. Teesdale.—The only consolation I can offer you under the loss you have suffered is one which, when time has alleviated your grief and that of your noble husband's family, will be a consolation and a source of pride. I beheld his conduct from first to last, and a more glorious example of the highest courage and devotion never was exhibited by a soldier in the service of his country. His family must ever be proud of him, as one whom the most appalling danger could not check; and who, casting himself into the

midst of the enemy, fell because he would not flinch before overpowering numbers. May this be your consolation under the dispensation of that great God whose will it was he should die gloriously in battle. Believe me madam your faithful friend and fellow-mourner.

“Mrs. Jackson.—I cannot say too much in praise of your brave and lamented husband. I did not say all he deserved in my dispatch, my limit was too narrow; I had to speak of many, yet of none more worthy: he slew seven Beloochees ere he fell. Nothing that the India Company can do for his widow and his child can exceed the deserts of Major Jackson; and if at any time you think I may be useful to you, I beg of you to write to me without hesitation, and be assured of my desire to serve you: that I may have the power I cannot say. May time soothe your sorrows!”

The Company's gratitude to this brave man was evinced by an attempt to deprive his widow and child of his fair share of prize money, as the records of the prize commission prove.

“Lord Ellenborough. Extracts.—The two days following the victory were of great anxiety; the retreating masses of the enemy might have renewed the battle, and with our small force every precaution was necessary.

“The treasure left in the Ameers' camp was, they tell me, five lacs, but was pillaged by the camp followers and some of the cavalry: probably also by the Ameers' people.

“I have not made Sobdar prisoner. I believe he had troops in the field, but against his will: he is not valorous and was afraid of being killed by his own Beloochees. Meer Roostum and, I believe, all the rest were in the battle, but at present it is impossible to ascertain all details.

“May I entreat of your lordship to give precise orders about the seizure of treasure; I believe it is immense: and the greatest favour you can confer on me is not to let me have anything to do with the affair, but to order the

prize agents named by me to report and refer direct to your secretary."

Many anecdotes of this battle will be found in letters of a later date ; but how terribly they fought on both sides may be judged from the following facts. A 22nd soldier, bounding forward plunged his bayonet into the breast of a Beloochee, yet the firm warrior did not even reel ; seizing the musket he writhed onwards and with a blow swept his destroyer's life away : they fell dead together ! No Belooch would take quarter : the general in the midst of the fighting sought to save an exhausted yet unyielding chief, but a soldier drove his weapon deep into the proud barbarian, with this terrible laconism. "*This day General the Sham-bles have it all to themselves.*" Six thousand had fallen but none would fly. With shield thrown over their shoulders they stalked in retreat, shaking their swords and casting back glances of such fierce import that the conqueror checked pursuit on the open plain, fearing they might turn : they were overthrown and amazed, not beaten.

Outram's share in these transactions now demands notice. It has been already shown that by earnest entreaty he obtained a command which led him from the battle ; he returned after it, to assure the general that he had largely contributed to the victory by raising a smoke which alarmed the enemy ! Smoke ten miles off to alarm desperate men, fighting hand to hand and falling by thousands ! Yet with this tale of folly he came however, and with another more pernicious proceeded to dim the clearness of the general's judgment in the following manner. At daybreak it became known that the Lion of Meerpoor was a few miles off with ten thousand men, who would have been in the battle had Outram's demand for delay before the action been acceded to : indeed the Lion, never dreaming of defeat, had purposely kept back his troops, fearing his brother Ameers in victory more than the British in arms. Hearing the result of the battle he knew not what to do, and the general guessing his

state resolved to march against him. But wishing to get Hyderabad first, if possible, while terror was rife, he in that view summoned it on pain of being stormed, and instantly vakeels appeared to demand terms. *Life and nothing else*, was the reply, adding with fearfully significant humour, *Decide before mid-day, for the dead will then be buried and my soldiers will have had their breakfasts*. Then came forth Roostum Khan the aged ; Nusseer and Mohamed, Khans of Upper Scinde. Nusseer Khan, Shadad, and the young Hussein of Lower Scinde followed, and all laid their jewelled swords at the conqueror's feet. They were worth thousands, but compassionating the Ameers' state, and disdainful of lucre he, as already said, refused them and turned to fall on the Lion. But then crept Outram to his ear, saying he knew that Ameer well, who would not fight, and would in fear submit at once were he, Outram, allowed to write to him. It was the folly of the Hyderabad mission again ; but always accessible to a plea for saving blood, and still retaining some slight faith in Outram's sense, the general assented. Thus, instead of a storm of fire falling on the Lion, a friendly warning carried him assurance of present safety and future hope : he professed submission, retreated to Meerpoor, and instantly rekindled the war.

After this mischief-making Outram departed to Bombay, his career under Sir C. Napier having been short, but most remarkable for a man who had in print claimed peculiar distinction in arms. As a political commissioner he had with curious pertinacity pressed on the general the most incorrect information, and the most dangerous advice ; both tending directly to the absolute destruction of general and army. As a military man he had claimed credit for the defence of the Residency, where he had remained within the house while Captain Conway repelled the enemy outside. He had carried off two hundred men in the night before Meeanee, knowing that a battle must be fought next morning ; and having now prevented another fight by his letter to

the Lion, terminated his mission and quitted the army when a second battle was inevitable. From Bombay he went to England to prefer charges against the man who had, at his own risk, upheld him against Lord Ellenborough's just displeasure, and who he had left struggling amidst formidable dangers brought down by his wretched deception as to the Lion's character. For that prince soon rallied the broken tribes from Meeanee on his own feudatories, and pressing round the handful of British soldiers called all of the Belooch race to aid in their destruction.

This new war soon attained great activity, and was indeed very dangerous and well conceived by the Lion, as a rapid sketch of his position will at once make clear. Behind him, as a base, was Meerpoor on the edge of the desert; and behind Meerpoor was the fortress of Omercote in the heart of the desert, well furnished and cutting off the British land communication with Bombay. On his right run roads through the desert to Shah Ghur and another fortress, both held by a nephew of Roostum with some thousands of followers. On his left was the Delta, his own territory, full of jungles, nullahs and malaria. Thus based, and advancing from Meerpoor, he changed the line of operations and even the nature of the war; for rapidity was before necessary for the safety of the British force, but here delay: and fortunately its general was capable of both. Meanwhile, in Upper Scinde Ali Moorad's authority as Rais was opposed by the Chandians, and other tribes on the right bank of the Indus: there also a hostile chain of Beloochees extended along the mountains to the country of the Jokeas, whose great chief, called the Jam, had descended from the Hala range to menace Kurrachee. Thus the whole Belooch race was gradually closing around the handful of victors, the circle being completed by bands of roving swordsmen which had, south of Hydrabad, attacked the British stations and intercepted the dâks, plundering and murdering isolated men, and chasing flying families and non-combatants: in

fine, the original scheme of the Ameers was now in full activity, Meeanee had only caused a momentary recoil: the army had been saved from destruction but was still to struggle for victory. A signal proof was thus given of the power of the Ameers, of their great designs, and of the daring genius and promptitude of the general who saved India by baffling them.

Lord Ellenborough, with the foresight of a statesman comprehending the requirements of war, had on hearing of the battle instantly sent reinforcements down from Ferozepoor to Scinde; and Colonel Roberts, commanding at Sukkur, with like promptitude had forwarded supplies by water to Hyderabad, where the British position was become gravely critical. For the heat had reached 112° in the shade, the force was much reduced, the Indus was the only line of supply, and there was not even carriage to move the stores that arrived on its banks from thence to Hyderabad, less than four miles! Four hundred men were required for the garrison of the fortress of Hyderabad, leaving less than two thousand for field operations: thus with a mere isolated handful of men Sir C. Napier had to sustain his conquest amidst an insurgent nation, and against a powerful army, almost within cannon shot, under a prince of vigour boldness and skill, for such was the Lion.

Here must be noted an error of gravity in the public dispatch of Meeanee. The adjutant-general Wyllie had been desperately wounded and no morning state of the army was made out; hence the general hastily adopted a state of the week before, which gave 2800 men fit for duty: but sickness had reduced them, Outram had carried off two hundred, four hundred were in charge of the baggage, one native regiment of grenadiers was scarcely engaged, and the battle was really fought with less than eighteen hundred men and officers of which less than four hundred were Europeans! On the other hand the Beloochees' force was called twenty-two thousand, but was really little short of forty

thousand. The best spies had said they exceeded thirty-five thousand, but one spy rated them only at the number adopted: he was right at the moment, yet two strong tribes had afterwards suddenly crossed the Indus in the night and joined for battle. Charles Napier's rooted dislike of vaunting made him adopt the lowest number; but subsequently the Ameers' pay roll was found, and more than bore out the highest estimate of the spies.

With less than two thousand disposable men and a large hospital the British general could not now seek the Lion, but like a great commander he made his enemy seek him. Entrenching a camp on the bank of the river to be near his supplies, he also constructed a fort on the opposite bank to protect his steamers from the tribes on the right bank; then securing his hospital and stores within the camp, he sent to hasten the reinforcement from Sukkur which he had before called for: it was to come by water, and he also ordered that a column of all arms should march by land while the terror of the recent battle was abroad. This was the stroke of a master knowing the value of moral force in war; and while awaiting these succours, with admirable art he promulgated stories of his own fears and weakness to excite the Lion's confidence, arguing thus:—"If he assails my works he will be beaten; if he does not the delay will exhaust his money, seeing that the Beloochees are rapacious as they are brave." With the fine caution of a great captain however, he at the same time made his own men encamp outside the entrenchments, which he in conversation purposely ridiculed, lest his artifices against the Lion should shake the confidence of his own troops.

His field enemies were not however the most formidable: an anti-Ellenborough faction was in full activity at Bombay and its newspapers were in full cry of abuse; especially the "Bombay Times," under the editorship of one Buist an unfrocked priest of St. Andrew's. This faction was incessantly calling on the Beloochee tribes to rise and destroy

the army; they were told in detail all its weak points, plans of attack were promulgated, and the Sepoys were incited in distinct terms to mutiny and murder their general. Outram was the idol of this faction, and certainly its active tool against Sir C. Napier. Amongst other calumnies Buist published, that the Ameers' women had been abducted by the officers from the zenanas and were living in their tents, and that it behoved all the Mussulmen of India to avenge the insult: the answer was a document signed by the whole of the officers denouncing the statement as an infamous falsehood, without even an accidental or doubtful occurrence to excuse the fiction.

Another difficulty, a great one, was how to deal with the captive Ameers. These princes were still formidable as enemies because of their conqueror's generous treatment. His first care had been to protect their women, not from his own soldiers but from the savage passions of the Ameers; for the zenanas were within the fortress, and under the name of attendants eight hundred robust well-armed Talpoorees were left, bound by orders and their own notions of honour as men of the Talpoor blood—on the slightest insult, to cut the women's throats and fight their own way abroad. These swordsmen, knowing how such a catastrophe was dreaded by the general, were most insolent, as men prepared to die were likely to be: they made their charge also a mask for constant communication with the Lion, which their numbers and the general's care for the women's lives rendered it impossible to prevent.

The captive Ameers had been meanwhile placed in one of their own luxurious gardens close to the Indus, and had for attendants many hundred Beloochees, most of them Talpoors; from thence they also corresponded with the Lion and the men in the fortress, giving and receiving military intelligence. Thus the general was by Outram's insidious meddling placed in a more difficult position than before the battle; one so perilous that "*he will be Cabooled,*" was an

expression common in Bombay, in the Li6n's camp and in the Ameers' garden, all animated by the same wish: the faction indeed said he had been Cabooled, and even caused it to be so believed for a time in England. His correspondence touches constantly on this triple hostile combination; but for the baffling of it the Duke of Wellington shall speak.

"Sir C. Napier gained the camp of the enemy, got possession of his guns, and obtained the most complete victory, taking up a position in which he was not likely again to be attacked. Not only did he secure Hydrabad and the portion of the Indus which lay in his rear, he brought up a reinforcement and placed himself at the head of a stronger army than that he commanded before the battle. He thus manifested all the discretion and ability of an officer familiar with the most difficult operations of war."

From factious enmity the general turned with scorn, but strove to check the Ameers with this stern intimation, which was afterwards quoted in the House of Commons as an instance of uncivilized ferocity! "*I will not kill you as you advised your people to do to the English; but I will put you in irons on board ship.*" Even this failed, and finally he did put them in a steamer, but not in irons: had he shot them it would have been but simple justice.

In their treasury had been nearly three millions sterling, besides the women's ornaments, but he forbade the slightest enquiry as to the last which could give the barbarian guards an excuse for their bloody purpose: he allowed the ladies three days of free action, meaning that the slave girls should secure some plunder for their future support. But he was not prepared for Eastern female activity in such matters; it subsequently became known that they carried off above two millions, leaving scarcely half a million behind! All the women, wives and slaves, were allowed either to join their lords or remain in Scinde, and all chose the last: not one would again place herself under an Ameer or accept him as a lover—or a *Patriarch*!

Previous to the battle a dhurbar had been held to decide on the fate of the British after victory, and the resolution was, to collect all the men women and children found in Scinde and cut their throats on the field of battle. "*So shall we make it famous!*" The general alone was to be reserved for greater cruelty. Knowing all this he had yet returned their swords, and while living himself in a small tent under that raging sun, resigned to them their luxurious garden: Roostum only was excluded, but by his own brother Ameers, because he was destitute! They drove him out, refusing even a carpet or cover from the sun, and thus at eighty years of age he would have perished if the general had not furnished him with comforts: yet Outram had pretended that the only cause for hesitation with the Ameers about signing the treaty, was their pity for Roostum who had been despoiled! Now let their conqueror again speak, a week after the battle.

"Journal, February 25th.—My hope is that Lord Ellenborough's dispatch may go home before that from Bombay. Outram is an honourable but an angry man, and exceedingly vain, and will do mischief: his foolish friends at Bombay will so flatter him as to strengthen the erroneous view he has already taken of affairs, which is *diametrically opposed to that he gave me on my first arrival at Sukkur*. He has been spoiled by the power he possessed. He and Mr. Robertson, Governor of the N. W. provinces, and Sir George Arthur, have all taken the same wrong view in my opinion; and though I have only executed my orders they know Lord Ellenborough's general conduct is approved of by me; the Bombay dispatch will therefore go home accompanied and blown upon by their adverse views, in which many, jealous of my success, will join."

Here a cross note written years after, runs thus. "Thinking Outram at this time an honourable man I believed what he had told me of Lord Ellenborough's conduct to him and Hamersley. Now I know that Hamersley ought to have

been dismissed the service, and Outram knew it then, yet falsely painted Lord Ellenborough's proceedings as harsh and wrong.

"These men however cannot change results, nor will Outram do anything not loyal, so far as he is aware of his own conduct; but he knows not what he does, for had I listened one instant, beyond what I did, to his advice and urgent prayers my army would have been cut to pieces. Even the night before the battle he wanted me to *wait one day longer*, which would have just enabled twelve thousand men then in our front, and ten thousand in our rear to have joined in the action! They were within six miles of us when the fighting closed. One great mistake however I made; Outram persuaded me to let him try a diversion with 200 men, whom he carried *out of action*! No general ought to detach even a tailor before a battle.

"Lord Ellenborough.—I much wish that your lordship's account should first reach the English government. There are good and honourable men, quite incapable of any injustice, who have taken a very different view of Scindian politics and of my operations from that which your lordship has taken, and they cannot as honest men, holding those views, approve of what I have done: those who think the Ameers ill-used can scarcely be expected to look favourably on a victory which has rolled them over. I have confidence in Sir George Arthur, but some time ago he wrote to me, hoping we should not kill the poor Scindians. I told him he had mixed two classes that are distinct, namely, the Beloochees who, being conquerors, are idle warriors and robbers, and the native Scindians who are slaves or serfs, and over whom the Beloochees' rule is an unqualified grinding tyranny. Now the Scindians are to a man in our favour; so are the Hindoos of Scinde; ninety Scindian shops were opened in our bazaar and followed us everywhere: the Beloochees alone are our enemies.

"—— Shere Mohamed of Meerpoor has seven or eight

thousand men ; he had none in the battle, and I told him I should consider him a friend if he dismissed his troops : he has not done so and I will march against him when my reinforcements arrive. But having a great city to guard, and vast treasure, and our victory being complete, I will not risk any division of my troops : they are too few to bear it and very hard worked : which they bear admirably. But your lordship having lifted the army from the degradation into which the *politicals* had cast it, has raised a spirit that makes them reckless of danger. Had I not seen that spirit I could scarcely have dared to attack such an overwhelming force posted so formidably.

“ — Meer Sobdar I have now made prisoner : he staid away from the battle, but five thousand of his warriors fought and I see no reason why he should shelter himself under his cowardice. Old Roostum and the others were there, but not absolutely in danger ; they are the most contemptible set of wretches I ever met. I have three wounded Beloochees in hospital, and wanted the Ameers to send people to attend upon these brave fellows ; but they would take no trouble about them, although their tents were not fifty yards off. I regret to say we could not make prisoners ; the overwhelming numbers, and the combatants being hand to hand, made it impossible to spare ; it was a butchery such as I never beheld : no quarter was given on either side, the wounded Beloochees fought as they lay on the ground. Some of our officers counted after the battle four hundred bodies within a circle of fifty yards diameter, where the 22nd and 25th fought ; and I fancy as many fell opposed to the 12th Regiment, without reckoning those killed further off : these clumps of dead had fallen where none of the antagonists were three yards from each other : only four of our guns were engaged, but they made tremendous havoc.

“ We had but three officers instead of the ten which twelve guns ought to have : the Company will never give full effect to their troops unless more regimental officers are with their

corps. The disproportionate pay of the staff makes every officer seek to be on it, and the command of companies is left to inexperienced youths, full of courage but not fit to command companies, much less regiments, which last is sometimes the case. Never did I witness more individual courage than in this battle, especially among the European officers: there was no flinching among the native officers, but there is a vast difference between the energy of the European officer and the apparent indifference of the native officers, though some of them behaved admirably and the native soldier right well. Amongst the treasure is the battle-axe of Nadir Scha, a very beautiful piece of workmanship all studded with precious stones; it is the only thing amongst those riches that I had a curiosity to see. I have desired the prize agents to ascertain if possible the history of anything of this kind, as it adds to the intrinsic value of the article.

“Journal, February 26th.—This day captured my royal mistress”—Chalon’s Print—“in the palace of Hydrabad: being one of her knights she shall not be left among the pagans. The Ameer is carrying on some conspiracy, we cannot make it out, but probably for an attack; if they accomplish it they are dead men, I will bayonet every mother’s son, my soldiers shall not be killed thus. The only effect of my kindness as to their comforts has been to enable them to risk mine and their own soldiers’ lives, and cause another day of blood; but God has put his finger on them.

“27th.—Positive intelligence that we are to be attacked the 6th of March by thirty thousand Beloochees, said to be at Khoonhera—fudge! Thousands were beaten from a strong position and they will not attack me in a strong one: yet nothing shall be left to fortune, and while believing they dare not attack me we are ready if they do—having: 1°. Strict guards and night patrols. 2°. A very strong fort, so repaired as it has not been for many a year. 3°. A battalion in garrison. 4°. Provisions for three months; it is impreg-

nable except by a regular siege, and they have neither guns nor science. 5°. My own camp on the Indus, strongly entrenched and provisioned for two months. 6°. Reinforcements in March. 7°. A large plain swept by our guns and those of two steamers. Yes! Beloochees, we are snug, and glory shall be yours if you drive us into the river: but even if you do drown us you cannot get the Hyderabad fortress, it will be defended: God may destroy us, but the Beloochees cannot."

When it is considered that all these works and preparations for renewing the campaign were completed within ten days after the battle, the Duke of Wellington's eulogium will be accepted as a simple truth.

"February 28th.—I have sent the Persian prince, Agha Khan, the assassin king of the mountain, and divinity according to his sect, to Jurruck on the right bank of the Indus: his influence is great, and he will with his own followers secure our communication with Kurrachee. He is lineal chief of the assassins of the Crusades, who still exist as a sect and are spread over all the interior of Asia: they have great influence though no longer dreaded as in days of yore. He will protect our line, along which many of our people have been murdered by the Beloochees: Captain Innes certainly has been, and a Parsee merchant, and a poor conductor, with his wife and child at Vikkur. Spoke to all the Ameers yesterday. Poor old noodle Roostum took hold of my garment and prayed for protection: the old man has been roughly used by his family. My reply was, he should be protected from them; and he shall be.

"March 2nd.—Killing of Dâk runners on the road to Boog; this cuts our communication with Bombay, is disagreeable, and the right warfare for the Beloochees, but I will bother them. Innes was designedly murdered: the Ameers sent orders everywhere to spare neither man woman nor child of the English! My fear of the heat is great, having lost a good week by Outram's having been so humbugged as

he was." Here a cross note says:—"When on my way to Simla as commander in chief 1849 I heard from Dr. —, who had charge of the Ameers, that they acknowledged to having, at Hyderabad, secretly directed insults to be offered to Outram to make him believe they had no control over their Beloochees.

"March 4th.—News from Sukkur, the Dāk is free again. Roberts is worth his weight in gold: the moment he heard of the battle he sent ammunition sappers and miners, all we wanted, and I am now strongly entrenched, with plenty, and ready to fight. The Bengal cavalry, a regiment of infantry and troop of horse artillery, marched yesterday from Sukkur by my order, and I think are safe from being intercepted. The 21st N. I. are coming down in boats, and should arrive the 6th or 7th:—then look out Shere Mohamed.

"5th.—Eighteen thousand Beloochees are said to be assembled at Meerpoor, and the Chandians are crossing the Indus from Sehwan and Larkaana to join them: however, Roberts has orders, if he feels strong enough, to stir up the Chandians at home. Ali Moorad also has my order to plunder the Chandians, who will find me a troublesome customer.

"6th.—Too hard worked, my body wastes away, however duty must be done and self put aside.

"7th.—Report that Shere Mohamed has certainly eighteen thousand: in four days I may perhaps have three thousand, and then 'blind harpers have among ye.' If I wait till the 20th, six more guns with cavalry and infantry will join, but the weather will be infernally hot, and that makes me undecided; chances must be weighed; it is good to let thoughts settle in the mind, they grow clear and fit for use.

"This day I got hold of the two murderers of Innes. I told Meer Shadad his servants had done the bloody work, and he should die if they were not given up; in half an hour they were in my tent! Poor Innes begged hard to keep his shirt, he was so ill and it was so cold! the answer

was cutting off his head at a blow; it fell in the water the body in the boat.

Lord Ellenborough, March 8th.—A military commission has found a Beloochee guilty of murdering a Parsee. Cold-blooded murderers of prisoners I will hang, and I have caught three: one slew the unresisting Parsee; the other two murdered the equally unresisting Captain Innes. In the course of the investigation it appeared, that the Ameers issued orders to their Kardars to kill all the English. If I can obtain a written order to that effect, signed by any one of the Ameers, I think that Ameer ought to be hanged in preference to the officer who obeyed his master? One of the men at once said yes! I murdered the Englishman, and then added, my master was fighting you and we had orders to kill all of you. All the country knew this, so I killed the man as I was ordered. Very well, I said, then I must hang you. You are welcome: but that man is innocent, he was sitting down—I alone killed the Englishman. Now my lord I confess it goes sorely against my conscience to hang these men and let the greater ruffians, the Ameers, escape. They are the real offenders, and I never met with such villains; they are quite a match for all I have heard of Acbar Khan, without his redeeming qualities.

“I am as yet unable to ascertain Shere Mohamed's force, my spies talk of 8,000 up to 40,000! The first we should not be able to catch; the last would be too strong to venture on before the 3rd cavalry and Leslie's horse artillery join me. That we could win I do not doubt, but the victory would not be followed up to my wish; and any reverse would make me sink in shame for not waiting the arrival of that column. We have yet cool weather enough to admit of my waiting, and if the Ameer has so large a force his expences will soon exhaust his treasury. I hear he has closed the wells from Meerpoor to Omercote, and has poisoned those between this place and Meerpoor. I think I can manage this difficulty, though it is the warfare most to be appre-

hended : there is only one way to meet it, namely, to obtain the good-will of the mass of the people."

The next letter is in answer to one pressing on the general, Outram's and Mr. Robertson's views as to the injustice done to the "*Patriarchal Princes*."

"Sir George Arthur, 12th March.—Detesting the shedding of blood, as I do from my heart, I feel more inclined to mourn over this carnage than to exult, or wish for honour ; but my conscience assures me it was the Ameers not I who brought it on. There is a feeling of excitement in the human mind, which arises on occasion of success or defeat, that no man can be free from at such moments ; and a man bred in war, *egg and bird*, as I have been, cannot throw off those feelings entirely, though a career of fifty years cools them down. Since I have been here and studied the Ameers closely they appear the most thorough villains. At first I felt pity for their misfortunes which made me return their swords, though it would have been no trifling trophy in a private gentleman's family to have the swords of nine dethroned princes surrendered on the field of battle ! They were mine by the rules of war, but I would not take them at such a moment. Such were my feelings towards them then ; now I would hang them all without remorse ! Such brutes never were seen : they issued orders to murder all the English, man woman and child ! Are we to consider men of this stamp as '*full of honour and entitled to commiseration?*' I think not beyond that which we have and ought to have for every malefactor !

"I have served with the wild Indian, the wily Greek, the brutal Turk ; with Spaniards, Portuguese and Italians, and amongst all there were some redeeming qualities: at least the chiefs had some dignity of character. Amongst the Beloochees generally there is also a nobleness much to be admired ; but these Ameers are unqualified brutes. Nusseer of Hyderabad is by far the best, because he is the boldest and most open ; and the one, if Lord Ellenborough restores

them, who I should recommend as chief: I sincerely trust however that his lordship will do no such thing, though personally it would be to me delightful, as removing me from the country and permitting me to rejoin my family before the monsoon sets in.

“The nature of things prevents Scinde long continuing as an independent government. It is good occasionally to profit by reading history, and deducing principles from facts to apply them. Here is a very powerful state, India, having these natural boundaries. On the N.W. the Indus; on the N. the Hymalayas; on the E. Bharampootra; and having weak uncivilized nations between it and its natural boundaries. These weak nations though enveloped have yet the folly to insult her, to oppose her commerce, to leave immense tracts of land and a great river idle, though capable of bearing golden fruit: is it to be found I say in history, or the human mind, that such a state of things can long last? No, the larger body attracts the smaller. In the case of Scinde there is also as it were a *chemical affinity* to the larger one, for the people of Scinde, one and all, are our own in their hopes and aspirations. Yet these people Outram and Robertson throw out altogether and wish to leave in the misery to which the Ameers have reduced them; because, as they maintain, and I, being ignorant cannot deny, other Indian princes treat their slaves more brutally! How this can be I do not know: the Beloochees take the wives, the daughters, the labour and the lives of the Scindians at their pleasure!

“What Mr. Robertson means ‘by one letter,’ not proved to be written by Meer Roostum, as the only cause of Lord Ellenborough’s conduct, I am utterly at a loss to say. Not only was that letter but two others detected by Outram, who told me on my arrival that they were undoubtedly authentic, though he believed Meer Roostum had signed one from imbecility. But he also extracted, to use his own words, *a camel load* of infractions of our treaties by the

Ameers: two quires of foolscap may be vouched for! Such a state of political relations could not long continue. The invasion of Scinde by Lord Auckland was the first step; had it not been in 1838, it would have been in 1848: had the battle not been fought in 1843, it would have been in 1853. Both events were necessary results of the state of affairs; the battle was merely the lancing of a great ulcer, which sooner or later must have come to a head from natural causes.

“Journal.—How ignorant all the political agents were of these people! They thought and said the Beloochees were fools and cowards; but they are brave as lions, and have outwitted our politicals from first to last, except Brown, whose eyes were first opened, and I think he was not led away by the system he is so able a man.

“March 9th.—Contradictory intelligence as to enemy's numbers: I think of going myself to ascertain, but do not like moving till my reinforcements come.

“10th.—Letters from Bombay, all full of our fight. To be praised by the Bombay newspapers is more disgusting than to be abused; in England there are gentlemen editors, but in India they are generally scoundrels turned out of private society. This country will not be quiet until Shere Mohamed is put down; but I have issued a proclamation, securing all men their places property and rights: this will do much.

“12th.—Enemy said to have twenty thousand, and to be entrenching. I will turn his works and torment him with artillery if his flanks are not secure; if his works are circular I will storm them unless he can be shelled out. It is not pleasant though to storm these chaps, they fight so wickedly that much blood will be shed. Yet out of Meerpoor he must be driven. Intelligence just come that the Ameer means to decoy me to the *Run of Cutch*, where he purposes to make me run: he is a great officer, for a Beloochee, but it is not clear how he will take Meerpoor with him!

“ March 18th.—This day the murderer of the Parsee was hanged : I cannot bear this work, it is horrible. Yet I am here to protect society and my soldiers' lives ; all laws forbid the massacre of unoffending prisoners ; the Parsee was a prisoner and not even a soldier : could I allow of his cruel murder ? No ! If those who look to me for protection do not find it they will use their own means, and be justified : I am here the law and must not shrink from the painful pre-eminence.

“ 14th.—The Beloochees are gathering to a head. I will let them alone, it will give them confidence to come closer, when, being still unmolested, their audacity will augment and they will be joined by those who were before fearful : these last will eat and talk, but won't fight ; they will make the army more unwieldy and yet more boastful. Patience.

“ 15th.—All well. Shere Mohamed comes nearer, he is but twelve miles off and lately sent an insolent offer to let me quit the country if I liberated the Ameer, and restored what we had taken. Just as his messengers delivered this letter the evening gun was fired. There, said I, do you hear that ? Yes ! Well, that is your answer ! Off they went, and the Ameer will now in his pride lay plans to cut off my column from the north.

“ 16th.—The enemy is clearly collecting, and is called forty thousand : half that may be true.

“ 17th.—Anxious about Stack's brigade coming from the north : however he has fifteen hundred men and five guns, and ought not to be stopped.

“ 18th.—Explored towards the enemy for two reasons, 1st, as I took two regiments of horse and two guns the Beloochees will be alarmed, afraid to detach against Stack, and will concentrate : he is five marches off. 2nd. It will cool their courage, for my quietness has made them boastful ; they thought we dared not quit our position ; yet, my entrenchments have never been entered lest my soldiers should become timid, as they and the enemy would justly

infer weakness. I ridicule the works before the men, and say, when these things are finished we will attack the Beloochees.

“19th.—They mean to give battle. I cannot understand this; they have no ammunition, no money: however all my arrangements are made as if a battle was certain. With luck my reinforcements might come from Sukkur and Kurrachee before I march, but that seems almost hopeless.

“20th.—Went out with a strong party to bring the enemy's forces out, but not to fight. Found him posted at Jam-ali-ka-Tanda, with a wood and village on his right, a nullah in his front and a plain on his left, but covered by a wood which he occupies: it is not unlike Meeanee. I got letters concealed in quills from Stack this day: all right as far as Hala. A squadron shall go to-morrow under M'Murdo to meet him at Muttaree, and if the enemy is seen I shall have an express and will instantly move on the Lion's rear.

“21st.—Two o'clock and no report from M'Murdo, who has therefore seen no enemy and must have joined Stack at Muttaree. I will to-morrow march to Meeanee and meet Stack; with no fear of his being attacked, but I will trust nothing to accident that can be done by legs and arms: Fortune is a woman that don't like old men and I am 60! There! By Jove! No abuse of my own dear beautiful sweet dame Fortune! Here comes my whole fleet of boats down the river with reinforcements and guns: in short, with all I wanted, and at least five days before they were expected. Again! Was ever luck like mine! Another steamer arrived up the river with a reinforcement of artillery-men and officers: exactly what I wanted.

“22nd.—Stack's brigade joined and we are all ready for a fight; he marched 20 miles, a double march, when he was reinforced at Muttaree with M'Murdo's two hundred cavalry: after passing Meeanee the enemy appeared, but a few artillery discharges repulsed him. At 3 P.M. an officer came in

to say that Stack was attacked, and within an hour I joined him with a troop of the 9th cavalry, followed by two six-pounders."

This simple account hides a very able and delicate operation most successfully executed, for which see the "Conquest of Scinde."

"March 23rd.—All ready for battle to-morrow. They have, it is said thirty thousand. I have only five thousand, but we shall beat them; so no more till after the fight. God bless my wife and children: if I fall it will I hope be in a way to make them glory in my name.

"March 24th.—Dubba. Six miles from Hyderabad. Victory! The first four miles we marched in one column from the right, but then a peasant told us the Beloochees had shifted their position and were about two miles distant on our left flank. I instantly sent off the Scinde horse to explore, ordered my advanced guard to join the line, and bringing up right shoulders continued the march in one column: Jacob soon sent word the enemy was before him in position, and quickly we came in sight. I formed line, but having little aid, and only inexperienced majors and captains in command of brigades, was compelled to bring each corps into line myself instead of reconnoitring. When this was effected I found my left was within range of eleven guns, and was obliged to throw it back: more delay! Having at last got free to examine the enemy's ground I found him posted behind a nullah, one of those ravines which intercept the flat country for miles, and at every mile, like a grating. Here was a double one, the line nearly straight. The first was 8 feet deep and 22 feet across; then a bank 43 feet wide; then the second ditch, 42 feet across and 17 deep. The inner banks were highest, and from behind them they opposed us, first with matchlock fire then with sword and shield; the ditches were also filled with groups rushing on the flanks of the soldiers as they descended into them.

"I could not before attacking see the second ditch, the vil-

lage of Dubba was on their right and rear and I thought, as did every one, that it was not occupied: their line did not seem to reach there, and my hope was to gain their right flank by rapidity at the intervals. Hence, ordering the horse artillery from right to left of the line, I advanced by *échelon of battalions*, the horse artillery leading but having in support two cavalry regiments resting on the Fullaillee, which run perpendicular to the enemy's position. Then the Beloochees closed at a run to their right, and the village was before really full of men. My reasons for the *échelon* attack were two. First, there was a large wood away on our right out of which several enemies had come singly, apparently to watch us, and my strong expectation was that a column would issue on our flank when we attacked. If so my right, being in *échelon*, could have been thrown back and present a defensive front, having also two regiments of cavalry on its right, ready to sweep down on the left of the attacking enemy. Second. My troops were all young, but half-drilled, and had scarcely been together in brigade. Had they advanced in a long line of eleven regiments they would have wavered to and fro like a sea, and got into confusion before the nullah was reached; but in single battalions they did it well, even beautifully.

“In this order we fell on, the ever-glorious 22nd leading, as at Meeanee, and it carried the nullah with great slaughter and great loss; but here I will leave off till I can collect the acts of valour and record them. My orderly dragoon had his horse cut down behind me; the same thing happened at Meeanee. The hilt of my sword was struck by a ball, and I was close to an enemy's magazine when it blew up; yet I was not even singed as all around were, and some burned: others were killed I suppose, but we were fighting desperately at the time and could not inquire. The enemy's left retired towards his right, which brought my right forward, and when the army was formed again our front was at right angles with the first front, and lining the bank of the Ful-

laillee, except the cavalry which was in pursuit. I could not tell which way the enemy would go, and by dispersing they would be merely people of the country as all wear arms alike: further pursuit would therefore only have augmented the carnage without necessity and I encamped on the field of battle. Our wounded had to be sent to Hyderabad; had we left them on the ground we must have also left all the hospital establishments behind, not having carriage for two: when the doolies and palanquins returned, on the 26th, we marched forward.

“26th, Aliar-ka-Tanda.—Passed the position of *Targepoor*, and a very strong one it is: we found three guns. This place had before been examined, so far as the officer sent dare approach; it is tremendous. An immense nullah well prepared with a fort in rear of the centre, and other nullahs and low jungle: my first design had been to attack here and we were marching on it when we heard of the enemy being at Dubba. I bless my *star* that Shere Mohamed changed his position; this one would have doubled our loss. We should have had it, because the 22nd would have carried anything and the Sepoys would have followed, there was no slackness; but the loss would have been great. I was surprised at the improvement in the men's fighting. At Meeanee they shewed hesitation and wonder; at Dubba they were like cucumbers. As to myself I felt a different man, my confidence in the soldiers and in myself being complete: I felt at ease and could have changed my whole order of battle in the fight if it had been wanted. At Meeanee the struggle was desperate, all would have been lost if the 22nd and 25th had given way, and I had to lead them, to rally them, to risk all to keep them to their work: when the battle ended I was ready to drop from the fatigue of one constant cheer, and encouraging the soldiers for three mortal hours of butchery.

“Meerpoor, March 27th.—This is mine enemy's capital. It is a strong fort, with a beautiful little palace and the

prettiest painted rooms, but all in ruins from white ants. I will repair the works and place a garrison.

"28th.—Sent off Fitzgerald with a squadron to reconnoitre Omercote, but remain here myself to watch the Indus, which will soon swell and may cut me off by the inundation.

"29th.—No news about Omercote, it is annoying. Sent off Whitley's battery to make progress, so far as water can be found, for I am between Scylla and Charybdis; to the east of Meerpoor impeded by want of water, on the west in dread of inundation.

"30th.—Fitzgerald writes that he has been hard put to it for water and forage, and that Omercote is defended by four thousand men! Here's a kettle of fish. I have sent more troops forward to bully them out of a defence, for I cannot besiege as the river would be upon me, forming a mighty sea between me and Hyderabad: so people say, probably all exaggerated, but enough to destroy my guns and baggage.

"March 31st.—Nineteen long letters from Lord Ellenborough! He has made me Governor of Scinde, with additional pay; and he has ordered the captured guns to be cast into a triumphal column, with our names. I wish he would let me go back to my wife and girls, it would be more to me than pay and glory and honours: eight months now away from them, and my wife's strange dream realized! This is glory! is it? Yes! Nine princes have surrendered their swords to me on fields of battle, and their kingdoms have been conquered by me and attached to my own country. I have received the government of the conquered province, and all honours are paid to me while living in mine enemy's capital! Well, all the glory that can be desired is mine, and I care so little for it that the moment I can all shall be resigned to live quietly with my wife and girls: no honour or riches repays me for absence from them. Otherwise this sort of life is life to me, is agreeable, as it

may enable me to do good to these poor people. Oh ! if I can do one good thing to serve them where so much blood has been shed in accursed war I shall be happy. May I never see another shot fired ! horrid, horrid war ! Yet, how it wins upon and hardens one when in command. No young man can resist the temptation, I defy him, but thirty and sixty are different."

The wife's dream, or vision, was this. While living at Caen a vivid one shewed her that he would be rich and powerful, and have a great name ! and that the scene of his aggrandizement would be India !

"April 1st.—Those sent on to Omercote mismanage badly, I get neither information nor anything else.

"April 1st, Jourbee.—Came on a day's march to avoid going mad with those in front. Would I had gone myself : but if a failure takes place, it would not do to let the *Bahadoor Jung*, so they call me, be repulsed by a little fort ; it would tarnish our laurels, whereas a captain of artillery being foiled is nothing. Just heard by an express that the waters are rising with fearful rapidity. I must recall the advanced troops and leave Omercote for next season : this is bad ; it will be a rallying point for all our enemies in Scinde, and another army will arise ; but I cannot stand against the Indus ! We should be shut up in Meerpoor for four months—the die is cast ! Whitlie shall come back with his guns.

"April 1st, Meerpoor.—Returned this evening and had no sooner arrived than news came of Omercote being abandoned, and my order will bring Whitlie back unless he is a wise man ! an express gone to prevent his return.

"April 2nd.—Brown just come. Whitlie had got my order and heard of Omercote, but was afraid to disobey ; it is very distressing : Brown begged him to halt while he came on to me. He, Brown, returns instantly with orders to march on Omercote, for I will have it if it costs another battle ! If the river catches us we can leave the guns in

Meerpoor for the hot season ; but I would give six guns for Omercote at this moment."

Had it not fallen the Lion would have had a point on which to rally another army, and six months time to re-organize the war ; meanwhile the civil government could not have been established : the rapidity and daring of the operations after the battle were therefore among the highest efforts of military skill.

"Could I have gone myself it would have been good, but a repulse would have made mischief from the sources of the Indus to its mouth : I dared not. Oh ! Cabool ! Cabool ! you have done a world of harm ; the nations of the Indus will not believe an English general can be victorious : they begin now to suspect it though. What a fellow Brown is ! eighty miles over a desert in this dreadful heat, and in broad day ! He arrived here, forty miles, at 12 o'clock in a burning sun, and did not stop longer than to saddle Jack Sheppard, my horse, who will carry him back the 40 miles in good style, though I fear it will kill both man and horse : eighty miles in Scinde ! Well I hope not : poor Jack will have his wickedness taken out of him, he will not kick or bite for a week after.

"April 3rd.—No news from Brown, but a spy has arrived, who says he was in Omercote, that my advance frightened the Beloochees and they fled ; the Scindian inhabitants then got arms, shut the gates, and are resolved to keep the place till we arrive ! This is capital, and all now seems safe. The river indeed comes thundering down and the Fullaillee is impassable ; but boats are to be got, and my elephants are coming up to help the guns over the nullahs : famous chaps they are for that work.

"April 4th.—The spy's story not exact, though not quite false. Brown has got to them long since, and various intelligence shews Omercote is not wholly abandoned, nor likely to be defended. Five elephants with fifty horses and mules

have come from Hydrabad to help the guns, and shall go on one march to be fresh for Whitlie.

“April 5th.—Omercote is ours! Brown reached it in the night, sixty or seventy Beloochees surrendered, were disarmed and went to their homes. This completes the conquest of Scinde; every place is in my possession, and, thank God! I have done with war! Never again am I likely to see a shot fired in anger. Now I shall work at Scinde as in Cephalaria, to do good, to create, to improve, to end destruction and raise up order.

“On the 27th of February I wrote to the political agent at Balmeer to attack Omercote, because he told me he could take it when he pleased. I have taken it before he marched from Balmeer. Being now in our hands it prevents Shere Mohamed rallying his Beloochees, and he has no Emaum Ghur to go to: it was a providential thought to destroy that fortress. He has now only the sand and the sun, and nothing can stand them but a sandfly; another fortnight will drive him from the desert. My endeavour shall be to make him surrender, but he will not: he hopes to raise another army, which he cannot do, and if he could it would be cut to pieces, for I am now a better general. If he fights again, my cavalry instead of being in line, or rear, shall move round his flanks, lie in wait, and when the battle begins fall on his rear. This could not be done at Meeanee; at Dubba it might had there been assurance that the wood on our right was empty. Knowing my enemy now well, things may be done which could not have been ventured before: they will never rush out mad with *bhang* as was said, and by me believed, at Dubba; they may do so for a few paces but not for a distance; and then the musket and bayonet are too many for sword and shield: close array is too powerful for the wide array required to wield the sword with success.

“April 7th.—All retreating. Omercote is secured, the

conquest is complete. There will be ruffling for a year or two to come; tribes will probably have to be chastised and severe lessons given to those in the mountains beyond the Indus; but no strong head can again be made."

This anticipation proved correct to the letter, so clearly did he thus early solve the complicated problem of war and government presented to him. His political sagacity was equal to his military genius, but to the latter his own notices do not do justice. As a great military exploit, forming part of a profoundly-reasoned campaign, the battle of Dubba will appear with increased brilliance. On that field twenty-six thousand men were entirely defeated; yet with no light play of arms; for all the dead, and they lay in heaps, were grim robust swordsmen, and so strongly did they fight that the 22nd Regiment alone lost one hundred and forty-seven soldiers—one third of their whole number! At Dubba also, as at Meeanee, a leader, the same at both and worthy of all praise, animated the fight. Hoche Mohamed Seedee, an Abyssinian slave! Heroic in strength of body and mind, this brave man and his brother slaves, who formed the domestic guards of the Ameers, forced their dastard lords to fight at Meeanee, and having vainly opposed their final surrender sought the Lion, and at Dubba, fighting with unbounded fury, fell to the last man under the bayonets of the 22nd Regiment.

"General W. Napier, April 16th.—Shere Mohamed acted entirely in concert with the captive Ameers, whose intrigues were so incessant that my patience almost failed: deceived by my quietude he thought me afraid, but I was thereby gaining four points of importance. 1°. His Beloochees were plundering the country and rendering his cause odious. 2°. Time was gained for the Sukkur column to arrive. 3°. He expended treasure. 4°. He grew bolder, fortified a camp only five miles from Hydrabad, and prevented my camels from grazing. Now fighting close to Hydrabad was for me a great advantage, because of my wounded and the want of

carriage; but I expected an attempt to cut off the Sukkur column, then only a few marches off, and made preparations to prevent that. First, knowing their superstition, I judged that the Beloochees would not go near Meeanee, they feared their own dead. I therefore looked for an attack, either beyond that field or on the hither side, and in this view sent cavalry to join the column at Muttaree beyond Meeanee, trusting that their numbers would be exaggerated by the spies. These horsemen, led by McMurdo, effected a junction the 21st, the column moved on the 22nd, a regiment of cavalry went forth to meet it, and I followed close with another: the enemy assailed the flank of Stack's column, but some cannon shot drove them back and by midnight all were safe in my camps.

“This was a clean and delicate operation, for my spies told me that the Ameer had quitted his first position to approach nearer, had detached eight thousand men to fall on the column, and five thousand to assail my camp when I should leave it to succour Hyderabad, which his main body was then to storm: it was to be Cabool again! The Sukkur column was so tired that the 23rd was given to rest and reorganization, but the 24th we marched, and after seven miles found the Ameer was to the left and consequently nearly on our communications; but I had still five hundred men in the fortress and eight hundred, with two guns, in the camp.

“This country is traversed by deep canals with high banks, the canals varying in breadth from sixty inches to sixty feet, dry in winter but rivers by inundation. We could see nothing, but I sent out my cavalry, turned my march to that side, found the enemy at Dubba and beat him: it was sharp work. No Beloochee assailed me personally, though several came near and one I covered, but did not shoot, having great repugnance to kill with my own hand unless attacked, which by some fatality was not the case. There is fate in these things, for they were all around me when alone, yet none struck, and not even my horse was touched in either

battle, which at Meeanee was inexplicable, except by fate. My fate or luck has indeed been great: whatever seemed uncertain turned out exactly to my wish. Even the governor-general's letters, thanking us for Meeanee and promising rewards, reached me just six hours before the battle, the only letters that did come; the others were all cut off. Such bits of luck make a whole. When we carried the village the enemy's right tried to gain the cultivated district on the Indus, which they would have passed and got to the hills; but our cavalry of the left turned them back on the cavalry of our right. These last had indeed charged without orders, but so opportunely that fault could not be found; yet, had the enemy issued from the wood as expected that charge would have laid open my flank.

"In my dispatches many persons are mentioned by name, for Indian officers get no promotion save by seniority, and to be praised in a dispatch gives a claim to staff appointments; therefore I had no other way to reward the exceeding gallantry displayed. Hardly was there one officer who had not fought hand to hand, and it was indeed very extraordinary fighting. After the battle a day's halt was absolutely necessary, from our deficiency in camels. Fifty thousand were destroyed in Lord Keane's expedition! By great care of mine our loss is only forty! yet we have been constantly in march for four months: but then I rode with my columns, never quitting them. Keane, it is said, travelled in a palanquin and had three or four hundred camels for his personal baggage: five animals sufficed for mine.

"When our wounded were cared for we marched on Meerpoor, and then as many men as could get water were pushed forward to win Omercote in the desert: a failure was probable but to level the enemy's last stronghold was important, and there was no time for besieging because the inundation was rising behind me. Luckily the fools surrendered when they might have rallied and fought me again in September after the heat and inundation. The Ameer fled to the Thur

or great desert with only forty followers, the rest have dispersed. I employ all who submit as they were under the Ameers; and have also resigned all debts due to the Ameers, which will induce their debtors, very numerous and influential, to abandon a cause entailing payment, for one which uses the sponge.

“Omercote is one hundred miles from the field of battle, it surrendered the 4th and yesterday our guns and people were back here at Hyderabad in safety, though the river rose with extraordinary rapidity. That alarmed me, but the moment we begun to retire down it went, and then begun rising again just as we reached camp! It has risen unusually early, for all my calculations gave until the 15th. Now I am *coosh*—a Persian word for comfortable. My camp and strong places are well supplied; the Scindes and Hindoos are delighted to be rid of the Belooch robber, and Belooch himself not altogether displeased, for he has no peculiar affection for his prince; and as I have given him back his *jagire*, or estate, no cause appears to me for apprehending future insurrection. The river also is between us and the mountains which form the real Belooch country. The river furnishes a good barrier, because these chaps are all keen for money and will soon join in the petty trade on the Indus that must quickly spring up: this will keep them quiet in time, and I will play *Belted Will Howard* for the next year, and hang all who cross the borders in arms. And I have another hold on them: if they cross to my side, troops from Kurrachee and Sukkur shall lay their own lands waste, which will call them home.

“This wild work is the only way, and is in their own style; we cannot control them at first by any other; we should be soon beleaguered and driven into the jungle to perish. My utmost efforts are directed to civilize our warfare, but no one not engaged can tell how difficult it is to do; the blood gets heated by the barbarism we are in the midst of, and those who receive no quarter will not willingly

give it. Our men are very ferocious. Captain Innes was a favourite with the Sepoys, and they will not give quarter; every man they reached at Dubba was stabbed with the cry of Innes! Innes! There is no dealing with this. The campaign is over, yet hard work is before me, there is no law, no government, and the great difficulty will be to get fit men for situations as a knowledge of the language is indispensable: meanwhile the heat is fearful, I am sixty, and labour tells heavily on me—but all is fate!"

His sixty years had not prevented him from defeating a great army, capturing two strong fortresses, and marching under a Scindian sun, above two hundred miles; all in sixteen days! and his ready talent in critical moments was thus shewn.

"Clibborn conducted my espionage, and well too; but Stack, when coming down with his brigade got a small note in a quill—they are thus carried through an enemy's camp, how or rather where you must guess. It was from Clibborn, saying—Halt for God's sake! You will be attacked by at least forty thousand men to-morrow, &c. Stack sent the cossid back to me with quill and note, asking what he should do? I was at dinner with a large party in my tent, and to counteract Clibborn's alarm read aloud his note, wrote on it with a pencil, *Clibborn's men are all in buckram, come on*, and then sent it back. This made a terrible joke and ridicule against Clibborn throughout the camp, and though ruin to him did what I wanted: reassured the nervous! I was by no means sure Clibborn's information was not true, but he had no business to send it to Stack; for whether 20,000 or 40,000 were there I was watching them as a cat does a mouse. Shere Mohamed, thus lying in wait for Stack, made me very anxious. I believed the Ameer had thirty thousand men, for my information varied from that to forty thousand, and to fight without Stack would have been at such disadvantage, that though they might have been beaten the risk was too great to warrant a battle

not forced upon me. I felt sure of victory however if the Ameer attacked Stack, because he had a first-rate brigade of experienced soldiers from Nott's force; and before the Beloochees could walk over him I should have been upon their rear. Still the whole affair was very awkward.

"On the 23rd I said at breakfast, now my luck would be very great if I could get my other reinforcements, either *down* from Sukkur or *up* from the mouth of the river; but that cannot be for a week, perhaps longer, and I will not let this chap bully me within five miles of my camp all that time. The words were scarcely out when some one said—*there are boats, look!* We run out, and lo! my Bombay reinforcements were there! *Hillo! what are those masts?* cried another, and behold a grove of masts appeared over the low ground coming down the river! my reinforcements from Sukkur were there! In an hour I had five hundred recruits, two 8-inch howitzers and a host of artillerymen with entrenching tools: before that only three officers were with my sixteen guns. At 7 P.M. my troops were brigaded and manœuvred to make them know their places, and at that moment vakeels came to desire me to surrender: they were taken along the line and told to report all they saw; but then came a fresh one and all kept talking to discover what they could until two in the morning, when I lay down finished with fatigue. At 4 o'clock I got up and marched: at 8 o'clock we found the enemy. All this wear and tear tells on sixty-one.

"This country is very difficult for war; a dead flat, yet without a view: banks of nullahs and jungles entirely intercept sight. The Beloochees get down into holes and ditches and when you appear, let fly with their matchlocks, spring up, and covered by their shields fall on sword in hand. They cannot indeed escape when beaten, but as to running, devil a bit! they lounge off, as at Meeanee, slowly, and indifferent to your musquetry though vollied into their backs at five yards' distance! They are most determined

fatalists—and most terrible swordsmen; they cut through everything. Heads fly off at a blow! it has been repeatedly done, and it is the same with an arm: I have not heard of a leg, but it would be the same, for they will behead a bullock or cut a goat in two at a blow. Lieut. Wilkinson had an iron helmet with yards of turban rolled round to keep off the heat; a chief cut through turban helmet and peak! a wicked blow. Wilkinson gave a Roland for the Oliver: he hit him down with a sheer-cut through the turban, and though the shield was raised at the instant the blow broke into both shield and skull, sticking fast, and as the chief fell dead his weight nearly pulled Wilkinson down. Many were upon him and he would have been slain had not Lt. Thompson arrived at the moment, and the two fought until others came and cleared the house. It was in the village this happened.

“Lo! I have mistaken names. It was Nixon, not Wilkinson, who killed the chief and had his own helmet cut through; but Wilkinson also killed a chief: there were so many feats of daring I puzzle names. McMurdo slew three Beloochees in this battle, hand to hand, and two at Meeanee. A Sepoy fought five in a ditch and killed them all! Tait’s horsemen were there and could not get down to his help, but witnessed the whole affair.

“Montagu McMurdo cannot keep clear of single combats, which I tell him are not dignified in a quartermaster-general. A Beloochee nearly finished him on the 24th, laying him open from the navel to the shoulder: he was absolutely ripped up! Luckily McMurdo’s counter-blow fell heavily at the same moment and split the Beloochee’s skull, so that his sword did not go through the breast-bones and ribs, but it was a large wound. At Meeanee he was saved by a sergeant; for while engaged with two or three in front another got behind him and was cut down by the sergeant just as he struck at Mac, so the blow fell harmless: next moment McMurdo saved the sergeant; for a Beloochee was

in the act of striking at him behind when Montagu split his skull. A horseman has no chance against sword and shield; the Beloochee gets on the bridle hand, holds his shield high and cuts the left thigh or the horse's legs; and he cannot be reached over the bridle arm, for his shield parries the blow effectually. A fellow cut down young Fitzgerald's horse and Fitz fell under him, but being the strongest man in Scinde parried two blows while disengaging himself from the horse; then rising, his counter-blow went through turban and skull down to the teeth: the shield was of no avail against that terrible arm!

"Lord F. Somerset.—The enemy was concentrated at Dubba, and the Ameer boasted that we were fewer and he had more than were at Cabool. His force was above twenty-six thousand, with eleven pieces of artillery: I said twenty thousand in the dispatch to keep bounds, but all my spies concurred as to the Ameer's force being above twenty-six thousand. The dispatch will tell your lordship that Shere Mohamed did not Cabool us. On the 27th we got possession of the fort and town of Meerpoor, and on the 4th of April took Omercote, 100 miles from the field of battle. I hope his grace may not find much to condemn; but I know that in trying to adhere to the rules of a great master men make sad blunders, while imagining they are applying his principles: of my own conduct I am no fair judge, and can only say, if it meets with the duke's approbation it will be the greatest gratification and the utmost of my ambition.

"I see all sorts of attacks made on Lord Ellenborough's policy in England as well as here. As regards India, the cause is this. Lord Ellenborough puts an end to wasteful expenditure of public money by certain civil servants, who were rioting in the plunder of the treasury: at least such is the general opinion. These men are all intimate with the editors of newspapers, and many engaged with them; they therefore fill the columns of the papers with abuse: but men begin to see through this and justly to estimate his excel-

lent government. His lordship has destroyed a system calculated to ruin India, or any country, and to which our misfortunes in Affghanistan are justly attributed: the army was degraded, vilified, run down until it really became infected with a bad opinion of itself. When I arrived at Poona, I really saw such things, and heard such, as to leave no difficulty in accounting for our misfortunes: the military spirit seemed to have gone! Lord Ellenborough arrived, he gave public expression to his confidence in the army, the troops felt they had a protector and their spirit came back, for they were no longer commanded by ignorant political agents.

“All this was effected by Lord Ellenborough in ten months, and I assure you I chiefly attribute my own good fortune to the spirit infused by him; and to those admirable general arrangements which enabled me to apply that spirit with effect: yet this is the man abused, though no error can be brought against his government. Let facts speak. This time last year India was all gloom and despondency; now everyone is confident and cheerful. The armies in Affghanistan were then supposed to be lost; they became victorious, are safe on the right side of the Indus, and all is safe and flourishing: but the treasury is no longer pillaged and in that lies his lordship's crime.

“I did fervently hope from your note, some months ago, that Lord Hill was recovering, and was much vexed to hear of his death: we are born to die, but it is lowering to the spirits to lose the great and the good, and he was both!”

THIRTEENTH EPOCH.

SEVENTH PERIOD.

AFTER the battle of Meeanee Lord Ellenborough issued a manifesto, proclaiming the offences of the Ameers, the justice of the war, and the annexation of Scinde to the Indian empire. After that of Dubba he made the victor an absolute governor, responsible only to God for a clear conscience, and to the supreme government for general policy. This was so offensive to the directors and the Bombay faction, both looking to the plunder of Scinde through their relations as civil functionaries, that an insane fury of vituperation seized them, and lasted for years. On the other hand Charles Napier illustrated Gibbon's remark, that "love of action when guided by the sense of propriety and benevolence becomes the parent of every virtue; and if those virtues are accompanied with equal abilities, a family, a state, or an empire, may be indebted for their safety and prosperity to the undaunted courage of a single man." His heart and brain indeed expanded, simultaneously with the sense of power, when he contemplated the Scindees' misery, the Beloochees' ferocity, the natural riches and enforced misery of the country:—abject misery which he was intent to abate by softening barbarian passions, exciting industry, and spreading the healing balm of justice over the wounds of society. He will be now found, without cruelty or harshness or bloodshed, and in an incredibly brief time, presenting the astonishing spectacle of a people, composed of distinct races,—one fierce and warlike the others revengeful and having much to revenge—uniting under

his rule in peace, abandoning evil habits and joining in a common pursuit of trade and agriculture. And this with such sincerity of feeling that the Beloochees, fearing him at first as the incarnate spirit of ill and calling him so, bowing, when they had experienced his sway, to his justice, their fear and amazement at his prowess merging in love and veneration.

His first step was the announcement that all who submitted should retain their property, rights, and public situations: his next was to free the Ameers' debtors from their obligations, by which very many influential persons were drawn off from their cause: then he organized his civil functionaries from the officers of his army, giving this wise injunction:—"Make no avoidable change in the ancient laws and customs, the conquest of a country is sufficient convulsion for the people without abrupt innovations in their habits and social life." His fourth step was to mollify and conciliate the great sirdars and chiefs by honourable treatment, by adroit flattery and honest promises of future protection, adding thereto an act of great vigour which gave assurance of his sincerity; for finding that the camp followers, some twenty thousand and very lawless men, were plundering the Soindians, he suddenly disarmed them: it was the stroke of a master who would be obeyed.

The times were however too wild, and the elements of mischief too copious for the country to settle down in quiet without further demonstrations of force. Shere Mohamed had fled to the desert, but being without a refuge there hovered about so long, where water could be found, that the Scindees in irony called him the "*Jungle Wallah*," or keeper of the jungle. He was however by degrees reinforced, principally from the right bank of the Indus, where several large tribes were disposed to accept his pay for a new effort. Thus towards the end of April he was able to take post with eight thousand men at Khoonera, Roostum's old lair, sixty miles N.E. of Hyderabad. His followers were however no

longer the swordsmen of Dubba, they lurked rather than collected for war: still the state of affairs was very critical. On the left bank of the river, northward of Khoonera, Roostum's son, Meer Hussein, having two thousand men at Shah Ghur, menaced Ali Moorad, who had moreover to contend with refractory killedars on the right bank, and with some independent tribes—amongst them the formidable Chandians. On that side also, Shah Mohamed, the Lion's brother, had gathered some thousands of warriors with four guns and come down to Sehwan, designing to pass the river there, having concerted an insurrection about Hyderabad; but for objects of his own, for he had previous to Dubba offered to assassinate his brother, and been repelled with horror by Charles Napier, who sent the Lion notice of the designed villany. That prince had gone northward after the battle although his own territory was in the Delta, a wild unhealthy district not to be entered by the British in the hot season, and then filled with predatory roving Beloochees, some twenty thousand, calling themselves his soldiers and ready to take his pay. Eastward of the Delta, beyond the Poorana branch of the river, was also a tribe in arms, five thousand, intercepting the communications with Bombay. Insolent and elate they were too, from Captain Jacob's misconduct: he had moved against them without orders, thereby marring a combination of the general, but had not resolution to attack and retreated to Meerpoor. At the same time the Jam of the Jokeas menaced Kurrachee, displaying great arrogance, which was too tamely endured by the commandant, Colonel Boileau.

These events demanded some decisive measure, but the heat had become so great that to take the field was certain death for many soldiers, and thus a complication of dangers and difficulties again required a master stroke. For if the Lion were permitted to unite the roving bands on the left bank of the Indus, and receive help from the right bank, he might throw himself into the Delta and remain unmolested

until the cold season, when a new and more difficult warfare must commence. The Lukkee tribe was already collecting boats to join the Lion's brother, and everywhere commotions were beginning; wherefore seeing that the tranquillity of the country could only be secured by immediate action, the general resolved to brave the dreadful sun and once more take the field. This was a great and most dangerous operation, but was not more bold than the combinations were skilful, both being of the highest class in war. For holding the Lion to be the nucleus of all mischief, he resolved to strike at and capture him before he could gather head or reach the Delta. In this view, he reinforced Ali Moorad with Chamberlayne's irregular horsemen, for resistance to Hussein; Colonel Roberts was directed to bring a column of all arms from Sukkur to Sehwan; and Jacob's force was augmented on the side of Meerpoor by degrees, under pretence of establishing posts; the connecting fortress of Ali-ka-Tanda, between Hyderabad and Meerpoor, was repaired, and troops were called from Deesa to strengthen Omercote. An intercepting line was thus drawn between the Lion and the Delta, while Roberts menaced him from the north, and Chamberlayne and Ali Moorad prevented a junction with Hussein. Having thus spread his web, the general watched every vibration from Hyderabad, ready to sally forth and seize the Lion.

That prince after a short stay at Khoonera approached the Indus and passed his family over to the right bank for safety, but at the same time looked to favour a counter passage of the Lukkee tribe. The Rhins also, the most powerful of all the Belooch tribes, had promised him twenty thousand warriors, and he knew of the projected insurrection at Hyderabad. Thus once more the Lion and Charles Napier were pitted against each other in generalship, both acting on the same plan, namely, to surround each other: for while the great outward chain was being formed around the Belooch by the Englishman, the former, with his confe-

derates was encircling Hyderabad and looking for internal insurrection. The Lion's movements were however known to his opponent, whereas the British general's were too wide and too profound to be discovered; some of his closing columns had to march sixty, some a hundred, some even two hundred miles to attain their object. And yet even the nearest were most skilfully hidden. The combination was as delicate as it was vast; for the inundation and the heat were to be taken into calculation, the first coming on swiftly, the last already raging—terrible in prospect also, seeing that the thermometer was sure to mark more than 130° in the coolest shade! Certainly to resolve on taking the field in face of such obstacles evinced extraordinary resolution, and to succeed surpassing talent.

This reappearance of the Lion was hailed with a treasonable exultation at Bombay. "He was a great commander; his force was overwhelming; the war was a religious one; the people adored their patriarchal princes; the whole Belooch race was rising in arms; they would be supported by the Affghans, and the British troops, deprived of Major Outram's protective genius and led by an incapable old ruffian, would be destroyed." This faction, taking Outram for their oracle, had always predicted such an ending, and through Dr. Buist's newspaper, the known organ of some members of the Bombay government, took active steps to insure such a result. His articles, which were always translated, shewed how and where to attack the troops with most advantage, and the chiefs were assured, most truly, that persons of authority and influence in England and Bombay would hail their success. Afterwards, when the general's ability and energy had baffled these traitorous schemes, the secret authors declared as earnestly, that there had never been danger or difficulty and Sir C. Napier had ferociously slaughtered some half-armed barbarians! Accompanying this with such direful announcements of their own public virtue as the following, taken from Buist's columns.

“Alas that this man bears the name of Englishman. Alas! that he is born in the glorious age of Wellington, which he disgraces!” This sketch shall now be illustrated by the general himself.

“Journal, April 7th.—Now my fearful work of settling the country begins, and the heat is violent. I have to collect revenue, administer justice, arrange the troops, survey the country, project improvements, form civil officers, and appoint proper functionaries. I have to get a thorough hold of a conquered country, and establish a government; and have really hardly any one to assist me: all is confusion, and the military movements are still going on. The last alone are enough to occupy one mind, and but for young McMurdo I should hardly get on. I am gradually finding out fine fellows, but there are no great number to select from; I am a stranger to many, and those I am most acquainted with have duties already. It is a fine field to work in, but I am too old and the climate is not invigorating. We have abolished slavery here, at which all the Auckland faction carp, as they do at all Lord E. does. *‘He is too quick, he is in too great a hurry.’* The slave girls of the Harem differ on this point. I have sent off the Ameers to Bombay.

“April 13th.—The people at Kurrachee are frightened to death by the Jam of the Jokeas, though they have a stronger force than I had at Meeanee. I find that twelve wounded men of the 22nd concealed their hurts on the 24th of March, thinking there would be another fight; they were discovered by a long hot march which they could not complete, and when they fell owned the truth: two had been shot clean through both legs! How is it possible to defeat British troops? It was for the Duke of York to discover that! This day the Ameers quit their conquest. Their dynasty has lasted sixty years, and they were all-powerful, a family of tyrants living for selfish enjoyment and destroying the people they had conquered. Not one of their concubines will go with them: they are all girls, torn by force from their families, shut up

for ever in the zenanas and hating their ravishers: no wonder, for except Shadad and Hussein who are rather good-looking, Shadad has a throat-cutting look though, the Ameers are very disgusting men. Poor girls! I am now anxious to abolish the system of presents. The poor cultivator pays one-third of his produce to the Ameers, and *bakshis* to the collector, to this, that, and t'other, until he has only one-fourth left for life and cultivation: if I can abolish this *bakshis* system he will have three-fourths; but who can say what his produce will be in this land of produce unbounded!

"April 14th.—The war is decided. The princes of the land, that is the conquerors of Scinde not the Scindian princes, are deposed, I am master and am going to quit my tent for the palace of my enemy. Thus ends the seventh volume of my journal. The eighth shall begin with an account of my work as administrator. I hope to be as successful as in my military progress, but it is far more difficult. However I succeeded at Cephalonia and may do so here by diligence and zeal. Yet it will not do to govern in a tent with the thermometer at 110° notwithstanding the aid of *tatties* to cool the air.

"Richard Napier.—You must not take Outram's account of the war if you see him; he is mad on that subject from rage. What think you of his writing to me, three days before Meeanee, that the Ameers had not assembled a man. '*Except their servants they have not a man:*' the next day he was attacked in the Residency by seven thousand, and two days later we had to fight the battle! Had his ridiculous ideas of the honour and truth and ill-usage of the Ameers, those *patriarchal princes* as he called them, made any impression on me there would have been another Cabool massacre: as it was his opinions, which all the papers are crying up, influenced me too much. If ever a man saved his army by adhering to his own judgment against popular outcry I saved mine—and under every

ridicule and insult from newspapers, with their outcry that '*Outram was the man: he had ruled Scinde for years, knew India, and must know best in this matter!*' My troops however placed their faith in me; and though many officers wrote anonymous letters, abusive enough, they are now as quiet as mice"—it was a *few* who wrote *many* letters. "From first to last my soldiers stuck to me; and from first to last Outram was deceived. The Ameers' preparations had long been made, and only yesterday, on a trial, it came out that while writing the most violent protestations of faith they had issued orders in all their villages to murder every English man, woman, and child!"

Let his journal now be interrupted to trace Outram's conduct in England. Accepting the friendly greetings of Sir Charles Napier's family, and professing unbounded admiration and friendship for him personally, he secretly strove to ruin him with the government and the public by whispered charges of wrong. And from the moment he reached London many of the leading London journals, freshly primed or adopting the falsehoods of the Indian press, presented the conqueror of Scinde as an ignorant brutal soldier, who had forced on an unjust war despite of the humane remonstrances of the "*accomplished Major Outram*"—a man so illiterate that he could not write his own publications! His superior capacity for governing the country was especially insisted upon in England, still more at Bombay, where the slanderous anti-Ellenborough faction and the creditors of Outram were alike eager to obtain for him a lucrative appointment. His power to injure would have been small had he been alone; but the Bombay government had, as the general anticipated, adopted his views and transmitted them to the directors, who listened eagerly to anything that aided their enmity against Lord Ellenborough: nor was the home government averse. An expression attributed to Outram at the time was characteristic of the man and of what was going on. "*I did not*

think Sir C. Napier had so many friends in England or I would not have attacked him."

Foul play soon became so evident that the writer of this biography publicly rebuked Outram for suffering the promulgation of falsehoods detrimental to his benefactor, and tending to his own glorification. He evaded close explanation, returned to Bombay, and from thence, at a safe distance, commenced a long course of shameless abuse against the man who had saved him from the just anger of Lord Ellenborough: and in that course he will be found obtaining from men in office support, shameless as his own conduct. Before leaving England however he drew up what he called a *protest*, which being shewn to the Duke of Wellington was by him cast upon the ground with an expression of unmitigated scorn. Nevertheless supported as he was, his tales had an influence on the ministers of the day sufficiently disgraceful. No guns were fired in honour of the victories, no thanks were moved for in Parliament; and rumours of misconduct which "government could not countenance!" were freely circulated in excuse.

A chain of political causes may here be clearly traced. Lord Ellenborough was hateful to the directors because he had stopped their rapacious folly in the East; they were powerful in England; Sir James Weir Hogg was powerful with them, and if he is to be believed Sir Robert Peel was at that time soliciting him to take office. Now Sir C. Napier's victories had consolidated Lord Ellenborough's policy when the directors were denouncing it as impolicy. The chain of hostility was thus completed. Instead of thanks and acknowledgments for the great victories, Lord Ellenborough received from the secret committee of the India House a demand for explanation, on certain "*notes of conversations*" with the Ameers, held by Outram. These had been given by him to the directors and embodied all his foul charges against Sir C. Napier, who was thus officially required to explain by the Indian government. His formal

answer, to be recorded further on, drew the following report from the governor-general in council.

“ Sir C. Napier has entered at some length into the justification of his proceedings before the battle of Meeanee. In doing this he has placed upon our records a mass of most curious and interesting matter which we regret it was not in our power to lay before you at an earlier period. We strongly feel, that it was to Major General Sir C. Napier's penetration and decision that our army owed its safety. And we are astonished at the extent to which Major Outram suffered himself to be deluded by the Ameers !”

This testimony from a supreme government, in favour of a public servant, joined to great victories, would in other cases have secured the highest honours : it did not even protect him from injury and insult. Meanwhile he pursued his own course of honour and usefulness with more than his usual diligence and fortitude.

“ Journal.—This 30th day of April my quarters were moved into Hydrabad, and I occupy the palace of the chief Ameer, Nusseer Khan ! So ends my campaign, or rather so my reign commences. At Cephalonia my work was that of a horse, the fatigue endured under a burning sun was immense : I cannot so work now, but I must work to do some good in Scinde, and try to make the poor rejoice in our government.

“ May 1st.—Shere Mohamed has again collected ten thousand men, and I will disperse them if they do not disperse themselves ; but it will be good to give them time to do so ; for by conciliation one or two chiefs may be coaxed to come in, and then others will follow. They are now alarmed, and conscious how ill they meant to use us expect the same treatment. Their intentions were indeed very ferocious previous to the battle ; for thinking nothing could prevent victory, it was settled that all the fugitives, prisoners, man woman and child, were to be collected on the battle field there to be slaughtered ! I alone to be saved. My nose

was to be bored, a ring placed in it and a chain to the ring; Nusseer Khan was then to mount his horse, and holding the end of the chain lead me in triumph from the field. A dispute arose. Nusseer was averse to the whole thing, but said, if I was to have the ring and chain they should be of gold. Shadad swore it should be of iron and heavy; and so it was decided. A pleasant walk of six miles I should have had, with a heavy chain dangling to my snout. Well, I owe Nusseer *gré* for wishing it to be of gold: I was however a chicken counted before hatched—the ring is in their noses!

“May 3rd.—Dispatches from Lord Ellenborough come. He says, ‘General I send you my order, prefixed to your dispatches, but you have done so much for the army and for our empire in India that my resources in the expression of gratitude and praise, and all my ingenuity in devising rewards for service in the field, are quite exhausted and I see the inadequacy of my own work. I trust you may live long to enjoy the honours England will bestow upon you, and to perform more services to India. Believe me general, with the most sincere admiration and esteem your ever faithful friend and servant, Ellenborough.’”

Honours! Not even a salute for his victories! The thanks of Parliament delayed a year, and then alloyed with personal insult! He had leave indeed to change his red riband from one shoulder to another, and to substitute G. for K. in the initials of his knighthood; and he got a regiment, which was his right on the score of former services:—but from the Duke of Wellington, who paid no court to a body of men, called by his brother Lord Wellesley “*the ignominious tyrants of the East.*”

“Journal.—I strive to curb pride and vanity. Get thee behind me Satan! But it is not easy to make Satan obey when one is a conqueror. No mortal praise does really affect me, but I am grateful to Lord Ellenborough. I care not for the Grand Cross, which I dare say they will give me;

but I do want a medal in common with the private soldiers: our danger was alike and so be our reward. As to riches, which they say are to come, I am equally indifferent, so far as regards myself for my habits require not riches. Not so as regards others. My victories will enable me to provide for my family and my relations, and to give something to John Kennedy's children: however I have no faith in riches." — These were not mere phrases: he gave freely as he wrote.

"May 4th.—Two chiefs have come in, and more are coming. I will not now attack Shere Mohamed till the 14th or 15th, to give his people time for reflection on my proclamation, securing all men's property and former appointments: it will make half of them leave him. I have however sent a steamer up the river to do a little mischief and prevent the mountain tribes crossing. Captain —— is a person indeed who will do no good, but my orders are positive to chase all boats away so that no Beloochees can get over from the right bank; and probably the battle of Dubba has given them an excuse for not coming. The river has risen and I am crippled by want^t of boats, by the sun also, and by the want of camels: still I will attack these chaps once more if I can get carriage. More chiefs have asked to come in and I pardon every one, it is nonsense to make exceptions on these occasions. Nobody thinks he is wrong, or that those who helped him are: exceptions only turn cut-throats into heroes, and I would rather pardon a cut-throat than fight with a hero! Lord E. has ordered me not to pardon Ahmed Khan Lugharree, yet I will slip him in quietly: he is not a bad fellow though he did lead the attack on the Residency.

"May 6th.—Shere Mohamed is alarmed; he sent proposals which I rejected, insisting on unconditional surrender. He must clear out or this land will have no peace: nor I neither. In ten days I shall have camels and will then drive him into the desert, where he cannot abide unless he is a salamander. Well, God only knows, he may beat

me; but '*Dieu est toujours du côté des gros canons*' said Turenne, and I have the *gros canons*: he has none at all for I took them. I like him for the good fight he makes, but let him beware of the middle of May! Still my hope is, no more fighting, no more slaughter. My object now is to create, to make roads, buildings, open streets, to insure justice. Oh! how I long to begin thus to live, and to rest after the horrid carnage of these battles! At times I almost wish for death!

"General W. Napier, May 8th.—I am very severely worked under heat almost unbearable; the thermometer is above 100° in an artificially-cooled room with walls five feet thick! Yet I am well. My work is easily stated: there is no government. The Beloochees are hostile and well armed; the Scindees in our favour, but slaves to the Beloochees and unarmed; were they armed incautiously they would plunder their neighbours and my convoys conjointly with the Belooch. The robber has so long ruled here that he has become a glorious fellow, and the moment a chap gets a *tulwar*, i. e. a sword, be his race what it may, he sets up in trade: all my own camp followers, twenty thousand, have arms and rob everything. I have now forbidden them to carry arms and shall see how that works; the Scindee is too poor to buy a sword, and is by habit a labourer, the only labourer, for a Beloochee scorns labour. You know him by his swell cut, his slow rolling lounge, his shield, his sword, matchlock and dagger: the spade don't suit his hand, but your gold watch does; and there are still twenty thousand of these fellows roving about. I must keep the whip hand or be thrown in the race, and for that my force is small and widely spread.

"The Ameers were personally disliked. Outram will tell you the contrary, but the refusal of all their wives and concubines to accompany them is one among many convincing proofs. I have the whip which hung up in Nusseer's zenana to flog the women with: it has two lashes made of twisted brass wire! Yet Nusseer is accounted the most noble and

generous of them all: Shadad is a monster. Outram is puffed up by a faction, which uses him as a tool against Lord Ellenborough: he believes all that faction says of himself, yet thinks it far below his merits, which are really only those of a partizan: his head is turned.

“I have not read any story of the Affghan war. I have not time to read; but three regiments that were in that war are here, and all swear there was no other cruelty than refusing quarter, which they thus excuse. We did not begin, the cruelty of the Affghans to our camp followers was so great that we found their bodies with all the marks of torture, and then the soldiers were beyond control. The feeling was evidently very fierce and sanguinary. I hope to get it under gradually in Scinde. There are very excellent men here, officers, who tell me they never saw any cruelty except refusing quarter: no deliberate cruelty. We have had none; it was indeed beginning, for plunder is the first step, but I quickly stopped that and all the papers are abusing me for flogging plunderers by the provost-marshal: they are calling upon the men and officers to mutiny, and *‘put an end to this fellow’s breaches of law.’*

“You know Lord W. Bentinck abolished flogging, so there is no punishment, save by the provost, for Sepoys, except confinement or death. On a campaign confinement is impossible, and a villain takes his ease, guarded by a corporal and three men who have this extra duty while the gentleman sits all day on his heels, the great enjoyment of an Indian. If I had flinched before those editors, of whom he of the ‘Bombay Times’ is the worst, this country would have been ravaged. Now, no atrocity has been committed, and the poor Scindians flock to us, bringing provisions, but fly into the jungle before the Beloochee forces. The Scindian has been a slave, and has not been *‘roused to courage and mortal combat by our injustice,’* as Buist of the ‘Bombay Times’ asserts; for not one has fought against us; instead of *‘bravely defending their invaded hovels’* they have got a good deal of our money and are

delighted. The Indian press never takes part with the people, but with every fellow who is discontented and rascally. They support a *clique* of 'respectable servants of the Company' who are robbers of the first class, and he who attempts to put any one of these from his prey will have the whole press upon him.

"As you thought so I thought in the beginning, viz. that the Upper Scinde Ameers would not turn my left, but rise behind me in the ceded districts; wherefore I sent Wallace there and called the Bhawalpore man to aid him; and then, as you say, had only to think of the time and place for fighting. My march was on Kyrpoor and I expected them to assail Sukkur as they promised, but they fled south. Seeing then their plan was concentration in the south, I left the mass of my troops, who were safe in their numbers, under the guns of Ali Moorad's fortress of Dejee, taking him with me to the desert as the best hostage. You know what followed, just what you supposed would follow; only, instead of a battle at Kyrpoor that place was taken without one: it was not walled but was capable of a powerful defence. My enterprize in the desert was a mere preparation for the greater movement south; but then, as you say, my march was at my leisure.

"They opened the gates of Hyderabad from cowardice, for their Beloochees would have fought like tigers. The walls are from forty to fifty feet high, of solid rock, with a soft brick revetement in which a cannon shot makes only a hole, around which all becomes more compact and solid. It could have been taken by mining, being almost without flank fire, but then every house also is a citadel of mud, with walls five feet thick.

"My bazaar order about violent riding shocked all the Indian editors so much, that having other fish to fry alone prevented my proposing a weekly bulletin of the state of their livers. My conscience was indeed sorely troubled at the irritation caused to them by preventing half-caste clerks and subaltern officers riding over poor Hindoos. I have

this very minute sent one of those clerks for trial, he having in breach of that order ridden over a poor young Sepoy, who is much hurt: the fellow will be flogged and all the editors will open upon me *naturally*! Sir G. Arthur has supported me with energy and loyalty. Lieut.-Colonel Campbell, quartermaster-general, son of my old friend Sir Neil, has behaved ill. He and Sir Thos. MacMahon—but it is Campbell's doing—have attempted to ill-treat the finest fellow in my army, McMurdo, superseding him now the campaign is over by a son of the chief man in council, who has been snug at Bombay all the time! Campbell has got as good a lecture as I could give him, and I have applied to Lord Ellenborough to back me up.

“Journal, May 9th.—I can do nothing against Shere Mohamed. I have no carriage, and the sun and the river chain my movements: yet with carriage I would try. I do love this fellow for his firmness. He has made many offers to come in, but he shall not, except unconditionally. I expect Ali Moorad: he says he has fought a great battle and killed three chiefs with his own gun; not unlikely for he is a capital shot. He comes here on pretence of doing me honour, but really ‘*pour se faire valoir*,’ by appearing to get me to pardon the Belooch chiefs who come in. I will not deprive him of that honour.

“May 10th.—No news of Ali Moorad, he will probably not come, there is no calculating on these chaps. It is strange that the Indus has not yet given signs of swelling; we had all sorts of stories about the rising in April the first days; then the 15th; and on the 2nd and 3rd it did rise suddenly, but fell as suddenly and no rise since. Now the 15th of May is fixed for it, but officers here have seen the inundation complete early in April: it is very uncertain and hampers me; for if I go out against the Ameer and it rises it will cut me off, and unless sufficient provisions are taken we may perish. Provisions for five months! And how carry them? Until I know when, and how high, and where the Indus will roll his mass of waters I dare not move.

And the heat has come so suddenly that I should lose half my people. A government general order says no troops shall move in Scinde after the 1st of April: it is death.

"May 11th.—In various oblique ways I have endeavoured to bully Shere Mohamed, and this morning a message came from him to say he would surrender if his treasure was spared. His treasure is safe, and he shall have everything except his principality, which he has lost by warring on us; my belief is that he is the bravest and best of the Ameeris. He did not kill his women.

"12th.—Lieut. Anderson, Outram's brother-in-law, has arrived to supersede McMurdo; this shall not be: at least I hope to stop this piece of injustice and folly.

"13th.—Mohamed Khan of Ka Tandah came in this day. He was in a funk until assured of not being hanged, but went off apparently well pleased at having received back from me his father's sword.

"14th.—Two more chiefs: they will come in fast now. These two are, Golam Sha and something else Sha, they seemed fat good-humoured laughing cut-throats enough.

"May 15th.—Four more come in. We shall have all quiet soon, but the main chance must be looked to, and care taken against conspiracy; these barbarian robbers are smart chaps at throat-cutting, yet I can manage them: the thing is to be wide awake.

"Sir G. Arthur, June 1st.—I have only now been able to bring my plans to working order. I have made peace with the tribes along the right bank; and to shew how little I feared them marched a column under Colonel Roberts from Sukkur to Sehwan, through those tribes. Their great chief Wullee Chandia was my prisoner, taken by Ali Moorad: he expected to be hanged but had freedom with full pardon, and has gone up the right bank swearing eternal friendship, like the ladies of the anti-jacobin. Everywhere Roberts met with friendship. Shah Mohamed, the Lion's brother, has sent to ask forgiveness. Anderson, with some troops in a steamer, knocked about his boats and killed forty of his

men, aiding the effect of Roberts' march. Steamers and boats have now gone up pass Roberts to the left bank.

"I hanged a Beloochee lately, to the astonishment of his chief. '*What? hang a Beloochee for killing a Scindian woman?*' The life of a Scindian woman under the patriarchs was worth about 200 rupees. Life, social happiness, security of property, public advantage, were, one and all, sacrificed to the sensual gratifications of the Ameers. Mr. Robertson, when he said this was the mildest native governor in India never made a greater mistake, nor a more unfounded assertion.

"Contrary to my system, and without my knowledge, thirty policemen were lately sent down the river to a district I had strong reasons for not meddling with until the cold season: the consequence was that a Belooch force killed six. We had no business to poke our noses into this southern district of Meerpoor, all around which I had made friendly by negotiation: it was thus isolated and sure to fall without a life lost when Shere Mohamed is crushed. This disagreeable event has, or may, injure my plans much: but it is told to you in confidence; for there is such an extraordinary coincidence in the opinions put forth on Scindian affairs by the '*Bombay Times*,' and those in Mr. Willoughby's private notes to me—identical words appearing in both, that I fear an attack on the person who unintentionally got me into this scrape. For myself I care not. A man must have a miserable opinion of himself who cares for the attacks of the '*Bombay Times*' and Dr. Buist: your order for his prosecution has given great satisfaction to the officers here. I fancy Buist and his writers would greatly rejoice if there should befall in Scinde a *pendant* to the Cabool massacre."

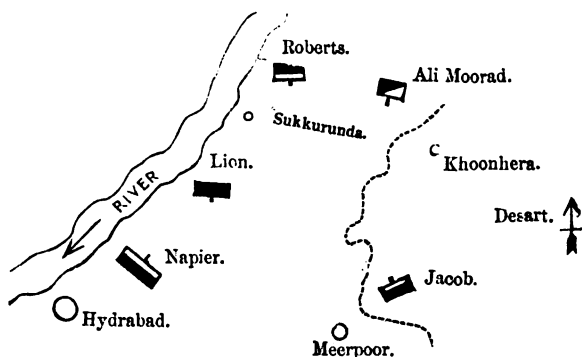
The prosecution noted above was never instituted: probably from the influence of Willoughby, the secretary of council and secret adviser of Outram.

"We are anxious to hear from England whether the intriguers against Lord Ellenborough will succeed in restoring to the Ameers their unhappy victims the Scindians. I do

not like to venture on promised improvements unless we are to keep the land. Meanwhile I have much fear of the Lion getting into the Delta district amongst the rivers; a fear however which I do not mention; for if that man Buist got hold of it he would urge the Lion to do so, in hopes of destroying us in the marshes next autumn. Already the Bombay emissaries have been hard at work, trying to stir up resistance in the way most likely to succeed, namely, murdering our stragglers. Luckily the Beloochees do not join in the wish; but as Buist is sure to do mischief there is no time to be lost in attacking Shere Mohamed.

"June 1st. Journal.—I have been so unwell with fever and dysentery as to think I was on *the march*! My pulse was scarcely above fifty-four. Now I can walk again, but the labour is heavy in this heat. By the Lord Harry it is heat! 150°! Well, a man must die at his post, be it where it will and his work what it will: if God so wills I am now ready to die at mine without wincing.

"Roberts has brought his column safely to Sehwan; the effect of his march has been, as designed, to calm down the country, and will, if the heat admits, puzzle the Lion: in ten days this will be his position, if he has courage and folly enough to remain where he is.



"If he marches N.E. he may escape before Jacob gets across, but he can thus only reach the desert where there is

no water, and a sun that will roast him up in five hours! He has no chance if Jacob can move, but that is hard to do for there is but little water: however the same reason will shut off the Ameer and he is in a trap. It has taken me a month to arrange this movement of troops, two hundred miles asunder, and under a heat that mortal cannot face

“ June 4th.—This is the Lion's last day for treating and I shall move against him: the monsoon wind has come, and though the heat scorches the flesh of man and beast I will try what can be done. This evening two guns and four hundred infantry go to Jacob and will reach him the 7th. The steamers will be with Roberts this day to pass him over. On the 8th Jacob will move on Khoonhera; and on the 9th I will move to prevent the Lion crossing between Hydrabad and Meerpoor to establish himself in the marshes of the Poorana River, whence it would be no easy job to dislodge him even in cold weather.

“ 5th.—The infantry and guns will this evening reach Aliar-ka-Tanda, and shall halt as Mohamed has made a demonstration in that direction: he shall however show his dispositions more clearly, and I will wait for two things, 1st. To hear of Roberts being fairly over the Indus, which is rising fast. 2nd. To hear what Ali Moorad does with Shere Mohamed.

“ 6th.—It is not safe to quit my cantonments till I hear from Roberts, and therefore Stanley is gone to halt Jacob. I will not expose my men to this heat while there is a chance of avoiding it, for a great many will be killed by the sun-strokes.

“ Colonel Roberts, 7th.—God send our combinations may succeed, but I always doubt in war.

“ Journal, June 7th.—There is evidently a general commotion preparing, and some treason is going on amongst the Beloochees about Hydrabad: it is necessary to be on guard, and an example shall be made of traitors. Very

anxious about Roberts, I can make no move till his place is known. I think he will attack the Ameer, he has sufficient force with Ali Moorad's help ; so patience for me, with readiness to take advantage of what may happen. Roberts has orders, if possible, to attack on the side of the desert and drive the Lion bodily into the Indus. I do not like to move on him if Roberts can do without me, for I have not half carriage enough and fear we must dip into the desert and lose many men. I am still very unwell, but must go, for there is no one of rank to command that can do the work but Roberts and myself.

"8th.—Sent orders to move the troops from Aliar-katanda to Meerpoor ; they will be there the 9th and ready to move with Jacob into the *Registan* or desert.

"June 9th.—Roberts has done a famous job. The Lion's brother must forsooth move his three thousand men within fifteen miles of Sehwan, to see what Roberts is about and have credit for driving him away when he shall cross the river. It is dangerous master Shah for beasts to go near an old huntsman. Roberts got wind of him, turned, and surprised him at daybreak, killed a hundred of his men, burnt his camp and took himself ; and here is Shah Mohamed a prisoner in Hyderabad ! This will have the greatest moral effect throughout Scinde.

"Lord Ellenborough, June 9th.—This exploit of Colonel Roberts has been most brilliant : I knew he only wanted opportunity. I hope the troops will not suffer from the heat, but the lying reports spread everywhere by Shere Mohamed and Hussein, Roostum's son, have put the country in a ferment, and forced me to act at all risks. I expect Shah Mohamed in an hour, and have ordered a high tower to be prepared for him, there to await your orders. Mischief has been brewing for some days, to rise on my rear when I go forth, but this achievement of Roberts will have a great effect."

This high tower was one of his subtle counter-strokes.

The combination of Beloochees formed for insurrection in and around Hyderabad, to aid Shah Mohamed when he should come down with his forces was ripe for action, and his capture was not at first believed; hence the ferment went on, until the general exhibited the Ameer in an open balcony of the high tower; he was then recognised and the combination dissolved.

“Sir G. Arthur, June 7th.—The Jam of the Jokeas has a fever: it seized him just as the brothers Mohamed reached the two banks of the Indus and planted guns to command the stream. A report being then abroad that we were too sick to meet *Shere* or *Shah*, the Jam went for purer air to the hills while some of his Beloochees begun a little plundering. I fancy the dispersion of the Shah's force, and that prince's captivity, will reduce the Jam's fever, and I expect to hear of his return to Kurrachee: however he never grew delirious, and our posts came regularly, so I am not called to be his doctor. If the Shah had beaten Roberts the Jam's fever would have continued.

“Journal, June 8th.—Roberts will be over the Indus this day, and to-morrow Jacob will push into the desert. Shere Mohamed is not so close to Khoonhera as to get there before Jacob; he is not aware either of Roberts' exploit, nor can he hear of it until this day; therefore he will scarcely make up his mind to go from the river until he hears particulars. His great object is to cross the Indus to his family and he will not quit the water for two days; and then probably try to negotiate with Ali Moorad, who has my orders to keep him in play. I have every hope therefore of Jacob getting two days' start, and so catching the Lion. If he waits to fight Roberts and Jacob will take him in rear and I in front. A report just come that he means to fight Ali Moorad: this if true will give Jacob two days.

“10th.—Collecting boats to cross the Fullaillee to-morrow. Jacob marches to-night, and will be on the 13th

within hearing of Roberts' guns. On that day Roberts will be at Sukkurrunda, but will not probably attack before the 14th, when Jacob will also be in the fight.

"Colonel Roberts, June 11th.—You have done your work like a soldier and set us up here. I propose to advance with my left to the river, and my right spread out eastward as far as I can; but I do not expect to make above two marches and will be about to Hala, where I shall hear that either you or Jacob have done the job. On the 13th he will be surrounded and must surrender or disperse: turn him towards the river if he fights. I want you to get your brace of brothers and he will prefer you to Jacob, I am too strong. I like his pluck and will do my best to get him favour; he is quite different from the lying cut-throats I sent to Bombay: the 'fallen princes.' How Bombay sentimentals make me laugh. I took Shah Mohamed's sword away: it is yours.

"Journal, 11th.—Part of my force crosses the Fullaillee to-day, but those confounded boats have dawdled sadly: however it is necessary for me to be a day or two in arrears, or the Lion would bolt into his den before Roberts or Jacob could reach him. I now leave him quiet to *mamock* Ali Moorad, if he can: it will do Ali good thus to pull down his vanity. It is said the Lion has shut him up in the fort of Sukkurrunda without any *grub*: I hope he will not get out until half-starved. Ali assured me, when I told him to be cautious as Shere Mohamed was too strong, that he would capture or treat with him as I wished; that he could kill him or make him prisoner according to my wishes—anything I liked! If my own arrangements were not so far in blossom Shere Mohamed should be left to thrash him for his vanity.

"12th.—The cavalry and artillery are over the Fuillaillee, and only one man and a horse drowned: they march this evening to Ali-ka-Tanda. This will spread through the country and turn back the fugitives if Roberts has beaten

the Lion; and if any evil has happened my advance will check it. Intelligence just come that Shere Mohamed's army is dispersing fast.

"13th.—The Lion has marched south, and is, or was yesterday, at Shah-i-Khaut, 16 miles from where my cavalry and guns are. I shall therefore march this evening to gain Ka-Tanda, pick up cavalry and guns, and march all night to fall on the enemy at daybreak, which will end the war.

"14th, Nusseer-Poor.—Arrived here at 12 last night, very much fatigued, mind and body, by having personally to command the —th Regiment. Colonel ——— may be a good man but he is a bad soldier; out of the whole regiment only 120 could come in, and I was obliged to send all back after marching two miles; all were on the ground, sick or drunk, most of them the last: one fellow died drunk on the roads. I hear Roberts has defeated the Lion, when or where I cannot learn but have sent to block the Muttaree road. It is said he has fled to the desert, but this may be to prevent my look-out towards the river.

"15th, Nusseer-Poor.—I shall halt for news till night, and then make one march towards Hala. I must have some news before morning, and I have dispatched a number of cos-sids in various directions with letters for Jacob and Roberts; some must find them to-day. That Jacob has been engaged is certain, that Roberts has I also believe. Had the first been worsted he must have retreated either upon me or not far to my right, and I must have heard; therefore my mind is made up to advance gently, sending out for intelligence and guarding the Muttaree road. I cannot go to the east, it is too sandy and too hot: my Europeans could not stand it, our livers are on the *simmer* now and will soon boil: the natives cannot stand it, and I have been obliged to take Red Rover into my tent, poor beast, where he lies down exhausted and makes me very hot. I did not bring a thermometer, what use would it be to a lobster boiling alive!

"24th.—I had hardly written the above sentence ten

days ago when I was tumbled over by the heat with apoplexy: forty-three others were struck, all Europeans, and all dead within three hours except myself! I do not drink! that is the secret: the sun had no ally in the liquor amongst my brains. Unable to walk I flung myself on a table, and luckily one of my staff came in, I think McMurdo. He called the doctors, two were with me in a twinkling, wet towels were rolled round my head, feet in hot water, bleeding, and two men rubbing me. I was so drowsy as to be angry that they would not let me sleep: had they done so it would have been hard to waken me!

“While they were tying up my arm a horseman came from Jacob to say, he had defeated Shere Mohamed and dispersed his forces, which did not stand a moment and Jacob had not a man hurt. I knew Dubba had taken their heart out, and said we should not have another shot fired in Scinde. Lo! I am right. All is now quiet, all the chiefs have laid their swords at my feet; above four hundred and worth many thousand pounds, but all were returned. Jacob's message roused me from my lethargy as much as the bleeding: it relieved my mind, for then I knew my plans had succeeded, and the Belooch had found that his deserts and his fierce sun could not stop me: we lost many men by heat, but all must die some time and no time better than when giving an enemy a lesson.”

These extracts scarcely display the skill of his operations, or the unyielding resolution with which he bore up against sickness, prosecuting his design until he actually fell against the door of death, half open to receive him. Thus, when staggering and expecting to fall suddenly, he was so intent on his object that he sent his whole scheme to the second in command, who was at Hyderabad, giving him a positive injunction in case of his own death to push the movements without faltering. This was a noble proof of his public spirit, for it was not an operation to gain glory, but merely a means to attain to a civil government. Writing to Lord

Ellenborough on the 14th he says "We heard guns this morning which I am sure were a salute on the Ameer's arrival, for they were too few for an action with Jacob or Roberts. I know not where either are, and shall not risk moving in the heat of the day. We must have news to-morrow, unless Jacob has let him slip past."

The cannonade was no salute: it was Jacob's guns that spoke. The Lion's men then dispersed, and he with a few followers fled across the Indus to the Khelat hills, where he will be hereafter found, robbed, maltreated, and finally obliged to fly to the Cutchee hills. But hardly had the sound of Jacob's guns passed over his camp than the general fell from the sun-stroke. He was carried to Hyderabad, but so unyielding was his energy that he is found, only three days after, writing long letters on important matters both to the governor-general and his own subordinates of the civil government: his journal however discloses the terrible struggle for life. How he endured the labour thrown upon him was indeed marvellous; for the dâks, after several months' stoppage, had been suddenly freed and an accumulated correspondence arrived at once. The Bombay portion was a heap of vexatious communications—purposely heaped and vexatious; amongst them very long and very lying memorials from the captive Ameers, concocted for them by the faction at Bombay, which he was called upon to answer in the midst of his military operations, and in heat so terrible, that the Europeans could only march at night, remaining in the day under tents with wet towels rolled round their heads, and yet fell dead by forties. Nor did all this labour make him neglect his own civil government, which he had already launched to float like an ark of peace on the flood of war. The date of the following letter speaks for itself.

"Captain Pope, collector, June 7th.—Too much to do to say much. Brown's letter found no fault with what you have done; and it was very disagreeable of Shere Mohamed

to make it necessary to leave Ali Moorad's kardars where they are for the present. When an enemy has fifteen thousand men he will not do as one wishes, and like all others who make war I am obliged to consider what is necessary to success rather than to what is pleasant to you, or any other person : it was necessary to maintain Ali Moorad's kardars or risk Roberts' safety. There would be no end to work in war if every order is to be accompanied with *whys* and *wherefores*. You acted perfectly right and no disapprobation was felt or expressed ; but my plans demanded perfect confidence by the people in the power given to Ali Moorad, and I found that displacing his kardars was doing immense harm : therefore I instantly recalled my orders. Then came a report that you had refused to obey, spread by a man called *Devan*. I could not believe this and wrote to you in all haste : as I expected, you had obeyed, but the mere report broke off all treating with Shere Mohamed when, as I hoped, we were on the point of getting him to lay down his arms ! By a prompt proclamation, and replacing the kardars, I have in some degree palliated the mischief *Devan's* lying had produced ; but it has broken off all treating and will cause much loss of life." This *Devan* was afterwards, on strong grounds, supposed to be an emissary of Buist.

Thus harassed, overworked, and sun-stricken, it is not surprising to find body and mind sinking, though the spirit remained untouched.

"Journal, July 30th.—I am very weak and my legs have fallen away, yet they swell at night, and with a tired feeling hardly bearable though keeping to my room all day. I have been overworked, body and mind, under this sun : I am sinking. However, I have now quieted all Scinde, despite of Outram's predictions of war for ten years. Four months has sufficed for tranquillity ! Last week I ordered eighty police, Scindees, to march a man from Kurrachee to Tattah, one hundred miles, and hang him ; and it was done on the

right bank of the Indus, amongst all the mountain tribes, without disturbance! We shall have peace.

"All my troops are now in cantonments and I am relieved from much labour. My staff also is now excellent: my nephew William, McMurdo, Green, Drs. Grey and Gibbon, and last McPherson, who diversifies my letter books thus—having to copy between *Scylla and Charybdis* he wrote between *scythes and carabines*: quite as good. Then Brown, Rathborne, Pope, Blenkyns and young Nixon, are all excellent: the four first rare fellows indeed in their departments!" These were his soldier civilians, for only to men who had aided in the conquest would he give posts: hence the fury of the Bombay faction.

"If the Beloochees move a finger in the cool weather, they shall be worried with fifteen thousand men in a way they never were before. I can turn out here 5000, who have all fought under me, except the 28th Regiment, the old *slashers*. With these five thousand I would take forty thousand in hand to-morrow, since the two defeats: in short my position is a hundred times better than it has yet been. Meanwhile my brothers' and sisters' affection to me is great, their letters are dearer to my heart than all the honours Her Majesty can give, for which I care not. It is curious that William sent me his speculations, and everything he proposed was done before his letters arrived. What a general England lost by not employing my father! I am not bad. I have by long experience and some study made myself *un petit* general, as Napoleon would call me; that is to say, a third-rate chap, like Blucher and Marmont and others; but not a first-rate like Napoleon, Wellington, Moore, and perhaps Soult. I may indeed do amongst some of our Indian generals, such as — with his nose full of grog and heels full of highland reels, but that is the length of my tether.

"I am however so done up that to get through another campaign would be impossible: to mount my horse even is an exertion. I who ten years ago did not know what

fatigue was, and even at Poonah knocked off fifty-four miles in the heat, am now distressed by four miles! Well, a man must die somewhere and some time, and I am ready. Where my services are wanted there they must be given, and assuredly they are wanted here: live or die, here I must remain till a successor arrives. He should come soon though, for more fighting is not in me, this last illness has floored me, and even my mind has lost energy: yet it is good to die in harness. To see my brothers and sisters once more, and Kennedy, is my wish but not my expectation, and I fear to tell them how ill I am. Prize money before going I hope for, to leave to my wife and children and to my nieces; as to myself, money was never cared for by me except for those I love.

“July 31st.—I have but a short race to run, unless some change happens a few months must close the scene: my life has exceeded my father's by ten years, and why should I live? I really don't know. Dying is unpleasant, but worst for the survivors. I fear death most for my wife's sake: too old to marry again, too young not to feel life spoiled! To God I leave my girls. Their arrival here and the cold weather may however set me up yet, for I do get better a little, and my brothers' and sisters' affectionate letters cheer me up like a flickering lamp getting a little air.”

THIRTEENTH EPOCH.

EIGHTH PERIOD.

THE opinion of the governor-general in council, passed upon Sir C. Napier's answer to Outram's *notes of conversations*, has been noted; the answer itself shall now illustrate the generous temper which could withhold such proofs of his accuser's misconduct until compelled to disclose them or sink under calumny. The *notes* embodied all Outram's perverse representations as to the Ameers' designs before the battle; but with this addition—that the general had heaped honours on Ali Moorad; had made a treaty with him and given him territory, and had withheld from Lord Ellenborough information that would have prevented the war.

The honouring of Ali Moorad and the treaty with him were simple fabrications, without even a distorted fact for foundation; and Lord Ellenborough's grounds for using force were Outram's own charges against the Ameers, as laid down in the *Return of Complaints*. Outram also had adduced as worthy of belief Roostum's false statements, but withheld Sir Charles Napier's public contradiction of them, though it was addressed to himself officially! In this spirit of foulness, Ali Moorad was said to have been bribed by the general with honours and territories: and in this spirit also the Bombay faction and its tool, always spoke of Roostum as the "*venerable patriarch*" and Ali Moorad as the "*villain, coward, ruffian, and traitor*," because he had not broken his alliance with the British. Sir C. Napier's comments are to be found at length in the parliamentary papers on Scinde: here they must be compressed, as touching on matters already made known.

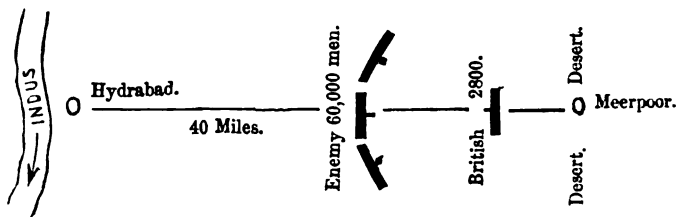
"The governor-general, July.—As Major Outram has sent his statement to government, it is incumbent on me to shew what weight is due to his judgment and what weight was due to the assertions of the Ameers—that they *wanted to keep the peace with us*: for upon their sincerity depends any value which may be supposed to attach to their conversations with Outram. I shall for the present confine my remarks to the 10th and 11th February.

"Major Outram had been deceived by the Ameers. On the 10th and 11th he sent me two letters, following each other by express and containing three important things. 1st. A request that I should halt the troops. 2nd. That I should go in person to Hyderabad. 3rd. Information that the Ameers had dispersed all their troops. Now my lord, at the moment when Major Outram wrote the above, 25,862 fighting men were—a portion of them strengthening their position at Meeanee, about six miles off; the others round Major Outram's house, preparing to attack it. Ten thousand men of the Chandian tribe had crossed the river and were coming down the left bank of the Indus in my rear; 7000 of Meer Roostum's men were within thirty miles, in rear of my left flank, at Khoonhera, and were about to march on Meeanee; 10,000, under Shere Mohamed, were marching from Meerpoor: in the mountains also, on the right bank of the Indus, thousands more were preparing to come. Thus I had, as my spies correctly stated, 25,000 in my front, and 25,000 more marching upon me in all directions, without reference to the tribes gathering in the hills. All these, as the Ameers affirmed to Major Outram, were entirely beyond their control; yet Major Outram sent me two letters in one day, assuring me the Ameers had dismissed all their troops, and asking me to let him give them a pledge that I would not march. Thus, in a most perilous position, would the major's advice have completely shackled my movements, and placed my small army beyond the power of being saved except by a miracle.

“ Let me now draw your lordship's attention to some very important points. The Ameers did not want peace ; they were confident of victory and had accurately calculated the day I should arrive at Meeanee, namely, the 17th of February : but they could not assemble their full force of 50,000 men till the night of the 17th, or the morning of the 18th ; hence all their diplomacy of dissimulation procrastination and protestation was put in force to deceive Major Outram, and obtain a pledge that I should halt if only for a day : I think he would have so pledged himself, had I not positively forbidden him to give any pledge without my consent. That this was the real motive of the anxiety exhibited by the Ameers to suspend my march, if only for a day, is made more apparent by the fact, that there was no advantage to be gained by delaying the signature of the draft treaty. On the contrary, to sign would have enabled the Ameers to discuss and formally protest against any and every part, while it would relieve them at once from the presence of our troops : but they were confident of victory and wanted to fight.

“ There were 25,000 men to be obtained by one day's delay in my arrival at Meeanee, and if the Ameers could have gained a week it would have brought us into the hot season, which they thought would paralyze our movements and finally destroy the troops : they were in a great measure right. Had I been persuaded to believe in the Jesuitical protestations of the Ameers I should have sacrificed the troops, and another great catastrophe would have befallen the British arms. Now my lord, when I considered these matters, I saw I could place no faith in the truth of the Ameers, and their *conversations* appeared to me so much waste paper. But this was not all. Outram asked me seriously to go to Hyderabad alone, and recommended me to send my troops to Meerpoor. My throat would have been cut of course ; and the troops, having lost their general and

been removed forty miles from their line of communication, the Indus, would have been placed as follows:—



“ From this position they would very quickly have been pushed into the desert, and every soul must have perished. Even a victory could not have saved them; they could never have regained the river, harassed for forty miles by a repulsed but hourly-increasing force; a force more than twenty times their own numbers before the battle.

“ As Major Outram seems to have forwarded his *notes*, I think he ought also to have forwarded my denial of Meer Roostum's assertions. This does not appear to have been done, so I take the liberty of sending herewith a copy of my letter, being indeed the same letter in which I acknowledged the receipt of his conversation with the Ameers on the 8th of February. And though much harassed at the time by the unavoidable labour which attaches to the command of a young inexperienced force, suddenly assembled, I am not aware that I left anything unreported to your lordship that I considered of importance; but in case of accident I have copies of all my letters to the Ameers, as well as my proclamations, together with any letters to Major Outram which bear on the subject. I believe all I have do so, and they will enable your lordship to shew the English government that I did all but sacrifice the honour of our arms to maintain peace; for which I believe both your lordship and myself were as anxious as Major Outram, or any other person.”

Such were the wretched accusations Charles Napier was called upon to refute after his great exploits, at a moment too when from illness he stood on the edge of the grave, pushed thereto by overstrained energy to repel dangers which his accuser had not faced. Nor was this all. The Bombay faction, cherishing the captive Ameers, especially the filthy murderous Shadad whose acquaintance was a contamination for men, prepared for each separately memoirs embodying every falsehood that could be invented, and making those Mahometan princes, none of whom could read, invoke Christ and his doctrines! Their allegations were answered, were disproved by the rebutting testimony of all the officers involved in them, and so transmitted to the governor-general, who treated them with merited scorn. Rebuked then, they now concocted fresh complaints, chiefly relating to their women.—“They were outraged, insulted, robbed; their ornaments had been torn from them to satisfy the rapacity of the general for prize money, and they were actually starving!” And these infamous slanders were not only spread over India but accepted in England, by a party, as monstrous facts disgracing the English name. Sir C. Napier’s letters will disclose their true character.

“Lord Ellenborough, July.—The Ameers’ women refused to accompany their lords to Bombay. They demanded rations in money. I offered rations in kind, but for a long time they gave no answer: at last I received a multitude of complaints from Bombay, one to say the ladies were *starving*. This we knew to be nonsense, as the prize agents had allowed them to take away from the treasury a great quantity of jewels, in short all they claimed. Lieutenant Brown took all pains to ascertain their state, and it was decidedly not as their moonshees asserted. However, aware of the stories which would be concocted at Bombay by the people of the *set* there, I ordered the moonshees to give in a statement of the money rations they required as indispensable for the ladies, and they have sent in what I enclose a copy of!

“Now my lord this is the real state of the case. These moonshees being the only channel of communication between the ladies and the government, and with the Ameers, put every farthing advanced into their own pockets; and were I now to furnish any that would be its destination. About $3\frac{1}{2}$ lacs would make a pretty little fortune for these rascals, though from it should be deducted their payments to the editor of the *Bombay Times*, who no doubt understands his trade as well as these moonshees. Having discovered this secret, and that the poor ladies would not profit, I have told the moonshees I will not pay them a farthing; and that, unless by to-morrow night, they obeyed my orders and furnished a list of rations in kind, I would put them in prison, which I mean to do accordingly.

“I asked your lordship to give these ladies jaghires, but since I have discovered this system of robbing, carried on against both Ameers and ladies by these moonshees, I think you will pause before allowing a jaghire to be given: one thing may however be said in favour of a jaghire; though the ladies and Ameers will be inevitably robbed, it furnishes an answer to all attacks! But it appears to me that a very plain question arises from the refusal of the ladies to join their lords, viz. the government has given an establishment to the Ameers and their families; if the latter do not choose to obey the Ameers and take advantage of the provision made, is government bound to find another establishment? However, I should be sorry to advocate any harsh treatment of the ladies, and I believe their horror of returning to the Ameers is well founded. I am inclined to believe that only wives daughters and mothers of the Ameers remain in the zenana; that all their concubines, being wives and daughters of Scindians and Hindoo subjects and taken by force, have returned to their families, to see whom was forbidden to them after they entered the zenana, even until their deaths!

“Sir G. Arthur. Extracts.—I must lift the curtain of

the zenana, which Mr. Buist says I have already done for coarse purposes. The women of the zenana are not in want, and they know nothing of the application for money, which is made by their moonshees. The Ameers went off leaving directions for their women to follow them, but the ladies, having heard that slavery was abolished refused to go. I have good cause and so has Brown to wish the ladies with their lords; send me an order to put them on board, or on camels, and they shall go and my blessings with them, but they say they will not go. The brazen lies sent from hence will be doubly gilt at Bombay by the wailing friends of the '*fallen princes*;' and by the time they arrive in London will be pure gold and pass current against me: at all which I feel disposed to laugh.

"The ladies left the zenana at their own desire when we took possession of the fortress: had they not done so they must have been removed, for I had no time to build barracks and had no shelter for the troops, inside or outside of the fortress, and the sun was upon us. We had no room for tents in the fort, which is filled by the zenanas even to want of air. Now the sacred way in which we protected these zenanas from the slightest insult in the native sense, viz. any man approaching them, made it impossible to put a full garrison into the fort even if there was room for tents; for the sentries on the walls would have looked into the yards, and the poor women would have been shut up in their rooms. We were in the midst of enemies; no one knew the fort, but we knew a great quantity of arms were in the zenanas, and the commandant and prize agents, none but officers on duty being admitted inside the fort, saw hundreds of able-bodied Beloochees go in and out of the zenanas: there was a prevalent idea that some 800 or 1000 well-armed strapping fellows were there concealed, awaiting the attack of the Lion's 20,000 outside the town. Against these 800 Major Reid had only a guard of recruits, half of whom never had a firelock in their hands. Had not the ladies asked through

the Ameers to be removed I must have removed them, and thoroughly searched the zenanas before giving battle to Shere Mohamed: arms we afterwards found in abundance, and the men had been there. We got rid of them without a search; but it could not have gone on long as we were kept eternally under arms in the fortress. When the Ameers applied to me about their women I gave camels, everything they asked for; they did all themselves, no one of us saw them or tried to see them; no insult whatever was ever offered to them, nor was there the slightest ground for Buist's infamous libel: no man in the Scinde army believes his assertion that one of ourselves wrote him word of the story."

In connection with the Ameer zenanas, a curious circumstance, ascertained long afterwards, calls for record as an instance of the Lion's chivalrous feeling. When that prince suddenly ceased to assail Major Stack's column on its march to join the general, his motive was not fear, nor inability to cut off the baggage, which was quite in his power; but seeing many women with it he withdrew, saying Sir C. Napier had respected the Ameers' women at Hyderabad and he would do the same by the Feringhee women then in his power! To this record of the Lion's fine feeling, in connection with Major Stack, may be added the reparation by Sir C. Napier of an involuntary wrong to a very brave and excellent officer, which he thus set right in the continuation of the above letter to Sir G. Arthur. "I am sadly vexed at having said in my dispatch, that Major Stack led the brilliant cavalry charge at Dubba: it was Captain Delamain, whose modesty is so great that he never said a word on the subject. I am not in charity with Stack for allowing me to mistake his report, if I did mistake, on this charge. *

"John Kennedy. July 18th.—I am very ill. I had fever and was but ill recovered when the sun struck me down. I have never been well since, and am so weak as only to be able to write lying down: a sickening feel, indescribable, comes over me. The doctors say I must give

myself holydays: I ask how? if one day's rest is taken the work doubles the next. How can I take rest? I want it, but they can't tell me who is to answer, perhaps *one hundred* letters which at times come at once from Bombay, from Calcutta, Delhi and Agra. It is impossible without quitting this for ever to have rest, and yet I feel unable to go on: even this letter knocks me up, and twenty sheets of stupid nonsense await at my elbow! two reasons forbid rest. There is no one to do the work; and we are locked up for five months by heat and the monsoon."

From the constant reiteration of demands for explanation on minute points, misunderstood purposely to be reiterated by the Bombay government, he afterwards came to the conclusion they were designed to hurt his health; being always most copious on errors and trivialities when he was known to be ill!

"I am very low, though not as minding dying; yet for God's sake tell no one of my illness, perhaps I may get better before my wife and girls can come here: if not it is no great matter. The girls are young, and for my wife, she and I know the world is full of suffering, and he who believes it to be only a sojourn makes his mind up to its roughs and smooths. And who is to prophesy? A week may recover me; the weather is cooling and the peace of Scinde is secure; only yesterday came news, that the last chief, Hussein, had fled over the Indus with a dozen followers, and already that has made me better. Want of public tranquillity weighed heavy upon me, for my last point of personal strength would be, I felt, the surrounding of Shere Mohamed. He was a bad soldier to let me pin him up, yet like a good one he slapped at Jacob, who was the weakest, and tried to regain the desert: there he had no fear of me, for even the few men with Jacob could hardly find water. Poor Shere Mohamed! His men would not look us in the face; the 24th of March took their hearts out: four thousand, with two guns fled before 900 with 2

guns when only one or two shots had been fired. I wanted then to go and drive out Hussein, Roostum's son, from Shah Ghur, but was too feeble, which fretted me sorely. Now all is quiet and I shall throw as much work as possible on others, which, with the cool weather, may set me up.

"Lord E. writes that he has proposed to give all the prize booty to the army, which will give me little short of £50,000. I opened my eyes wide when told this, having in fact never thought of prize money, or anything but my work, and though, when Hyderabad surrendered, I knew some must be got, £8,000 or £10,000 was the utmost that crossed my mind, being too occupied to think on the subject. Between Meeanee and Dubba my position was indeed too terrible to think of anything else. Hold of river fortress and town, Ameers, prisoners, immense treasure, and, as it was said, forty thousand enemies gathering upon me; a large hospital, and, including officers, only 2,500 men to guard the whole! Add to this anxiety about Stack's brigade which I had ordered at all hazards to push with double marches to Hyderabad; and had the Lion gone to assail him high up I must have pursued with only two thousand, an awkward number to follow forty thousand! But all the chiefs have now come in and laid their swords at my feet, the whole country is quiet and rejoicing to be rid of the tyrants.

"— says '*I wish you had not been opposed to men fighting for their independence.*' How they do blunder in England! Why! we have fought for the liberties of the people! Even Belooch himself is glad at getting a good master for a bad one.

"Sir A. Johnston. July.—I have seized the chief of the rascals who killed our Dāk-men on the Bhag road, and we have 90 prisoners. I did not dare attack those robbers before Shere Mohamed was put down, because while they had a head it would have been to work up a guerilla warfare in the Delta, our *La Vendée* it might have been, so full it is

of nullahs, fevers and armed Beloochees. I left them unopposed till Shere Mohamed could be finished; then I seized the Delta forts and now have seized the robbers, of whom an example shall be made. They before called themselves Shere Mohamed's men, but I have baptized them anew to suit their deeds, i. e. robbers and murderers. I could not put them down as Shere Mohamed's *soldiers* in this way, so did not try, but as robbers they can be put down: they shall be hanged up at all events, for the country-people betray them to us now that they are no longer the Lion's soldiers! I well knew how much there was in a name amongst barbarians.

"The Beloochees thought they could murder and plunder us. Their constant theme in dhurbar was, '*We are braver and more numerous than the Affghans under Acbar Khan, the Feringhees are not so numerous as at Cabool.*' They are now content, and though the 'Bombay Times,' as usual, is trying to excite a guerilla warfare, it can do nothing against us: conciliation on one side and hard fighting on the other will succeed.

"Henry Napier, July 15th.—At Meeanee we killed all, they would not take quarter, and turned on us from behind when passed. Even if they had accepted quarter I could do nothing, our men would not give it: we were in the midst of masses, and to let a mass of those faithless chaps in amongst us would have been too nervous an experiment. I doubt whether a man of us had courage to leave one of them behind: to disarm them was impossible; their shields cannot be broken and a broken sword in their hand is little the worse: but the ground was strewed with arms. I own to you Henry being shocked at myself, but when I saw their masses, each strong enough to have smashed us, I saw no safety but in butchery: it was they or we who must die. I urged no man to refuse quarter and tried to serve one or two, in vain; however had the war lasted this matter should have been brought to a better tone by degrees. At Dubba

it was so, but things of this nature are too stiff to be carried by assault : however we only killed men in battle. An army is an awful weapon to wield. Another cause of such slaughter was that the Belooch slaps at you with a matchlock which takes time to load, and our men poured volleys into their thick clusters before they could get a second shot : then came their rushes up, met with fire and steel in serried array, and so we stood, pelting them down till every man was dead below : our artillery also swept them horribly.

“I care more for the duke’s and William’s opinion than for all the honours they may choose to give me : I say the truth when declaring my utter indifference. Honours ! I had honour sufficient in both battles. At Meeanee, when we forced the Fullaillee the 22nd Regiment seeing me at their head gave me three cheers louder than all the firing ; and at Dubba when I returned nearly alone from the pursuit with the cavalry the whole line gave me three cheers : one wants nothing more but the praise of men who know how to judge movements. I am vain enough to think myself as good as other Indian generals, who I have heard were never seen except in action. That would have lost me : I was never from my men, and always discussing our operations and striving to keep down over-confidence of victory from contempt of the Beloochees ; for I saw at first that if the Beloochees made fight it would take us aback !

“General W. Napier.—Before this campaign I dreamed not what a difference years make in war, and now am too sensible of the unfitness of sixty to command an army : there is no strength in me to do what I feel can and ought to be done ; I have so stretched the string as to have destroyed its elasticity. An old man can order, but you know how orders are executed if not overlooked ; and in this strength-consuming climate the mind has to whip up the body to work worse than a hack post-horse. I have got to the end of the stage but am quite groggy on my pins ; no metaphor, they are spindleshanks in the morning and before

night like chairmen's. Cool weather may set me up, and to-day it is even cold, only 85°, and the bracing is delightful. The sense of being crushed by work is also gone; but it was strong when the letters of *four months* arrived together, having been before cut off by the enemy: they poured in from two governments, but I have worked through them all at last. When they first came all my military movements were coming to a crisis; yet I held on till the 15th, but was then sun-struck, when no result of our movements was yet known, though I had heard a cannonade. All was then anxiety for me, but just when being bled came a horseman to say Jacob was victorious. I think it saved me, I felt life come back: but only to me it came:—forty-three others were dead.

“My thought is to tell Lord Ellenborough he must find another governor; yet I feel the cool weather already favourable; if it proves so, no flinching despite of the doctors: they want me to go at once but I am not so easily beaten as they suppose, and absolute necessity only shall make me abandon Lord E. To go just as these Beloochee chaps have knocked under might make them rise again, and a new coachman would have his horses off before he could gather up the reins. If we did not carry matters here with a high hand, John Company would find some of his allies in Hindostan very restive: we must be everywhere *dictators*. The Affghan work is not over. Everywhere but in Scinde we are considered beaten cocks, who left Cabool because we could not stay. We have had continual rains, not known before for fifteen years, and it has produced an extraordinary feeling. The people say that when the Ameers *murdered* the Kalloras, that is the Scinde name for the Beloochee conquest, no rain fell for six years and famine and misery were in the land: a sign of God's displeasure. This was the universal belief even with the Beloochees, and the present extraordinary fall has been accepted as a sign that God signifies his approbation of our conquest.

“ Five months ago every Beloochee was strutting about armed with sword and shield, none now carry a weapon but chiefs: to these I gave their swords with this speech—‘take your sword you have used it with honour against me, but if, after this you use it against me I will hang you like a dog.’ And I am on the watch, for it would be advantageous to hang a traitor. The great Jam of the Jokeas is the chap my eyes are on. He is a thorough grandee, and a superb robber. He intercepts our dâks, having the mountains to retreat to, and is inconvenient in every way; and so confident in his hills as to be very troublesome indeed, and very insolent. He has betrayed me once he shall not do so again. He would not have done so once, if I had not been cut off from Kurrachee, where he was allowed by Colonel Boileau to invest the garrison, of two thousand men and a battery, with only seven hundred! My Jam indeed walked into Kurrachee to surrender, in consequence of a letter from me menacing him; but he went slap into the cantonments at the head of his 700 clansmen and would not go into a room without six armed attendants!

“ When this came to my ears I ordered him to come and salaam in Hyderabad without a single follower; and I made arrangements, if he refused, to cut him and all with him to pieces. He was in such a funk that he prayed the Kurra-chee collector, whom he had before treated like a dog, to come with him, and so arrived meek as a mouse. He is eighty years of age, and defended the Kallora *Meahs* against the Beloochees until those princes gave up. The Belooch conquest is ridiculously likened to our Norman conquest; but *Harold's* son is alive in the Punjaub, and lately wrote to ask for his kingdom: my answer was—I fought two battles to win the whole, but when you will give me back my soldiers' lives, my expences and a tribute, you can have your kingdom. The poor Meah has not given tongue since. Will he appeal to the governor-general? Probably not, for here they think me master and my references to the governor

mere humbug: they know he is above me and think he may possibly hang me some day, but that it will be a tough job, not lightly to be undertaken and success doubtful.

“I introduce all the chiefs who come in to Chalon’s print of the Queen; if this is forgotten they ask for the Padisha. A curtain hangs over it, and they are told servants and common people must not look at her. They however do not understand a woman ruling, and one shrewd Beloochee said, Sahib, she did not beat me at Meeanee, you are everything now. Another asked, how far off is she? So and so. You are next to her. No, the governor-general. Oh! how far off is he? At Calcutta. I have heard of Calcutta, it is far off, you are at Hyderabad, I am your slave. I always joke and tell them what fine fellows they are in battle, and that my wish is to go against the Affghans at their head, and plunder all the way to Persia: this they like, and I am going, if Lord E. agrees, to make all their jaghires their own property. We shall resign all right to turn them out, and exchange their military service for that of assisting to open watercourses, so far as those run through their lands. If I retained the governor’s right to military service it would continue their right to have armed retainers, and I have forbidden the bearing of arms: not by proclamation though, for that would have excited apprehension, but practically, for I disarm every man seen with weapons, giving the latter to the soldiers as plunder.

“When they see their jaghires secured as personal estates they will be delighted, for the Ameers kept the right to turn them out bright: a favourite would covet a jaghire, and if the jaghiredar was not a favourite out he went, unless he could fight, which was not seldom. But there is work for an antediluvian in this country. All I can do in my short time is to stop murder, form a strong police, and fortify some important posts; if I can also mark out a few roads, especially in the Delta, it will be lucky. I think the great point I have at heart may be effected—namely, that of

turning the military chief into a small farmer, or in plain terms turning the robber and his band into farmers, all being small proprietors. Now the Belooch holds sword, shield, matchlock and jaghire altogether; he does no work and has his Scindian or Hindoo slaves, called his labourers, who receive about twopence worth of grain in kind for a day's labour. Labourer and master are noble-looking men, but a pretty woman is never seen; perhaps the rich may be pretty, the poor are disgusting to look at. It arises probably from the abject slavery of their condition, for they have fine features, but distorted by a look of despair in every line, and they are all Scindees; no Belooch woman is ever seen.

“This is a wonderful land unlocked to civilization, before unknown but teeming with resources; and when we establish barracks and good houses the climate will be healthy: now we have not proper protection. As to carpenters, smiths &c., there are none, the Ameers drove them away. When one worked the Ameers took half his earnings, and out of the other half he had to give a moiety to the tax-gatherer as a present, so all left the land. None but Hindoos could earn bread; but when any of them were too rich to hide their prosperity the Ameers used gentle *persuasions*, according to the value the man put on his nose or ears and other parts, which he had to bid for with his own money! The progress of improvement is slow everywhere, but in this exhausting climate almost hopeless. A man who can live on a handful of grain, and will not work while he can live without doing so, is a fellow hard to deal with. An increased population will increase the price of food, and give a stimulus to exertion: it is *in* them, and so far as the Scindians were concerned the Ameers took it out of them. The Beloochee struts with sword and shield, the Scindian sleeps till kicked; the Hindoo goes about all eyes, and fingers as supple as his conscience, robbing everybody: to him the English are as a feast. Since we came the Hindoos have grown fat, swelling visibly, like the ladies at the teetotal

drinkings, and as we do not interfere with their projections are happy beyond measure.

“ A deputation of these Banians tried to turn me to account. They claimed from me a debt, of God knows how many rupees, due by the Ameers: I had they said, taken all their treasure and ought to pay their debts. Your claim said I was no doubt just on the Ameers; but I never heard of people fighting to pay other men's debts, and cannot possibly set such an example. But then we shall starve and die. Just what is wanted, for I am making a beautiful burying-ground and you shall be buried there gratis. Set your hearts at rest. This joke settled the business. The whole treasury would not cover such debts. I collect no taxes due previous to 17th February, and will pay no debts previous to that period; I give out that as money lent the Ameers before that period was to enable them to war on me my intention is to levy similar sums as fines: so that question is becoming *obsolete*!

“ This is certainly a little despotic, but my conscience is quite easy; these money-lenders are only unhanged rascals, and the whole story is generally believed to be a lie: that the Ameers took money is certain, that they borrowed is not true, and it would be a pretty job to begin repairing holes in their moral obligations. The rains will produce great crops; and there was no fear of agriculture being hurt by the war, for with the war the labourer had nought to do; he fled to us from the Beloochees: all the Kandahar people are now also floating down to Shikarpoor to be our subjects. A few years will change the face of this country, merely considering it as an agricultural one without reference to the commerce of the Indus, of which I cannot yet make up my opinion: it will come, but not till Kurrachee and Sukkur have more capital. Agriculture will certainly make great progress, because there is the land, so rich it may be tilled with nails, and surrounding people will come where they are

protected in person and property. Would I were but forty and could remain here !

" I have no time to study antiquities, but strongly suspect from the formation of ground that Hydrabad is the site of the ancient Patala. If a little leisure comes I will read what the wise say : that is if good books can be got, but they are seldom worth reading. The real study is the ground. Look at the grand features which a thousand years cannot change, not at small matters which a dozen years would alter. Burnes does not please me, and Wilson's big book is little worth. A family library volume by Williams seems to me the best ; but all want topographical knowledge, which I mean to have in abundance. I observe that Hydrabad is built on a mass of rocks, which, with some high ground near Meeanee, must always have split the river and formed the bason of the Delta.

" Burnes, Del Hoste, and Wilson, make conjectures upon ruins, and channels through a flat alluvial soil every part of which changes annually : from a boat I have seen twenty acres go into the river in an hour's time ! But Sehwan and Hydrabad are fixtures ; and if the river split at the last, as it must because of the rocks, it would run one branch down at the foot of the hills to Kurrachee ; the other would frisk at pleasure through the flat land to the East, changing its channels a thousand times since Alexander's day. Now we trace Alexander below Alore, and evidently at Roree ; and even below Sehwan and near Hydrabad he must have been. At the time he was here, we may suppose the Fullaillee was, as it is now, a great river, and my intent is to trace its course, of which we know nothing ; to examine also the point above Meeanee, where it branches off ; and I think, ere the cold season passes to form a good guess where Patala stood, taking rocks as my guides.

" What you tell me about Outram is incredible"—his secret accusations in London—" I cannot believe, I think him so

honourable. I have indeed been obliged to write a letter to Lord Ellenborough, and send you a copy ; it will I fear injure Outram, which I regret, but must defend myself, and have told Outram so : do not therefore make use of my letter unless you think defence of my character requires it.

“Shere Mohamed’s great friend and relation, Mahomed Khan, has surrendered. Mahomed, said I, how came it man that you made so bad a fight with Jacob ? You twice fought me well and I honoured you as a stout soldier : now I hold you cheap. You ought to have killed half Jacob’s men, and he had only to fire a few cannon shot and had not a man wounded.

“Mohamed Khan laughing, Why, general, it is just because you did fight us twice that we did not like the third time, we are afraid of you. But to tell the truth I know as little of Jacob’s fight as you do. I commanded the right wing, the Ameer the left ; he had the guns and I nearly all the cavalry ; it was hardly light when I heard the Lion’s guns and thought Jacob was upon him as nothing could be distinguished in my front, therefore I rode full gallop expecting to charge Jacob’s flank. You know our horrible dust, I thought I was followed, but when I reached the Ameer he was almost alone ; then the dust cleared up and behold only twenty-five rascals had followed me. Had Jacob been there I should have been killed, for all had run under cover of the dust ; so the Lion and I run too. That is all I know of the battle.

“Well, the Lion is a fine soldier, I honour him, and if he is taken all in my power shall be done to get the governor-general to pardon him and give back his estates.

“Mohamed.—The Lion is a fool. After the battle of Dubba we all saw our people would not stand again. None of us will stand again : you are hawks and we are little birds.

“The frankness of the man’s manner and his gentleman-like address, perfectly well-bred and at his ease, gave me the

notion that he was in earnest : he is a fine resolute-looking fellow, very fat but strong. I said, Mahomed how did you get so fat in the jungle ? Me fat ! you gave me too much work for that ; wait till I am some time at ease under your good treatment and you will see what I shall be. This clever turn of flattery shews these people are not dull, and my hope is to do them much good.

“ Mismanaging the waters is one cause of poverty. The Persian wheel is their great resource, but being expensive and a fixture does not do for the poor. Rathborne was going to send for a newly-invented hydraulic machine, but it struck me that the Archimedean screw is the thing, and I am trying to make them of pottery, in which the Scindians are very expert. It can be carried by a man and laid down where necessary, and thus little rills, so much wanted, can be spread. When going to Emaum Ghur we crossed a fine ridge of rich hills in the desert, with wood and control of the Narra River on the west bank, where it has water. Lord Ellenborough has, at my request, given a corps of engineers to survey this line, and my hope is, if I remain, to make this dry bed a canal full of water without injury to the Indus. Then for a desperate fight with the desert ; for I am sure, except where the great sand-track rises which no mortal can deal with, a great stripe of what is now desert may be made like Kent. I shall never see the result, but if it is shewn that this fertile land, ten or twelve miles broad and four or five hundred miles long, can be cultivated ; that it is rich and has healthy hills for retreat in the heat, I shall do much for the people of this grand country, to which I have done no injury, no wrong.

“ It would be an indescribable pleasure to see you all again, but when the wind is strong and the lamp flickers !

“ Lord E. and the council have sent me power, to act in all things as seems good ; and have taken me from Bombay in toto : this was done only last week, and is an immense relief ; for though Sir G. Arthur has supported

me there is an anti-Ellenborough faction of understrappers, whose oracle is the 'Bombay Times.' At first they believed I was with their party, but quickly found out the reverse. This makes them mad, and the patronage being given to me, which they were expectant of and ready to pounce upon, makes them worse. Lord Ellenborough sent three gentlemen from Bengal for my civil service, one a nephew of an old friend, but they are useless, and in despair. They came to shoot, to hunt, to live well and sign their names to whatever a host of clerks should lay before them. I give them no clerks and a good deal of work, or rather have so ordered, for they are at Sukkur. They are furious at Lord Ellenborough who, '*quite deceived them as to work!*' Now my soldier-civilians work like horses. Brown, Rathborne, Pope, all capital. And my frame-work of government works well at present; for my first month's revenue was 80,000 rupees, this month 100,000 rupees.

"In each village there is a kardar, all of the Ameers' appointment, Beloochees and Scindees: thus I hope to diminish the shock of revolution in conquest. If any behave ill they shall go out on complaint of the villagers, which will please the last and probably change all in two years. My police are entirely people of the Ameers, and amongst them many who have suffered from their cruelty, chosen by me in preference. My spies are numerous, and scarcely can a conspiracy be unknown. as the rich *Banians*—Hindoo merchants—know everything: their numbers are great and they hate the Mahometans. The personal interests of large bodies, even of Beloochees, are thus enlisted in our favour. The kardars will have £200 yearly, and have great influence. Hitherto they have been slaves to the Beloochee chiefs: now, sure of support if well conducted, they will defy those chiefs.

"I shall thus give a deadly blow also to the clan system, without appearing in the matter. For the kardar will be supported by the villagers when no longer dependent on the

chief; and the government will never appear except in favour of the villagers, who dare not be in the wrong yet: if they are they will be punished, and then the chief will be proud that government defends his acts. Moreover, by these arrangements my regular force is kept in three masses, at Hydrabad, Sukkur, Kurrachee, safe from acquaintance and familiarity with the people—regular *Bugaboos*, at whose name the slaughters of Meeanee and Dubba arise in the mind. Next to them come the irregular horsemen; more divided, yet only in four or five posts as a chain of connection between the three capital collectorates. These irregular horsemen are of high caste and will only keep company with such, they are a sort of yeomanry. After these come the police, in immediate contact with the people on all occasions.”

Sir C. Napier is here found putting in practice the plan for employing troops and policemen in civil commotions, which he had so strenuously endeavoured to impress on the ministers when he commanded the northern district—there unheeded, here crowned with success!

“As our taxes will be light there will probably be little squabbling with the collector’s people; if there is the police will settle it, pending reference to the collector, who is also a magistrate. So are his sub-collectors and all military officers in command at outposts where garrisons are placed. These last decide all minor questions, the higher ones are decided by the collector; but those involving death go to the governor, who is assisted by the chief commissioner for civil affairs, the sentence being signed by the governor alone.

“Every month the collectors report their receipts and expenditure, which last can only be made under my authority. Other matters go to the commissioner for civil administration—originally called government servant, who lays them before me: I thus check as well as order expenditure. The balances improve fast, and I hope soon to fill up my report

as to irrigation, roads, public buildings, height of waters ; but my chief engineer is slow ; a trump card though in all other matters, and does his work right well when he does do it.

“The frontier is not yet settled, the heat will not let me go there at once in my weak state, but the moment it abates I will examine the range of hills running from Soonomeeanee to Shikarpoor. That will be a job, for I must take a strong escort, as all on that side are wild Beloochees quite up to ‘*taking a dirty advantage*.’ Meanwhile I am forming a fighting camel corps, and I have long since proposed to form the army baggage also into a regular corps, able to manœuvre as well as the army, and if necessary defend itself. At Meeanee the camels were made to squat down in a circle with their heads inwards, having the men between their necks ; it was a living redoubt, impenetrable for cavalry. My arrangements for the *baggage corps* are very minute and require time, but my *fighting corps* will soon be formed. We shall be peaceable, but if not shall make a good fight.

“We are getting up our drill with field days : the Indian officers do not vote it a *damned bore* as the Dublin garrison officers do. I am going to build a fort at Sehwan, but know not how to find salamanders to live in it, nothing European can : my design is to get some native officer to manage it, and failing there some native chief—for a consideration, sufficient to make him faithful : this will protect my steamers.”

This fort had become very necessary, because Dr. Buist had in his paper especially pointed out to the Beloochees what parts were most vulnerable, accompanied with a detailed plan of attack—Sehwan being marked as peculiarly favourable for such warfare.

“The newspapers say we shall not be quiet. *Beware Cabool* is their cry. Well, I am aware of the Cabool affair, and also that everybody except McNaughten and Burnes knew there was a conspiracy. But in Scinde there is not one person who believes in danger from disturbances, and it

is impossible for general conspiracy to go on without some inkling of the mischief brewing: however I am on my guard and ready to meet any event."

The fighting and baggage camel corps mentioned in the foregoing letter were military creations of the highest scale in war, and were afterwards organized in despite of obstacles thrown in the way by factious authorities. The fighting corps was suggested by Lord Ellenborough, simultaneously with Charles Napier's own conception of it, and indeed was an imitation of Napoleon's dromedary corps in Egypt, but extended and in some points improved. Two soldiers and one camel were trained together, and so furnished with arms and clothing that man and beast had all that was required in a portable form, and thus enabled to act as cavalry or infantry, yet with much greater power than either. To keep the wild tribes of Scinde and Beloochistan in order they were designed, and a march of eighty or ninety miles without a halt, bringing them suddenly upon a refractory chief, was within their action. Dismounted they presented the irresistible array of European discipline as infantry; and if overpowered by numbers their camels carried them safely off to seek reinforcements and return with the same swift power to strike again. They were admirably organized, and being placed under the brave and strong Fitzgerald performed excellent service.

The baggage camel corps was a military organization of a far more important nature; it was in fact the one thing wanting to complete the European machinery of war: that is, it brought the whole baggage and transport service of armies under the same discipline and organization as the fighting men, rendering them as supple and effective.

These two corps, so admirable in conception, and afterwards found so well adapted to actual service, were by Lord Dalhousie and the Bombay government abolished; and as their avowed organs of the press asserted—to vex Sir C. Napier! It did vex him deeply; but it vexed the public

good more, and the home government has since been compelled to restore the principle of the baggage corps. For the '*land-transport corps*' of the Crimea, organized by Sir Charles Napier's two sons-in-law, Colonels McMurdo and Wm. Napier, the first commanding, and both taught by him in Scinde, is but a reproduction of his scheme, which was however more extended in principle and therefore better. The Crimean corps has not yet embraced the personal baggage of regiments, and is therefore only a half measure of the government, wanting that vital part of the scheme. Baggage has always been the clog of armies and torment of generals, but Charles Napier rendered it subservient to the fighting interest instead of the contrary, obeying instead of thwarting the commander; in fine as supple and sure for calculation as the combating masses, and moving as their shadows. It was a great conception!

"August 15th.—Napoleon's birthday. I am better but am not what I was last year, having had a shake I cannot recover. We expect all sorts of honours. I expect none that I care for—for I care for none. They have given me the 97th Regiment, which is pleasant as being the climax of my profession. Being now colonel of a regiment I have reached the top of the tree after perching on all its branches! The money is not my care: I never had anything but my pay, and pension gained by wounds, and yet reckon that I have given away in money £8000 since becoming a soldier. But what have I now to do? Scinde is quieted. This gives me more joy, more pleasure than the two victories, ay! five hundred times more. It was the sole object of my attack on Shere Mohamed, my success has been complete, and all Outram's foolish, lugubrious prognostics, have vanished. He said I could not put the Ameer down, I thought I could, and was resolved to try: the fact was he could not. Oh! that I was forty, I could at that age work like a horse; now I work like an ass, without its strength. This is not fine, but alas very true!

“August 17th.—We are all—that is every one but myself, on tiptoe of expectation for the English mail about the battles, and the honours to come. I have no anxiety. I know very well a grand cross will come to me, but when ——— and * * * and 0 0 0 0 are grand crosses, it cannot be felt as an honour; we soldiers judge by deserts, and so far it may be honourable, but then it is not the decoration that is so. I hear that I am accused of fighting to get prize money! This does not worry me; it is a matter between a man and his conscience, and as mine is clear as a diamond on that score I laugh. Yet, though denying the public right to meddle with that, the accusation is foolish: he who attacks above thirty thousand men strongly posted with only two thousand is not likely to gain much prize money; he must feel his chance of life to be small, and would hardly risk such a deed, and his own eternal salvation, for a few pounds of gold! and even that by no means sure of being got—on the contrary, all but impossible. Who could have thought Hyderabad would surrender without a shot, or even conditions. What I expected, and what every man of sense expected, was that the fortress would stand a siege and at last offer terms, viz. To accept the draft treaty, pay expences, and save the Ameers’ thrones. This any men but such cowardly fellows would have done: had the Beloochees changed generals after Meeanee no fortress should the British have had; for Hyderabad is immensely strong, and the Belooch with his sword and shield just the chap to make a breach a shambles. Any breach also must be a high one, for ten or fifteen feet are of living rock and we do not know that within the revetement the wall is not still rock. I must stop writing, feeling so ill. The *coup de soleil* has I suspect finished me; there is no recovery for me: I am never right. Next month I shall go to Kurrachee, when change of air may set me up, but it is very doubtful.

“August 21st.—Mail arrived, and, as expected, I am grand cross. There are gross mistakes about the C.B. but it

cannot be helped. The honours given are popular, but we all long for and expect a medal, without which the world must come to an end! And so it will, for Wolfe the missionary says so:—in 1845! The fellows here are wroth, very, that only a grand cross has been given to me. I tell them, and think so too, that a regiment and grand cross is more than enough for one man; and it is idle to suppose, because the Whigs gave Lord Keane a peerage the Tories are to do the same by me: a precedent for a good act should be followed, not for a bad one!

“Roberts has come from the Delta, and brought up two scoundrel kardars who have been riding roughshod over the ryots. I will make such an example as shall shew the poor people my resolution to protect them. Yes! I will make this land happy if life is left me for a year; nay, if only for six months they shall be sorry to lose the *Bahadoor Jung*. I shall then have no more Beloochees to kill. Battle! victory! Oh! spirit-stirring words in the bosom of society, but to me! Oh God! how my heart rejects them. That dreadful work of blood, sickening even to look on: not one feeling of joy or exultation entered my head at Meeanee or Dubba; all was agony, I can use no better word. I was glad we won, because better it was to have Beloochees slain than Englishmen, and I well knew not one of us would be spared if they succeeded: to win was my work for the day, and the least bloody thing to be done! But with it came anxiety, pain of heart, disgust, and a longing never to have quitted Celbridge, to have passed my life in the ‘*round field*’ and the ‘*devil’s acre*,’ and under the dear yew trees on the terrace amongst the sparrows: these were the feelings which flushed in my head after the battles. Well, we are born for war in this good world, and will make it while men have teeth and women have tongues. But away with these feelings! let me go to work, let me sink in harness if so God pleases; he who flinches from work, in battle or out of it, is a coward.

“There is one great secret in the art of governing long since learned by me. People think, and justly sometimes, that to execute the law is the great thing: this they fancy to be *justice*! Cast away details good man and get a general view; take what the people call justice, not what the laws call justice, and execute that. Both legal and popular justice have their evils, but assuredly the people's justice is a thousand times nearer to God's justice. I well know that these kardars who are to be tried will prove themselves innocent as lambs; but all their tricks and subterfuges and lies will scarcely save their necks; for if it be found they shed blood their blood shall be chilled by death. The poor under them suffered but made no complaint; they saw a British officer come amongst them and sought his protection; this shews their truth, and nothing shall save the kardars from punishment. My good friend —— is full of protecting his kardars. They were only getting what was really due to government: yes! such dues, so collected, would soon shew us the road to Hindostan out of Scinde, and cause half a dozen battles; I shall teach these sort of chaps, these kardars, to find a way of doing their duty without unpopularity: there is no smoke without fire; justice must go with the people, not against the people: that is the way to govern nations and not by square and compass.

“August 31st.—Tried the kardars, who are two rascals, and were, as I suspected, quite in the wrong: however, turning them out of their offices has sufficed to satisfy the oppressed villagers that I will protect them, and they are pleased: the poor are always pleased with the smallest portion of justice if they see a will to do them substantial justice. It is not easy to rule men, but the best mode is not to intrigue and circumvent, but to be bold and honest and kind towards our neighbours:—a good, manly, kind-heartedness, yet telling bad ones your mind freely.

“Fever last night and very poorly now. I go to Kurra-chee to-morrow. At Bombay they want to weaken my force,

which must not be ; for if the Punjaub gets up the mountain tribes will get up ; then, unless we have a strong force, the chaps here will prick up their ears : our being quiet will depend on the Punjaub being so. Every chief in Scinde has made his salaam. This is wonderful. A country conquered and perfectly tranquillized in eighty-one days ! And this peace may be kept I think by a just balance between the suaviter in modo and fortiter in re.

“ Would I were younger and a prince, the first for strength the second to reward : how rich my army would now be. Instead of the richest I should be the poorest. The finest sword should be taken for myself, and then the prize money should be divided in three portions ; the officers should have one, the privates one ; the third should go to beautify and improve Hydrabad, which should be made magnificent. Yet Kurrachee should be my favourite. It should be made the mouth of the Indus, and that wild river should not stir from its bed without my leave : it should be chained like a malefactor ; it should run close along the hills to Kurrachee just giving me an elbow to Hydrabad ! Well these are notions of pleasant dreams, which shall be realized now so far as beginning to open a fine wide street in Hydrabad goes.”

FOURTEENTH EPOCH.

FIRST PERIOD.

WHEN the flight of the Lion and submission of all the great sirdars had ended war, the conqueror thus described his situation.

“ Richard Napier, July 18th.—I have had nearly all the chiefs of Scinde in this room laying their swords at my feet, which would, if taken, make a rich armoury, all having gold scabbards and each worth full £100. Certainly I could have got thirty thousand pounds since coming to Scinde, but my hands do not want washing yet, our dear father's sword which I wore in both battles is unstained, even with blood, for I did not kill any one with my own hand. I rode pistol in hand and might have shot a Belooch, but thought some one else would, and as he did not rush at me let him alone: a 22nd soldier killed him. At Dubba I got them into a better spirit, but at Meeanee, as the soldiers said, ‘*the sham-bles had it all to themselves.*’

“ This country is a rich wild, and all the tribes on the eastern frontier, hitherto wild robbers, have offered to come in and turn agriculturists under me. They say We are Scindians driven into exile by the Ameers, and we could only live by robbery. The Khosas, the Juts—dozens of tribes are in this category, and in the desert, and all willing to give up arms and live as ryots. I could with these tribes only drive the Beloochees out of Scinde to their own country on the right of the Indus, but prefer conciliating even these

robbers, for they are a fine people. I have found a sulphur-mine, and saltpetre in quantities : in a few years our revenue may be very great and the people happy instead of miserable. The lowest tax of the Ameers exceeded half the produce, exacted rigidly : we took a farm, gathered the tax exactly by the Ameers' scale, and a little more than a quarter remained for the ryot : if he offended the Ameers some of that was also taken. We go at present by their registers, but are gradually abolishing these atrocities and next harvest the ryots will be rich, for I am reducing our share to one-third. My life here is that of a prince in Alexander's time : I could write an entertaining account of it but have no leisure.

"The same, August 7th.—My turn out against the Lion lasted only a few days, yet the preparations for it were long and dangerous, especially for us Europeans : a fearful number were struck dead. When the mercury stands at 137° in your tent it is like being poached alive : it is devilish, to call it by the right name. My calculation was to lose one hundred by heat : only fifty died, but my resolution was to smash the Lion cost what it would : I was the better lion. A few cannon shot sufficed, and thus my prophecy has come true—that there would be no more fighting in Scinde.

"Now my firm belief is, that I could raise a corps of Beloochees and trust it in battle to-morrow ; to try the experiment on any great scale is not my intent, but on a small one it shall be done. I collect the revenue merely by runners of the police, and if I remain will shew a province conquered and tranquil and attached to our government. I will say more : in five years my life should be pledged on the people's defending the whole frontier without a soldier ; for both Belooch and Scindian are fine characters. The Belooch is the gentleman, and I know them all personally I may say, for they are so few. We have not had a single murder of our people, and don't I keep the latter tight ?

"Government secretary at Bombay, August 31st.—The

28th Regiment would benefit by change of air ; but withdrawing a European regiment without replacing it is a different question. Scinde is now quiet, yet I know not if the Beloochees of the mountains are so ; nor if the Punjaub be so, and if the latter becomes disturbed the former will not be quiet. No man can expect that the Mahometan population of a country like this, in its present state, will not be liable to the external influence of nations holding the same faith. The people of Scinde are like the people of all parts of the world ; there is no *arcanum* in Indian government. The people are quiet when they believe it for their interest to be so, but when they believe their interests demand a rising they will rise : and as the Beloochees are all robbers, they will probably rise if an attack from without gives an opportunity of plundering the Scindians and Hindoos.

“Sir G. Arthur.—I am going to try two kardars by a court-martial, of which I am chief : the example will, I think, have a great effect. This union of legislative, judicial, and executive power in one person, is the essence of martial law, and its exhibition, though contrary to English ideas, very necessary here. Personally I dislike it exceedingly. I am one of those who doubt the right and effectiveness of death as a punishment ; but the reasons all apply so clearly to a polished state of society, that a man who stuck to them in Scinde would soon be chucked into the Indus ! Beccaria and Livingstone would find it hard to rule Beloochees without capital punishment. It is a trial for one's nerves, but God, who knows that I have only used it in the conviction of its being a duty to society, will, I trust, not condemn what I do. And I have no prisons : the poor were destroyed not imprisoned by the Ameers.”

In September he abandoned Hydrabad as the seat of government.

“Journal. Vikkur, Delta, September 3rd.—This day year I steamed from Bombay : then I was going to a very dan-

gerous command. Now my task is executed. In one year I have risked shipwreck and cholera, been desperately wounded, and fought two great battles, that is, great in their results: I have conquered a large province, added millions to the Indian revenue, and saved 160,000 rupees annually; for all my work has been done at a less cost, by that sum, than Outram expended merely as political agent! I have also had fever and '*coup de soleil*.' I am now visiting the Delta to check any disturbance; not as having reason to expect any, yet such strange events attend my steps that nothing beyond the day seems certain.

"September 4th.—We are trying to work up to Tattah, but the river is powerful; for two hours we made not an inch, and then were washed back. I have seen two of the great mouths of the Indus, and they are grand! I am satisfied that in time they can be mastered by art. The heat is too great to write, to read, to do anything but perspire, yet the trip has made me another man; once more strength comes though we are not in good air, for as far as the eye reaches there is swamp.

"Kurrachee, September 10th.—This day year I was blown up by a rocket, and at the same hour my ride has now been across the piece of grass where I then lay bleeding! My entrance into Scinde was a bloody one to me, and I have seen sad bloody work since: more blood, more personal strife of man to man, more men fall by the sword and the bayonet than I ever expected to see in modern warfare, where fire is all in all.

"September 27th.—Battle of Busaco! How well one remembers every day of battle in which wounds were gotten. Self! self! self! God of our worship! what beasts we are! I have been very ill again here, but am now well. I find all public works at a stand-still: want of energy very apparent. I see plainly this port will be nothing till a mole be made from the Bunder to Kamaree point; I must set to work about this, and hope Lord E. will approve: the expence will

be considerable, but what signifies that for a public work without which a town cannot thrive ! How strangely people confuse things : scarcely can one be met who discriminates between œconomy and extravagance ; they won't do it ! People, generally of good sense, cannot see that £100,000 may be expended with a view to the most rigid œconomy, and be the most œconomical thing ; while the not spending it would be the most extravagant and impoverishing to a country. This mole will be, I am told, ruinous ; yet it will change Kurrachee from a mud-built hamlet to a large flourishing city, and save money in other ways ! Three years ago they would not build a storehouse here for the commissariat, from œconomy ! I have had an exact calculation made, and fifteen thousand pounds—I *write* it, so none of your cock-up-nose look with ' that is an error of figures, he means 1500 rupees,'—*fifteen thousand pounds* sterling worth of costly stores have been destroyed by exposure to weather, which would have been saved by laying out £500 on a storehouse ! This stupidity runs through all our ' œconomy.' In India œconomy means, laying out as little for the country and for noble and useful public purposes as you can ; and giving as large salaries as you can possibly squeeze out of the public to individuals, adding large ' establishments.' What is an establishment ? An immense number of half-caste and native clerks to do the work that ought to be done by the head of the office : then add, a large number of messengers, or as they are called '*peons*' or *chuprassies*—Anglicé, servants for the private convenience of the chief."

Here the Journal breaks off for more than three months, but letters supply the void.

"Miss Napier, September 3rd.—The sun-stroke was a staggerer ; yet my hope is to die by one, for never can death come in an easier shape. I was just deadly sleepy : it was deadly had I been let alone ; but the only feeling of the transition would have been a tiredness, like that experienced

at being suddenly waked up before time. This was to a degree almost to be called pain, but then came a pleasant drowsiness, with anger that the doctors would not let me sleep. Were it not for others, would that my hour had then sounded: so easy, so delightful I may say, was the approach of death.

“The officers of the Hyderabad division gave me a great dinner. One hundred and forty people sat down in an immense tent, or rather tents joined, on the plain under the walls of Hyderabad. The scene was beautiful and interesting: beautiful because of the great variety of military dresses, the decorations of the tent, the place and the guests; cavalry, artillery, infantry uniforms were there, brilliant in colours; and behind each man stood his black or copper-coloured or yellow servant, the shades of skin all differing, and dresses as different as the hues of the wearers. And there was not only a contrast of colours but of form, their turbans being of a hundred graceful shapes. Their fine intelligent faces and their steady positions awaiting the call of their masters in varied attitudes, formed an admirable background to the more animated lines of talking officers sitting before them—you in England would say, with dull John Bull faces. Not a bit! If you only saw how picturesque the moustache and beard make the John Bull face you would give up the notion of its being dull: the variety of form, of colour, of beard, of moustache, of modes in dressing and cutting them, is endless, and picturesque beyond description.

“Unless thus seen in masses, in arms and uniforms, you cannot imagine the effect. The dark bronzed faces, the pale men struck with sickness, the sunburnt fair fat face, gaining quite a different look from a light thin curling moustache which gives prominence to a round chin, at once sweeps away all the red unmeaning John Bull look. Then, over these warriors, or rather this brigand-looking mass, hung festoons of our own colours, and the colours of the

Beloochees taken in battle. And through the openings of the tent were seen, high and dark, the towers and castellated walls of Hydrabad; and a little further on the magnificent monumental towers of the Kalloras and Talpoors: and beyond these, closing the horizon, the fields of Meeanee and Dubba! That I could sit there unmoved amidst the men who had won these battles was impossible; but to the most indifferent person this scene on the plain of Hydrabad must have been impressive. There the conquerors were giving a feast close to the tombs of two dynasties, and in sight of two fields of battle: and I, the chief actor in the drama, passing rapidly from the stage where it was exhibited! Nothing would satisfy these comrades of mine but drinking my health to the sound of cannon. It was then dark, and the lurid blaze of the guns and their thunders, added to this strange scene on the bank of the Indus which, then at the height of the inundation, rolled its waters around us, seeming to say, One foot higher and I sweep you all with your follies to the ocean.

“My thoughts went back to the 24th and 25th of December, 1842, when on a fine night I stood at my tent door on a hillock, and looked down on the widely-stretched camp beneath: the next day I was to march, old and experienced in war and therefore well knowing what to expect, but for the first time commanding an army. Twenty thousand human beings were there, their tents stretching far on the beautiful plain: all these lives depend on me thought I, one error and a butchery follows! Now sitting at this feast, all I had gone through came back to me, I had done my work and the multitude entrusted to me was safe. We had fought desperately, but no atrocities had been committed; nothing had gone on like what passed in Affghanistan; all in Scinde, except the fighters, had been tranquil, and the slain died well and quickly: how can a man die better? Had I died of the sun-stroke who could have regretted my fate? Scinde was then safe, no man

would have spitten upon my grave as a tyrant, and without pain I should have died!

“When these thoughts came across me I said secretly, here is my flock, it has been brought through all difficulties, we are victorious over tyrants, we are the liberators of a suffering people; from this time security and peace and civilization will spread over a land hitherto the prey of the armed robber, the spoil of the bandit. Feeling thus, and that my conduct had been more than justly appreciated by those whose lives had been my care, I could have nothing to regret, save that when I leave this army I quit for ever companions whose courage has done so much for me. With the 22nd Regiment I in some degree remain connected, but from the Company's officers I shall be entirely severed when I return to England, and amongst them I have formed intimate friendships. I feel myself amply rewarded. I have the approbation of Lord Ellenborough and of the troops, and what more can I want? Nothing! As to a peerage, of which I never thought and laughed when people thought of it for me, what good would it do me? No power on earth would make me take a pension, and a peerage would therefore ruin me.

“General W. Napier, September 19th.—The loss of the *Memnon* will save you from a letter of 16 sheets. I thought myself dying and scribbled everything as the best way of bringing you as it were to Hyderabad. It was during great debility of body and probably of mind, and at various times, according to my strength, half an hour at a time, that it was written, and probably there was much trash. Still it contained some strong facts amongst the chaff, which you would use for me I hoped, for my mind was so enfeebled from the sun-stroke as to make me fear becoming idiotic. However when roused by the danger Outram's proceedings caused I wrote to Lord Ellenborough, and it did me good: then the rest my mind got restored me on board the steamer, where I slept continually for several days. Dr.

Gray told me at Hydrabad that I must go from thence or die; and as I felt dying and matters were well wound up I went, and have recovered: yet my wish is to quit Scinde; and next March, if not required I think of going, not to risk another May and June. This however I do not talk of, as ere that my strength may return, and if my intention were known, others, not Lord Ellenborough, but others would push to expedite me.

“The whole of the Belooch chieftains have made *salaam*:—about four hundred. Had I taken their swords it would have been a fortune. Instead of their swords I have their good-will and confidence, and peace for Scinde. Yet you are right as to there being danger in the mountains on the right bank. I have no confidence in those chaps; but no fear of them, having picked out two dashing lads, lieutenants Chamberlaine and Fitzgerald; one is to command some irregular horse, the other my camel corps. The horsemen will be at Shikarpoor the camels at Larkaana, and they will check the hill robbers down to Lake Munchur. At Sehwan also there will soon be another squadron of wild horsemen to guard the plains from Lake Munchur to Kotree, opposite Hydrabad. At Jurruck a detachment takes up the chain: and if an enemy ventures into the re-entering angle formed by the Indus, tending to east at Hydrabad, a regiment from Garah will sally forth supported by troops from Kurrachee upon his right flank; and from Hydrabad and Kotree on his left. All these posts are connected by steamers: and there is besides, Ali Moorad's force.

“I break up no corps to do this, the only detachment is at Jurruck: Kurrachee has a large garrison, Garah a whole regiment; Kotree has part of the garrison of the entrenched camp of four regiments opposite. The wild horsemen have no discipline to lose. Sehwan is hell, but no troops have been put in there yet: the inhabitants are few, and live through the summer by keeping their clothes constantly wet

through! Most of them indeed go to the hills, or to Hydrabad. I mean however to execute my plan in due time, that is, build at Sehwan a good fort and barracks after my own scheme, and then relieve the fort monthly. Why is it now harder to live there than in Alexander's time? It is heat, not malaria that is feared, and air will certainly grow bad from change of soil; but the winds from the S.W. blow now as then, and were interrupted by the same hills then as now: yet in Alexander's time a large city flourished. I must examine this.

"Do not take up my defence, unless I die here. You will then get my letter-books and journal, eight volumes. These will furnish you and Kennedy with what is necessary. Meanwhile my public letter to Lord Ellenborough will probably be printed and set me right about Outram: a paid-up revenue, with general order, and no risings, will defend me in the long run from all others. It is good you should know, that Dr. Buist is constantly at the house of Mr. Secretary Willoughby of the Bombay government; that Mr. Willoughby is Outram's bosom friend"—he was also his coadjutor, adviser and director in his publications against Sir Charles Napier—"and is, the world says, chief proprietor of the 'Bombay Times.' I know that Outram is in debt, especially to the powerful house of Rivington, which house is known to be in union with the 'Bombay Times,' and is said to cry up Outram with a view to their claim on him: I know, for he told me so, that they lent him 10,000 rupees to go to England. Truth will finally come out, and to wait for it is best, because it would be impossible for me to keep you well informed even if I had time.

"I keep all your letters with care, for it is curious how complete is the concurrence of our views in war: your letters were written while I was doing the identical things you mentioned. You say Outram's hobby is that the cost of Scinde will be greater than its revenue. If he was in my

place it would be so. He told me when I reduced his political agency, that I could not carry on the work with the establishment I retained; yet I have done it with even a smaller establishment, and done more I think than he ever had to do. Much of my work indeed has been the bringing up the arrears of his political work! My monthly contingent charges are 6—10—150 rupees; his were ten to fifteen thousand! If I remain here a year they shall see. I have paid every shilling of the cost of government out of the revenue raised while in active war! I have not calculated rigorously, but let me do it in a rough way as my ink flows. I defy all Khorassan and Affghanistan to match my twelve battalions and three troops of horse artillery; but what the cost of a battalion is exactly I cannot put down, and it is too far gone in the night to get at papers. In the Ionian Islands it was reckoned at about £25,000. Now the Sepoys are nothing like this, but take it so, and my force costs some £875,000. The Ameers raised £660,000 of revenue, and all the collectors here believe that in ten years two millions will be the mark: take the Ameers' revenue and there remains £225,000 after paying all the troops!

“But why should a frontier province be charged with the cost of troops belonging to the whole country? I will keep up the fortresses, a thousand policemen, and twelve hundred irregular cavalry for fifty, or say, sixty thousand pounds; there remains six hundred thousand for a civil government, which I will do for less than one hundred thousand: thus half a million will enter the general treasury. This is a rude estimate, but certainly on the outside as to expence. These Indians know nothing of government, this country will be a mine and they don't see it. While on the river I discovered that the centre only has a strong current, the back water is not so strong: a few small piles driven into the bank and backed with brush-wood completely defies the water. In twenty years the river may be fast bound in its actual channel, never more to burst in wild courses over the

land: then will the channel deepen and shallows will no more interrupt commerce. Outram knows about as much of public and private œconomy as my Arab, Red Rover. An honourable and protecting government will treble the revenue here: but what are these Indian men's ideas? I am reckoned mad because I will not put a tariff on the day's labour; because I allow the working man to charge his own price! The Ameers allowed them to have about a penny a day when working for others; when working for their highnesses, a little grain and no money: under me they earn a shilling sometimes, always tenpence, and are of course delighted. My objects in adhering to this free system are two. 1°. It is just that the poor man should get what his labour will sell for. 2°. If the English government gives back the country to the Ameers the poor will no longer work for a handful of grain: then the Ameers will cut off noses and ears, pull out eyes, &c., and in six months Scinde will be too hot for their tyranny—the seeds of justice will have been too strongly rooted.

“I have called in to me whole villages that were tyrannized over by the government kardars, and punished the latter, and the villagers have gone home rejoicing and exulting: these things will not be forgotten. On the other hand I have made fearful examples. Two Beloochees, armed and mounted, plundered and murdered a merchant on the road; they were caught, the proof was complete the crime not denied, but thus palliated. Our chief ordered us, the goods are in his house. He was a Lumree chief in the hills: I ordered his tribe to deliver him to my police, and it was done. He was tried and hanged with his two followers on the same gallows, sixty miles from any soldier save Marston, the chief of the police, who had only 150 policemen, and not a finger was raised; nay, the poor all approved of the deed. I passed the gallows on my journey here and could not but pray that my doings were justifiable: murder must be stopped. These men went to death with great indiffer-

ence; the rope broke with one, he fell, and his first words were—No harm done, accidents will happen, try again!

“Another man was hanged for murdering a husband to obtain his wife, and the night before his execution the magistrate asked him if he had any particular wish that could be gratified? Yes! I killed that fellow to get his wife, bring her to me. Yet with all this I am told these executions have great effect; the people say, we are just: that the *Padishaw kills no one for himself*. And where I pass for the first time the villagers run out asking which is the king? for except being well armed and mounted I am not dressed much like a king. Both Beloochees and Scindians are a very noble people, our officers walk and ride and shoot everywhere in perfect safety. In Afghanistan, if they passed the double sentries a knife was in them: here the peasants are all civility and good-humour. The secret is, though it be somewhat vain to say so, in my rigid discipline. This day a letter has come about the prize money: nothing seems decided, but the tone of the letter is against our having any. We however took a good deal in the fight which they cannot deprive us of; it is ours by regulation.”

An intriguing attempt to get the wedge of jobbing into Scinde was thus met.

“Lord Ellenborough, September 15th.—The camel corps cannot be commanded by an individual at Simla; it must be led by a daring soldier and has been given to Lieut. Fitzgerald, a man not easily fatigued or daunted. I think that he will make a good partizan, being a man of ability, very accomplished, and the most powerful of body in this army. He is said to want perseverance as an office man, but it is rare to meet good out-door men, good for in-door work also. Fitzgerald is an excellent draughtsman, and ambitious to distinguish himself: he and young Chamberlaine are fast friends, and will prove a match for the mountain tribes if the latter try a partizan warfare, which we may suppose they will; for how can robbers carry on any other?

“ Work goes on slowly in the engineer department : the Scindians require constant watching, and to get cover for the troops has been a work of some labour : three engineers have been ill, and I am apprehensive for the troops during the next three months. I feel again equal to my own work, which really overwhelmed me in June, July and August. I seemed to have lost all power to labour from overpowering weakness ; I hope now to earn my pay more honestly, for I assure you I have not been satisfied with myself for the last three months. Had I not seen the youngest and most powerful men equally crushed I should have thought my constitution broken, and that duty to the public and your lordship demanded my resignation.

“ Let me now point out that there are, still unpromoted, to the great regret of every one, Captains Hutt and Henderson. The first, with great resolution and difficulty got his guns on to a perilous little rise of ground at Meeanee, the Belooch mass being in a hollow a few yards off : Henderson with his Madras sappers fought desperately to protect those guns while being so placed. These officers were conspicuously cool and courageous, and very terrible to the enemy, but Hutt was the most conspicuous from the great destruction he dealt. Captain Whitlie's two guns dealt with the enemy in front, but Hutt's guns swept the columns endeavouring to turn our right flank, and Henderson's sappers broke down part of the park wall under cover of which the Belooch columns were getting round us, and through that breach Hutt checked their progress.

“ I am aware no personal service gives a claim to honours ; our best exertions and lives belong to the sovereign and country : it is our position to which honours belong. But the position of Captain Hutt was more commanding than that of Captain Willoughby who has been promoted. Hutt and his battery had been distinguished through the whole campaign, from Affghanistan to Roree, and from Roree to Hydrabad. Captain Willoughby arrived only the day before

Dubba, from a lucrative post, long held at Bombay: he fought in that battle, and immediately afterwards returned to Bombay to his staff situation. Willoughby's battery fired at long range; Hutt's followed up with a close and severe practice to the edge of the enemy's retrenchments. These circumstances placed in prominent contrast the services of these two artillery officers. As to Captain Henderson, his labours with two hardy sappers were great in the sandy desert, clearing roads for the guns; at Meeanee in defending those guns; at Dubba in making a road under fire to let Willoughby's heavy howitzers into action."

Now happened in England an event which gave Charles Napier's enemies all the countenance and support they needed for their flagitious hostility: Lord Ripon became chief of the Board of Control. The Cephalonian leaven was still working strongly within him, but he wrote a letter to the governor of Scinde affecting a frankness and sincerity quite foreign to his real feelings. It was easy thus to deceive the honest-minded man he addressed, and he was thus answered by Charles Napier.

"It is difficult to tell you the effect which your lordship's letter has upon me. I cannot do it. I must content myself by saying:—that to get a regiment gave me pleasure, because I am poor; that the grand cross gave me pleasure, because it marked my sovereign's approbation; that your flattering compliment gave me pleasure, because it is agreeable to receive praise: but more than all was the pleasure I felt at your frank and noble confidence in offering me the hand of reconciliation. I thought you had ill-used me; you have generously proved that you did not do so intentionally; and you have made me regret that I ever for a moment thought otherwise. A beloved wife was dying, Adam had treated me basely, grief and anger were at their height in a disposition, prone at all times to admit the domination of those passions. Having thus spread my faults at your feet I remain &c." Having thus disarmed a noble forgiving

nature, Lord Ripon commenced a course of unmitigated hostility, still pretending friendship!

At this time the Affghans and mountain tribes were said to be in a ferment to reinstate the Lion, who was with the former, and that a religious combination was being formed in his favour.

“ Lord Ellenborough, September 21st.—Scinde continues quiet, but there is a necessity for unrelenting vigilance and undiminished force; for if the mountaineers come down we can hardly expect a province so recently conquered not to be in a state of excitement. For this reason I am anxious to have the police thoroughly organized; and have told the Bombay government I cannot let a regiment go without a relief: we must go bridle in hand until the storm, apparently gathering in the hills, either bursts on us or dissipates. If it be a religious one it will probable come down in strength: if it is, as I apprehend, a mere flourish of the chiefs to get Shere Mohamed’s money, of which he is said to have a deal, it will probably end in his throat being cut by his friends.”

To get his money was the object; but the Bombay faction was loudly proclaiming it a religious combination for war, and striving through the “Bombay Times” to encourage it. The Lion however soon fled to the Cutchee Hills to save his throat. Meanwhile the Bombay intriguers, finding they could not with all their cries and abuse drive Sir C. Napier from Scinde, and could not get the loaves and fishes which he reserved for the brave men who had conquered the country, they changed their policy and became obstreperous for the restoration of the Ameers—the “*injured patriarchs*” being now the watchword.

“ Sir G. Arthur, September.—I am glad you think my facts convincing in opposition to Outram. I do indeed, concur with you in wishing I had given all these details at first, but was little aware that Outram intended to prove me the author of the war. I was quite ready to forego any

credit to be gained at Outram's expence, and cared nothing about the newspapers making a puff character for him, though thinking his friends might have stopped that folly, which rendered him an object of ridicule. I have nothing to accuse myself of towards him: I did more to save Outram from exposure than many people would have done, but his conduct was that of a man in a state of delusion. If the Ameers were restored this country would quickly be in confusion: we have filled it with friends, and having given the poor a relish for high wages, the Ameers could not pull them down without resistance.

"The case of Ali Moorad and Meer Roostum, as to the cession of the turban, has been decided by the great Mahometan court of law at Calcutta, and an irrevocable decree passed in favour of Ali: the most minute points and evidence were poked out by Captain Pope, and I believe no more force or intimidation was used by Ali Moorad than by you. However, I never gave or promised him an iota of land or money, and I can see no justification of Outram's conduct in this matter, except his utter want of head. I am glad you approve of my system of conciliation: the Beloochees, like all others, can be won by proper treatment. Man's feelings are everywhere alike: old Indians fancy an arcanum; they go round and round in their own mill and think there is no other road.

"The same, October 1st.—The enclosed letter is just going to Lord Ellenborough in answer to one from the council, containing false assertions by Outram about Ali Moorad. They will not let any expression remain ambiguous in Outram's letters: he has almost made them think I entered into some treaty with Ali Moorad though they do not say so! When I received Outram's letter of the 24th January I laughed. I saw how his head was turned, and until I got Lord Ellenborough's letters I never gave a second thought to Outram's. This letter to Lord Ellenborough you will, of course keep in your pocket. I long to see the *Blue Book*,

but as far as Outram and I are concerned the pith is not yet known in England !

“ Lord Ellenborough, October 13th.—I enclose a memorial received from Shere Mohamed’s brother—Shah Mohamed. This memorial is a specimen of the assertions made unceasingly by the ex-Ameers, with a degree of impudent falsehood absolutely laughable. I informed your lordship at the time, that this Ameer, Shah Mohamed, sent a messenger to me just before the battle of Dubba, offering to assassinate his brother and naming the conditions ! I kept his messenger in custody and sent the letter by a confidential man to Shere Mohamed to put him on his guard, but he never acknowledged this good office, though I know he received my letter with that of his brother. I have ordered the Ameer Shah to Bombay ; his remaining here disturbs men’s minds, and the ex-Ameers never cease to send messages to say they are coming back.

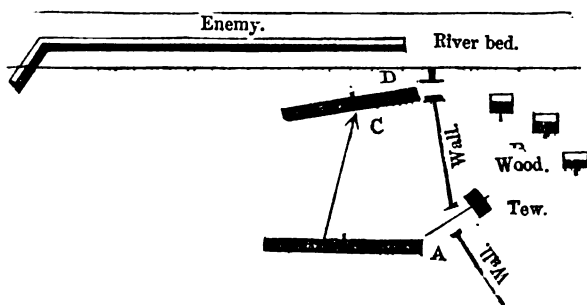
“ October 14th.—Your lordship’s private letter, 20th ultimo, has given me very great pleasure. We were all longing for medals. There was not an officer or a soldier, from myself downwards, that would not have given up the hope of prize money, the decoration of the Bath, promotion, everything for the medal ! We rarely talk of the prize money ; if it comes so much the better, if not we shall not break our hearts. I confess I did not feel as deeply as I otherwise should, and now shall, the high honour of the grand cross. I could not have met with satisfaction those who stood by me in battle and received no honour, save that which danger undauntedly met carries with it : now all will be rewarded, and though my portion be larger so was my responsibility. While the officers and soldiers received nothing my ribbon sat uncomfortably on my shoulder ; now I can meet Corporal Tim Kelly and Delaney the bugler without a blush. And Lieut. Marston of the 25th N. I. ! Casting himself between me and a big Beloochee he received on his shoulder a blow intended for his general ; it cut nearly

through the brass scales on Marston's shoulder: the red ribbon will not grace mine more."

A note in his letter-book thus describes the conduct of the two soldiers Kelly and Delaney.

"Alas! these two brave soldiers of the 22nd Regiment are dead: they fought by my side, Kelly at Dubba, Delaney at Meeanee, as my orderly bugler. Three times, when I thought the 22nd could not stand the furious rush of the swordsmen, Delaney sounded the advance, and each time the line made a pace or two nearer the enemy!"—Here be it recollected that the fighting was hand to hand, that each pace in advance was under a descending sword, and that to sound his bugle Delaney resigned all self-defence! And that these heroic soldiers had a general worthy of them, the subjoined extract from a memoir addressed to Lord Ellenborough will disclose, completing the story of Meeanee with a simple description of a stroke in generalship, similar to that by which Marlborough won Blenheim.

"Victory depends less upon numbers than the concentrated quantity of force thrown against a weak point, by which the smaller army outnumberes the larger at that point: fortune gave a remarkable instance of this at Meeanee.



"From A I saw, through the gap, that troops were at B in the wood, that the wall was not loopholed and had no banquettes, because a man sitting astride on the top and firing

matchlocks at us evidently stooped to reach them from men on the ground who handed them up. There were no heads on the wall either, which I well knew discipline could not have prevented, had there been a banquette. I therefore concluded that if Captain Tew's company were pushed into the gap, the enemy at B would be paralyzed, or obliged to rejoin their main body; but before they could effect the last, my hope was to make a decisive impression on the centre and divide the wings. Poor Tew drove them from the gap and died there; but they continued to hold the wood until we fell on their line at C; we then made a breach in the wall at D, and Hutt's guns drove those masses from their position. Thus an accident of ground, and the enemy's ignorance, enabled us with 60 men to paralyze thousands of Beloochees.

"Mrs. Garrett.—It was unnecessary to apologize to me for writing. Yourself and the widow of every soldier who fell under my command have a lasting claim upon any service I can render them, and if I fail in serving them it shall not be from any want of exertion. I have taken the liberty of turning the copy of your memorial into an original by putting a note at the foot of it, and I have no doubt the directors, whose generosity to their servants has never been arraigned"—he did not then know them—"will see how severely fate has stricken you, even above others; for where honours and promotion awaited your brave husband, and joy would have been your lot, the decree of the Almighty has changed all and left only tears behind! That it is best as He decrees we know, but He has ordered man to assist his neighbour, and following that rule I have no doubt the Court of Directors will be guided towards the widow of one who fell maintaining the honour of the Company's arms and adding to their possessions! No one fell more honourably or more regretted than Captain Garrett.

"Captain * * *.—I am as conscientious I hope as you are with regard to signing a certificate; and I am also I

trust too conscientious to forget the command of our Saviour to 'Do unto others as you would they should do unto you.' Now Sir, it would greatly grieve me were you to force me to bring you to a general court-martial; yet your refusal to sign a certificate called for by the regulations will oblige me so to do if you persist in your disobedience of orders, which you do not do from conscience. Excuse me Sir, I am bound to speak truth, and no man can act from conscience who gives no reason and has no reason to give for his conduct. In matters of faith we can give no reason for that which we believe, but although unable to explain ourselves one reason is a plain one, we have the divine word for believing: but in matters of works we are required to obey the law. The Saviour of the world said He came on earth to confirm the law, and to prove his words He conformed to the law. Now I do think it presumptuous in any man not to do the same, unless the law is one involving wickedness. If you were called upon to vouch for an account you could not verify, then I should respect your scruples; but you are not; it is your idleness, your indifference to the Almighty's command to do your duty in your station that stops you. You are the bad steward that was too lazy to look to his master's talent and buried it in the ground.

"Were you a man acting from conscience and religion you would devote yourself to the examination of the accounts, and prove whether the work was done; and if it was not done at the time specified in the certificate you would very properly refuse to put your name to it. You would examine whether the receipts agreed with the charges, and if they did you would sign; if they did not you would justly refuse. But all this would require trouble, patience, labour; and you want to escape the labour for which you receive pay, and thus defraud the public of that pay. You thus unjustly and irreligiously, and under the false pretence of conscience, endeavour to put the money in your pocket without fulfilling your agreement. This is truth, and to a con-

scientious man truth is valuable. I defy you to disprove a word I have written, I have for conscience sake, and pity for you, endeavoured to shew you that I am not deceived by your pretence of conscience when you give no reason, no cause for your conduct. I speak to you as a friend, and as one who humbly trusts that he has as deep a sense of religion as you have.

“I have but little time, but my duty to a brother officer is superior to ordinary business. Love one another is a command not to be forgotten, or disobeyed for ordinary matters; therefore I write this hurried letter to try and save you from the effects of your want of just principle. However I have also a duty to do. I am placed at the head of this government to enforce all just and lawful orders, and if you, or any other man, wilfully tries to pocket the public money without fulfilling the conditions to which you have as a conscientious and religious man bound yourself, my duty will oblige me to bring you to a general court-martial on a charge of endeavouring to defraud the public. Hoping this letter may open your eyes to your, in my opinion, very irreligious and unjustifiable conduct. I remain, &c.

“The same, October.—You had gotten a wrong view; and a wrong view is like a dislocated shoulder, requiring a strong jerk to set it right. I felt assured your religious principles were right, and to shew you that the mode in which you had applied those principles was wrong, and would lead you into the same course that a bad man would pursue, I gave you the necessary jerk by placing your conduct in a startling but a just light with severity; I wished to save an honest man from ruin, which was impending; for had you persevered there was no choice but to bring you to trial. All is now right, and I am sure you will take a correct view on all future occasions. Whenever your religious views come in collision with duty, be assured that a deeper examination will shew you that you are wrong; for one of our

most sacred injunctions is to do our duty in that state of life to which the Almighty has called us.

“Captain J * * *.—I know nothing about political agents, except that, praised be God! the governor-general has cleared them all away, after they had sacrificed British honour, and fifteen thousand men. But I know, that though the governor-general has given me authority to appoint a commanding officer in Bhooj, to act as government agent at the court of the *Rais*, he has not imparted to me any authority to appoint a deputy assistant. Now, of all things I avoid most what is called taking upon myself; and I really believe the confidence with which Lord Ellenborough honours me, arises from his practical knowledge that I never assume any authority he has not directly and distinctly given, except on emergencies. Should Captain Duncan resign I really am not aware whether I can appoint a successor or not. If one be named from Calcutta or Bombay, I have nothing to say; but if it is left to me no one shall be appointed to this *punch-like title*, or rather, punch and his *wife*, for assuredly the *old woman* enters into such nonsense! I will never appoint a political.

“Captain * * *, October.—When I took this government I appointed three collectors, and several sub-collectors; a captain-chief of police for the Collectorates, and a lieutenant of police at each under his exclusive orders, and not under the orders of the collectors who have no right whatever, and whom I will not allow to interfere with the police. The only thing is that the collectors call upon the police for any men they may require to arrest defaulters, or collect revenue. This arrangement was made before you were a collector, and was approved of in all its details by the governor-general and the supreme council. Now Captain — has delayed so long in coming, that I have written to tell him I can wait no longer and must dismiss him. As he was appointed by the governor-general to be employed somehow

in Scinde I suppose other employment must be found; but meantime I have appointed Captain Brown, lieutenant of police at Hydrabad, to act as captain of police. Either he or Lieutenant Marston, or Mr. Mackeson must do so, and I prefer him as most fitted. Now really, to be called over the coals by you, whenever I choose to exercise the authority vested in me by government, is what I tell you fairly I will not submit to. I have the greatest admiration for your zeal, honesty and ability as a public servant; but if you were the most honest and zealous, and able servant the public ever had, I will not place my authority in your hands. If Lord Ellenborough thinks you would govern Scinde better than I, and I think you easily might, let him make you governor; but while he leaves me here I will not be governor with a collector king over me!

“As to the country not being yet ‘ripe for the proposed measure,’ I do not know what measure you mean. If you mean the arrangements of the police, pray give yourself no uneasiness in the matter; let me judge for myself. As I never take advice, or suggestion, about my own duty, if I throw Scinde into confusion I promise the collectors that Lord E. shall not hold them responsible. Meantime do your best to fix the number of police, for on that point I want your advice because, and only because, I ask it; but I by no means bind myself to take it, though probably I shall as I think you are the best judge, much better than myself: but I ask you as Captain — not as collector, because it is not in the competence of the collector to settle, or interfere in this matter. As to Mr. Mackeson being *dark*, I wish he was as black as the devil, as a Seede! I prefer black men in these countries in many situations; if he is such he cannot help it. However he will not plague you, as I am going to send him to Shikarpoor, or it may be elsewhere. You begin your letter by saying you know I ‘*dislike business.*’ You seem to think I play! I would change what I go through for what you do each day, and

do not think you would gain much ! at least there are not many that would : but I do not like to add other people's business to my own.

"P.S.—I am deeply grieved to hear of your wife's renewed illness. I wish she was here, for though I have not much room in my house to give her comforts, she shall have all that we have.

"Major Brown, October.—I have the Khosa chief's petition, claiming your protection from something imposed upon him by Capt. Jackson"—political agent—"but I do not know Hindostanee and have no one in my family who does. However, my answer would be to afford him any protection you think just till the arrival of Colonel Roberts at Bhooj, to whom I beg of you to refer all these chiefs of the desert tribes :"—the Khosas had been made robbers by oppression. "I dare say this chief's past offences may be pardoned. St. John lived with virtue in the wilderness, but I fear we cannot expect the Khosas to do the same, and had better be guided by the saint's advice to forgive : the only point I am stern about is deliberate murder for plunder. Colonel Roberts will soon be at Bhooj, and put these wild people in a good train, and when I have given them the means of living honestly, at least as much as is possible at first, I shall treat them more roughly if they return to their devilry. Allow me now Major Brown to express the pleasure it gives me to make acquaintance with an officer whose conduct has done such honour to our profession. I have just been reading an account of your unflinching defence of Kahun, and masterly retreat.

"Collector at Sukkur.—You are hereby ordered to execute the murderer Jumedar Jufar Khan.

"You are hereby ordered to execute the murderer Moojoodeen. These murderers are to be hanged at Shikarpoor on the road leading to Khelat. Upon the gallows you are to affix a paper declaratory of the crime for which the culprits are hanged. You are also to affix the accompanying

proclamation on the walls of Shikarpoor, Sukkur, Roree, Larkaana, and in all parts where it may be practicable—for instance at Khelat.

“Proclamation.—Scindians ! Beloochees ! Affghans ! Hindoos ! I have caused two men to die because they murdered two Affghans. Every man who commits a murder shall be put to death. I have no command in Affghanistan, but when Affghans come under the protection of the British, vengeance be on those who injure them. Men shall find safety and protection in Scinde. The merchant and the traveller shall pass along the roads with safety. Death to the robber and the murderer. Such is the law of God who rules alike over the Mahometan, the Hindoo, and the Christian. Let His will be done !

“Collector of Sukkur.—You are hereby directed to cause to be hanged the murderer Sydoo, who hanged upon a tree at Shere-Mohamed-Ka-gote, the man Pyara whom he, Sydoo, called his ‘*slave*.’

“Lord Ellenborough, October.—There are some remarkable circumstances attending the execution of the chief who robbed and murdered travellers. 1°. A *chief* was executed. 2°. It was immediately after the war had ended, yet no symptoms of anger were evinced : the people said it was just. 3°. Not a soldier was within two marches of the place ; yet on that very road, and not far from the spot, two months before a detachment had been attacked and lost some of its convoy. An officer came yesterday from Hydrabad, and as he kept abreast of some natives asked if the country was quiet ? The answer was very Eastern. ‘*Quiet ! Yes ! it is quiet. If you catch a wasp in your hand he does not sting you.*’ This last is a trifling matter, but with other things helps to give confidence in the tranquillity which appears to reign on the left bank of the Indus. The right bank shall now be taken in hand, and I dare say it will be sufficiently troublesome.

“A regular band of assassins was captured at Shikarpoor ;

they had murdered two Affghan gentlemen who had engaged them as guards, and I have ordered two to be hanged immediately. I think three should be hanged, but the collector, Captain Pope, and Captain Young, judge-advocate, differed with me so strongly that I have spared the ruffian till Captain Young gets answers to some inquiries. The principle on which these gentlemen founded their opinion is that the chief of the band ordered him to cut off the head of the Affghan, who, they say, was lying in the agonies of death from a wound inflicted by one of the others. Now we have no other testimony than that of the murderers and robbers that the murdered man was 'in the agonies of death:' for aught we know he might have been vigorously fighting for his life! I cannot understand why Pope and Young, two able men, so strenuously defend this villain. However to put a man to death is at all times so repugnant to one's feelings, that I shall give the assassin the benefit of their intercession; but have resolved not to admit the principle of obedience covering sins in those who follow a leader in assassination."

The state of the Punjaub was now become very menacing. Successive murders of the reigning princes and entire military insubordination clearly indicated a growing political nuisance that was sure sooner or later to require abatement in self-defence.

"Sir G. Arthur, November 1st.—I cannot see clearly as to the Punjaub affairs. On one hand the Affghans are dangerous enemies for the Sikhs; on the other we are more dangerous friends; and between us the Sikhs are cutting each other's throats! Quere, Will not fear of the Affghans unite them? Will it not prevent them from insulting us? What excuse have we for interference? Suppose they do not unite, and that our party calls upon us for help? We must go, as they did when called to help us. Suppose the only remaining case that I can see, viz. that they offer us some insult. What then? The Punjaub will be ours!

They are numerous, well armed and half drilled ; they were quite so but have lost it. Still seventy or eighty thousand under General Ventura might do good service ; but Gough with thirty or even forty thousand men would beat them.

“ Outram’s disclaiming being responsible for newspaper opinion has done away with the respect I still had for his character. Every one knows that he commands the ‘Bombay Times,’ and I shall not repeat how he used the power he had over it, or rather how I heard he used it, for I have no proof. However that is neither here nor there ; I know he has no right to call false assertions to injure my character and exalt his own, ‘*newspaper opinions*.’ They were not mere opinions, and have now been made into a book, and he avows his intention to remain silent.

“ It is a thousand pities Clibborn wants other qualities, for he is the best regimental officer, except Roberts, I have met with. Poor Teasdale was not much behind him, and was daily improving :—a nobler soldier than that man I never saw. I cannot mention his name without emotion. Alas ! the thought of this brave man has taken me far from my subject. To return. We have native officers and soldiers here, who have been tried five or six months ago, and are still prisoners, perhaps declared innocent ! Yet we cannot get their courts-martial from the Bombay headquarters ! This is really very cruel. They were tried when our communication was stopped, and I previously had given Boileau orders to forward all trials to Bombay, expressly to avoid such detention after trial. I have written about it but no answer is come : really this is very wrong.

“ November 9th.—You say you think ‘*my head runs on the Outram controversy*.’ Indeed it does *malgré moi*, for I constantly get questions from the supreme government, sent by the secret committee. Lord Ellenborough evidently despises them, but I must answer them. That gives me no difficulty but a great deal of labour : I am obliged to hark back to days when coming hostilities gave me little time to

record every circumstance in my journal, or my letter-books, and I must trust to memory for facts and motives ; besides hunting through letter-books and letters, all of which takes time and thought. Thus it is my mind is obliged to run upon the Outram controversy, or rather Outram's anger ; for his letters shew that he was ready enough to be severe upon the Ameers before he fell into disgrace with Lord Ellenborough ! I think I have now sent home enough to satisfy the secret committee. If not I can go on : they may be assured I am not tired out, neither am I averse to any inquiry into what I have done or said. I acted honestly from first to last ; whether wisely or not on all occasions is another question. Certainly not wisely when I did not bring — to a court-martial ; it would have saved a world of trouble : but one feels so low-spirited, and so miserable after victory, so unhappy at all the noble fellows that have fallen on both sides, that there is aversion to do anything harsh, when misconduct has not produced disaster : if it has one grows proportionably ferocious ! This is not philosophical, but a man cannot be philosophical when up to the eyes in blood !

“ ‘ *What was the name of the officer of the 14th who rode his horse in so inhuman a way ?* ’ How such base-minded brutes make one's blood boil ! Brown's exploit was performed on three horses ; the one who did most was my big white horse Jack Sheppard, whose kicking propensities you I dare say recollect.”

The question to which this reply was made, at once discloses the hatred and the detestable baseness of the faction at Bombay and in England. It was not enough to insult Sir C. Napier because his victories supported Lord Ellenborough's policy, it was necessary also to insult and depreciate and defraud every officer, aye ! and it will be found to insult even the poor soldiers who served under him. This Brown, this inhuman horseman, was the man who risked his life to insure a true operation against Omercote :—that is, the

man who rode three horses, but never spared himself, to serve his general and the wretches who thus sneered at him. But now the enmity of the Bombay and English Anti-Ellenborough factions was become so virulent, and Outram so avowedly acting with them, that Sir Charles Napier could no longer be blind to his real character and broke off all acquaintance: it was full time.

“ Sir G. Arthur.—I send you Outram’s letter. I ought to have said at first all I have now said; but I did not mean to say it at all; Outram has himself produced this critical examination of all he did. My wish was for him to have closed his Scinde career with the credit of his defence of the Residency”—which belonged to Captain Conway—“but he was filled with two passions very apt to lead men of weak heads astray: anger and vanity. His fury against Lord Ellenborough had, I hear, no bounds at Bombay, and his vanity made him believe those who told him he was himself the greatest diplomatist in India. He had been foiled by the Ameers, and very unwisely determined to prove that Lord Ellenborough wanted war, and that he, Outram, was resolved there should be no war, to show that his influence over the Ameers was greater than Lord Ellenborough’s power: this was blunder one. He then resolved to prove that he had in fact succeeded, but my ‘headlong march of military folly’ overturned all his skilful arrangements, and gave Lord Ellenborough the victory over his plans. To prove this he denied all treachery on the part of the Ameers; denied all wrong. The attack on the Residency was an act of virtuous and ‘*Christian war*’—this is Buist’s expression and a curious one:—and we soldiers were all robbers and murderers. Blunder two. But to prove my march an act of military folly and mischief, required more than Major Outram’s assertion; and the secret committee, and the Queen’s government demanded what Lord Ellenborough and myself had to say on that head. The answer gave the measure of Outram’s ability as a diplomatist, and his head

for war is even less. I have had a letter from him, meaning nothing: he says that to *save me*, he never went into private parties, though he told the ministers his opinions. This is rather amusing.

“General Simpson.—I have written to break off all intimacy with Outram. My brother gave him an opening to contradict all the falsehoods put forth by the ‘Bombay Times,’ to injure me and to exalt him. He answers, that he will not. I could not contradict those lies at the time they appeared without condemning Outram, and so held my peace for his sake. Yet now the same lies are embodied in a book. I thought he would one day give a sweeping denial; instead of that he makes himself a party to them by declining to contradict them. I have therefore cut his acquaintance. I could not sleep if I saw my friend calumniated for the purpose of making a puff character for me! I could not bear such humiliation! Outram thinks otherwise, so I will no longer have any correspondence with him.

“Lt.-Colonel Outram.—Sir, I regret that a controversy has arisen between you and my brother. I regret also that there should be such just grounds for it. My letter 22nd July will have told you what has passed; it is needless to refer to it”—informing him of the official exposure of his conduct at Hydrabad.—“In your letter to my brother you *‘disclaim any responsibility for newspaper opinions.’* You have declined to contradict falsehoods in newspapers and falsehoods in a book, which were put forth to exalt your character and render mine contemptible; your practice and your principles seem to be consistent and I have no right to question either. As my brother justly remarked, *it is a matter of taste.* I have lately given two proofs that mine is diametrically the reverse of yours. I could not for an instant submit to what I considered a deep humiliation, and in both cases contradicted the fallacies put forth. With such discrepancy of feelings it would be inconvenient to both that any intimacy should continue between us.”

Outram was but a tool of powerful factions, working in concert at London and Bombay, and wilfully adopting his misstatements as grounds for insulting and thwarting Sir C. Napier in his government: adding thereto all secret foulness to raise up enmity. Amongst other miserable expedients attempts were made by whisperings to embroil him with the Duke of Wellington. With the directors this feeling was very prevalent. Some of them were indeed too honourable, but the leaders of their court were with a nauseous affectation of public virtue eager to affix crime upon the man who had so greatly advanced the interests of their empire in the East; thus shewing that with them the personal advantages of nepotism far outweighed national interests. Nevertheless they complacently accepted all the general advantages while striving to decoy and injure the general whose courage and genius had won them, and whose toil was now rendering them permanent. However the official answer to Outram's charges, when transmitted home by Lord Ellenborough, cut away all ground for longer withholding the thanks of Parliament: they were given at last, and Sir Robert Peel's speech was very warmly eulogistic of the general.

“General W. Napier.—As to thanks of Parliament you know the estimate soldiers make of that matter! Sir Robert Peel's speech has made people here believe that I am to be made a peer. I do not believe this to be the case, and I do not wish that honour to be conferred, because I will on no account take a pension with it to end my career by robbing my starving countrymen; and without an income of considerable amount it could not be well sustained, for you know how shopkeepers tax a title. If the fat fellows of the Honourable Court of Directors chose to give me a pension for adding a million sterling to their revenue it would alter the case: it would not come out of starving labourers' toil.

“With regard to the duke, I cannot believe the foolish rumours I hear; I cannot believe him jealous of a little

success attending one of his disciples; he whose whole life has been one blaze of glory, unrivalled except by Napoleon. I suspect these things are said by his and my enemies; this silence arises, probably, from a cautious desire to have every information before him, and so pronounce an opinion which shall embrace the whole Scindian affairs, political and military: meanwhile I have too much on my hands to trouble myself about what any of them think."

The writer of this biography knew at this time by a direct message from the duke, that he was actually striving against the foul enmity of the directors; and he was unsuccessful because the ministers would not second him: this last was not indeed stated in the message, but the writer from other sources knew that it was so.

"Lord Ellenborough.—I have the honour to enclose some more information relative to the conduct of the ex-Ameers. I hope it may prove satisfactory to the secret committee, because the further inquiry is pushed the more will the treachery of the Ameers become apparent. I could have sent this information last February or March, had I chosen to spend my time in an employment suited to a chief of police, i. e. receiving depositions. But I hope that the secret committee will pardon me if I recall to their minds, that at the period in question I had not the power of drawing up above fifteen hundred men in order of battle; that no reinforcements had then arrived; that twenty thousand men under Shere Mohamed were within a march of my camp; that we were in the midst of an insurgent population, warlike and well armed. That I had the magazines and hospitals full of wounded men to guard on the bank of the Indus; that I had six sovereign princes in my camp, intriguing as hard as they could to arrange an attack on my camp by overwhelming multitudes. That I had a large fortress to guard; that this fortress was three miles from my camp; that I had an immense treasure to guard. That I was obliged to respect the zenanas in the fortress, to the

hazard of the regiment in that fortress, which regiment could not muster above four hundred men, while in those zenanas were about eight hundred powerful Beloochees, well armed.

“When all these things are thus brought before the eye, exclusive of a number of details which a general officer must look to, I imagine the *secret committee* will approve of my having attended to the safety of the troops and the honour of our arms, rather than to making a *formal inquiry*, &c. I well knew the treachery of the Ameers, or I should not have been so unjust as to use the terms I applied to them in my dispatch after the battle of Meeanee; and which term of *treachery* the secret committee appears to think was an invective of mine! The honour of our arms, the lives of the troops, my own honour, my own life, called for whatever exertion I was master of to ensure success; and if the secret committee have no confidence in my assertions it is easy to remove me. I shall not complain. My rewards have been in the approbation of Her Majesty, and that of your lordship; I want no other and shall do my utmost to preserve those. In conclusion I hope that your lordship will assure the secret committee of my readiness to prove the truth of every assertion I have made; and I am equally prepared to prove, that the letters and complaints of the traitorous Ameers are a tissue of palpable falsehoods.”

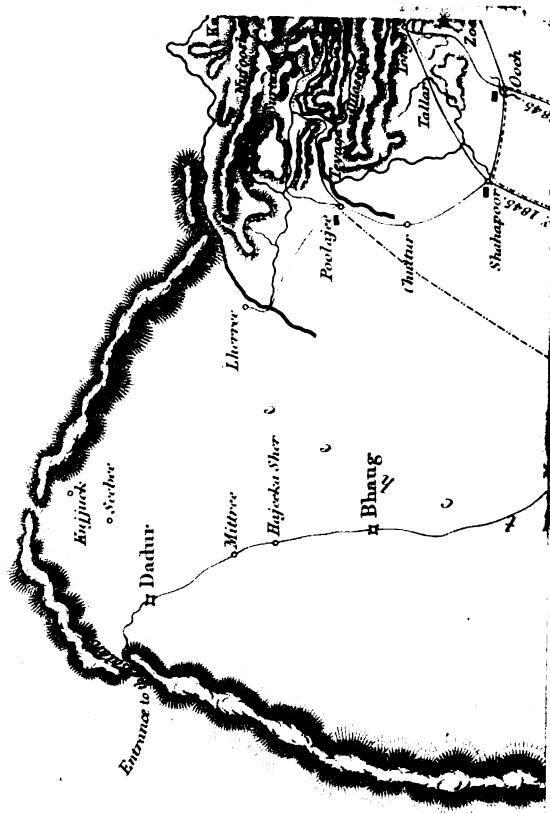
The secret committee did not want such proofs, the object was to insult and vex the general, and if possible obtain some ground for further insult. A new opportunity for further insult did occur and was eagerly seized but was again rebuked and thrust back with shame, as will be seen further on. Meanwhile Charles Napier had not only to resist these intrigues but to enforce the rights of his soldiers upon the neglectful parsimony of the factious Bombay government.

“Bombay government secretary, October.—I request of

you to represent to his honour the governor in council, that the troops in Scinde are in want of pastors; Protestant and Catholic. There is one Protestant clergyman here, but no Catholic priest. At Hydrabad and Sukkur there is neither Protestant nor Catholic clergyman. The Mussulman and the Hindoo have their teachers; the Christian has none! The Catholic clergyman is more required than the Protestant, because the Catholics are more dependent upon their clergy for religious consolation than the Protestants are; and the Catholic soldier dies in great distress if he has not a clergyman to administer to him. Moreover I have not the least doubt that a Catholic clergyman would have great influence in preventing drunkenness. But exclusive of all other reasons, I can hardly believe that a Christian government will refuse his pastor to the soldier serving in a climate where death is so rife, and the buoyant spirit of man crushed by the debilitating effects of disease and heat. I cannot believe that such a government will allow Mammon to cross the path of our Saviour, to stand between the soldier and his God, and let his drooping mind thirst in vain for the support which his church ought to afford! Is his widow to be without religious consolation in the depth of her affliction and in a land of strangers? I hope not sir, and therefore earnestly request that Protestant and Catholic clergymen may be sent to Kurrachee, Sukkur, and Hydrabad."



END OF VOL. II.





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